

THE/END

OF

RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY

IN A

FRIENDLY CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN A

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF PROTESTANTS

AND A

CATHOLIC DIVINE.

IN THREE PARTS.

BY THE RIGHT REV. JOHN MILNER D. D.



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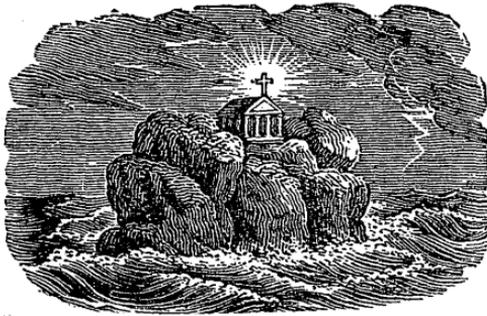
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Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

THE EDITOR TO THE READER.

IN this work, entitled "The End of Religious Controversy," the author and his correspondents having established the certainty of divine revelation and the truth of the Christian religion, he proposes the means by which, among the various discordant creeds of those who profess Christianity, the *true faith* which Jesus Christ brought down from heaven, and the *true church* which he established on earth, may be discovered. He undertakes to prove that we are provided with the certain *means* of making this discovery, and that Christ himself has left us a *rule of faith*, adapted to the *capacities of all*, by which we may come to the knowledge of *true religion*.

Before he attempts to show what this rule is, he notices certain methods, which have been adopted as rules of faith, and proves them to be insufficient and fallacious. *Private inspiration*, he maintains, cannot be a *rule of faith*, because private inspiration is in itself a *questionable* pretension; may be claimed by one as well as by another, and all alike; and has, in fact, been claimed and acted upon by *different* sectaries, in support of *different* and *contradictory* tenets; at the same time that it has, in many instances, led the pretenders to it into the greatest *absurdities* and most shocking *impieties*. Another rule of faith, the rule adopted by the reformed churches in general, is the *scripture* or the *written word* of God, left to the *interpretation of each individual*: for as no *supreme, unerring* authority is acknowledged by Protestants to determine the *sense* and *meaning* of Scripture, or to decide and announce what articles of faith are necessary for salvation, individual judgment is made the guide to individuals, the necessity of preachers is done away, and the commission of Jesus Christ to his apostles, "Go, teach all nations," is annulled. Where there is no *obligation* to *hear* and *obey*, there can be no *authority* to *teach* and *instruct*. The church, as an infallible teacher, is discarded, but its powers are transferred to each individual person; each person possesses *infallibility* in himself, each person is himself a church, accord-

ingly as he may please to form his creed; and every possible contradictory opinion is *equally* defensible, as resting upon the interpretation of Scripture, adopted by the person who maintains it. This rule, like private inspiration, is shown to be fallacious; since, like the former, it has led, as it is calculated to lead, to *opposite conclusions* on numberless points of faith: and since there is no acknowledged *judge* on earth to *decide*, it necessarily follows that either contradictory doctrines are *favoured* by the sacred volume, and revealed, as *equally true*, by the God from whom that sacred volume came, or else that it was intended by the God of *peace*, as an *apple of discord*, and *meant* by the God of *truth* for the propagation of *falsehood*. But as such intentions can never be imputed to the Deity, nor can it be imagined that our Redeemer established a church to succeed to the Jewish dispensation, and to last *till the end of the world*, so vague and indeterminate in its creed, so uncertain as to its form or even existence, in one place professing, on the authority of God's infallible word, articles and doctrines which, in another place, it anathematizes and disclaims on the same unerring authority,—the author maintains that the Scripture *alone* does not furnish this *certain* and *attainable* rule adapted to the capacities and situations of mankind at large.

Still he maintains that a *rule* does exist, and ever has existed since the time of Christ, by which the *faith of his disciples is secured from error*, and his *true religion*, with all its *doctrines* and *articles of belief* proclaimed to them with equal certainty, by means of his *protecting Spirit*, his promised *Paraclete*, as if He were visibly *seen* by them, and were *heard* by them speaking in his own person, as when he conversed with his disciples upon earth. This rule, he contends, is *the word of God, written and unwritten*, as it is interpreted and explained by his appointed oracle, HIS CHURCH, which he has *authorized and commissioned to teach all nations*, while he has *commanded* all mankind to *hear his church*. This *rule of faith*, subject to the interpretation of an *infallible expositor*, inspired by *himself*, and guided by *his Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth*, must *necessarily* communicate *his* revelations, must *infallibly* teach *his* truth, the *whole* truth, and the truth *alone*. This rule, thus unerringly explained by the *Light of Light*, inevitably implies teachers *instituted by JESUS CHRIST himself*, and a *succession* of teachers *kept up by Him*, and *inspired by Him*. It secures their followers from the danger of error, in adopting their own conjectures, and the teachers it preserves from the spirit of innovation and imposture, from all the attempts of ambitious or interested dogmatizers. He then proceeds to show, that the church dispersed throughout the world and in communion with the See of Rome (commonly

called the CATHOLIC Church) alone adopts and follows this infallible rule; and he produces numberless arguments to prove that, whereas Christians have, in every age since that of the apostles, professed their belief of *One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church*,—the Church in communion with the See of Rome, and presided over by the successor of St. Peter in that see, exclusively exhibits these four essential marks of the church of Christ, viz., UNITY, in doctrine, liturgy, government, and constitution; SANCTITY, in doctrine, in the means of holiness, and the fruits of holiness; CATHOLICITY, or universality, in its extent, as to time and place, no less than its name, which it has borne from time immemorial; and, finally, APOSTOLICITY, in its descent and regular succession of ministers, from the time of the apostles, as well as in its sacraments and sacred institutions. He then proceeds to show, that these marks are deficient to every Christian society, except that which is in communion with the See of Rome, and which exclusively enjoys, as it ever has enjoyed, the distinctive appellation of the *Catholic Church*.

Here, strictly speaking, his work is at an end and controversy concluded. For the infallible superintendence and inspiration of Jesus Christ promised and preserved, and the marks, by which his church may be distinguished from every other society or congregation, being ascertained and applied, it follows of consequence, (without particular proof with regard to each particular article,) that every doctrine of a church so guarded and protected, must be the doctrine of *Jesus Christ himself*, and the church secure from error. However, for the sake of candid and sincere inquirers, the author condescends to particular examination; brings forward the principal charges that are usually made against the Roman Catholic Church, and proves them to be either the involuntary errors of mistaken ignorance, or the unfair means resorted to by misrepresentation, with the view to blacken and disfigure the spouse of Christ. He draws aside the mask which malice had held up as her genuine countenance, and displays her form and features in all their native beauty and loveliness. For further satisfaction, he explains and justifies those particular doctrinal points, which are excepted against by the separatists from the Church of Rome.

Such are the nature and character of the work now presented to the public; such is the object of the pre-eminent writer, which if he have attained, he has without question put an *End to Religious Controversy*, and fully justified the title given to his matchless performance. Let the reader judge.

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THE
END OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY

PART I.

“Let those treat you harshly, who are not acquainted with the difficulty of attaining to truth and avoiding error. Let those treat you harshly, who know not how hard it is to get rid of old prejudices. Let those treat you harshly, who have not learned how very hard it is to purify the interior eye, and render it capable of contemplating the sun of the soul, truth. But as to us; we are far from this disposition towards persons who are separated from us, not by errors of their own invention, but by being entangled in those of others. We are so far from this disposition, that we pray to God, that, in refuting the false opinions of those whom you follow, not from malice, but imprudence, he would bestow upon us that spirit of peace, which feels no other sentiment than charity, no other interest than that of Jesus Christ, no other wish but for your salvation.”—*St. Augustine, Doctor of the Church, A. D. 400, contra Ep. Fund. l. c. ii.*

ON THE RULE OF FAITH; OR, THE METHOD OF
FINDING OUT THE TRUE RELIGION.

LETTER I.

FROM JAMES BROWN, ESQ., TO THE REV. JOHN MILNER., D.D.
F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION.

New Cottage, near Cressage, Salop, Oct. 13, 1801.

REVEREND SIR—

I SHOULD need an ample apology for the liberty I am taking in thus addressing you, without having the honor of your acquaintance, and still more for the heavy task I am endeavoring to impose upon you; if I did not consider your public character, as a pastor of your religion, and as a writer in defence of it, and likewise your personal character for benevolence, which has been described to me by a gentleman of your communion, Mr. J. C—ne, who is well acquainted with us both. Having mentioned this, I need only add, that I write to you in the name of a society of serious and worthy Christians of different persuasions, to which society I myself belong, all of whom are as desirous as I am, to receive satisfaction from you on certain

doubts, which your late work in answer to Dr. Sturges has suggested to us.*

However, in making this request of our society to you, it seems proper, reverend sir, that I should bring you acquainted with the nature of it, by way of convincing you that it is not unworthy of the attention which I am desirous you should pay to it. We consist then of above twenty persons, including the ladies, who, living at some distance from any considerable town, meet together once a week, generally at my habitation of New Cottage; not so much for our amusement and refec-tion, as for the improvement of our minds, by reading the best publications of the day which I can procure from my London bookseller, and sometimes an original essay written by one of the company.

I have signified that many of us are of different religious persuasions: this will be seen more distinctly from the following account of our numbers. Among these, I must mention, in the first place, our learned and worthy rector, Dr. Carey. He is, of course, of the Church of England; but like most others of his learned and dignified brethren, in these times, he is of that free, and, as it is called, liberal turn of mind, as to explain away the mysteries and a great many of its other articles, which, in my younger days, were considered essential to it. Mr. and Mrs. Topham are Methodists of the Predestinarian and Antinomian class, while Mr. and Mrs. Askew are mitigated Arminian Methodists, of Wesley's connection. Mr. and Mrs. Rankin are honest Quakers. Mr. Barker and his children term themselves *Rational Dissenters*, being of the old Presby-terian lineage, which is now almost universally gone into Socin-ianism. I, for my part, glory in being a stanch member of our happy establishment, which has kept the golden mean among the contending sects, and which, I am fully persuaded, approaches nearer to the purity of the apostolic church, than any other which has existed since the age of it. Mrs. Brown professes an equal attachment to the church; yet, being of an in-quisitive and arden. mind, she cannot refrain from frequenting the meetings, and even supporting the missions of those self-created apostles, who are undermining this church on every side, and who are nowhere more active than in our seques-tered valley.

With these differences among us, on the most interesting of all subjects, we cannot help having frequent religious contro-versies: but reason and charity enable us to manage these

* *Letters to a Prebendary*, in answer to *Reflections on I opery* by the Rev. Dr. Sturges, *Prebendary and Chancellor of Winchester*.

without a ny breach, either of good manners or good will to each other. Indeed, I believe that we are, one and all, possessed of an unfeigned respect and cordial love for Christians of every description, one only excepted. Must I name it on the present occasion? Yes, I must, in order to fulfil my commission in a proper manner. It is then the church that you, reverend sir, belong to: which, if any credit is due to the eminent divines whose works we are in the habit of reading, and more particularly to the illustrious Bishop Porteus in his celebrated and standing work, called **A BRIEF CONFUTATION OF THE ERRORS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME**, *extracted from Archbishop Secker's* **FIVE SERMONS AGAINST POPERY**,* is such a mass of absurdity, bigotry, superstition, idolatry, and immorality, that to say we respect and love those who obstinately adhere to it, as we do other Christians, would seem a compromise of reason, scripture, and virtuous feeling.

And yet, even of this church we have formed a less revolting idea, in some particulars, than we did formerly. This has happened from our having just read over your controversial work against Dr. Sturges, called **LETTERS TO A PREBENDARY**, to which our attention was directed by the notice taken of it in the houses of Parliament, and particularly by the very unexpected compliment paid to it by that ornament to our church, Bishop Horsley. We admit then (at least I, for my part, admit) that you have refuted the most odious of the charges brought against your religion—namely, that it is necessarily, and upon principle, intolerant and sanguinary, requiring its members to persecute with fire and sword all persons of a different creed from their own, when this is in their power. You have also proved that Papists may be good subjects to a Protestant sovereign; and you have shown, by an interesting historical detail, that the Roman Catholics of this kingdom have been conspicuous for their loyalty from the time of Elizabeth down to the present time. Still, most of the absurd and anti-scriptural doctrines and practices alluded to above, relating to the worship of saints and images, to transubstantiation and the half communion, to purgatory, and shutting up the Bible, with others of the same nature, you have not, to my recollection, so much as attempted to defend. In a word, I write to you, reverend sir, on the present occasion, in the name of our respectable society, to ask you whether you fairly give up these doctrines and practices of Popery, as untenable; or other-

* The Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the university of Cambridge, Dr. Hey, speaking of this work, says: "The refutation of the Popish errors is now reduced into a small compass by Archbishop Secker and Bishop Porteus."—*Lectures in Divinity, Vol. 17. p. 71.*

wise, whether you will condescend to interchange a few letters with me on the subject of them, for the satisfaction of me and my friends, and with the sole view of mutually discovering and communicating religious truths. We remark that you say in your first letter to Dr. Stürges, "Should I have occasion to make another reply to you, I will try if it be not possible to put the whole question at issue between us into such a shape as shall remove the danger of irritation on both sides, and still enable us, if we are mutually so disposed, to agree together in the acknowledgment of the same religious truths." If you still think that this is possible, for God's sake, and your neighbor's sake, delay not to undertake it. The plan embraces every advantage we wish for, and excludes every evil we deprecate. You shall manage the discussion in your own way, and we will give you as little interruption as possible. Two of the essays above alluded to, with which our worthy rector lately furnished us, I will, with your permission, enclose, to convince you that genius and sacred literature are cultivated round the Wrekin, and on the banks of the Severn.

I remain, reverend sir, with great respect,
Your faithful and obedient servant,

JAMES BROWN.

ESSAY I.

ON THE EXISTENCE OF GOD, AND OF NATURAL RELIGION.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL CAREY, LL.D.

FORESEEING that my health will not permit me, for a considerable time, to meet my respected friends at New Cottage, I comply with the request, which several of them have made me, in sending them in writing, my ideas on the two noblest subjects which can occupy the mind of man: *the existence of God, and the truth of Christianity*. In doing this, I profess not to make new discoveries, but barely to state certain arguments, which I collected in my youth, from the learned Hugo Grotius, our own judicious Clarke, and other advocates of natural and revealed religion. I offer no apology for adopting the words of Scripture, in arguing with persons who are supposed not to admit its authority, when these express my meaning as fully as any others can do.

The first argument for the existence of God is thus expressed by the royal prophet: "Know ye that the Lord he is God: it is he that hath made us, and not we ourselves." Ps. c. 3. In

fact, when I ask myself that question, which every reflecting man must sometimes ask himself: *How came I into this state of existence? Who has bestowed upon me the being which I enjoy?* I am forced to answer, *It is not I that made myself;* and each of my forefathers, if asked the same question, must have returned the same answer. In like manner, if I interrogate the several beings with which I am surrounded; the earth, the air, the water, the stars, the moon, the sun, each of them, as an ancient father says, will answer me in its turn: *It was not I that made you; I, like you, am a creature of yesterday, as incapable of giving existence to you as I am of giving it to myself.* In short, however often each of us repeats the questions: *How came I hither? Who has made me what I am?* we shall never find a rational answer to them, till we come to acknowledge that there is an *eternal, necessary, self-existent Being*, the author of all contingent beings, which is no other than GOD. It is this *necessity of being, this self-existence*, which constitutes the nature of God, and from which all his other perfections flow. Hence, when he deigned to reveal himself on the flaming mountain of Horeb, to the holy legislator of his chosen people, being asked by this prophet, what was his *proper name*; he answered: "I AM THAT I AM." Exod. iii. 14. This is as much as to say: *I alone exist of myself; all others are created beings, which exist by my will.*

From this attribute of *self-existence*, all the other perfections of the Deity, *eternity, immensity, omnipotence, omniscience, holiness, justice, mercy, and bounty*, each in an infinite degree, necessarily flow; because there is nothing to limit his existence and attributes, and because, whatever perfection is found in any created being, must, like its existence, have been derived from this universal source.

This proof of the existence of God, though demonstrative and self-evident to reflecting beings, is, nevertheless, we have reason to fear, lost on a great proportion of our fellow-creatures; because they hardly reflect at all; or, at least, never consider *Who made them, or what they were made for.* But that other proof, which results from the magnificence, the beauty, and the harmony of the creation, as it falls under the senses, so it cannot be thought to escape the attention of the most stupid or savage of rational beings. The starry heavens, the fulminating clouds, the boundless ocean, the variegated earth, the organized human body; all these, and many other phenomena of nature, must strike the mind of the untutored savage, no less than that of the studious philosopher, with a conviction that there is an infinitely powerful, wise, and bountiful Being, who is the author of these things: though, doubtless, the latter,

in proportion as he sees more clearly and extensively than the former, the properties and economy of different parts of the creation, possesses a stronger *physical* evidence, as it is called, of the existence of the Great Creator. In fact, if the pagan physician, Galen,* from the imperfect knowledge which he possessed of the structure of the human body, found himself compelled to acknowledge the existence of an infinitely wise and beneficent being, to make the body such as it is; what would he not have said, had he been acquainted with the circulation of the blood, and the use and harmony of the arteries, veins, and lacteals? If the philosophical orator, Tully, discovered and enlarged on the same truth, from the little knowledge of astronomy which he possessed,* what strains of eloquence would he not have poured forth upon it, had he been acquainted with the discoveries of Galileo and Newton, relative to the magnitude and distances of the stars, the motions of the planets and the comets? Yes, all nature proclaims that there is a Being who is *wise in heart and mighty in strength*:—*who doeth great things and past finding out; yea, wonders without number*:—*who stretcheth out the north over the empty places, and hangeth the earth upon nothing*.—*The pillars of heaven tremble and are astonished at his reproof*.—*Lo! these are a part of his ways; but how little a portion is heard of him! The thunder of his power who can understand!* Job, ix.—xxvi.

The proofs, however, of God's existence, which can least be evaded, are those which come immediately home to a man's own heart; convincing him, with the same evidence which he has of his own existence, that there is an all-seeing, infinitely just, and infinitely bountiful Master above, who is witness of all his actions and words, and of his very thoughts. For whence arises the heartfelt pleasure which the good man feels on resisting a secret temptation to sin, or in performing an act of beneficence, though in the utmost secrecy? Why does he raise his countenance to heaven with devotion, and why is he prepared to meet death with cheerful hope, unless it be, that his conscience tells him of a munificent rewarder of virtue, the spectator of what he does? And why does the most hardened sinner tremble and falter in his limbs and at his heart, when he commits his most secret sins of theft, vengeance, or impurity? Why, especially, does he sink into agonies of horror and despair at the approach of death, unless it be, that he is deeply convinced of the constant presence of an all-seeing witness, and of an infinitely holy, powerful, and just judge, *into whose hands it is a terrible thing to fall!* *In vain does he say: Dark.*

* De Usu Partium.

† De Natura Deorum, l. ii.

ness encompasseth me and the walls cover me ; no one seeth : of whom am I afraid ?—for his conscience tells him that, “The eyes of the Lord are far brighter than the sun, beholding round about all the ways of men.” Ecclus. xxiii. 26, 28.

This last argument in particular, is so obvious and convincing, that I cannot bring myself to believe there ever was a human being, of sound sense, who was really an atheist. Those persons who have tried to work themselves into a persuasion that there is no God, will generally be found, both in ancient and modern times, to be of the most profligate manners; who, dreading to meet him as their judge, try to persuade themselves that he does not exist. This has been observed by St. Augustin, who says: “No man denies the existence of God, but such a one whose interest it is that there should be no God.” Yet even they who, in the broad daylight; and among their profligate companions, pretend to disbelieve the existence of a Supreme Being; in the darkness of the night, and still more, under the apprehension of death, fail not to confess it, as Seneca, I think, has somewhere observed.*

“A son heareth his father, and a servant his master,” says the prophet Malachi. “If then I be a father, where is mine honor? and if I be a master, where is my fear? saith the Lord of Hosts,” i. 6. In a word, it is impossible to believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, our Creator, our Lord, and our Judge, without being conscious, at the same time, of our obligation to worship him interiorly and exteriorly; to fear him, to love him, and to obey him. This constitutes *natural religion*; by the observance of which the ancient patriarchs, together with Mechisedec, Job, and, we trust, very many other virtuous and religious persons of different ages and countries, have been acceptable to God in this life, and have attained to everlasting bliss in the other: still we must confess, with deep sorrow, that the number of such persons has been small, compared with those of every age and nation, who, as St. Paul says: “When they knew God, glorified him not as God; neither were they thankful, but became vain in their imaginations; and their foolish hearts were darkened: they changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for evermore.” Rom. i. 21, 25.

SAMUEL CAREY.

* It is proper here to observe, that a large proportion of the boasting atheists who signalized themselves by their impiety during the French Revolution, or a few years previous to its eruption; acknowledged when they came to die, that their irreligion had been affected, and that they never doubted in their hearts of the existence of God and the truths of Christianity. Among these were the Marquis d'Argens, Boulanger, La Metrie, Collot d'Herbois, Egalitié, Duke of Orleans, &c.

ESSAY II.

ON THE TRUTH OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL CAREY, LL.D.

THOUGH the light of nature is abundantly sufficient, as I trust I have shown in my former essay, to prove the existence of God, and the duty of worshipping and serving him, yet this was not the only light that was communicated to mankind in the first ages of the world, concerning these matters, since many things relating to them were revealed by God to the patriarchs, and, through them, to their contemporaries and descendants. At length, however, this knowledge was almost universally obliterated from the minds of men, and the light of reason itself was so clouded by the boundless indulgence of their passions, that they seemed, everywhere, sunk almost to a level with the brute creation. Even the most polished nations, the Greeks and the Romans, blushed not at unnatural lusts, and boasted of the most horrid cruelties. Plutarch describes the celebrated Grecian sages, Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Cebes, &c., as indulging freely in the former;* and every one knows that the chief amusement of the Roman people, was to behold their fellow-creatures murdering one another in the amphitheatres, sometimes by hundreds and thousands at a time. But the depravity and impiety of the ancient pagans, and I may say the same of those of modern times, appear chiefly in their religious doctrines and worship. What an absurd and disgusting rabble of pretended deities, marked with every crime that disgraces the worst of mortals, lust, envy, hatred, and cruelty, did not the above-named refined nations worship; and that, in several instances, by the imitation of their crimes! Plato allows of drunkenness in honor of the gods; Aristotle admits of indecent representations of them. How many temples were everywhere erected, and prostitutes consecrated to the worship of Venus!† And how generally were human sacrifices offered up in honor of Moloch, Saturn, Thor, Diana, Woden, and other pretended gods, or rather real demons, by almost every pagan nation, Greek and barbarian, and among the rest, by the ancient Britons, inhabitants of this island! It is true, some few sages of antiquity, by listening to the dictates of nature and reason, saw into the absurdity of the popular religion, and dis-

* De Isid. et Osirid. Even the refined Cicero and Virgil did not blush at these infamies.

† Strabo tells us, that there were 1,000 prostitutes attached to the temple of Venus, at Corinth. The Athenians attributed the preservation of their city to the prayers of its prostitutes.

covered the existence and attributes of the true God ; but then how unsteady and imperfect was their belief, even in this point ! and when “ they knew God, they did not glorify him as God, nor give him thanks, but became vain in their thoughts.” Rom. i. 21. In short, they were so bewildered on the whole subject of religion, that Socrates, the wisest of them all, declared it “ impossible for men to discover this, unless the Deity himself deigned to reveal it to them.”* Indeed it was an effort of mercy, worthy the great and good God, to make such a revelation of himself, and of his acceptable worship, to poor, benighted, and degraded man. This he did, first, in favor of a poor afflicted, captive tribe on the banks of the Nile, the Israelites, whom he led from thence into the country of their ancestors, and raised up to be a powerful nation, by a series of astonishing miracles ; instructing and confirming them in the knowledge and worship of himself by his different prophets. He afterwards did the same thing in favor of all the people of the earth, and to a far greater extent, by the promised Messiah, and his apostles. It is to this latter Divine legation I shall here confine my arguments : though, indeed, the one confirms the other ; since Christ and the apostles continually bear testimony to the mission of Moses.

All history, then, and tradition prove, that in the reign of Tiberius, the second Roman emperor after Julius Cæsar, an extraordinary personage, Jesus Christ, appeared in Palestine, teaching a new system of religion and morality, far more sublime and perfect than any which the pagan philosophers or even the Hebrew prophets had inculcated. He confirmed the truths of natural religion and of the Mosaic revelation ; but then he vastly extended their sphere, by the communication of many heavenly mysteries, concerning the nature of the one true God, his economy in redeeming man by his own vicarious sufferings, the restoration and future immortality of our bodies, and the final, decisive trial we are to undergo before him, our destined Judge. He enforced the obligation of loving our heavenly Father above all things, of praying to him continually, and of referring all our thoughts, words, and actions, to his divine honor. He insisted on the necessity of denying, not merely one or other of our passions, as the philosophers had done, who, as Tertullian says, *drove out one nail with another* ; but the whole collection of them, disorderly and vitiated as they are, since the fall of our first parents. In opposition to our innate avarice, pride, and love of pleasure, he opened his mission by teaching that, *Blessed are the poor in spirit ; Blessed are the*

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* Plato, Dialog. Alcibiad.

mee; *Blessed are they that mourn*, &c. Teaching, as he did, with respect to our fellow-creatures, every social virtue, he singled out fraternal charity for his peculiar and characteristic precept; requiring that his disciples should love one another as they love themselves, and even as he himself has loved them; he who laid down his life for them! and he extended the obligation of this precept to our enemies, equally with our friends.

Nor was the morality of Jesus a mere speculative system of precepts, like the systems of the philosophers: it was of a practical nature, and he himself confirmed, by his example, every virtue which he inculcated, and more particularly that hardest of all others to reduce to practice, the love of our enemies. Christ had *gone about*, as the sacred text expresses it, *doing good to all*, Acts, x. 38, and evil to no one. He had cured the sick of Judea and the neighboring countries, had given sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, and even life to the dead; but, above all things, he had enlightened the minds of his hearers with the knowledge of pure and sublime truths, capable of leading them to present and future happiness: yet was he everywhere calumniated and persecuted, till at length, his inveterate enemies fulfilled their malice against him, by nailing him to a cross, thereon to expire, by lengthened torments. Not content with this, they came before his gibbet, deriding him in his agony with insulting words and gestures! And what is the return which the author of Christianity makes for such unexampled affronts and barbarity? He excuses the perpetrators of them! He prays for them! "Father, forgive them: for they know not what they do!" Luke, xxiii. 34. No wonder this proof of supernatural charity should have staggered the most hardened infidels; one of whom confesses that, "if Socrates has died like a philosopher, Jesus alone has died like a God!"* The precepts and the example of the master have not been lost upon his disciples. These have ever been distinguished by their practice of virtue, and particularly by their charity and forgiveness of injuries. The first of them who laid down his life for Christ, St. Stephen, while the Jews were stoning him to death, prayed thus with his last voice: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!" Acts, vii. 60.

Having considered the several systems of paganism, which have prevailed, and that still prevail in different parts of the world, both as to belief and practice, together with the speculations of the wisest infidel philosophers concerning them; and having contemplated, on the other hand, the doctrine of the New Testament, both as to theory and practice; I would ask

* Rousseau, *Emile*.

any candid unbeliever, where he thought Jesus Christ could have acquired the idea of so sublime, so pure, so efficacious a religion, as Christianity is; especially when compared with the others above alluded to? Could he have acquired it in the workshop of a poor artisan of Nazareth, or among the fishermen of the lake of Genezareth? Then, how could he and his poor unlettered apostles succeed in propagating this religion, as they did, throughout the world, in opposition to all the talents and power of philosophers and princes, and all the passions of all mankind? No other answers can be given to these questions, than that the religion itself has been *divinely revealed*, and that it has been *divinely assisted* in its progress throughout the world.

In addition to this *internal evidence* of Christianity, as it is called, there are *external proofs* which must not be passed over. Christ, on various occasions, appealed to the miracles which he wrought, in confirmation of his doctrine and mission; miracles public and indisputable, which, from the testimony of Pilate himself, were placed on the records of the Roman empire,* and which were not denied by the most determined enemies of Christianity, such as Celsus, Porphyrius, and Julian, the apostate. Among these miracles, there is one of so extraordinary a nature, as to render it quite unnecessary to mention any others, and which is therefore always appealed to by the apostles, as the grand proof of the gospel they preached; I mean the *resurrection of Christ from the dead*. To the fact itself must be added also its circumstances; namely, that he raised himself to life *by his own power*, without the intervention of any living person; and that he did this *in conformity with his prediction, at the time which he had appointed* for this event to take place, and in *defiance of the efforts of his enemies* to detain his body in the sepulchre. To elude the evidence resulting from this unexampled prodigy, one or other of the following assertions must be maintained; either that the *disciples were deceived* in believing him to be risen from the dead, or that *they combined to deceive the world* into a belief of that imposition. Now it cannot be credited that they themselves were deceived in this matter, being many in number, and having the testimony of their eyes, in seeing their master repeatedly during forty days; of their ears in hearing his voice; and one, the most incredulous among them, the testimony of *his feeling, in touching his person and probing his wounds*. Nor can it be believed that they *conspired to propagate an unavailing falsehood* of this nature throughout the nations of the earth; namely, that a person, put to death in

† Tertul. in Apolog.

Judea, had risen again to life :—and this too, without any prospect to themselves *for this world*, but that of persecution, torments, and a crue. death, which they successively endured, as did their numerous disciples after them, in testimony of this fact ; without any expectation *for the other world*, but the vengeance of the God of truth.

Next to the miracles wrought by Christ, is the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies concerning him, in proof of the religion which he taught. To mention a few of these : He was born just *after the sceptre had departed from the tribe of Juda*, Gen. xlix. 10 ; at the *end of seventy weeks* of years from the restoration of Jerusalem, Dan. ix. 24 ; while the *second temple* of Jerusalem was *in being*, Hagg. ii. 7. He was born in *Bethlehem*, Mic. v. 2 ; worked the identical *miracles foretold* of him, Isai. xxxv. 5. He was *sold* by his perfidious disciple for *thirty pieces of silver*, which were laid out in the *purchase of a potter's field*, Zech. xi. 13. He was *scourged, spit upon*, Isai. l. 6 ; placed *among malefactors*, Isai. xxxiii. 12. His *hands and feet were transfixed* with nails, Ps. xxii. 16 ; and his *side was opened* with a spear, Zech. xii. 10. Finally, he *died, was buried with honor*, Isai. liii. 9 ; and *rose again to life without experiencing corruption*, Ps. xvi. 10. The sworn enemies of Christ, the Jews, were, during many hundred years before his coming, and still are, in possession of the Scriptures, containing these and many other predictions concerning him, which were strictly fulfilled.

The very existence, and other circumstances respecting this extraordinary people, the Jews, are so many arguments in proof of Christianity. They have now subsisted, as a distinct people, for more than four thousand years, during which they have again and again been subdued, harassed, and almost extirpated. Their mighty conquerors, the Philistines, the Assyrians, the Persians, the Macedonians, the Syrians, and the Romans, have in their turns ceased to exist, and can nowhere be found as distinct nations ; while the Jews exist in great numbers, and are known in every part of the world. How can this be accounted for ? Why has God preserved them alone, amongst the ancient nations of the earth ? The truth is, they are still the subject of prophecy, with respect to both the Old and the New Testament. They exist as monuments of God's wrath against them ; as witnesses to the truth of the Scriptures which condemn them ; and as the destined subjects of his final mercy before the end of the world. They are to be found in every quarter of the globe ; but in the condition with which their great legislator Moses threatened them, if they forsook the Lord ; namely, that he would *remove them into all the kingdoms of the earth*, Deut. xxviii. 25, that they should become an

astonishment, and a by-word among all nations, ibid. 37, and that they should find no ease, neither should the sole of their foot have rest, ibid. 63. Finally, they are everywhere seen, but carrying, written on their foreheads, the curse which they pronounced on themselves, in rejecting the Messiah; "His blood be upon us and upon our children!" Matt. xxvii. 25. Still is this extraordinary people preserved, to be, in the end, converted, and to find mercy. Rom. xi. 26, &c.

SAMUEL CAREY

LETTER II.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c

PRELIMINARIES.

Winton, October, 20, 1801

DEAR SIR—

You certainly want no apology for writing to me on the subject of your letter. For if, as St. Peter inculcates, each Christian ought to be "ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in him," 1 Pet. iii. 15, how inexcusable would a person of my ministry and commission be, who am a "debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and the unwise," Rom. i. 14, were I unwilling to give the utmost satisfaction, in my power, respecting the Catholic religion, to any human being, whose inquiries appear to proceed from a serious and candid mind, desirous of discovering and embracing religious truth, such as I must believe yours to be? And yet this disposition is exceedingly rare among Christians. Infinitely the greater part of them, in choosing a system of religion, or in adhering to one, are guided by motives of interest, worldly honor, or convenience. These inducements not only rouse their worst passions, but also blind their judgment; so as to create hideous phantoms to their intellectual eyes, and to hinder them from seeing the most conspicuous objects which stand before them. To such inconsistent Christians nothing proves so irritating as the attempt to disabuse them of their errors, except the success of that attempt, by putting it out of their power to defend them any longer. These are they, and O! how infinite is their number, of whom Christ says, "They love darkness better than light," John, iii. 16; and who say to the prophets, "Prophesy not unto us right things: speak unto us smooth things," Isai. xxx. 10. They form to themselves a false conscience, as the Jews did when they murdered their Messiah, Acts, iii. 17; and as he himself foretold that many others would do, in murdering his disciples, John, xvi. 2. And here permit me to observe, that I myself have experienced something of this spirit in my religious dis-

cussions, with persons who have been loudest in professing their candor and charity. Hence, I make no doubt, if the elucidation which you call for at my hands, for your numerous society, should happen by any means to become public, that I shall have to "eat the bread of affliction, and drink the water of tribulation," 1 Kings, xxii. 27, for this discharge of my duty, perhaps during the remainder of my life. But, as the apostle writes, "None of these things move me; neither count I my life dear to me, so that I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus." Acts, xx. 24.

It remains, sir, to settle the conditions of our correspondence. What I propose is, that, in the first place, we should mutually, and indeed all of us who are concerned in this friendly controversy, be at perfect liberty, without offence to any one, to speak of doctrines, practices, and persons, in the manner we may judge the most suitable for the discovery of truth: secondly, that we should be disposed, in common, as far as poor human nature will permit, to investigate truth with impartiality; to acknowledge it, when discovered, with candor; and, of course, to renounce every error and unfounded prejudice that may be detected, on any side, whatever may be the sacrifice or the cost. I, for my part, dear sir, here solemnly promise, that I will publicly renounce the religion of which I am a minister, and will induce as many of my flock, as I may be able to influence, to do the same, should it prove to be that "mass of absurdity, bigotry, superstition, idolatry, and immorality," which you, sir, and most Protestants conceive it to be; nay, even if I should not succeed in clearing it of these respective charges. To religious controversy, when originating in its proper motives, a desire of serving God and securing our salvation, I cannot declare myself an enemy, without virtually condemning the conduct of Christ himself, who, on every occasion, arraigned and refuted the errors of the Pharisees: but I cannot conceive any hypocrisy so detestable as that of mounting the pulpit or employing the pen on sacred subjects, to serve our temporal interests, our resentment, or our pride, under pretext of promoting or defending religious truth. To inquirers in the former predicament, I hold myself a debtor, as I have already said; but the circumstances must be extraordinary, to induce me to hold a communication with persons in the latter. Lastly, as you appear, sir, to approve of the plan I spoke of in my first letter to Dr. Sturges, I mean to pursue it on the present occasion. This, however, will necessarily throw back the examination of your charges to a considerable distance, as several other important inquiries must precede it.—I am, &c.,

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER III.

FROM JAMES BROWN, ESQ., TO THE REV. JOHN MILNER, D.D
PRELIMINARIES.

New Cottage, October 30, 1801.

REVEREND SIR—

I HAVE been favored, in due course, with yours of the 20th instant, which I have communicated to those persons of our society whom I have had an opportunity of seeing. No circumstance could strike us with greater sorrow, than that you should suffer any inconvenience from your edifying promptness to comply with our well-meant request, and we confidently trust that nothing of the kind will take place through any fault committed by us. We agree with you, as to the necessity of perfect freedom of speech, where the discovery of important truths is the real object of inquiry. Hence, while we are at liberty to censure many of your popes and other clergy, Mr. Topham will not be offended with any thing that you can prove against Calvin, nor will Mr. Rankin quarrel with you for exposing the faults of George Fox and James Naylor, nor shall I complain of you for any thing that you may make out against our venerable Latimer or Cranmer; I say the same of doctrines and practices as of persons. If you are guilty of idolatry, or we of heresy, we are respectively unfortunate, and the greatest act of charity we can perform is to point out to each other the danger of our respective situations to their full extent. Not to renounce error and embrace truth of every kind, when we clearly see it, would be folly; and to neglect doing this, when the question is concerning religious truth, would be folly and wickedness combined together. Finally, we cheerfully leave you to follow what course you please, and to whatever extent you please, provided only that you give us such satisfaction as you are capable of affording, on the subjects which I mentioned in my former letter.—I am, reverend sir, &c.,

JAMES BROWN.

LETTER IV.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

DISPOSITIONS FOR RELIGIOUS INQUIRY.

DEAR SIR—

THE dispositions which you profess, on the part of your friends as well as yourself, I own, please me, and animate me to undertake the task you impose upon me. Nevertheless,

availling myself of the liberty of speech which you and your friends allow me, I am compelled to observe, that there is nothing in which men are more apt to labor under a delusion, than by imagining themselves to be free from religious prejudices, sincere in seeking after, and resolved to embrace the truth of religion, in opposition to their preconceived opinions and worldly interests. How many imitate Pilate, who, when he had asked our Saviour the question, *What is truth?* presently went out of his company before he could receive an answer to it! John, xviii. 38. How many others resemble the rich young man, who, having interrogated Christ, "What good things shall I do that I may have eternal life?" when this Divine Master answered him, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell what thou hast and give to the poor;—went away sorrowful!" Matt. xix. 22. Finally, how many more act like certain presumptuous disciples of our Lord, who, when he had propounded to them a mystery beyond their conception. that of the real presence, in these words, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed;"—said, "This is a hard saying; who can hear it?—and went back and walked no more with him!" John, vi. 56. O! if all Christians, of the different sects and opinions, were but possessed of the sincerity, disinterestedness, and earnestness to serve their God and save their souls, which a Francis Walsingham, kinsman to the great statesman of that name; a Hugh Paulin Cressy, Dean of Leighton and Prebendary of Windsor; and an Antony Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, proved themselves to have been possessed of, the first in his *Search into Matters of Religion*, the second in his *Exomologesis, or Motives of Conversion, &c.*, and the last in his *Fifty Reasons*; how soon would all and every one of our controversies cease, and all of us be united in one faith, hope, and charity! I will here transcribe, from the preface to the *Fifty Reasons*, what the illustrious relative of his majesty says, concerning the dispositions with which he set about inquiring into the grounds and differences of the several systems of Christianity, when he began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of that in which he had been educated, namely, Lutheranism. He says—"First, I earnestly implored the aid and grace of the Holy Ghost, and with all my power begged the light of true faith, from God, the Father of lights, &c. Secondly, I made a strong resolution, by the grace of God, to avoid sin, well knowing that 'Wisdom will not enter into a corrupt mind, nor dwell in a body subject to sin,' Wisd. i. 4, and I am convinced, and was so then, that the reason why so many are ignorant of the true faith, and do not embrace it, is, because they are plunged in several vices, and particularly car-

nal sins. Thirdly, I renounced all sorts of prejudices, whatever they were, which incline men to one religion more than another, and which, unhappily, I might formerly have espoused; and I brought myself to a perfect indifference, so as to be ready to embrace whichever the grace of the Holy Ghost, and the light of reason should point out to me, without any regard to the advantages and inconveniences that might attend it in this world. Lastly, I entered upon this deliberation and this choice, in the manner I should have wished to have done it at the hour of my death, and in a full conviction that, at the day of judgment, I must give an account to God why I followed this religion in preference to all the rest." The princely inquirer finishes this account of himself with the following awful reflections. "Man has but one soul, which will be eternally either damned or saved. 'What doth it avail a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' Matt. xvi. 26. Eternity knows no end. The course of it is perpetual. It is a series of unlimited duration. There is no comparison between things infinite and those which are not so. O! the happiness of the eternity of the saints! O! the wretchedness of the eternity of the damned! One of these two eternities awaits us!"

I remain, sir, yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER V.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ.

METHOD OF FINDING OUT THE TRUE RELIGION.

DEAR SIR—

It is obvious to common sense, that in order to find out any hidden thing, or to do any difficult thing, we must first discover, and then follow the proper method for such purpose. If we do not take the right road to any distant place, it cannot be expected that we should arrive at it. If we get hold of a wrong clue, we shall never extricate ourselves from a labyrinth. Some persons choose their religion as they do their clothes, by fancy. They are pleased, for example, with the talents of a preacher, when presently they adopt his creed. Many adhere to their religious system, merely because they were educated in it, and because it was that of their parents and family; which, if it were a reasonable motive for their resolution, would equally excuse Jews, Turks, and Pagans, in adhering to their respective impieties, and would impeach the preaching of Christ and his apostles. Others glory in their religion, because it is the one established in this their country, so renowned for science, literature, and arms;

not reflecting that the polished and conquering nations of antiquity, the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, were left, by the inscrutable judgments of God, *in darkness and in the shadow of death*, whilst a poor oppressed and despised people, on the banks of the Jordan, were the only depository of divine truth, and the sole truly enlightened nation. But, far the greater part even of Christians, of every denomination, make the business of eternity subservient to that of time, and profess the religion which suits best with their interest, their reputation, and their convenience. I trust that none of your respectable society fall under any of these descriptions. They all have, or fancy that they have, a rational method of discovering religious truth; in other words, an adequate *rule of faith*. Before I enter into any disquisition on this all-important controversy concerning the *right rule of faith*, on which the determination of every other depends, I will lay down three fundamental maxims, the truth of which, I apprehend, no rational Christian will dispute.

First, *Our Divine Master, Christ, in establishing a religion here on earth, to which all the nations of it were invited, Matt. xviii. 19, left some RULE or method by which those persons who sincerely seek for it, may with certainty find it.*

Secondly, *This rule or method must be SECURE and never failing; so as not to be ever liable to lead a rational, sincere inquirer into error, impiety, or immorality of any kind.*

Thirdly, *This rule or method must be UNIVERSAL, that is to say, adapted to the abilities and circumstances of all those persons for whom the religion itself is intended; namely, the great bulk of mankind.*

By adhering to these undeniable maxims, we shall quickly, dear sir, and clearly, discover the method appointed by Christ for arriving at the knowledge of the truths which he has taught; in other words, at the *right rule of faith*. Being possessed of this rule, we shall, of course, have nothing else to do than to make use of it, for securely, and, I trust, amicably settling all our controversies. This is the short and satisfactory method of composing religious differences, which I alluded to in my above-mentioned letter to Dr. Sturges. To discuss them all, separately, is an endless task, whereas this method reduces them to a single question.—I am, &c.,

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER VI.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ.

THE FIRST FALLACIOUS RULE OF FAITH.

DEAR SIR—

AMONG serious Christians, who profess to make the discovery and practice of religion their first and earnest care, three different methods or rules have been adopted for this purpose. The first consists in a supposed *private inspiration*, or an immediate light and motion of God's spirit, communicated to the individual. This was the rule of faith and conduct formerly professed by the Montanists, the Anabaptists, the Family of Love, and is now professed by the Quakers, the Moravians, and different classes of the Methodists. The second of these rules, is the *written word of God*, or THE BIBLE, according as it is understood by each particular reader or hearer of it. This is the professed rule of the more regular sects of Protestants, such as the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Socinians, the Church-of-England-men. The third rule is THE WORD OF GOD, at large, whether written in the Bible, or handed down from the apostles in continued succession by the Catholic Church, and as it is understood and explained by this church. To speak more accurately, besides their rule of faith, which is *scripture and tradition*, Catholics acknowledge an *unerring judge of controversy*, or sure guide in all matters relating to salvation,—namely, THE CHURCH. I shall now proceed to show that the first-mentioned rule, namely, a supposed *private inspiration*, is totally fallacious, inasmuch as it is liable to conduct, and has conducted many into acknowledged errors and impiety.

About the middle of the second age of Christianity, Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla, with their followers, by adopting this enthusiastical rule, rushed into the excess of folly and blasphemy. They taught that the Holy Spirit, having failed to save mankind, by Moses, and afterwards by Christ, had enlightened and sanctified them to accomplish this great work. The strictness of their precepts, and the apparent sanctity of their lives, deceived many; till at length, the two former proved what spirit they were guided by, in hanging themselves.* Several other heretics became dupes of the same principles in the primitive and the middle ages; but it was reserved for the time of religious licentiousness, improperly called the *Reformation*, to display the full extent of its absurdity and impiety. In less than five years after Luther had sounded the trumpet of evangelical liberty, the sect of Anabaptists arose in Germany and the Low

* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. v. c. 15.

Countries. They professed to hold immediate communication with God, and to be commanded by him to despoil and kill all the wicked, and to establish a kingdom of the just,* who to become such, were all to be re-baptized. Carlostad, Luther's first disciple of note, embraced this *ultra-reformation*; but its acknowledged head, during his reign, was John Bockhold, a tailor of Leyden, who proclaimed himself King of Sion, and, during a certain time, was really sovereign of Munster, in Lower Germany. Here he committed the greatest imaginable excesses, marrying eleven wives at a time, and putting them, and numberless others of his subjects to death, at the motion of his supposed interior spirit.† He declared that God had made him a present of Amsterdam and other cities, which he sent parties of his disciples to take possession of. These ran naked through the streets, howling out, "Wo to Babylon; wo to the wicked;" and, when they were apprehended, and on the point of being executed for their seditions and murders, they sang and danced on the scaffold, exulting in the imaginary light of their spirit.‡ Herman, another Anabaptist, was moved by his spirit to declare himself the Messiah, and thus to evangelize the people, his hearers: "Kill the priests, kill all the magistrates in the world. Repent: your redemption is at hand."§ One of their chief and most accredited preachers, David George, persuaded a numerous sect of them, that "the doctrine both of the Old and the New Testament was imperfect, but that his own was perfect, and that he was the *true Son of God*."|| I do not notice these impieties and other crimes for their singularity or their atrociousness, but because they were committed *upon the principle and under a full conviction of an individual and uncontrollable inspiration*, on the part of their dupes and perpetrators.

Nor has our own country been more exempt from this enthusiastic principle than Germany and Holland. Nicholas, a disciple of the above-mentioned David George, came over to England with a supposed commission from God, to teach men that the essence of religion consists in the feelings of divine love, and that all other things relating either to faith or worship, are of no moment.¶ He extended this maxim even to the fundamental precepts of morality, professing to continue in sin that

* "Cum Deo colloquium esse et mandatum habere se dicebant, ut, impiis omnibus interfectis, novum constituerent mundum, in quo pii solum et innocentes viverent et rerum potirentur."—Sleidan, De Stat. Rel. et Reip Comment. l. iii. p. 45.

† Hist. abrgé. de la Réform. par Gerard Brandt, tom. i. p. 46. Mosheim Eccles. Hist. by Maclaine, vol. iv. p. 452.

‡ Brandt, p. 49, &c

§ Idem, p. 51.

|| Mosheim, vol. iv. p. 484.

¶ Ibid Brandt.

grace might abound. His followers, under the name of the *Familists*, or *The Family of Love*, were very numerous at the end of the sixteenth century, about which time, Hacket, a Calvinist, giving way to the same spirit of delusion, became deeply persuaded that the spirit of the Messiah had descended upon him; and having made several proselytes, he sent two of them, Arthington and Coppinger, to proclaim, through the streets of London, that Christ was come thither with his fan in his hand. This spirit, instead of being repressed, became still more ungovernable, at the sight of the scaffold and the gibbet prepared in Cheapside for his execution. Accordingly he continued, till the last, exclaiming, "Jehovah, Jehovah; don't you see the heavens open and Jesus coming to deliver me?" &c.* Who has not heard of Venner, and his Fifth Monarchy-men? who, guided by the same private spirit of inspiration, rushed from their meeting-house in Coleman-street, proclaiming that they would "acknowledge no sovereign but King Jesus, and that they would not sheath their swords, till they had made Babylon (that is, monarchy) a hissing and a curse, not only in England, but also throughout foreign countries; having an assurance that one of them would put a thousand enemies to flight, and two of them ten thousand." Venner being taken and led to execution, with several of his followers, protested "it was not he, but Jesus, who had acted as their leader."† I pass over the unexampled follies, and the horrors of the grand rebellion, having detailed many of them elsewhere.‡ It is sufficient to remark, that while many of these were committed from the licentiousness of private interpretation of Scripture, many others originated in the enthusiastic opinion which I am now combating, that of an immediate individual *inspiration*, equal, if not superior, to that of the Scriptures themselves.§

It was in the midst of these religious and civil commotions that the most extraordinary people, of all those who have adopted the fallacious rule of private inspiration, started up at the call of George Fox, a shoemaker of Leicestershire. His fundamental propositions, as laid down by the most able of his followers,|| are: that *The Scriptures are not the adequate, primary rule of faith and manners,—but a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit*, from which they have their excellency and certainty: "¶ that, "the testimony of the Spirit is that alone by

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 113. Stow's Anna's, A.D. 1591

† Echard's Hist. of Eng., &c.

‡ Letters to a Prebendary. Reign of Charles I.

§ See the remarkable history of military preachers at Kingston. Ibid.

|| Robert Barclay's Apology for the Quakers.

¶ Propos. III. In defending this proposition, Barclay cites some of the

which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be revealed.* "that all true and acceptable worship of God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, nor persons."† Such are the avowed principles of the people called Quakers: let us now see some of the fruits of those principles, as recorded by themselves in their founder and first apostles.

George Fox tells of himself, that at the beginning of his mission he was "moved to go to several courts and steeple-houses (churches) at Mansfield and other places, to warn them to leave off oppression and oaths, and to turn from deceit, and to turn to the Lord."‡ On these occasions the language and behavior of *his* spirit was very far from the meekness and respect for constituted authorities of the Gospel Spirit, as appears from different passages in his journal.§ He tells us of one of his disciples, William Simpson, who was "moved of the Lord to go, at several times, for three years, naked and barefoot before them, as a sign unto them, in markets, courts, towns, cities, to priests' houses, and to great men's houses, telling them, *so should they all be stripped naked.*" Another Friend, one Robert Huntingdon, was moved of the Lord to go into Carlisle steeple-house, with a white sheet about him.|| We are told of a female Friend who went "stark naked, in the midst of public worship, into Whitehall chapel, when Cromwell was there;" and of another woman, who came "into the parliament house with a trencher in her hand, which she broke in pieces, saying, *Thus shall he be broke in pieces.*" One of these Friends came to the door of the parliament house with a drawn sword, and wounded several, saying, "*he was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in that house.*"¶ But in no

Friends, who being unable to read the Scriptures, even in the vulgar language, and being pressed by their adversaries with passages from it, *boldly denied, from the manifestation of truth in their own hearts, that such passages were contained in the Scripture*, p. 82.

* Propos. II.

† Propos. XI.

‡ See the Journal of George Fox, written by himself, and published by his disciple Penn, son of Admiral Penn, folio, p. 17.

§ I shall satisfy myself with citing part of his letter, written in 1660, to Charles II.—"King Charles, thou camest not into this nation by sword, nor by victory of war, but by the power of the Lord.—And if thou dost bear the sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, May-games, with fiddlers, drums, and trumpets to play at them, with such-like abominations and vanities, be encouraged, or go unpunished, as setting up of May-poles, with the image of the crown a-top of them, the nation will quickly turn, like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord till he overthrew them; and so he will you, if these things be not suddenly prevented," &c.—G. F.'s Journal, p. 225.

¶ Journal, p. 239.

¶ Maclaine's note on Mosheim, vol. v. p. 470

occurrence has George Fox and his followers been so embarrassed to save their *rule of faith*, as they have been to reconcile with it the conduct of the noted James Naylor.* When certain low and disorderly people, in Hampshire, disgraced their society, and became obnoxious to the laws, G. Fox disowned them,† but when a Friend, of James Naylor's character and services,‡ became the laughing-stock of the nation, for his presumption and blasphemy, there was no other way for the society to separate his cause from their own, but by abandoning their fundamental principle, which leaves every man *to follow the spirit within him, as he himself feels it*. The fact is, James Naylor, like so many other dupes of a supposed private spirit, fancied himself to be the Messiah, and in this character he rode into Bristol, his disciples spreading their garments before him, and crying, *Holy, holy, holy, Hosannah in the highest!* Being scourged by order of Parliament, for his impiety, he permitted the fascinated women, who followed him, to kiss his feet and his wounds, and to hail him "the Prince of Peace, the Rose of Sharon, the fairest of 'ten thousand,'" &c.§

I pass over many sects of less note, as the Muggletonians, the Labbadists, &c., who, by pursuing the meteor of a supposed inward light, were led into the most impious and immoral practices. Allied to these are the Moravian Brethren, or Hernhutters, so called from Hernhuth, in Moravia, where their apostle, Count Zindendorf, made an establishment for them. They are now spread over England, with ministers and bishops appointed by others resident in Hernhuth. Their rule of faith, as laid down by Zindendorf, is an imaginary inward light, against which the true believer cannot sin. This they are taught to wait for in quiet, omitting prayer, the reading of the Scriptures, and other *works*.|| They deny that even the moral

* See History of the Quakers, by William Sewel, folio, p. 138. Journal of G. Fox, p. 220.

† Journal of G. Fox, p. 320.

‡ Ibid. p. 220. Sewel's Hist. of Quakers, p. 140.

§ Echard's Hist. Maclaine's Mosheim. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans. In closing this account of the Quakers we may remark, that there is no appearance yet of the fulfilment of the confident prophecy with which Barclay concludes his Apology: "That little spark (Quakerism) that hath appeared, shall grow to the consuming of whatsoever shall stand up to oppose it. The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it! Yea; he that hath risen in a small remnant, shall arise and go on by the same arm of power in his spiritual manifestation, until he hath conquered all his enemies; until all the kingdoms of the earth become the kingdom of Jesus Christ."

|| Wesley, in a letter which he inscribes, "To the Church of God at Hernhuth," says, "There are many whom your brethren have advised, though not in their public preaching, not to use the Ordinances—reading the Scripture, praying, communicating; as the doing of these things is *s. king*

law contained in the Scriptures is a rule of life for believers. Having considered this system in all its bearings, we are the less surprised at the disgusting obscenity, mingled with blasphemy, which is to be met with in the theological tracts of the German count.*

The next system of delusion which I shall mention, as proceeding from the fatal principle of an *interior rule of faith*, though framed in England, was also the work of a foreign nobleman, the Baron Swedenborgh. His first supposed revelation was at an eating-house in London, about the year 1745. "After I had dined," says he, "a man appeared to me sitting in the corner of the room, who cried out to me with a terrible voice, *Don't eat so much*. The following night the same man appeared to me, shining with light, and said to me, *I am the Lord, your Creator and Redeemer: I have chosen you to explain to men the interior and spiritual sense of the Scriptures: I will dictate to you what you are to write.*† His imaginary communications with God and the angels were as frequent and familiar as those of Mahomed, and his conceptions of heavenly things were as gross and incoherent as those of the Arabian impostor. Suffice it to say, that his *God* is a mere *man*, his *angels* are *male* and *female*, who marry together and follow various *trades and professions*. Finally, his *New Jerusalem*, which is to be spread over the whole earth, is so little different from this sublunary world, that the entrance to it is *imperceptible*.‡ So far is true, that the New Jerusalemites are spread throughout England, and have chapels in most of its principal towns.§

salvation by works. Some of our English brethren (Moravians) say: *you will never have faith till you leave off the church and the sacraments: as many go to hell by praying as by thieving.*" Journal, 1740.—John Nelson in his journal tells us, that the Moravians call their religion *The Liberty of the Poor Sinnership*; adding, that they "sell their prayer-books, and leave off reading and praying, to follow the Lamb."

* See Maclaine's Hist. vol. vi. p. 23, and Bishop Warburton's Doctrine of Grace, quoted by him.

† Barruel's Hist. du Jacobinisme, tom. iv. p. 118.

‡ Ibid.

§ Since the above letter was written, another sect, the Joannites, or disciples of Joanna Southcote, have risen to notice by their number and the singularity of their tenets. This female apostle has been led by her spirit to believe herself to be the woman of Genesis, destined to crush the head of the infernal spirit, with whom she supposes herself to have had daily battles, to the effusion of his blood. She believes herself to be, likewise, the woman of the Revelations crowned with twelve stars, which are so many ministers of the Established Church. In fact, one of these, a richly beneficed rector, and of a noble family, acts as her secretary in writing and sealing passports to heaven, which she supposes herself authorized to issue, to the number of 144,000, at a very moderate price. One of these passports in due form is in the writer's possession. It is sealed with three seals. The first exhibits two stars, namely, the morning star, to represent Christ, the evening star to

I am sorry to be obliged to enter upon the same list with these enthusiasts, a numerous class, many of them very respectable, of modern religionists, called Methodists; yet, since their avowed system of faith is, that this consists in an *instantaneous illapse of God's Spirit into the souls of certain persons*, by which they are *convinced of their justification and salvation*, without reference to Scripture or any other proof, they cannot be placed, as to their *rule of faith*, under any other denomination. This, according to their founder's doctrine, is the *only article of faith*; all other articles he terms *opinions*, of which he says, "the Methodists do not lay any stress on them, whether right or wrong."* He continues, "I am sick of opinions; I am weary to bear them; my soul loathes this frothy food."† Conformably with this latitudinarian system, Wesley opens heaven indiscriminately to Churchmen, Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, and even to Catholics.‡ Addressing the last named, he exclaims, "O that God would write in your hearts the rules of self-denial and love laid down by Thomas à Kempis; or that you would follow, in this and in good works, the burning and shining light of your own church, the Marquis of Renty.§ Then would all who know and love the truth, rejoice to acknowledge you as the church of the living God."||

At the first rise of Methodism in Oxford, A.D. 1729, John Wesley and his companions were plain, serious, Church-of-England-men, assiduous and *methodical* in praying, reading, fasting, and the like. What they practised themselves, they preached to others both in England and in America; till becoming intimate with the Moravian brethren, and particularly with Peter Bohler, one of their elders, John Wesley "became convinced of unbelief, namely, a *want of that faith whereby alone we are saved*."¶ Speaking of his past life and ministry, he says, "I was fundamentally a Papist, and knew it not."**

represent herself. The second seal exhibits the lion of Juda, supposed to allude to the insane prophet, Richard Brothers. The third shows the face of Joanna herself. Of late her inspiration has taken a new turn: she believes herself to be pregnant of the Messiah, and her followers have prepared silver vessels of various sorts for his use, when he shall be born.

* Wesley's Appeal, P. iii. p. 134.

† Ibid. p. 135.

‡ Appeal

§ His life is written in French, by Père St. Jure, a Jesuit, and abridged in English by J. Wesley.

|| In his *Popery Calmly Considered*, p. 20, Wesley writes: "I firmly believe that many members of the Church of Rome have been holy men, and that many are so now." He elsewhere says, "Several of them (Papists) have attained to as high a pitch of sanctity, as human nature is capable of arriving at."

¶ Whitehead's *Life of John and Charles Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 68.

** *Journal*, A. O. 733. Elsewhere Wesley says: "O what a work has

Soon after this persuasion, namely, on May 24, 1739, "Going into a society in Aldersgate-street," he says, "whilst a person was reading Luther's preface to the Romans, about a quarter before nine, I felt my heart strangely warmed; I felt I did trust in Christ, in Christ alone for salvation, and *an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.*"*

What were, now, the unavoidable consequences of a diffusion of this doctrine among the people at large? Let us hear them from Wesley's most able disciple and destined successor, Fletcher of Madeley. "Antinomian principles and practices," he says, "have spread like wild-fire among our societies. Many persons, speaking in the most glorious manner of Christ, and their interest in his complete salvation, have been found living in the greatest immoralities.—How few of our societies, where cheating, extorting, or some other evil hath not broke out, and given such shakes to the ark of the Gospel, that, had not the Lord interposed, it must have been overset!† I have seen them who pass for believers, follow the strain of corrupt nature; and when they should have exclaimed against Antinomianism, I have heard them cry out *against the legality of their wicked hearts*, which, they said, *still suggested that they were to DO something for their salvation.*"‡ "How few of our celebrated pulpits, where more has not been said *for sin than against it!*§ The same candid writer, laying open the foulness of his former system, charges Richard Hill, Esq., who persisted in it, with maintaining that, "Even adultery and murder do not hurt the pleasant children, but rather work for their good."|| "God sees no sin in believers, whatever sin they commit. My sins might displease God; my person is always acceptable to him. Though I should outsin Manasses, I should not be less a pleasant child, because God always views me in

God begun since Peter Bohler came to England! such a one as shall never come to an end, till heaven and earth pass away."

* Vide Whitehead, vol. ii. p. 79. In a letter to his brother Samuel, John Wesley says: "By a Christian I mean one who so believes in Christ, that death hath no dominion over him, and in this obvious sense of the word I was not a Christian till the 24th of May, last year." Ibid. 105.

† Checks to Antinom. vol. ii p. 22

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 200.

§ Ibid. p. 215.

|| Fletcher's Works, vol. iii. p. 50. Agricola, one of Luther's first disciples, is called the founder of the Antinomians. These hold that the faithful are bound by no law, either of God or man, and that good works of every kind are *useless* to salvation; while Amsdorf, Luther's pot-companion, taught that they are an *impediment* to salvation. Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. by Maclaine, vol. iv. p. 35, p. 328. Eaton, a puritan, in his *Honeycomb of Justification*, says: "Believers ought not to mourn for sin, because it was pardoned before it was committed."

Christ. Hence, in the midst of adulteries, murders, and incests, he can address me with, 'Thou art all fair, my love, my undefiled, there is no spot in thee.'"* "It is a most pernicious error of the schoolmen to distinguish sins according to the *fact* and not according to the *person*."—"Though I blame those who say, *let us sin that grace may abound*, yet adultery, incest, and murder, shall upon the whole, make me *holier on earth* and *merrier in heaven*."†

These doctrines and practices, casting great disgrace on Methodism, alarmed its founder. He therefore held a synod of his chief preachers, under the title of a *conference*, in which he and they unanimously abandoned their past *fundamental principles*, in the following confession which they made. "Quest. 17. Have we not, unawares, leaned too much to Calvinism. Ans. We are afraid we have. Q. 18. Have we not also leaned too much to Antinomianism? A. We are afraid we have. Q. 20. What are the main pillars of it? A. 1. That Christ abolished the moral law: 2. That Christians therefore are not obliged to observe it: 3. That one branch of Christian liberty is liberty from observing the commandments of God," &c.‡ The publication of this retractation, in 1770, raised the indignation of the more rigid Methodists, namely the Whitfieldites, Jumpers, &c., all of whom were under the particular patronage of Lady Huntingdon: accordingly her chaplain, the Hon. and Rev. Walter Shirley, issued a circular letter by her direction, calling a general meeting of her *connection*, as it is called, at Bristol, to censure this "*dreadful heresy*," which, as Shirley affirmed, injured the very fundamentals of Christianity.§

Having exhibited this imperfect sketch of the errors, contradictions, absurdities, impieties, and immoralities, into which numberless Christians, most of them, no doubt, sincere in their belief, have fallen, by pursuing phantoms of their imagination for Divine illuminations, and adopting a supposed, immediate, and personal revelation, as the *rule of their faith and conduct*, I would request any one of your respectable society, who may still adhere to it, to re-consider the self-evident maxim laid down in the beginning of this letter; namely, *That cannot be the rule of faith and conduct which is liable to lead us, and has led very many well-meaning persons, into error and impiety*; I would remind him of his frequent mistakes and illusions respecting things of a temporary nature; then, painting to his

* Fletcher, vol. iv. p. 97.

† Quoted by Fletcher. See also Daubeney's Guide to the Church, p. 82.

‡ Apud Whitehead, p. 213. Benson's Apology, p. 208.

§ Fletcher's Works, vol. ii. p. 5. Whitehead. Nightingale's Portraiture of Methodism, p. 470.

mind the all-importance of ETERNITY, that is, of happiness or misery inconceivable and everlasting, I would address him in the words of St. Augustin, "What is it that you are trusting to, poor, weak soul, and blinded with the mists of the flesh: what is it you are trusting to?"

JOHN MILNER

LETTER VII.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

DEAR SIR—

I HAVE just received a letter from Friend Rankin of Wenlock, written much in the style of George Fox, and another from Mr. Ebenezer Topham of Brosely. They both consist of objections to my last letter to you, which they had perused at New Cottage; and the writers of them both request, that I would address whatever answer I might give them, to your villa.

Friend Rankin is sententious, yet civil; he asks, 1st, whether "Friends at this day, and in past times, and even the faithful servant of Christ, George Fox, have not condemned the vain imaginations of James Naylor, Thomas Bushel, Perrot, and the sinful doings of many others through whom the word of life was blasphemed in their day among the ungodly?" He asks, 2dly, whether "numberless follies, blasphemies, and crimes have not risen up in the Roman Catholic, as well as in other churches?" He asks, 3dly, whether "learned Robert Barclay, in his glorious Apology, hath not shown forth, that *The testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be revealed* and confirmed, and this not only by the outward testimony of Scripture, but also by that of Tertullian, Hierom, Augustin, Gregory the Great, Bernard, yea also by Thomas à Kempis, F. Pacificus Baker,* and many others of the Popish communion, who, says Robert Barclay, 'have known and tasted the love of God, and felt the power and virtue of God's Spirit working within them for their salvation?'"†

I will first consider the arguments of Friend Rankin. I grant him then, that his founder, George Fox, does blame certain extravagancies of Naylor, Perrot, and others his followers, at the same time that he *boasts* of several committed by himself, by Simpson, and others.‡ But how does he confute them, and guard others against them?—Why, he calls their authors

* An English Benedictine monk, author of "Santa Sophia," which is quoted at length by Barclay.

† Apology, p. 351.

‡ See Journal of G. Fox, passim.

Ranters, and charges them with *running out!** Now what kind of argument is this in the mouth of G. Fox against any fanatic, however furious, when he himself has taught him, that he is to *listen to the Spirit of God within himself, in preference to the authority of any man and of all men, and even of the Gospel?* G. Fox was not more strongly moved to believe that he was the *messenger of Christ*, than J. Naylor was to believe that *he himself was Christ*: nor had he a firmer conviction that the Lord forbade *hat-worship*, as it is called, *out of prayer*, than J. Perrott and his company had, that they were forbidden to use it *in prayer*. † 2dly, with respect to the excesses and crimes committed by many Catholics of different ranks, as well as by other men, in all ages, I answer, that these have been committed, *not in virtue of their rule of faith and conduct, but in direct opposition to it*; as will be more fully seen when we come to treat of that rule: whereas the extravagancies of the Quakers were the *immediate dictates of the imaginary spirit*, which they followed as their *guide*. Lastly, when the doctors of the Catholic Church teach us, after the inspired writers, *not to extinguish, but to walk in the Spirit of God*, they tell us, at the same time, that this Holy Spirit invariably and necessarily leads us to hear the church, and to practise that humility, obedience, and those other virtues which she constantly inculcates: so that if it were possible for “an angel from heaven to preach another gospel than what we have received,” he ought to be rejected as a spirit of *darkness*. Even Luther, when the Anabaptists first broached many of the leading tenets of the Quakers, required them to demonstrate their pretended commission from God, by incontestable miracles, § or submit to be guided by his appointed ministers.

I have now to notice the letter of Mr. Topham. || Some of

* Speaking of James Naylor, he says, “I spake with him, for I saw *he was out and wrong*—he slighted what I said, and was *dark and much out*.” Journ. p. 220.

† Journ. p. 310. This and another Friend, J. Love, went on a mission to Rome, to convert the pope to Quakerism; but his holiness of understanding English, when they addressed him with some coarse English epithets in St. Peter's church, they had no better success than a female Friend, Mary Fisher, had, who went into Greece to convert the great Turk. See Sewel's Hist. II:st.

‡ “Now he (Fox) found also that the Lord forbade him to put off his hat to any men high or low; and he required to *thou and thee* every man and woman without distinction, and not to bid people *good morrow*, or *good evening*: neither might he bow, or scrape with his leg.” Sewel's Hist. p. 18. See there a dissertation on *hat-worship*.

§ Sleidan.

|| It was originally intended to insert these and the other letters of the same description: but as this would have rendered the work too bulky, and,

his objections have already been answered, in my remarks on Mr. Rankin's letter. What I find particular in the former, is the following passage: "Is it possible to go against conviction and facts? namely, the experience that very many serious Christians feel, in *this day of God's power*, that they are made partakers of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, and who hear him saying to the melting heart, with his still, small, yet penetrating and renovating voice, *Thy sins are forgiven thee: Be thou clean: Thy faith hath made thee whole!*" If an exterior proof were wanting to show the certainty of this interior conviction, I might refer to the conversion and holy life of those who have experienced it."—To this I answer, that the facts and the conviction which your friend talks of, amount to nothing more than a certain strength of *imagination* and warmth of *sentiment*, which may be *natural*, or may be produced by that *lying spirit*, whom God sometimes permits to *go forth*, and to *persuade* the presumptuous to their destruction. 1 Kings, xxii. 22. I presume Mr. Topham will allow, that no experience which he has felt or witnessed, exceeded that of Bockhold, or Hacket, or Naylor, mentioned above; who, nevertheless, were confessedly betrayed by it into the most horrible blasphemies and atrocious crimes. The virtue most necessary for enthusiasts, because the most remote from them, is an humble diffidence in themselves. When Oliver Cromwell was on his death-bed, Dr. Godwin, being present among other ministers, prophesied that the protector would recover. Death, however, almost immediately ensuing, the Puritan, instead of acknowledging his error, cast the blame upon Almighty God, exclaiming, "Lord, thou hast deceived us; and we have been deceived!"* With respect to the alleged purity of Antinomian saints, I would refer to the history of the lives and deaths of many of our English regicides, and to the gross immoralities of numberless *justified Methodists*, described by Fletcher in his *Checks to Antinomianism*.†

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

As the whole of the objections may be gathered from the answers to them, that intention has been abandoned.

* See Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 17.

† This candid and able writer says, "The Puritans and first Quakers soon got over the edge of internal activity into the smooth and easy path of Laodicean formality. Most of us, called Methodists, have already followed them. We fall asleep under the bewitching power; we dream strange dreams; our salvation is finished; we have got above legality; we have attained Christian liberty; we have nothing to do; our covenant is sure." Vol. ii. p. 233. He refers to several instances of the most flagitious conduct of which human nature is capable, in persons who had attained to what they call *finished salvation*.

LETTER VIII.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ.

SECOND FALLACIOUS RULE.

DEAR SIR—

I TAKE it for granted, that my answers to Messrs. Rankin and Topham have been communicated to you, and I hope that, in conjunction with my preceding letters, they have convinced those gentlemen, of what you, dear sir, have ever been convinced of, namely, the inconsistency and fanaticism of every pretension on the part of individuals, at the present day, to a new and particular inspiration, as a *rule of faith*. The question which remains for our inquiry is, whether the rule or method prescribed by the Church of England, and other more rational classes of Protestants, or that prescribed by the Catholic Church, is the one designed by our Saviour Christ for finding out his true religion? You say that the whole of this is comprised in the *written word of God, or the Bible*, and that *every individual is a judge* for himself of the *sense of the Bible*. Hence in every religious controversy, more especially since the last change of the inconstant Chillingworth,* Catholics have been stunned with the cries of jarring Protestant sects and individuals, proclaiming that *the Bible, the Bible alone is their religion*: and hence, more particularly at the present day, Bibles are distributed by hundreds of thousands, throughout the empire and the four quarters of the globe, as the adequate means of uniting and reforming Christians, and of converting infidels. On the other hand, we Catholics hold that that *the word of God, in general, both written and unwritten*, in other words, *the Bible and tradition, taken together, constitute the rule of faith, or method appointed by Christ for finding out the true religion*; and, that, besides the rule itself, he has provided in his holy church, a living, speaking judge, to watch over it and explain it in all matters of controversy. That the latter, and not the former, is the *true rule*, I trust I shall be able to prove, as clearly as I have proved that *private inspiration* does not constitute it: and this I shall prove by means of the two maxims I have on that occasion made use of; namely, *the rule of faith appointed by Christ must be CERTAIN and UNERRING*; that is to say, *it must be one which is not liable to lead any rational and sincere inquirer into inconsistency or error*; Secondly, this rule must be *UNIVERSAL*; that is to say, *it must be proportioned to the abilities and circumstances of the great bulk of mankind*.

* Chillingworth was first a Protestant, of the establishment: he next became a Catholic, and studied in one of our seminaries. He then returned, in part, to his former creed; and last of all he gave in to Socinianism, which his writings greatly promoted.

I. If Christ had intended that all mankind should learn his religion from a *book*, namely, *the New Testament*, he himself would have written that book, and would have enjoined the obligation of learning to read it, as the first and fundamental precept of his religion; whereas, he never wrote any thing at all, unless perhaps the sins of the Pharisees with his finger upon the dust, John, viii. 6.* It does not even appear that he gave his apostles any command to write the Gospel; though he repeatedly and emphatically commanded them to *preach* it, (Matt. x.) and this to all the nations of the earth, Matt. xxviii. 19. In this ministry they *all of them* spent their lives, *preaching* the religion of Christ in every country, from Judea to Spain in one direction, and to India in another; everywhere establishing churches, and “commending their doctrine to faithful men who should be fit to teach others also.” 2 Tim. ii. 2. Only a *part* of them *wrote* any thing, and what these did write, was, for the most part, addressed to particular persons or congregations, and on particular occasions. The ancient fathers tell us that St. Matthew wrote his gospel at the particular request of the Christians of Palestine,† and that St. Mark composed his at the desire of those at Rome.‡ St. Luke addressed his gospel to an *individual*, Theophilus, having *written it*, says the holy evangelist, because *it seemed good to him to do so*. Luke i. 3. St. John wrote the last of the gospels in compliance with the petition of the clergy and people of Lesser Asia,§ to prove, in particular, the divinity of Jesus Christ, which Cerinthus, Ebion, and other heretics began then to deny. No doubt the evangelists were moved by the Holy Ghost, to listen to the requests of the faithful, in writing their respective gospels; nevertheless there is nothing in these occasions, nor in the gospels themselves, which indicates that any one of them, or all of them together, contains an *entire*, detailed, and *clear* exposition of the *whole* religion of Jesus Christ. The canonical epistles in the New Testament show the particular occasions on which they were written, and prove, as the Bishop of Lincoln observes, that “They are not to be considered as regular treatises on the Christian religion.”||

II. In supposing our Saviour to have appointed his bare written word for the rule of our faith, without any authorized judge to decide on the unavoidable controversies growing out

* It is agreed upon among the learned, that the supposed letter of Christ to Abgarus, king of Edessa, quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. l. i. is spurious.

† Euseb. l. 3. Hist. Eccl. Chrysos. in Matt. Hom. 1. Iren. l. 3. c. 1. Hieron. de Vir. Illust.

‡ Euseb. l. 2. c. 15. Hist. Eccl. Epiph. Hieron. de Vir. Illust.

§ Euseb. l. 6. Hist. Eccl. Hieron. || Elem. of Christ. Rel. vol. i. p. 277

of it, you would suppose that he has acted differently from what common sense has dictated to all other legislators: for where do we read of a legislator, who, after dictating a code of laws, neglected to appoint judges and magistrates to decide on their meaning, and to enforce obedience to such decisions? You, dear sir, have the means of knowing what would be the consequence of leaving any act of Parliament, concerning taxes, or enclosures, or any other temporal concerns, to the interpretation of the individuals whom it regards. Alluding to the Protestant rule, the illustrious Fenelon has said, "It is better to live without any law, than to have laws which all men are left to interpret according to their several opinions and interests."* The Bishop of London† appears sensible of this truth, as far as regards temporal affairs, where he writes, "In matters of property, indeed, some decision, right or wrong, must be made; society could not subsist without it;"‡ just as if peace and unity were less necessary in the *one sheepfold of the one shepherd*, the Church of Christ, than they are in civil society!

III. The fact is, this method of determining religious questions by Scripture only, according to each individual's interpretation, has always produced, whenever and wherever it has been adopted, endless and incurable dissensions, and of course *errors*; because truth is one, while errors are numberless. The ancient fathers of the church reproached the sects of heretics and schismatics with their endless internal divisions. "See," says St. Augustin, "into how many morsels those are divided, who have divided themselves from the unity of the church!"§ Another father writes, "It is natural for error to be ever changing.|| The disciples have the same right in this matter that their masters had."

To speak now of the Protestant reformers. No sooner had their progenitor, Martin Luther, set up the tribunal of private judgment on the sense of Scripture in opposition to the authority of the church, ancient and modern,¶ than his disciples, proceeding on this principle, undertook to prove from plain texts of the Bible, that his own doctrine was erroneous, and that the Reformation itself wanted reforming. Carlostad,**

* Life of Archbishop Fenelon, by Ramsay.

† Dr. Porteus

‡ Brief Confut. p. 18.

§ St. Aug.

|| Tertul. de Præscript.

¶ This happened in June, 1520, on his doctrine being censured by the pope. Till that time he had submitted to the judgment of the holy see.

** He was Luther's first disciple of distinction, being Archdeacon of Witemberg. He declared against Luther in 1521.

Zuinglius,* Œcolompadius†; Muncer,‡ and a hundred more of his followers, wrote and preached against him and against each other, with the utmost virulence, whilst each of them still professed to ground his doctrine and conduct on the *written word of God alone*. In vain did Luther claim a superiority over them; in vain did he denounce hell-fire against them; § in vain did he threaten to return back to the Catholic religion; || he had put the Bible into each man's hand to explain it for *himself*, and this his followers continued to do in open defiance of him; ¶ till their mutual contradictions and discords became so numerous and scandalous, as to overwhelm the thinking part of them with grief and confusion.**

* Zuinglius began the Reformation in Switzerland some time after Luther began it in Germany, but taught such doctrine that the latter termed him a pagan, and said, he despaired of his salvation.

† Œcolompadius was a Brigittine friar of the monastery of St. Lawrence, near Augsburg; but soon quitted the cloister, married, and adopted the sentiments of Zuinglius respecting the real presence, in preference to those of Luther. His death was sudden, and by Luther it is asserted that he was strangled by the devil.

‡ Muncer was the disciple of Luther, and founder of the Anabaptists, who, in quality of *The Just*, maintained that the property of *The Wicked* belonged to them, quoting the second beatitude, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the land." Muncer wrote to the several princes of Germany, requiring them to give up their possessions to him. He soon after marched at the head of 40,000 of his followers to enforce this requisition.

§ He said to them, "I can defend you against the pope,—but when the devil shall urge against you (the authors of these changes) at your death, this passage of Scripture, *they ran and I did not send them*, how shall you withstand him? He will plunge you headlong into hell."—Oper. tom. vii. fol. 274.

|| "If you continue in these measures of your common deliberations, I will recant whatever I have written or said, and leave you. Mind what I say." Oper. tom. vii. fol. 276. edit. Wittemb.

¶ See the curious challenge of Luther to Carlostad to write a book against the *real presence*, when one wishes the other to *break his neck*, and the latter retorts, *may I see thee broken on the wheel*.—Variat. b. ii. n. 12.

** Capito, minister of Strasburgh, writing to Farel, pastor of Geneva, thus complains to him: "God has given me to understand the mischief we have done by our precipitancy in breaking with the pope, &c. The people say to us, I know enough of the Gospel. I can read it for myself, I have no need of you." Inter Epist. Calvini.—In the same tone Dudith writes to his friend Beza: "Our people are carried away with every wind of doctrine. If you know what their religion is to-day, you cannot tell what it will be to-morrow. In what single point are those churches which have declared war against the pope agreed amongst themselves? There is not one point which is not held by some of them as an article of faith, and by others as an impiety." In the same sentiment, Calvin, writing to Melancthon, says, "It is of great importance that the divisions, which subsist among us, should not be known to future ages: for nothing can be more ridiculous than that we, who have broken off from the whole world, should have agreed so ill among ourselves from the very beginning of the Reformation."

To point out some few of the particular variations alluded to; for to enumerate them all would require a work vastly more voluminous than that of Bossuet on this subject: it is well known that Luther's *fundamental* principle was that of *imputed justice*, to the exclusion of all acts of virtue and good works performed by ourselves. His favorite disciple and bottle companion, Amsdorf, carried this principle so far as to maintain, that *good works are a hindrance to salvation*.* In vindication of his fundamental tenet, Luther vaunts as follows: "This article shall remain in spite of all the world: it is I, Martin Luther, evangelist, who say it; let no one therefore attempt to infringe it, neither the Emperor of the Romans, nor of the Turks, nor of the Tartars; neither the pope, nor the monks, nor the nuns, nor the kings, nor the princes, nor all the devils in hell. If they attempt it, may the infernal flames be their recompense. What I say here is to be taken for an inspiration of the Holy Ghost."† Notwithstanding, however, these terrible threats and imprecations of their master, Melancthon, with the rest of the Lutherans, abandoned this article, immediately after his death, and went over to the opposite extreme of Semi-pelagianism; not only admitting the necessity of good works, but also teaching that these are prior to God's grace. Still on this single subject Osiander, a Lutheran, says, "there are twenty several opinions *all drawn from the Scripture*, and held by different members of the Augsburg or Lutheran confession."‡

Nor has the unbounded license of explaining Scripture, each one in his own way, which Protestants claim, been confined to mere errors and dissensions: it has also caused mutual persecution and bloodshed;§ it has produced tumults, rebellions, and anarchy beyond recounting. Dr. Hey asserts, that "The misinterpretation of Scripture brought on the miseries of the Civil War;"|| and Lord Clarendon,¶ Madox,** and other writers show, that there was not a crime committed by the Puritan rebels, in the course of it, which they did not profess to justify by texts and instances drawn from the sacred volumes. Leand, Bergier, Barruel, Robison, and Kett, abundantly prove that the poisonous plant of infidelity, which has produced such dreadful effects of late years on the Continent, was transplanted thither from this Protestant island, and that it was produced,

* Mosheim's Hist. by Maclaine, vol. iv. p. 328, ed. 1790.

† Visit. Saxon. ‡ Archdeacon Blackburn's Confessional, p. 16.

§ See Letters to a Prebendary, chapter "Persecution." Numberless other proofs of Protestants persecuting, not only Catholics, but also their fellow Protestants to death, on account of their religious opinions, can be adduced.

|| Dr. Hey's Theological Lectures, vol. i. p. 77. ¶ Hist. of Civ. War

** Examin. of Neal's Hist. of Puritans.

nourished, and increased to its enormous growth, by that principle of private judgment in matters of religion, which is the very foundation of the Reformation. Let us hear the two last-mentioned authors, both of them Protestant clergymen, on this important subject. "The spirit of free inquiry," says Kett, quoting Robison, "was the great boast of the Protestants, and their only support against the Catholics; securing them, both in their civil and religious rights. It was therefore encouraged by their governments, and sometimes indulged to excess. In the progress of this contest, their own confessions did not escape censure; and it was asserted, that the Reformation, which these confessions express, was not complete. Further reformation was proposed. The Scriptures, the foundation of their faith, were examined by clergymen of very different capacities, dispositions, and views, till, by explaining, correcting, allegorizing, and otherwise twisting the Bible, men's minds had hardly any thing to rest on, as a doctrine of revealed religion. This encouraged others to go further, and to say that revelation was a solecism, as plainly appears by the irreconcilable differences among the enlighteners of the public, so they were called; and that man had nothing to trust to, but the dictates of natural reason. Another set of writers, proceeding from this as from a point settled, proscribed all religion whatever, and openly taught the doctrines of materialism and atheism. *Most of these innovations were the work of Protestant divines, from the causes that I have mentioned.* But the progress of infidelity was much accelerated by the establishment of a *philanthropine*, or academy of general education, in the principality of Anhalt-Dessau. The professed object of this institution was, to unite the three Christian communions of Germany, and to make it possible for the members of them all not only to live amicably, and to worship God in the same church, but even to communicate together. This attempt gave rise to much speculation and refinement; and the proposal for the amendment of the formulas, and the instructions from the pulpit were prosecuted with so much keenness, that the ground-work of Christianity was refined and refined till it vanished altogether, leaving deism, or natural, or, as it was called, *philosophical religion* in its place. *The Lutherans and Calvinists, prepared by the causes before-mentioned* to become dupes to this masterpiece of art, were enticed by the specious liberality of the scheme, and the particular attention which it promised to the morals of youth: but "*not one Roman Catholic could Basedow allure to his seminary of practical ethics.*"*

* Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy against all Religions, &c. Kett's History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. ii. p. 158.

IV. You have seen, dear sir, to what endless errors and impieties the principle of private interpretation of Scripture, no less than that of private inspiration of faith, has conducted men, and of course is ever liable to conduct them. This circumstance, therefore, proves, according to the self-evident maxim stated above, that it cannot be the rule which is to bring us to religious truths. Nor is it to be imagined that, previously to the formation of the different national churches and other religious associations, which took place in the several parts of Europe, at what is called "The Reformation," the Scriptures were diligently consulted by the founders of the new sects; or that the ancient system of religion was exploded, or the new systems adopted, in conformity with the apparent sense of the sacred text, as Protestant controvertists would have you believe. No, sir, princes and statesmen had a great deal more to do with these changes than theologians: and most of the parties concerned in them were evidently pushed on by motives very different from those of religion. As to Martin Luther, he testifies, and calls God to witness the truth of his testimony, that it was *not willingly*, (that is, not from a previous discovery of the falsehood of his religion,) but *from accident*, (namely, a quarrel with the Dominican friars, and afterwards with the pope,) that he fell into his broils about religion.* With respect to the Reformation in our own country, we all know that Henry VIII., who took the first step towards it, was, at the beginning of his reign, so zealous against it, that he wrote a book, which he dedicated to Pope Leo X., in opposition to it, and in return obtained from this pontiff, for himself and successors, the title of *Defender of the Faith*. Becoming afterwards enamored of Ann Boleyn, one of the maids of honor to the queen, and

† "Casu non voluntate in has turmas incidi: Deum testor."—The Protestant historian, Mosheim, with whom Hume agrees, admits "that several of the principal agents in this revolution were actuated more by the impulse of passion, and views of interest, than by a zeal for true religion." Maclaine, vol. iv. p. 135. He had before acknowledged that King Gustavus introduced Lutheranism into Sweden, in opposition to the clergy and bishops, "not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, but also as favorable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions," pp. 79, 80. He adds, that Christiern, who introduced the Reformation into Denmark, was animated by no other motives than those of ambition and avarice, p. 82. Grotius, another Protestant, testifies that it was "sedition and violence which gave birth to the Reformation in his own country"—Holland. Append. de Antichristo. The same was the case in France, Geneva, and Scotland. It is to be observed, that in all these countries, the reformers, as soon as they got the upper hand, became violent persecutors of the Catholics. Bergier defies Protestants to name so much as a town or village in which, when they became masters of it, they tolerated a single Catholic.

the reigning pope having refused to sanction an adulterous marriage with her, he caused a statute to be passed, abrogating the pope's supremacy, and declaring himself *supreme head of the Church of England*.^{*} Thus he plunged the nation into schism, and opened a way for every kind of heresy and impiety. In short, nothing is more evident than that the king's inordinate passion, and not the word of God, was the rule followed in this first important change of our national religion. The unprincipled Duke of Somerset, who next succeeded to supreme power in the church and state, under the shadow of his youthful nephew, Edward VI., pushed on the Reformation, so called, much further than it had yet been carried, with a view to the gratification of his own ambitious and avaricious purposes. He suppressed the remaining colleges and hospitals, which the profligacy of Henry had spared, converting their revenues to his own use and to that of his associates. He forced Cranmer and the other bishops to take out fresh commissions for governing their dioceses during his nephew's, that is to say, his own *good pleasure*.[†] He made a great number of important changes in the public worship, by his own authority or that of his visiters;[‡] and when he employed certain bishops and divines in forming fresh articles and a new liturgy, he punished them with imprisonment if they were not on all points obsequious to his orders.[§] He even took upon himself to alter their work, when sanctioned by Parliament, in compliment to the church's great enemy, Calvin.^{||} Afterwards, when Elizabeth came to the

^{*} Archbishop Parker records, that the bishops, assembled in synod in 1531, offered to sign this new title, with the following salvo: "*In quantum per Christi leges licet*:" but that the king would admit of no such modification. *Antiq. Brit.* p. 325. In the end, they surrendered the whole of their spiritual jurisdiction to him, (all except the religious Bishop of Rochester, Fisher, who was put to death for his refusal,) and were content to publish *Articles of Religion devised by the King's Highness*. Heylin's *Hist. of Reform.* Collier, &c.

[†] "*Licentiam concedimus ad nostrum beneplacitum dumtaxat duraturam.*" Burnet *Hist. Ref. P. II. B. i. N. 2.*

[‡] See the Injunctions of the Council to Preachers, published before the Parliament met, concerning the mass in the Latin language, prayers for the dead, &c. See also the order sent to the primate against psalms, ashes, &c., in Heylin, Burnet, and Collier. The boy Edward VI., just thirteen years old, was taught by his uncle to proclaim as follows: "We would not have our subjects so much to mistake our judgment, &c., as though we could not discern what is to be done, &c. God be praised, we know what, by his word, is fit to be redressed," &c. Collier, vol. ii. p. 246.

[§] The Bishops Heath and Gardiner were both imprisoned for non-compliance.

^{||} Heylin complains bitterly of Calvin's pragmatical spirit, in quarrelling with the English liturgy, and soliciting the protector to alter it. Preface to *Hist. of Reform.* His letters to Somerset on the subject may be seen in *Fox's Acts and Monum.*

throne, a new reformation, different in its articles and liturgy from that of Edward VI., was set on foot, and moulded, not according to Scripture, but to her orders. She deposed all the bishops except one, "*the calamity of his see,*" as he was called;* and required the new ones, whom she appointed, to renounce certain exercises, which they declared to be *agreeable to the Word of God*,† but which she found not to agree with her system of politics. She even in full parliament threatened to depose them all, if they did not act conformably to her views.‡

V. The more strictly the subject is examined, the more clearly it will appear, that it was not in consequence of any investigation of the Scriptures, either public or private, that the ancient Catholic religion was abolished, and one or other of the new Protestant religions set up in the different northern kingdoms and states of Europe, but in consequence of the politics of princes and statesmen, the avarice of the nobility and gentry, and the irreligion and licentiousness of the people. I will even advance a step further, and affirm that there is no appearance of any individual Protestant, to whatever sect he belongs, having formed his creed by the rule of *Scripture alone*. For do you, sir, really believe that those persons of your communion, whom you see the most diligent and devout in turning over their Bibles, have really found out in them the thirty-nine articles, or any other creed which they happen to profess? To judge more certainly of this matter, I wish those gentlemen who are the most zealous and active in distributing Bibles among the Indians and Africans in their different countries, would procure, from some half dozen of the most intelligent and serious of their proselytes, who have heard nothing of the Christian faith by any other means than their Bibles, a summary of what they respectively understand to be the doctrine and the morality taught in that sacred volume. What inconsistent and nonsensical symbols should we not witness! The truth is, Protestants are tutored from their infancy, by the help of *catechisms* and *creeds*, in the systems of their respective sects; they are guided by their *parents* and *masters*, and are influenced by the *opinions* and *example* of those with whom they live and converse. Some particular texts of Scripture are strongly impressed upon their minds, and others of an

* Anthony Kitchen, so called by Godwin, de Præsul, and Camden.

† This took place with respect to what was termed *prophesying*, then practised by many Protestants, and defended by Archbishop Grindal and the other bishops, as *agreeable to God's word*: nevertheless, the queen obliged them to suppress it. Col. Eccl. Hist. P. II. p. 554, &c.

‡ See her curious speech in Parliament, March 25, 1585, in Stow's *Annals*

apparently different meaning are kept out of their view, or glossed over; and above all, it is constantly *inculcated* to them, that their religion is built upon Scripture alone. Hence, when they actually read the Scriptures, they fancy they *see there*, what they have been otherwise taught to believe; the Lutheran, for example, that Christ is really present in the sacrament; the Calvinist, that he is as far distant from it as heaven is from earth; the Churchman, that baptism is necessary for infants; the Baptist, that it is an impiety to confer it upon them; and so of all the other forty sects of Protestants enumerated by Evans in his *Sketch of the Different Denominations of Christians*, and of twice forty other sects whom he omits to mention.

When I remarked that our blessed Master, Jesus Christ, wrote no part of the New Testament himself, and gave no orders to his apostles to write it, I ought to have added, that if he had intended it to be, together with the Old Testament, the *sole* rule of religion, he would have provided means for their being able to follow it; knowing, as he certainly did, that 99 in every 100, or rather 999 in every 1000, in *different ages and countries*, would not be able to read at all, and much less to comprehend a page of the sacred writings. Yet no such means were provided by him; nor has he so much as enjoined it on his followers in general to study letters.

Another observation on this subject, and a very obvious one is; that among those Christians who profess that the Bible alone is the rule of their religion, there ought to be no articles, no catechisms, no sermons, nor other instructions. True it is, that the abolition of these, however incompatible they are with the rule itself, would quickly undermine the Established Church, as its clergy now begin to understand; and, if universally carried into effect, would, in the end, efface the whole doctrine and morality of the Gospel;* but this consequence (which is inevitable) only shows more clearly the falsehood of this exclusive rule. In fact, the most enlightened Protestants find themselves here in a dilemma, and are obliged to say and unsay, to the amusement of some persons, and the pity of others.† They cannot abandon the rule of *the Bible alone*, as

* The Protestant writers, Kett and Robison, have shown, in the passage above quoted, that the principle of private judgment tends to undermine Christianity at large; and Archdeacon Hook, in his late charge, shows by an exact statement of capital convictions in different years, that the increase of immorality has kept pace with that of the Bible societies.

† One of the latest instances of the distress in question, is exhibited by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Marsh. In his publication, *The Inquiry*, p. 4, he says very truly, "the poor (who constitute the bulk of mankind) cannot, without as-

explained by each one for himself, without proclaiming their guilt in refusing to hear the church, and they cannot adhere to it, without opening the floodgates to all the impiety and immorality of the present age upon their own communion. I shall have occasion hereafter to notice the claims of the Established Church to *authority*, in determining the *sense* of Scripture, as well as in other religious controversies: in the mean time I cannot but observe, that her most able defenders are frequently obliged to abandon their own, and adopt the Catholic rule of faith. The judicious Hooker, in his defence of the Church of England, writes thus: "Of this we are right sure, that nature, Scripture, and experience itself, have taught the world to seek for the ending of contentions by submitting to some judicial and definite sentence, whereunto neither parties that contendeth, may, under any pretence or color, refuse to stand. This must needs be effectual and strong. As for other means, without this, they seldom prevail."* Another most clear-headed writer, and renowned defender of the establishment, whom I had the happiness of being acquainted with, Dr. Balguy,† thus expresses himself in a *Charge to the Clergy* of his archdeaconry: "The opinions of the people are and must be founded more on authority than reason. Their parents, their teachers, their governors, in a great measure, determine for them, what they are to believe and what to practise. The same doctrines, uniformly taught, the same rites constantly performed, make such an impression on their minds, that they hesitate as little in admitting the articles of their faith, as in receiving the most established maxims of common life."‡ With such testimonies before your eyes, can you, dear sir, imagine that the bulk of Protestants have formed, or were designed to form their religion by the standard of Scripture? He goes on to say, speaking of controverted points: "Would you have them (the people) think for themselves? Would you have them hear and decide

sistance, understand the Scriptures." Being congratulated on this important yet unavoidable concession, by the Rev. Mr. Gandolphy, he tacks about in a public letter to that gentleman, and says, that what he wrote in his *Inquiry* concerning the necessity of a further rule than mere Scripture, only regards the *establishment* of religion, not the *truth* of it; just as if that rule were sufficient to conduct the people to the *truth of religion*, while he expressly says they *cannot understand it!*

* Hooker's Eccles. Polity, Pref. art. 6.

† Discourses on various subjects, by T. Balguy, D.D., Archdeacon and Prebendary of Winchester. Some of these discourses were preached at the consecration of bishops, and published by order of the archbishop; some in charges to the clergy. The whole of them is dedicated to the king, whom the writer thanks for naming him to a high dignity, (the bishopric of Gloucester,) and for permitting him to decline accepting of it.

‡ Discourses on various subjects, by T. Balguy, D.D. p. 257.

the controversies of the learned? Would you have them enter into the depths of criticism, of logic, of scholastic divinity? You might as well expect them to compute an eclipse, or decide between the Cartesian and Newtonian philosophy. Nay, I will go further: for I take upon myself to say, there are more mercapable, in some competent degree, of understanding Newton's philosophy, than of forming any judgment at all concerning the abstruser questions in metaphysics and theology." Yet the persons, of whom the doctor particularly speaks, were all furnished with Bibles; and the abstruse questions, which he refers to, are: "Whether Christ did, or did not, come down from heaven?" whether "he died, or did not die, for the sins of the world?" whether "he sent his Holy Spirit to assist and comfort us, or whether he did not send him?"* The learned doctor elsewhere expresses himself still more explicitly on the subject of Scripture without church authority. He is combating the Dissenters, but his weapons are evidently as fatal to his own church as to theirs. "It has long been held among them that Scripture only, is the rule and test of all religious ordinances; and that human authority is to be altogether excluded. Their ancestors, I believe, would have been not a little embarrassed with their own maxim, if they had not possessed a *singular talent of seeing every thing in Scripture which they had a mind to see*. Almost every sect could find there its own peculiar form of church-government; and *while they forced only their own imaginations, they believed themselves to be executing the decrees of heaven.*"†

I conclude this long letter with a passage to the present purpose from our admired theological poet:—

"As long as words a different sense will bear,
And each may be his own interpreter,
Our airy faith will no foundation find:
The word's a weathercock for ev'ry wind."‡

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER IX.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ.

SECOND FALSE RULE.

DEAR SIR—

AFTER all that I have written concerning the rule of faith, adopted by yourself, and other more rational Protestants, I have only yet treated of the extrinsic arguments against it. I now

* Discourses on various subjects, by T. Balguy, D.D. p. 257.

† Discourse VII. p. 126.

‡ Dryden's Hind and Panther. Part. I.

therefore proceed to investigate its *intrinsic nature*, in order to show more fully the inadequacy, or rather the falsehood of it.

When an English Protestant gets possession of an English Bible, printed by Thomas Basket, or other "printer to the king's most excellent majesty," he takes it in hand with the same confidence, as if he had immediately received it from the Almighty himself, as Moses received the tables of the law on Mount Sinai, amidst thunder and lightning. But how vain is this confidence, whilst he adheres to the foregoing rule of faith! How many questionable points does he assume as proved, which cannot be proved, without relinquishing his own principles and adopting ours!

I. Supposing then you, dear sir, to be the Protestant I have been speaking of; I begin with asking you, by what means have you learnt what is the *canon* of Scripture, that is to say, which are the books that have been written by Divine inspiration; or indeed how have you ascertained that *any* books at all have been so written? You cannot discover either of these things by your rule, because the Scripture, as your great authority, Hooker shows* and Chillingworth allows, cannot bear testimony to itself. You will say that the Old Testament was written by Moses and the prophets, and the New Testament by the apostles of Christ and the evangelists. But admitting all this; it does not of itself prove that they *always* wrote, or indeed that they ever wrote under the influence of *inspiration*. They were, by nature, fallible men; how have you learnt that they were infallible writers? In the next place, you receive books, as canonical parts of the Testament, which were not written by apostles at all, namely, the gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke; whilst you reject an authentic work of great excellence,† written by one who is termed in Scripture an *apostle*,‡ and declared to be *full of the Holy Ghost*:§ I speak of St. Barnabas. Lastly, you have no sufficient authority for asserting that the sacred volumes are the genuine composition of the holy personages whose names they bear, except the tradition and living voice of the Catholic Church; since numerous apocryphal prophecies and spurious gospels and epistles, under the same or equally venerable names, were circulated in the church, during its early ages, and accredited by different learned writers and holy fathers; while some of the really canonical books were rejected or doubted of by them. In short, it was not until the end of the fourth century, that the genuine

* Eccles. Polit. B. iii. sec. 8.

† St. Barnabas. See Grabe's Spicileg. and Cotlerus's Collect.

‡ Acts, xiv. 13.

§ Acts, xi. 24.

canon of Holy Scripture was fixed : and then it was fixed by the *tradition and authority of the church*, declared in the Third Council of Carthage and a decretal of P. Innocent I. Indeed it is so clear that the canon of Scripture is built on the tradition of the church, that most learned Protestants,* with Luther himself, have† been forced to acknowledge it, in terms almost as strong as those in the well-known declaration of St. Augustin.‡

II. Again ; supposing the Divine authority of the sacred books themselves to be established, how do you know that the copies of them translated and printed in your Bible are authentic ? It is agreed upon amongst the learned, that, together with the temple and city of Jerusalem, the original text of Moses and the ancient prophets were destroyed by the Assyrians, under Nebuchadnezzar ;§ and, though they were replaced by authentic copies, at the end of the Babylonish captivity, through the pious care of the prophet Esdras or Ezra, yet that these also perished in the subsequent persecution of Antiochus ;|| from which time we have no evidence of the authenticity of the Old Testament, till this was supplied by Christ and his apostles, who transmitted it to the church. In like manner, granting, for example, that St. Paul wrote an inspired epistle to the Romans, and another to the Ephesians ; yet, as the former was intrusted to an individual, the deaconess Phebe, to be conveyed by her to its destination,¶ and the latter to his disciple, Tychicus,** for the same purpose, it is impossible for you to entertain a rational conviction that these epistles, as they stand in your Testament, are exactly in the state in which they issued from the apostle's pen, or that they are his genuine epistles at all ; without recurring to the tradition and authority of the Catholic Church concerning them. To make short of this matter, I will not lead you into the labyrinth of biblical criticism, nor will I show you the endless varieties of readings with respect to words and whole passages, which occur in different copies of the sacred text, but will here content myself with referring you to your own Bible book, as printed by authority. Look, then, at Psalm xiv., as it occurs in the Book of Common Prayer, to which your clergy swear their "consent and assent ;" then look at the same

* Hooker, Eccl. Polit. C. iii. S. 8. Dr. Lardner, in Bishop Watson's Col. vol. ii. p. 20.

† "We are obliged to yield many things to the Papists—that with them is the word of God, which we have received from them ; otherwise we should have known nothing at all about it." Comment. on John, c. 16.

‡ "I should not believe the Gospel itself, if the authority of the Catholic Church did not oblige me to do so." Contra Epist. Fundam.

§ Brett's Dissert. in Bishop Watson's Collect. vol. iii. p. 5.

|| Ibid. vol. iii. p. 5

¶ Rom. xvi. See Calmet, &c.

** Ephes. vi. 21.

Psalm in your Bible: you will find four whole verses in the former which are left out in the latter! What will you here say, dear sir? You must say that your church has added to, or else that she has *taken away from the words of this prophecy!**

III. But your pains and perplexities concerning your rule of faith must not stop even at this point: for though you had demonstrative evidence, that the several books in your Bible are canonical, and authentic in the originals, it would still remain for you to inquire, whether or no they are *faithfully translated in your English copy?* In fact, you are aware that they were written, some of them in Hebrew, and some of them in Greek: out of which languages they were translated, for the last time, by about fifty different men, of various capacities, learning, judgment, opinions, and prejudices.† In this inquiry, the Catholic Church herself can afford you no security to build your faith upon; much less can any private individuals whosoever. The celebrated Protestant divine, Episcopius, was so convinced of the fallibility of modern translations, that he wanted all sorts of persons, laborers, sailors, women, &c., to learn Hebrew and Greek. Indeed, it is obvious, that the sense of a text may depend upon the choice of a single word in the translation; nay, it sometimes depends upon the mere *punctuation* of a sentence, as may be seen below.‡ Can you, then, consistently, reject the authority of the great Universal Church, and yet build upon that of some obscure translator in the reign of James I.? No, sir, you must yourself have compared your English Bible with the originals, and have proved it to be a faithful version, before you can build your faith upon it, as upon *The Word of God*. To say one word now of the Bibles themselves, which have been published by authority, or generally used by Protestants in this country:—Those of Tindal, Coverdale, and Queen Elizabeth's bishops, were so notoriously corrupt, as to cause a general outcry against them among learned Protestants, as well as among Catholics, in which the king himself (James I.) joined;§ and accordingly

* The verses in question being quoted by St. Paul, Rom. iii. 13, &c. there is no doubt but the Common Bible is *defective* in this passage. On the other hand, Bishop Marsh has published his conviction that the most important passage in the New Testament, 1 John, v. 7, for establishing the Divinity of Jesus Christ, "is spurious." Elem. of Theo. vol. ii. p. 90.

† See a list of them in Ant. Johnson's Hist. Account. Theo. Collec. p. 95.

‡ One of the strongest passages for the divinity of Christ is the following, as it is pointed in the Vulgate: *Ex quibus est Christus, secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in sæcula*. Rom. ix. 5. But see how Grotius and Socinus deprive the text of all its strength, by merely substituting a point for a comma: *Ex quibus est Christus, secundum carnem. Qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in sæcula*.

§ Bishop Watson's Collect. vol. iii. p. 98.

ordered a new version of it to be made ; being the same that is now in use, with some few alterations, introduced after the Restoration.* Now, though these new translators have corrected many wilful errors of their predecessors, most of which were levelled at Catholic doctrines and discipline,† yet they have left a sufficient number of them behind, for which I do not find that their advocates offer any excuse whatsoever.‡

IV. I will make a further supposition, namely, that you had the certainty even of revelation, as the Calvinists used to pretend they had, that your Bible is not only *canonical but authentic and faithful*, in its English garb ; yet what would all this avail you, towards establishing your rule of faith, unless you could be equally certain of your *understanding the whole of it rightly* ? For, as the learned Protestant bishop, Walton, says :§ “The word of God does not consist in mere letters, whether written or printed, but in the true sense of it ;|| which no one can better interpret than the true church to which Christ committed this sacred pledge.” This is exactly what St. Jerom and St. Augustin had said many ages before him. “Let us be persuaded,” says the former, “that the gospel consists not in the words, but in the sense. A wrong explanation turns the word of God into the word of man, and what is worse, into the word of the devil ; for the devil himself could quote the text of Scripture.”¶ Now that there are in Scripture “things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest unto their own destruction,” is expressly affirmed in the Scripture itself.** The same thing is proved by the frequent mistakes of the apostles themselves, with respect to the words of their Divine Master. These obscurities are so numberless throughout the sacred volumes, that the last quoted father, who was as bright and learned a divine as ever took the Bible in hand, says of it : “There are

* Bishop Watson's Collect. vol. iii. p. 98.

† These may be found in the learned Greg. Martin's Treatise on the subject, and in Ward's Errata to the Protestant Bible.

‡ Two of these I had occasion to notice in my *Inquiry into the character of the Irish Catholics*, namely, 1 Cor. xi. 17, where the conjunctive *and* is put for the disjunctive *or*, and Matt. xix. 11, where *cannot* is put for *do not*, so the altering of the sense in both instances. Now, though these corruptions stand in direct opposition to the original, as the Rev. Mr. Grier and Dr. Ryan themselves quote it ; yet these writers have the confidence to deny they are corruptions, because they pretend to prove from other texts that *the cup is necessary* and that *continency is not necessary*!! Answer to Ward's Errata, p. 13, page 33.

§ In the Prolegomena to his Polyglott, cap. v.

|| This obvious truth shows the extreme absurdities of our Bible Societies and modern schools, which regard nothing but the mere *reading of the Bible*, leaving persons to embrace the most opposite interpretations of the same texts. ¶ In Ep. ad Galat. contra Lucif. ** 2 Pet. iii. 16

more things in Scripture which I am ignorant of, than those that I know.”* Should you prefer a modern Protestant authority to an ancient Catholic one, listen to the clear-headed Balguy. His words are these: “But what, you will reply, is all this to Christians? to those who see, by a clear and strong light, the dispensation of God to mankind? *We are not as those who have no hope. The day-spring from on high hath visited us. The Spirit of God shall lead us into all truth.* To this delusive dream of human folly, founded only on mistaken interpretations of Scripture, I answer, in one word: Open your Bibles; take the first page that occurs in either Testament, and tell me, without disguise, is there nothing in it too hard for your understanding? If you find all before you *clear and easy*, you may thank God for giving you a privilege which he has denied to many thousands of sincere believers.”†

Manifold is the cause of the obscurity of Holy Writ; 1st, the sublimity of a considerable part of it, which speaks either literally or figuratively of the Deity and his attributes; of the Word incarnate; of angels and other spiritual beings;—2dly, the mysterious nature of prophecy in general;—3dly, the peculiar idioms of the Hebrew and Greek languages;—lastly, the numerous and bold figures of speech, such as allegory, irony, hyperbole, catachresis, antiphrasis, &c., which are so frequent with the sacred penmen, particularly the ancient prophets.‡ I should like to hear any one of those, who pretend to find the Scripture so easy, attempting to give a clear explanation of the 67th, alias the 68th Psalm; or the last chapter of Ecclesiastes. Is it an easy matter to reconcile certain well-known speeches of each of the holy patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the incommutable precept of truth? I may here notice, among a thousand other such difficulties, that when our Saviour sent his twelve apostles to preach the Gospel to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, he told them, according to *St. Mathew*, x. 10., to *Provide neither gold nor silver—neither shoes nor yet staves*: whereas *St. Mark*, vi. says, *he commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only.* You may indeed answer, with Chillingworth and Bishop Porteus, that whatever obscurities there may be in certain parts of Scripture, it is clear in all that is necessary to be known. But on what authority do these writers ground this maxim? They have none at all; but they *beg the question*, as logicians express it, to extricate themselves from an absurdity;

* *St. Aug. Ep. ad Januar.*

† *Dr. Balguy's Discourses*, p. 133

‡ See examples of these in *Bonfrerius's Præloquia* and in the *Appendixes* to them, at the end of *Menochius*.

and in so doing they overturn their fundamental rule. They profess to gather their articles of faith and morals from mere Scripture; nevertheless confessing that they understand only a part of it, they presume to make a distinction in it, and to say this part is necessary to be known, the other part is not necessary. But to place this matter in a clear light, it is obvious that if any articles are particularly necessary to be known and believed, they are those which point to the God whom we are to adore, and the moral precepts which we are to observe. Now, is it demonstratively evident, from *mere Scripture*, that Christ is God, and to be adored as such? Most modern Protestants of eminence answer NO; and, in defence of their assertion, quote the following among other texts: *The Father is greater than I*, John, xiv. 28; to which the orthodox divines oppose those texts of the same evangelist: *I and the Father are one*, x. 30: *The Word was God*, &c. i. 1. Again, we find the following among the moral precepts of the Old Testament:—"Go thy way: eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart: for God now accepteth thy works. Let thy garments be always white, and let thy head lack no ointment. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest," &c. Eccles. ix. 7, 8, 9. In the New Testament we meet with the following seemingly practical commands: "Swear not at all," Matt. v. 34. "Call no man father upon earth—neither be you called masters, for one is your Master, Christ," Matt. xxiii. 9, 10. "If any man sue thee at law, to take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also," v. 46. "Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask him not again," Luke vi. 33. "When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends nor thy brethren," xiv. 12. These are a few among hundreds of other difficulties, regarding our moral duties, which, though confronted by other texts, seemingly of a contrary meaning, nevertheless show that the Scripture is not, of itself, demonstratively clear in points of first rate importance, and that the Divine law, like human laws, without an authorized interpreter, must ever be a source of doubt and contention.

V. I have said enough concerning the contentions among Protestants; I will now, by way of concluding this letter, say a word or two of their doubts. In the first place, it is certain, as a learned Catholic controvertist argues,* that a person who follows your rule cannot make an act of faith; this being, according to your great authority, Bishop Pearson, an assent to

* Sheffmacher, *Lettres d'un Docteur Cat. à un Gentilhomme Prot.* vol. i. p. 48.

the revealed articles, with a *certain and full persuasion* of their revealed truth :* or, to use the words of your primate, Wake : "When I give my assent to what God has revealed, I do it, not only with a *certain assurance* that what I believe *is true*, but with an *absolute security that it cannot be false*."† Now the Protestant, who has nothing to trust to but his own talents, in interpreting the books of Scripture, especially with all the difficulties and uncertainties which he labors under, according to what I have shown above, never can rise to this *certain assurance* and *absolute security*, as to what is revealed in Scripture. The utmost he can say is : *such and such appears to me at the present moment to be the sense of the texts before me* : and if he is candid, he will add ; *but perhaps, upon further consideration and upon comparing these with other texts, I may alter my opinion*. How far short, dear sir, is such mere opinion from the certainty of faith ! I may here refer you to your own experience. Are you accustomed, in reading your Bible, to conclude, in your own mind, with respect to those points which appear to you most clear : *I believe in these, with a certain assurance of their truth, and an absolute security that they cannot be false* ; especially when you reflect that other learned, intelligent, and sincere Christians have understood those passages in quite a different sense from what you do ? For my part, having sometimes lived and conversed familiarly with Protestants of this description, and noticed their controversial discourses, I never found one of them absolutely fixed in his mind, for any long time together, as to the whole of his belief. I invite you to make the experiment on the most intelligent and religious Protestant of your acquaintance. Ask him a considerable number of questions, on the most important points of his religion : note down his answers, while they are fresh in your memory. Ask him the same questions, but in a different order, a month afterwards ; when I can almost venture to say, you will be surprised at the difference you will find, between his former and his latter creed. After all, we need not use any other means to discover the state of doubt and uncertainty, in which many of your greatest divines and most profound scriptural students have passed their days, than to look into their publications. I shall satisfy myself with citing the Pastoral Charge of one of them, a living bishop, to his clergy. Speaking of the Christian doctrines he says : "I think it safer to tell you, *where they are contained*, than *what they are*. They are contained in the Bible, and if, in reading that book, your sentiments concerning the doctrines of Christianity should be different from those of your

* On the Creed, p. 15.

† Princip. of Christ. Rel. p. 17.

neighbor, or from *those of the church*, be persuaded on your part, that infallibility appertains as little to you as it does to the church."* Can you read this, my dear sir, without shuddering? If a most learned and intelligent bishop and professor of divinity, as Dr. Watson certainly is, after studying all the Scriptures and all the commentators upon them, is forced publicly to confess to his assembled clergy, that *he cannot tell them what the doctrines of Christianity are*, how unsettled must his mind have been! and of course, how far removed from the assurance of faith! In the next place, how fallacious must that rule of *the mere Bible* be, which, while he recommends it to them, he plainly signifies, will not lead them to a uniformity of sentiments, one with another, nor even with their church!

There can be no doubt, sir, but that those who entertain doubts concerning the truth of their religion, in the course of their lives, must experience the same with redoubled anxiety at the approach of death. Accordingly there are, I believe, few of our Catholic priests in an extensive ministry, who have not been frequently called in to receive dying Protestants into the Catholic Church,† while not a single instance can be produced, of a Catholic wishing to die in any other communion than his own.‡ O Death, thou great enlightener! O truth-telling Death, how powerful art thou in confuting the blasphemies, and dissipating the prejudices of the enemies of God's church! Taking it for granted, that you, dear sir, have not been without your doubts and fears as to the safety of the road in which you are walking to eternity, more particularly in the course of the present controversy, and being anxious beyond expression that you should be free from these, when you arrive at the brink of that vast ocean, I cannot do better than address you in the words of the great St. Augustin, to one in your situation: "If you think you have been sufficiently tossed about,

* Bishop Watson's Charge to his Clergy, in 1795.

† A large proportion of those grandees who were the most forward in promoting the Reformation, so called, and among the rest Cromwell, Earl of Essex, the King's Ecclesiastical Vicar, when they came to die, returned to the Catholic Church. This was the case also with Luther's chief protector, the Elector of Saxony, the persecuting Queen of Navarre, and many other foreign Protestant princes. Some bishops of the Established Church; for instance, Goodman and Cheyney of Gloucester, and Gordon of Glasgow, probably also King of London, and Halifax of St. Asaph's, died Catholics. A long list of titled or otherwise distinguished personages, who have either returned to the Catholic faith, or, for the first time embraced it on their death-beds, in modern times, might be named here, if it were prudent to do so.

‡ This is remarked by Sir Toby Mathews, son of the Archbishop of York, Hugh Cressy, Canon of Windsor and Dean of Leighlin, F. Walsingham, and Ant. Ulric, Duke of Brunswick, all illustrious converts; also Brier in his *Conferences*, p. 400.

and wisn to see an end to your anxieties, follow the rule of Catholic discipline, which came down to us through the apostles from Christ himself, and which shall descend from us to the latest posterity.”* Yes, renounce the fatal and foolish presumption of fancying that you can interpret the Scripture better than the Catholic Church, aided, as she is, by the tradition of all ages, and the Spirit of all truth.† But I mean to treat this latter subject at due length in my next letter.

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER X.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

THE TRUE RULE.

DEAR SIR—

I HAVE received your letter, and also two others from gentlemen of your Society, on what I have written to you concerning the insufficiency of Scripture, interpreted by individuals, to constitute a secure rule of faith. From these it is plain, that my arguments have produced a considerable sensation in the society; insomuch that I find myself obliged to remind them of the terms on which we mutually entered upon this correspondence; namely, that each one should be at perfect liberty to express his sentiments on the important subject under consideration, without complaint or offence of the other. The strength of my arguments is admitted by you all: yet you all bring invincible objections, as you consider them, from Scripture and other sources against them. I think it will render our controversy more simple and clear, if, with your permission, I defer answering these, till after I have said all that I have to say concerning the Catholic rule of faith.

The Catholic rule of faith, as I stated before, is not merely *the written word of God*, but *the whole word of God, both written and unwritten*; in other words, *Scripture and tradition* and these *propounded and explained by the Catholic Church*. This implies that we have a *two-fold rule or law*, and that we have an *interpreter, or judge, to explain it*, and to decide upon it in all doubtful points.

I. I enter upon this subject with observing that all *written laws*

* De Utilit. Cred. c. 8.

Bossuet, in his celebrated *Conference with Claude*, which produced the conversion of Mlle. Duras, obliged him to confess that, by the Protestant rule, “every artisan and husbandman may and ought to believe that he can understand the Scriptures better than all the fathers and doctors of the church, ancient and modern, put together.”

necessarily suppose the existence of *unwritten laws*, and indeed depend upon them for their force and authority. Not to run into the depths of ethics and metaphysics on this subject, you know, dear sir, that, in this kingdom, we have *common or unwritten law*, and *statute or written law*, both of them binding; but that the former necessarily precedes the latter. The legislature, for example, makes a written statute, but we must learn beforehand, from the common law, *what constitutes the legislature*, and we must also have learnt from the natural and the Divine laws, that *the legislature is to be obeyed in all things which these do not render unlawful*. "The municipal law of England," says Judge Blackstone, "may be divided into *lex non scripta*, the unwritten or common law, and the *lex scripta*, or statute law."* He afterwards calls the common law, "the first ground and chief corner-stone of the laws of England."† "If," continues he, "the question arises, *how these customs or maxims are to be known, and by whom their validity are to be determined?* The answer is, *by the judges in the several courts of justice. They are the depositories of the laws, the living oracles, who must decide in all cases of doubt, and who are bound by oath to decide according to the law of the land.*"‡ So absurd is the idea of binding mankind by written laws, without laying an adequate foundation for the authority of those laws, and without constituting living judges to decide upon them!

Neither has the Divine wisdom, in founding the spiritual kingdom of his church, acted in that inconsistent manner. The Almighty did not send a book, the New Testament, to Christians, and, without so much as establishing the authority of that book, leave them to interpret it, till the end of time, each one according to his own opinions or prejudices. But our blessed Master and Legislator, Jesus Christ, having first demonstrated his own divine legation from his heavenly Father by undeniable miracles, commissioned his chosen apostles, by word of mouth, to proclaim and explain, by word of mouth, his doctrines and precepts to all nations, promising to be with them in the execution of this office of his heralds and judges, even to the end of the world. This implies the power he had given them, of ordaining successors in this office, as they themselves were only to live the ordinary term of human life. True it is, that, during the execution of their commission, he inspired some of them, and of their disciples, to write certain parts of these doctrines and precepts, namely, the canonical gospels and epistles, which they addressed, for the most part, to particular persons and on

* Comment. on the Laws, Introduct. sect. iii.

† Ibid. sect. iii. p. 73, 8th edit.

‡ Ibid. p. 69.

particular occasions ; but these inspired writings, by no means, rendered void Christ's commission to the apostles and their successors, of preaching and explaining his word to the nations, or his promise of being "with them" till the end of time. On the contrary, the inspiration of these very writings is not otherwise known than by the *viva voce* evidence of these depositories and judges of the revealed truths.—This analysis of revealed religion, so conformable to reason and the civil constitution of our country, is proved to be true, by the written word itself—by the tradition and conduct of the apostles—and by the constant testimony and practice of the fathers and doctors of the church in all ages.

II. Nothing then, dear sir, is further from the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church than to slight the Holy Scriptures. So far from this, she had religiously preserved and perpetuated them, from age to age, during almost 1500 years before Protestants existed. She has consulted them, and confirmed her decrees from them in her several councils. She enjoins her pastors, whose business it is to instruct the faithful, to read and study them without intermission, knowing that "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." 2 Tim. iii. 16. Finally, she proves her perpetual right to announce and explain the truths and precepts of her divine Founder, by several of the strongest and clearest passages contained in Holy Writ.* Such, for the example, is the last commission of Christ, alluded to above: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all the things whatsoever I have commanded you. And lo! I am with you all days, even to the end of the world." Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. And again, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." Mark, xvi. 15. It is *preaching* and *teaching* then, that is to say, the *unwritten word*, which Christ has appointed to be the general method of propagating his divine truths: and, whereas he promises to be *with his apostles to the end of the world*; this proves *their authority* in expounding, and shows that the same authority was to *descend to their legitimate successors* in the sacred ministry, since they themselves were only to live the ordinary term of human life. In like manner the following clear texts prove the authority of the apostles and their successors, *for ever*; that is to say, the *authority of the ever-living and speaking tribunal of the church*,

* St. Austin uses this argument against the Donatists: "In Scripturis discimus Christum, in scripturis discimus Ecclesiam. Si Christum teneatis, quare Ecclesiam non tenetis?"

in expounding our Saviour's doctrine. "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever."—"The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name; he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." John, xiv. 16, 26. St. Paul, speaking of both the unwritten and the written word, puts them upon a level, where he says, "Therefore, brethren, stand fast and hold the tradition ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle." 2 Thess. v. 13. Finally, St. Peter pronounces that "No prophecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation." 2 Pet. i. 20.

III. That the apostles, and the apostolical men whom they formed, followed this method prescribed by their Master, is unquestionable; as we have positive proofs from Scripture, as well as from ecclesiastical history, that they did so. St. Mark, after recording the above-cited admonition of *preaching the gospel*, which Christ left to his apostles, adds, "And they went forth and preached everywhere; the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following." Mark, xvi. 20. St. Peter preached throughout Judea and Syria, and last of all, in Italy and at Rome; St. Paul throughout Lesser Asia, Greece, and as far as Spain; St. Andrew penetrated into Scythia; St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew into Parthia and India, and so of the others; everywhere converting and instructing thousands, *by word of mouth*; founding churches, and ordaining bishops and priests to do the same. "They ordained them priests in every church." Acts, xiv. 22. "For this cause," says St. Paul to Titus, "I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and shouldest ordain priests in every city, as I had appointed thee." Tit. i. 5. And to Timothy: "The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to those faithful men who shall be able to teach others also." 2 Tim. ii. 2: If any of them wrote, it was on some particular occasion, and, for the most part, to a particular person, or congregation, without either giving directions, or providing means of communicating their epistles or their gospels to the rest of the Christians throughout the world. Hence it happened, as I have before remarked, that it was not till the end of the fourth century, that the canon of Holy Scriptures was absolutely settled as it now stands. True it is, that the apostles, before they separated to preach the gospel to different nations, agreed upon a short symbol or profession of faith, called "The Apostles' Creed," but even this they did not commit to writing:* and whereas they

* Ruffin. Inter Opera Hieron.

made this, amongst other articles of it, "I believe in the Holy Church,"* they made no mention at all of the Holy Scriptures. This circumstance confirms what their example proves, that the Christian doctrine and discipline might have been propagated and preserved by the unwritten word, or tradition, joined with the authority of the church, though the Scriptures had not been composed; however profitable these most certainly are "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness." 2 Tim. iii. 16. I have already quoted one of the ornaments of your church, who says, that "the canonical epistles (and he might have added the gospels) are not regular treatises upon the Christian religion:"† and I shall have occasion to show from an ancient father, that this religion did prevail and flourish soon after the age of the apostles, among nations which were not even acquainted with the use of letters.

IV. However light Protestants of this age may make of the ancient fathers, as theological authorities,‡ they cannot object to them as faithful witnesses of the doctrine and discipline of the church in their respective times. It is chiefly in the latter character that I am going to bring forward a certain number of them, to prove that, during the five first ages of the church, no less than in the subsequent ages, the unwritten word, or tradition, was held by her in equal estimation with the Scripture itself, and that she claimed a divine right of propounding and explaining them both.

I begin with the disciple of the apostles, St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch. It is recorded of him that, in his passage to Rome, where he was sentenced to be devoured by wild beasts, he exhorted the Christians, who got access to him, "to guard themselves against the rising heresies, and to adhere with the utmost firmness to the *tradition of the apostles*."§ The same sentiments appear in this saint's epistles, and also in those of his fellow-martyr, St. Polycarp, "the angel of the Church of Smyrna."||

One of the disciples of the last-mentioned holy bishop was St. Irenæus, who passing into Gaul became Bishop of Lyons.

* The title *Catholic* was afterwards added, when heresies increased.

† Elements of Theology, vol. ii.

‡ Jewel, Andrews, Hooker, Morton, Pearson, and other Protestant divines of the 16th and 17th centuries, labored hard to press the fathers into their service, but with such bad success, that the succeeding controversialists gave them up in despair. The learned Protestant Casaubon, confessed that the fathers were all on the Catholic side; the equally learned Obrecht testifies that, in reading their works, "he was frequently provoked to throw them on the ground, finding them so full of Popery;" while Middleton heaps every kind of obloquy upon them.

§ Euseb. Hist. l. iii. c. 30.

|| Revel. ii. 8.

He has left twelve books against the heresies of his time, which abound with testimonies to the present purpose ; some few of which I shall here insert. He writes, " Nothing is more easy to those who seek for the truth, than to remark in every church *the tradition* which the apostles have manifested to all the world. We can name the bishops appointed by the apostles in the several churches, and the successors of those bishops down to our own time, none of whom ever taught, or heard of such doctrines as these heretics dream of."* This holy father emphatically affirms that, " In explaining the Scriptures, Christians are to attend to the *pastors of the church*, who, by the ordinance of God, have *received the inheritance of truth*, with the succession of their sees."† He adds, " The tongues of nations vary, but the virtue of *tradition is everywhere one and the same* : nor do the churches in Germany believe or teach differently from those in Spain, Gaul, the East, Egypt, or Lybia."‡ " Since it would be tedious to enumerate the succession of all the churches, we appeal to the faith and tradition of the greatest, most ancient, and best known church—that of Rome, founded by the apostles, SS. Peter and Paul ;—for, with this church all others agree, in as much as in her is preserved the tradition which comes down from the apostles."§ " SUPPOSING THE APOSTLES HAD NOT LEFT US THE SCRIPTURES, OUGHT WE NOT STILL TO HAVE FOLLOWED THE ORDINANCE OF TRADITION, which they consigned to those to whom they committed the churches? It is this ordinance of *tradition* which many nations of barbarians, believing in Christ, follow, without the use of letters or ink."||

Tertullian, who flourished 200 years after the Christian era, has left us, amongst his other works, one of the same nature, and almost the same title with that last cited. In this, speaking of the contemporary heretics; he says, " They meddle with the Scriptures, and adduce arguments from them ; for, in treating of faith, they *pretend* that they ought not to argue upon any other ground than the *written* documents of faith : thus they weary the firm, catch the weak, and fill the middle sort with doubt. We begin, therefore, with laying it down as a maxim, that these men ought not to be allowed to argue at all from Scripture.—In fact these disputes about the sense of Scripture have generally no other effect than to disorder either the stomach or the brain.—It is, therefore, the wrong method to appeal to the Scriptures, since these afford either no decision; or, at most, only a doubtful one. And even if this were not

* Advers. Hæres. l. iii. c. 5.

§ L. iii. c. 2.

† L. iv. c. 43.

|| L. iv. c. 64.

‡ L. i. c. 3.

the case, still, in appealing to Scripture, the natural order of things requires that we should first inquire to whom the Scriptures belong? From whom and by whom, and on what occasion, and to whom, that *tradition* was delivered by which we became Christians? For where the truth of Christian discipline and faith is found, there is the truth of Scripture, and of the interpretation of it, and of all Christian traditions."* He elsewhere says, "That doctrine is evidently true which was first delivered: on the contrary, that is false which is of a later date.—This maxim stands immovable against the attempts of all late heresies.—Let such then produce the origin of their churches: let them show the succession of their bishops from the apostles, or their disciples.—If you live near Italy, you see before your eyes the Roman Church: happy church! to which the apostles have left the inheritance of their doctrine with their blood! Where Peter was crucified, like his Master; where Paul was beheaded like the Baptist!—If this be so, it is plain, as we have said, that heretics are not to be allowed to appeal to Scripture, since they have no claim to it.—Hence it is proper to address them as follows: 'Who are you? Whence do you come? What business have you strangers with my property? By what right are you, Marcion, felling my trees? By what authority are you, Valentine, turning the course of my streams? Under what pretence are you, Apelles, removing my land-marks? The estate is mine: I have the ancient, the prior possession of it. I have the title-deeds delivered to me by the original proprietors. I am the heir of the apostles; they have made their will in my favor: while they disinherited and cast you off, as strangers and enemies.'† In another of his works‡ this eloquent father proves, at great length, the absolute necessity of admitting tradition no less than Scripture as the rule of faith, inasmuch as many important points, which he mentions, cannot be proved without it.

I pass by other shining lights of the third century, such as St. Clement, of Alexandria, St. Cyprian, Origen, &c., all of whom place apostolical tradition on a level with Scripture, and describe the church as the expounder of them both. I must, however, give the following words from the last-named great biblical scholar. He says: "We are not to credit those who, by citing real canonical Scripture, seem to say, 'Behold, the word is in your houses;' for we are not to desert our first ecclesiastical tradition, nor to believe otherwise than as the churches of God have, in their perpetual succession, delivered to us."

* Præscrip. Advers. Hæres. edit. Rhenan, pp. 36, 37.

† Ibid.

‡ De Corona Milit.

Among the numerous and illustrious witnesses of the fourth age, I shall be content with citing St. Basil and St. Epiphanius. The former says, "There are many doctrines preserved and preached in the church, derived, partly from written documents, partly from apostolical tradition, which have equally *the same force* in religion, and which no one contradicts, who has the least knowledge of the Christian laws."* The last quoted father says, with equal brevity and force, "We must make use of tradition, for all things are not to be found in Scripture."†

St. John Chrysostom flourished at the beginning of the fifth century; and, though he strongly recommends the reading of the Holy Scriptures, yet expounding the text, (2 Thess. ii. 14,) he says: "Hence it is plain that the apostles did not deliver to us every thing by their epistles, but many things without writing. These are equally worthy of belief. Hence let us regard the tradition of the church as the subject of our belief. Such and such a thing *is a tradition: seek no further.*"‡ It would fill a large volume to transcribe all the passages which occur in the works of the great St. Augustin, in proof of the Catholic rule, and the authority of the church in making use of it: let, therefore, two or three of them speak for the rest. "To attain to the *truth of the Scriptures,*" he says, "we must follow the sense of them entertained by the universal church, to which the Scriptures themselves bear testimony. True it is, the Scriptures themselves cannot deceive us; nevertheless, to prevent our being deceived in the question we examine by them, it is necessary we should advise with that church, which these certainly and evidently point out to us.§ This (the unlawfulness of rebaptizing heretics) is not evidently read either by you or by me; nevertheless, if there were any wise man, to whom Christ had borne testimony, and whom he had appointed to be consulted on the question, we could not fail to do so: now Christ bears this testimony to his church. Whoever, therefore, refuses to follow the practice of the church, resists Christ himself, who, by his testimony, recommends this church."|| Treating elsewhere the same subject, he says: "The apostles, indeed, have prescribed nothing about this; but the custom must be considered as derived from their tradition, since there are many things observed by the universal church, which are justly held to have been appointed by the apostles, though they are not written."¶ It seems doing an injury to St. Vincent, of Lerins, who lived at the end of the fifth century, to quote a part of his celebrated *Commonitorium*, when the whole of it is so admirably

* In Lib. de Spir. Sanc.

† De Hæres. N. 61.

‡ Παράδοσις ἐστὶ, μηδὲν πλέον ζήτησι.

§ L. i. contra Crescon. || De Util. Cred. ¶ De Bapt. contra Donaf. l.

calculated to refute the false rule of heretics, condemned in the foregoing testimonies, and to prove the Catholic rule here laid down; still I cannot refrain from transcribing a small portion of it. "It is asked," says this father, "as the Scripture is perfect, what need is there of the authority of the church doctrine? The reason is, because the Scripture, being so profoundly deep, is not understood by all persons in the same sense, but different persons explain it different ways; so that there are almost as many meanings as there are readers of it. Novatian interprets it in one sense, Photinus in another, Arius, &c., in another. Therefore it is requisite that the true road of expounding the prophets and apostles must be marked out according to the ecclesiastical Catholic line.

"It never was, nor is, or will be, lawful for Catholic Christians to teach any doctrine except that which they once received; and it ever was, and is, and will be their duty to condemn those who do so. Do the heretics then appeal to the Scriptures? Certainly they do, and this with the utmost confidence. You will see them running hastily through the different books of Holy Writ, those of Moses, Kings, the Psalms, the Gospels, &c. At home and abroad, in their discourses and in their writings, they hardly produce a sentence which is not larded with the words of Scripture, &c.; but they are so much the more to be dreaded, as they conceal themselves under the veil of the divine laws. Let us, however, remember, that Satan transformed himself into an angel of light. If he could turn the Scriptures against the Lord of Majesty, what use may he not make of them against us poor mortals! If then Satan, and his disciples the heretics, are capable of thus perverting Holy Scripture, how are Catholics, the children of the church, to make use of them, so as to discern truth from falsehood? They must carefully observe the rule laid down at the beginning of this treatise, by the holy and learned men I referred to: **THEY ARE TO INTERPRET THE DIVINE TEXT ACCORDING TO THE TRADITION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.**"*

It would be as easy to prove this rule of faith from the fathers of the sixth, as of the former centuries, particularly from St. Gregory the Great, that holy pope, who, at the close of this century, sent missionaries from Rome to convert our pagan ancestors. But, I am sure, you will think that sufficient evidence has been brought to show that the ancient fathers of the church, from the very time of the apostles, held this "whole rule of faith," namely, the Word of God, "unwritten as well as writ-

* Vincent Lerins *Commonit. Advers. Hær.* edit. Baluz. An English translation of this little work has lately been published.

ten," together with "the living, speaking tribunal of the church," to preserve and interpret both the one and the other.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XI.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ.

THE TRUE RULE.

DEAR SIR—

THE infinite importance of determining with ourselves which is the right rule or method of discovering religious truth, must be admitted by all thinking Christians, as it is evident that this rule alone can conduct them to truth, and that a false rule is capable of conducting them into all sorts of errors. It is equally clear why all those, who are bent upon deserting the Catholic Church, reject her rule, that of the "whole word of God," together with her "living authority" in explaining it: for, while this rule and this authority are acknowledged, there can be no heresy nor schism among Christians, as whatever points of religion are not clear from Scripture, are supplied and illustrated by tradition; and as the pastors of the church, who possess this authority, are always living, and ready to declare what is the sense of Scripture, and what the tradition, on each contested point, which they have received in succession from the apostles, the only resource, therefore, of persons resolved to follow their own or their forefathers' particular opinions or practices, in matters of religion, with the exception of the enthusiasts, has been in all times, both ancient and modern, to appeal to mere Scripture, which, being a *dead letter*, leaves them at liberty to explain it as they will.

I. And yet, with all their repugnance to tradition and church authority, Protestants have found themselves absolutely obliged, in many instances, to admit of them both. It has been demonstrated above, that they are obliged to admit of tradition, in order to admit of Scripture itself. Without this, they can neither know that there are any writings at all dictated by God's inspiration, nor which, in particular, these writings are,* nor what versions or publications of them are genuine. But as this matter has been sufficiently elucidated, I proceed to other points of religion, which Protestants receive, either without the *authority* of Scripture, or in opposition to the *letter* of it.

* Among all the learned Protestants of this age, Dr. Porteus is the only one who pretends to discern Scripture, "partly on account of its own reasonableness, and the characters of divine wisdom in it."—Brief Confut., p. 9. I could have wished to ask his lordship, whether it is by these *characters* that he has discovered the *Canticle or Song of Solomon* to be inspired Scripture.

The first precept in the Bible is that of sanctifying the seventh day: "God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it," Gen. ii. 3. This precept was confirmed by God in the ten commandments: "Remember the sabbath-day to keep it holy. The seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God," Exod. xx. On the other hand, Christ declares that he is *not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it*, Matt. v. 17. He himself observed the sabbath: "And, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day," Luke iv. 16. His disciples likewise observed it after his death: "They rested on the sabbath-day, according to the commandment," Luke xxiii. 56. Yet with all this weight of Scripture authority for keeping the sabbath or seventh day holy, Protestants of all denominations make this a *profane day*, and transfer the obligation of it to the *first day of the week*, or the *Sunday*. Now what authority have they for doing this? None whatever, except the *unwritten word*, or *tradition*, of the Catholic Church, which declares that the apostles made the change in honor of Christ's resurrection, and the descent of the Holy Ghost on that day of the week. Then, with respect to the manner of keeping that day holy, their universal doctrine and practice are no less at variance with the sacred text. The Almighty says, "From even unto even shall you celebrate your sabbath," (Levit. xxiii. 32,) which is the practice of the Jews down to the present time, but not of any Protestants that ever I heard of. In like manner, it is declared in Scripture to be unlawful to dress victuals on that day, (Exod. xvi. 23,) or even to make a fire, Exod. xxxv. 3. Again, I ask, where is there a precept in the whole Scripture more express than that against eating blood? God said to Noah, "Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat to you; but flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat," Gen. ix. 4. This prohibition we know was confirmed by Moses, (Levit. xvii. 11, Deut. xii. 23,) and strictly imposed by the apostles upon the Gentiles who were converted to the faith, Acts xv. 20. Nevertheless, where is the religious Protestant who scruples to eat gravy with his meat, or puddings made of blood? At the same time, if he be asked, *Upon what authority do you act in contradiction to the express words of both the Old and the New Testament?* he can find no other answer than that he has learned, from the tradition of the church, that the prohibition was only temporary. I will confine myself to one more instance of Protestants abandoning their own rule, that of Scripture alone, to follow ours, of Scripture explained by tradition. If an intelligent pagan, who had carefully perused the New Testament, were asked which of the ordinances mentioned in it is most explicitly and strictly enjoined, I make no doubt but he

would answer that it is "the washing of feet." To convince you of this, be pleased to read the first seventeen verses of St. John, c. xiii. Observe the motive assigned for Christ's performing the ceremony there recorded—namely, his "love for his disciples:" next, the time of his performing it—namely, when he was about to depart out of this world. Then remark the stress he lays upon it, in what he said to Peter: "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me." Finally, his injunction at the conclusion of the ceremony, "If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet." I now ask, on what pretence can those who profess to make Scripture alone the rule of their religion totally disregard this institution and precept? Had this ceremony been observed in the church when Luther and the other first Protestants began to dogmatize, there is no doubt but they would have retained it; but, having learned from her that it was only figurative, they acquiesced in this decision, contrary to what appears to be the plain sense of Scripture.

II. I asserted that Protestants find themselves obliged not only to adopt the rule of our church, on many the most important subjects, but also to claim her authority. It is true, as a late dignitary of the establishment observes,* that "When Protestants first withdrew from the communion of the Church of Rome, the principles they went upon were such as these: Christ, by his Gospel, hath called all men to the liberty, the glorious liberty, of the sons of God, and restored them to the privilege of working out their own salvation by their own understanding and endeavors. For this work; sufficient means are afforded in the Scriptures, without having recourse to the doctrines and commandments of men. Consequently, faith and conscience, having no dependence upon man's laws, are not to be compelled by man's authority." What now was the consequence of this fundamental rule of Protestantism? Why, that endless variety of doctrines, errors, and impieties, mentioned above; followed by those tumults, wars, rebellions and anarchy, with which the history of every country is filled that embraced the new religion. It is readily supposed that the princes and other rulers of those countries, ecclesiastical as well as civil, however hostile they might be to the ancient church, would wish to restrain these disorders, and make their subjects adopt the same sentiments with themselves. Hence, in every Protestant state, articles of religion, and confessions of faith, differing from one another, but each agreeing with the opinion of the princes and rulers of the state for the time being,

* Archdeacon Blackburn in his celebrated Confessional, p. 1.

were enacted by law, and enforced by excommunication, deprivation, exile, imprisonment, torture, and death. These latter punishments indeed, however frequently they were exercised by Protestants against Protestants, as well as against Catholics, during the 16th and 17th centuries,* have not been resorted to during the last hundred years; but the terrible sentence of excommunication, which includes outlawry, even now hangs over the head of every Protestant bishop, as well as other clergymen in this country,† who shall interpret those passages of the Gospel concerning Jesus Christ in the sense which, it appears from their writings, a number of them entertain; in the mean time none of them can take possession of any living, without subscribing to the 39 articles, and publicly declaring his *unfeigned assent and consent* to them, and to *every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer*.‡ Thus, by adopting a false rule of religion, thinking Protestants are reduced to the cruel extremity of palpably contradicting themselves! They cannot give up “the glorious liberty,” as it is called above, of explaining the Bible each one for himself, without, at once, giving up their cause to the Catholics; and they cannot adhere to it, without many of the above-mentioned fatal consequences, and without the speedy dissolution of their respective churches. Impatient of the constraint they are under, in being obliged to sign articles of faith which they do not believe, many able clergymen of the establishment have written strongly against them, and have even petitioned Parliament to be relieved from the alleged *grievance* of subscribing to the professed doctrine of their own church.§ On the other hand, the legislature, foreseeing the consequences which would result from the removal of the obligation, have always rejected their prayer; and the judges have even refused to admit the following *salvo* added to their subscription: “I assent and consent to the articles and the book, *as far as these are agreeable to the word of God.*”|| In these straits, many of the most able, as well as the most respectable, of the established clergy, have been reduced to such sophistry and casuistry, as to move the pity of their very opponents.

* See the Letter on the *Reformation* and on *Persecution*, in *Letters to a Prebendary*. See also Neale’s History of the Puritans, Delaune’s Narrative, Sewell’s History of the Quakers, &c.

† See many excommunicating Canons, and particularly one A. D. 1640, against “the damnable and cursed heresy of Socinianism,” as it is termed in Bishop Sparrow’s Collection, p. 335.

‡ 1st Eliz. cap. ii.—14 Car. II. c. 4. Item. Canon 36 et 38.

§ There was such a petition signed by a great number of clergymen, and supported by many others in 1772.

|| See Confessional, p. 183.

One of these, the Norrisian professor of divinity at Cambridge, as an expedient for excusing his brethren in subscribing to articles which they do not believe, cites the example of the divines at Geneva, where he says, "a complete tacit *reformation* seems to have taken place. The Genevese have now, in fact, quitted their Calvinistic doctrines, though, *in form*, they retain them. When the minister is admitted, he takes an oath of assent to the Scriptures, and professes to teach them *according to the catechism of Calvin*; but this last clause about Calvin, he makes a separate business; speaking lower, or altering his posture, or speaking after a considerable interval."† Such a change of posture or tone of voice in the swearer, our learned professor considers as sufficient to excuse him from the guilt of prevarication, in swearing contrary to the plain meaning of his oath! It is not, however, intimated that the professor himself has recourse to this expedient: his particular system is, that "the Church of England, like that of Geneva, has, of late, undergone a complete tacit reformation‡—and hence that the sense of its articles of faith is to be determined by circumstances."§ Thus he adds (referring, I presume, to the statutes of King's College, Cambridge,) the oath, "I will say so many masses for the soul of Henry VI., may come to mean, I will perform the religious duties required of me!"|| The celebrated moralist, Dr. Paley, justifies a departure from the original sense of the articles of religion subscribed, by an INCONVENIENCE "*which is manifest and beyond all doubt!*"¶ Archdeacon Powell, Master of St. John's College, defends the English clergy from the charge of subscribing to what they do not believe; because, he says, "The crime is impossible; as that cannot be the sense of the declaration which no one imagines to be its sense; nor can that interpretation be erroneous which all have received!"** And yet such prelates as Secker, Horsley, Cleaver, Prettyman, with all the judges, strongly maintain that the literal meaning of the articles must be strictly adhered to!

I could cite many other dignitaries or leading clergymen of the establishment, and nearly the whole host of dissenters, who have had recourse to such quibbles and evasions, in order to

* Lectures in Divinity, delivered in the University of Cambridge, by J Hay, D. D. as Norrisian Professor, 1797, vol. ii. p. 57. † Ibid.

‡ Ibid, vol. ii. p. 48, (particularly in its approach to Socinianism, from which he signifies it is divided only by a few unmeaning words.)

§ Ibid. p. 49.

|| P. 62.

¶ Moral and Polit. Philos. Not having this work or Dr. Powell's Sermon on hand, I here quote from Overton's True Churchman, p. 337.

** Serm. on Subscrip.

get rid of the plain sense of the articles and creeds, to which they had solemnly engaged themselves before their Creator, as, I am convinced, they would not make use of in any contract with a fellow-creature: but I hasten to take in hand the admired discourses of my friend, Dr. Balguy. He was the champion, the very Achilles, of those who defended the subscription of the 39 articles, against the petitioners for the abrogation of it, in 1772. And how, think you, dear sir, did he defend it? Not by vindicating the truth of the articles themselves; much less by any of the quibbles mentioned or alluded to above; but upon the principle, that an exterior show of uniformity in the ministers of religion is necessary for the support of it; and that, therefore, they ought to subscribe and teach the doctrine prescribed to them by the law, whatever they may inwardly think of it. Thus it was that he, and many of his friends, imagined it possible to unite religious liberty with ecclesiastical restrictions. But I will give you the archdeacon's own words in one of his charges to his clergy. "The articles, we will say, 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*? Is there one in the number that will make us revengeful or cruel?" &c.† On this principle, you might in the eastern world, conscientiously swear your assent and consent to the fables of the Koran or the Vedam!! But, to proceed, he says: "Nothing is clearer than that the *uniform appearance* of religion is the cause of its general and easy reception. Destroy this uniformity, and you cannot but introduce doubt and perplexity into the minds of the people."‡ Again, he says: "I am far from 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 are placed for her defence."§ What is this doctrine of the subscription champion,

* Which articles they are, that the doctor particularly objects to, we can easily gather from his general language concerning mysteries, the sacraments, and our redemption by Christ. On this last head, he seriously cautions us against "censuring or persecuting our brethren, because their *non-sense* and ours wears a different dress." Charge ii. p. 192.

† Charge vi. p. 293.

‡ Charge v. p. 257.

§ Disc. vii. p. 120. Discourses by Thomas Balguy, D. D., Archdeacon and Prebendary of Winchester, &c., dedicated to the king. Lockyer Davies, 1785.

dear sir, I appeal to you, but a defence of the most vile and sacrilegious hypocrisy that can possibly be imagined? He leaves the clergy at liberty to *disbelieve in*, to *talk*, and even to *write against the doctrine of their church*; but requires them *in the pulpit to defend it!* I agree with him that contradictory doctrines publicly maintained by ministers of the same religion, tend greatly to make the adherents of it renounce it entirely; but will not that effect more certainly follow from the people's discovering, as they must, in the case supposed, discover, that their clergy *do not themselves believe in the doctrines which they preach?*

But this system of deceiving the people is not peculiar to Dr. Balguy: it is avowed by his friend and master, Bishop Hoadley, and represented by Archdeacon Blackburn, from whom I take the following passage, as being very generally adopted.* “In all proposals and schemes to be reduced to practice,” the bishop says, “we must suppose the world to be *what it is, and not what it ought to be*. We must propose, not merely what is absolutely good in itself, but what is so with respect to the prejudices, tempers, and constitutions, we know and are sure to be among us. It is represented that the world was never less disposed to be serious and reasonable than at this period. Religious reflection, we are informed, is not the *humor* of the times.—We are therefore advised to keep our prudence and our patience a little longer; to wait till our people are in a better temper, and, in the mean time, to bear with their manners and disposition; *gently and gradually correcting their foolish notions and habits; but still taking care not to throw in more light upon them, at once, than the weak optics of men, so long used to sit in darkness, are able to bear.*” His lordship's words are guarded, but perfectly intelligible. Bishop Hoadley had undermined the church he professed to support, in her doctrine and discipline, as has been elsewhere demonstrated,† and he wished all the clergy to cooperate in diffusing his Socinian system; but he advised them to attempt this “*gently and gradually,*” bearing with the people's “*foolish notions,*” and “*not throwing too much light upon them at once;*” in other words, continuing to subscribe the Articles and to preach them from the pulpit, being, at the same time, inwardly persuaded that they are not only false, but also foolish! I will add, not only foolish, but also impious and idolatrous, namely, by worshipping Christ as God, whom the subscriber believes to be *merely man!* Thus, dear sir, you have seen the necessity to which the different Protestant societies have

* Confessional, pp. 375, 385.

† Letters to a Prebendary, Ar^t Hoadleyism.

found themselves reduced, of occasionally appealing to tradition, and of assuming authority to dictate confessions and articles of religion, in direct violation of their boasted charter of private judgment; and you have seen that this inconsistency has rendered "the remedy worse than the disease." These weapons, not being natural to them, have been turned against them, and have mortally wounded them; and the "Church of England in particular," as one of its principal defenders complains, "is like an oak, cleft to shivers with wedges made of its own body."* You will now see with what ease and success the Catholic Church wields these weapons; but first, I think it best to add something by way of confirming and elucidating this Catholic rule.

III. What has been said above in proof of the Catholic rule, namely, that Christ established it when he sent his apostles to preach the Gospel, and that the apostles followed it when they established churches throughout different nations, is so incontestible as not to be denied by any of our learned opponents: still less will they deny, that the ancient fathers, and the doctors of the church, in every age, maintained this rule. Accordingly, one of the latest and most learned Protestant controvertists writes thus: "No one will deny that Jesus Christ laid the foundation of his church by preaching; nor can we deny that *the unwritten word was the first rule of Christianity.*"† This being granted, it was incumbent on his lordship to demonstrate, and this by no less an authority than that which established the rule, at what precise period it was abrogated. Was it when this gospel or that gospel, when this epistle or that epistle was written, though known only to particular congregations or persons, was it then that the pastors of the church lost their authority of proclaiming: "So we have received from the apostles, or the disciples of the apostles: so all the other pastors of the Catholic Church believe and teach?" Or was this abrogation of the "first rule of Christianity" deferred till the canon of Scripture was fixed at the end of the fourth century? So far from there being divine authority, there is not even a hint in ecclesiastical history, on which to ground this pretended alteration in the rule of faith. His lordship's only foundation is his *own conjecture*; "It is extremely *improbable*," he says, "that an *all-wise Providence*, in imparting a new revelation to mankind, would suffer any doctrine or article of faith to be transmitted to posterity by so precarious a vehicle as that of oral tradition."‡ The Bishop of London § had before said nearly the same thing, as well with respect to tradi-

* Daubeny's Guide to the Church. Appen. of the Churches, p. 61, by Dr. (now Bishop) Marsh.
 § Dr. Porteus, Brief Conf.

† Comparative View
 ‡ Ibid. p 67

tion being the *original rule*, as to the *improbability* of its continuing to be so, "considering," as he says, "how liable the easiest story, transmitted by word of mouth, is to be essentially altered in the course of one or two hundred years." But, to the *opinions* of these learned prelates, I oppose, in the first place, undeniable *facts*. It is, then, certain, that the whole doctrine and practice of religion, including the rites of sacrifice, and, indeed, the whole Sacred History, was preserved by the patriarchs, in succession from Adam down to Moses, during the space of 2,400 years, by means of tradition: and when the law was written, many most important truths regarding a future life, the emblems and prophecies concerning the Messiah, and the inspiration and authenticity of the sacred books themselves, were preserved in the same way. Secondly, it is unreasonable in these prelates, to compare the essential traditions of religion with ordinary stories: in the truth of these no one has an interest, and no means have been provided to preserve them from corruption; whereas, with respect to *the faith once delivered to the saints*, the church has ever guarded it as "the apple of her eye." All ecclesiastical history witnesses the extreme care and pains which, in ancient times, were taken by the pastors to instruct the faithful in the tenets and practices of their religion, previously to their being baptized.* The same are generally taken by their successors, previously to the confirmation and first communion of their neophytes, at the present day. Thirdly, when any fresh controversy arises in the church, the fundamental maxim of the bishops and popes, to whom it belongs to decide upon it, is, not to consult their own private opinion or interpretation of Scripture, but to inquire "what is and has ever been the doctrine of the church," concerning it. Hence, their cry is and ever has been, on such occasions, as well in her councils as out of them: "So we have received: so the universal church believes: let there be no new doctrine; none but what has been delivered down to us by tradition."†—Fourthly, the tradition of which we now treat, is not a *local* but an *universal* tradition, as widely spread as the Catholic Church itself is, and everywhere found the same. The maxim of the sententious Tertullian must be admitted: "Error, of course, varies; but that doctrine which is one and the same among many, is not an error but a tradition."‡ However liable men, and particularly illiterate men, are to believe in fables, yet if, on the discovery of America, the inhabitants of it, from Hud-

* See Fleury's *Mœurs de Chrét.* Hartley in B. Watson's *Col.* vol. v. p. 91

† "Nil innovetur: nil nisi quod traditum est." Steph. Papa I.

‡ "Variasse deberet error, sed quod unum apud multos invenitur, non est erratum, sed traditum." Præscrip. advers. Hæret.

son's Bay to Cape Horn, had been found to agree in the same account of their origin and general history, we should certainly give credit to them. But, fifthly, in the present case, they are not the *Catholics* alone of different ages and nations, who vouch for the traditions in question—I mean those rejected by Protestants—but all the subsisting heretics and schismatics of former ages without exception. The Nestorians and Eutychians, for example, deserted the Catholic Church, in defence of opposite errors, near 1,400 years ago, and still form regular churches, under bishops and patriarchs, throughout the East: in like manner the Greek schismatics, properly so called, broke off from the Latin Church, for the last time, in the eleventh century. Theirs is well known to be the prevailing religion of Christians throughout the Turkish and Russian empires. Nevertheless, these and all the other Christian sectaries of ancient dates, in every article in dispute between Catholics and Protestants, (except that concerning the pope's supremacy,) agree with the former and condemn the latter.* Let Dr. Porteus, and the other controvertists who declaim against the alleged ignorance and vices of the Catholic clergy and laity, during the five or six ages preceding the Reformation, and pretend to show how the tenets which they object to might have been introduced into *our* church, explain how precisely the same could have been quietly received by the Nestorians at Bagdad, the Eutychians at Alexandria, and the Russian Greeks at Moscow! All these, and particularly the last named, were ever ready to find fault with us upon subjects of comparatively small consequence, such as the use of unleavened bread in the sacrament, the days and manner of our fasting, and even the mode of shaving our beards; and yet, so far from objecting to the pretended novelties of prayers for the dead, addresses to the saints, the mass, the real presence, &c., they have always professed, and continue to profess, these doctrines and practices as zealously as we do.

Finally, by way of further answer to his lordship's shameful calumny, that the ancient "clergy and laity were so universally and monstrously ignorant and vicious, that nothing was too bad for them to do, or too absurd for them to believe," thereby insinuating that the former invented, and the latter were duped into, the belief of the articles on which the Catholic Church and the Church of England are divided; as also by way of further confirming the certainty of tradition, I maintain that it would have been much easier for the ancient clergy to corrupt the Scriptures, than the religious belief of the people. For, it

* See the proofs of this in the *Perpetuité de la Foi*, copied from the original documents in the French king's library.

is well known that the Scriptures were chiefly in the hands of the clergy, and that, before the use of printing, in the fifteenth century, the copies of it were renewed and multiplied in the monasteries by the labor of the monks, who, if they had been so wicked, might, with some prospect of success, have attempted to alter the New Testament, in particular, as they pleased: whereas the doctrines and practices of the church were in the hands of the people of all civilized nations, and, therefore, could not be altered without their knowledge and consent. Hence, wherever religious novelties had been introduced, a violent opposition to them, and of course, tumults and schisms would have ensued. If they had been generally received in one country, as, for example, in France, this would have been an occasion of their being rejected with redoubled antipathy in a neighboring hostile nation, as, for instance, England. Yet none of these disturbances or schisms do we read of, respecting any of the doctrines or practices of our religion objected to by Protestants, either in the same kingdom, or among the different states of Christianity. I said that the doctrines and practices of religion were in the hands of all "the people." In fact, they were all, in every part of the church, obliged to receive the holy sacrament at Easter; now they could not do this without knowing whether they had been previously taught to consider this as *bread and wine taken in memory of Christ*, or as the *real body and blood of Christ* himself. If they had originally held the former opinion, could they have been persuaded or dragooned into the latter, without violent opposition on their part, and violent persecution on that of their clergy? Again, they could not assist at the religious services performed at the funerals of their relations, or on the festivals of the saints, without recollecting, whether they had previously been instructed to *pray for* the former, and to *invoke the prayers* of the latter. If they had not been so instructed, would they, one and all, at the same time, and in every country, have quietly yielded to the first impostors who preached up such supposed superstitions to them; as, in this case, we are sure they must have done? In a word, there is but one way of accounting for the alleged alterations in the doctrines of the church, that mentioned by the learned Dr. Bailey;* which is, to suppose that, on some one night, all the Christians of the world went to sleep sound Protestants, and awoke the next morning rank Papists!

IV. I now come to consider the benefits derived from the Catholic rule or method of religion. The first part of this rule

* He was son of the Bishop of Bangor, and becoming a convert to the Catholic Church, wrote several works in her defence; and, among the rest one under the title of these letters, and another that of *A Challenge*.

conducts us to the second part ; that is to say, tradition conducts us to Scripture. We have seen that Protestants, by their own confession, are obliged to build the latter upon the former ; in doing which they act most inconsistently : whereas Catholics, in doing the same thing, act with perfect consistency. Again, Protestants, in building Scripture, as they do, upon tradition, as a mere human testimony, not as a *rule of faith*, can only form an act of *human faith*, that is to say, an *opinion* of its being inspired ;* whereas Catholics, believing in the tradition of the church, as a *divine rule*, are enabled to believe in the Scriptures with a firm faith, as the certain word of God. Hence the Catholic Church requires her pastors, who are to preach and expound the word of God, to study this second part of her rule, no less than the first part, with unremitting diligence ; and she encourages those of her flock, who are properly qualified and disposed, to read it for their edification.

In perusing the books of the Old Testament, some of the most striking passages are those which regard the prerogatives of the future kingdom of the Messiah ; namely, the extent, the visibility, and indefectibility of the church : in examining the New Testament, we find in several of its clearest passages, the strongest proofs of its being an *infallible guide* in the way of salvation. The texts alluded to have been already cited. Hence we look upon the church with increased veneration, and listen to her decisions with redoubled confidence. But here I think it necessary to refute an objection, which, I believe, was first started by Dr. Stillingfleet, and has since been adopted by many other controvertists. They say to us, *you argue in, what logicians call, a vicious circle : for you prove Scripture by your church, and then your church by Scripture.*† This is like John

* Chillingworth in his Religion of Protestants, chap. ii., expressly teaches, that “ The books of Scripture are not the *objects* of our faith,” and that “ a man may be saved, who should not believe them to be the word of God ”

† Certain respectable persons having expressed a wish that the writer had given a more detailed answer to the vulgar objections, that Catholics argue in, what logicians call a *circulus vitiosus*, by proving *the church from the Scripture, and the Scripture from the church* ; he here adds the following *analysis*, or explanation of his faith.—I believe the Catholic Church, and therefore every thing which she teaches, upon *the motives of credibility*, namely, her unity, sanctity, &c. which accompany her.—Now, among other things which she teaches me, is this, that a certain book, which she has always carefully kept in her possession, called *the Scriptures*, is *the inspired word of God*.—Examining this book, among many things hard to be understood, I find several things very easy and clear, particularly those which regard the church herself ; namely, that she is *founded on a rock, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail* ; that *Christ will remain with her for ever* ; and that his *Holy Spirit shall teach her all truth*, finally, that she is *the pillar and foundation of truth*. These divine testu

giving a character to Thomas, and Thomas a character to John.

—True it is, that I prove the *inspiration* of Scripture by the tradition of the church, and that I prove the *infallibility* of the church by the testimony of Scripture, which are two distinct things; but you must take notice, that independently of, and prior to, the testimony of Scripture, I knew from tradition, and the general arguments of the credibility of Christianity, that the church is an illustrious society, instituted by Christ, and that its pastors have been appointed by him to guide me in the way of salvation. In a word, it is not every kind of mutual testimony which runs in a *vicious circle*: for the Baptist bore testimony to Christ, and Christ bore testimony to the Baptist.

V. The advantage, and even necessity, of having a living, speaking authority for preserving peace and order in every society, is too obvious to be called in question. The Catholic Church has such an authority; the different societies of Protestants, though they claim it, cannot effectually exercise it, as we have shown, on account of their opposite fundamental principle of private judgment. Hence, when debates arise among Catholics concerning points of faith, (for as to scholastic and other questions, each one is left to defend his own opinion,) the pastors of the church, like judges in regard of civil contentions, fail not to examine them by the received rule of faith, and to pronounce an authoritative sentence upon them. The dispute is thus quashed, and peace is restored: for “if any party will not hear the church, he is,” of course, regarded as “a heathen and a publican.” On the other hand, dissensions in any Protestant society, which adheres to its fundamental rule of religious liberty, must be irremediable and endless.

VI. The same method which God has appointed to keep

monies confirm and increase my veneration for, and my confidence in the church, which church, however, I had learnt to revere and believe, before I opened the Scriptures.—Thus the phantom of a *circulus vitiosus*, in which two *unproved* things are adduced to prove each other, which Protestants have conjured up against the faith of Catholics, quite disappears.—To elucidate this matter more clearly, I will suppose myself to live in a remote part of the island, where a personage, with all the insignia and other moral evidence of his being the king’s delegate, presents himself to me and delivers me a letter, which he assures me was written to me by his majesty. My first care, in common prudence, is to ascertain the character and credibility of the messenger. These being made out to my entire satisfaction, I open the royal letter, in which, among other things, I read as follows: “The bearer of this letter is fully informed of our royal meaning and will, as to the contents of it, and of every thing relating to your duty and our service: you will therefore give the same credit to his declarations, as if they were personally given you by ourselves.” Having perused this passage of the letter my respect for the messenger cannot but increase, though, at first, I believed it to come from the king upon his testimony.

peace in his church, he has also appointed to preserve it in the breasts of her several children. Hence, while other Christians, who have no rule of faith but their own fluctuating opinions, "are carried about by every wind of doctrine," and are agitated by dreadful doubts and fears, as to the safety of the road they are in; Catholics, being moored to the rock of Christ's church, never experience any apprehension whatsoever on this head. The truth of this may be ascertained by questioning pious Catholics, and particularly those who have been seriously converted from any species of Protestantism. Such persons are generally found to speak in raptures of the peace and security they enjoy in the communion of the Catholic Church, compared with their doubts and fears before they embraced it. Still the death-bed is evidently the best situation for making this inquiry. I have mentioned, in my former letter, that great numbers of Protestants, at the approach of death, seek to be reconciled to the Catholic Church. Many instances of this are notorious, though many more, for obvious reasons, are concealed from public notice. On the other hand, a challenge has been frequently made by Catholics (among the rest by Sir Toby Matthews, Dean Cressy, F. Walsingham, Molines dit Flechiere, and Ulric, Duke of Brunswick, all of them converts) to the whole world, to name a single Catholic, who, at the hour of death, expressed a wish to die in any other communion than his own!

I have now, dear sir, fully proved what I undertook to prove—that the rule of faith professed by rational Protestants, that of "Scripture as interpreted by each person's private judgment," is no less fallacious than the rule of fanatics, who imagine themselves to be directed by an individual, private inspiration. I have shown that this rule is evidently unserviceable to infinitely the greater part of mankind; that it is liable to lead men into error, and that it has actually led vast numbers of them into endless errors and shocking impieties. The proof of these points was sufficient, according to the principles I laid down at the beginning of our controversy, to disprove the rule itself; but I have, moreover, demonstrated that our Divine Master Christ, did not establish this rule, nor his apostles follow it; that the Protestant churches, and that of England in particular, were not founded according to this rule; that individual Protestants have not been guided by it in the choice of their religion; and, finally, that the adoption of it leads to uncertainty and uneasiness of mind in life, and more particularly at the hour of death. On the other hand, I have shown that the Catholic rule, that of the entire word of God, unwritten as well as written, together with the authority of the living pastors of the church in explaining it, was appointed by Christ; was followed by the

apostles; was maintained by the holy fathers; has been resorted to from necessity, in both particulars, by the Protestant congregations, though with the worst success, from the impossibility of uniting private judgment with it; that tradition lays a firm ground for divine faith in Scripture; that these two united together as one rule, and each bearing testimony to the living, speaking authority of the church in expounding that rule, this church is preserved in peace and union through all ages and nations;* and, in short, that Catholics, by adhering to this rule and authority, live and die in peace and security, as far as regards the truth of their religion.

It remains for you, dear sir, and your religious friends, who have called me into the field of controversy, to determine which of the two methods you will follow, in settling your religious concerns for time and FOR ETERNITY! Were it possible for me to err in following the Catholic method, with such a mass of evidence in its favor, methinks I could answer at the judgment-seat of Eternal Truth, with a pious writer of the middle ages: "Lord, if I have been deceived, thou art the author of my error."† Whereas, should you be found to have mistaken the right way, by depending upon your own private opinion, contrary to the directions of your authorized guides, what would you be able to allege in excuse for such presumption? Think of this while you have time, and pray humbly and earnestly for God's holy grace to enlighten and strengthen you.

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XII.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ. &c.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

DEAR SIR—

I AM not forgetful of the promise I made in my last letter but one, to answer the contents of those which I had then received from yourself, Mr. Topham, and Mr. Askew. Within these few days I have received other letters from yourself and Mr. Topham, which, equally with the former, call for my attention. However, as it would take up a great deal of time to write separate answers to each of these letters, and, as I know that they are arguments and not formalities which you expect from me, I shall make this letter a general reply to the several objections contained in them all, with the exception of such as have been answered in my last to you. Conceiving, also, that it will contribute to the brevity and perspicuity of my letter, if I arrange

* "Domicillium pacis et unitatis."—S. Cyp. Ep. 46. † Hugh of St. Victor.

the several objections, from whomsoever they came, under their proper heads, and if, on this occasion, I make use of the scholastic instead of the epistolary style, I shall adopt both these methods. I must, however, remark, before I enter upon my task, that most of the objections appear to have been borrowed from the Bishop of London's book, called a *Brief Confutation of the Errors of Popery*. This was extracted from Archbishop Secker's Sermons on the same subject, which, themselves, were culled out of his predecessor Tillotson's pulpit controversy. Hence you may justly consider your arguments as the strongest which can be brought against the Catholic rule and religion. Under this persuasion, the work in question has been selected for gratuitous distribution by your tract societies, wherever they particularly wish to restrain or suppress Catholicity.

Against the Catholic rule it is objected, that Christ referred the Jews to the Scriptures: "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me," John, v. 35. Again, the Jews of Berea are commended by the sacred penman, "in that they search the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so," Acts, xvii. 11.

Before I enter on the discussion of any part of Scripture, with you or your friends, I am bound, dear sir, in conformity with my rule of faith, as explained by the fathers, and particularly by Tertullian, to protest against your and their right to argue from Scripture, and, of course, must deny that there is any necessity of my replying to any objections which you may draw from it. For I have reminded you that *no prophecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation*; and I have proved to you that the whole business of the Scriptures belongs to the church. She has preserved them, she vouches for them, and she alone, by confronting the several passages with each other, and with tradition, authoritatively explains them. Hence it is impossible that the real sense of Scripture should ever be against her and her doctrine; and hence, of course, I might quash every objection which you can draw from any passage in it by this short reply: *The church understands the passage differently from you: therefore you mistake its meaning.* Nevertheless, as *charity beareth all things and never faileth*, I will, for the better satisfying of you and your friends, quit my vantage ground for the present, and answer distinctly to every text, not yet answered by me, which any of your gentlemen, or which Dr. Porteus himself, has brought against the Catholic rule or method of religion.

By way of answering your first objection, let me ask you, whether Christ, by telling the Jews to "search the Scriptures," intimated that they were not to believe in his unwritten word, which he was then preaching, nor to hear "his apostles and

their successors," with whom he promised "to remain for ever?" I ask, secondly, on what particular question Christ referred to the Scripture—namely, the Old Scripture, for no part of the New was then written? Was it on any question that has been or might be agitated among Christians? No, certainly. The sole question between him and the infidel Jews was, whether he was or was not the Messiah. In proof that he was the Messiah, he adduced the ordinary motives of credibility, as they have been detailed by your late worthy rector, Mr. Carey, namely, the miracles he wrought, and the prophecies in the Old Testament that were fulfilled in him, as likewise the testimony of St. John the Baptist. The same is to be said of the commendations bestowed by St. Luke on the Bereans. They searched the ancient prophecies, to verify that the Messiah was to be born at such a time and in such a place, and that his life and his death were to be marked by such and such circumstances. We still refer Jews and other infidels to the same proofs of Christianity, without saying any thing yet to them about our rule of faith or judge of controversies.

Dr. Porteus objects what St. Luke says at the beginning of his gospel: "It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee, in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed." Again, St. John says, c. xx.: "These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life through his name."

Answer. It is difficult to conceive how his lordship can draw an argument from these texts against the Catholic rule. Surely he does not gather from the words of St. Luke, that Theophilus *did not believe* the articles in which he *had been instructed by word of mouth* till he read his gospel! or that the evangelist gainsayed the authority given by Christ to his disciples: "He that heareth you heareth me," which he himself records, *Luke*, x. 16. In like manner the prelate cannot suppose, that this testimony of St. John sets aside other testimonies of Christ's divinity, or that our belief in this single article, without other conditions, will ensure eternal life.

Having quoted these texts, which to me appear so inconclusive, the bishop adds, by way of proving that *Scripture* is sufficiently intelligible: "Surely the apostles were not worse writers, with divine assistance, than others commonly are without it."

I will not here repeat the arguments and testimonies already brought to show the great obscurity of a considerable portion of the Bible, particularly with respect to the bulk of mankind; because it is sufficient to refer to the clear words of St. Peter

declaring that there are in the epistles of St. Paul, "Some things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do all the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction," (2 Peter, iii. 16,) and to the instances which occur in the gospels, of the very apostles frequently misunderstanding the meaning of their Divine Master.

The learned prelate says elsewhere: "The New Testament supposes them (the generality of people) capable of judging for themselves; and, accordingly, requires them not only, to *try the spirits whether they be of God*, (1 John, iv. 1,) but to *prove all things, and hold fast that which is good*." 1 Thess. v. 21.

Answer. True, St. John tells the Christians, to whom he writes, to "try the spirits whether they are of God: because," he adds, "many false prophets are gone out into the world:" but then he gives them two rules for making trial: "Hereby ye know the Spirit of God. Every Spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh (which was denied by the heretics of that time, the disciples of Simon and Cerinthus) is not of God." In this the apostle tells the Christian, to see whether the doctrine of these spirits was, or was not, "conformable to that which they had learned from the church." The second rule was: "He that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth not us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth and the spirit of error:" namely, he bids them observe whether these teachers did or did not listen to the divinely constituted pastors of the church. Dr. Porteus is evidently here quoting Scripture for our rule, not against it. The same is to be said of the other text. Prophecy was exceedingly common at the beginning of the church: but, as we have just seen, there were false prophets, as well as true prophets. Hence, while the apostle defends this supernatural gift in general, "Despise not prophesyings," he admonishes the Thessalonians to prove them; not certainly by their private opinions, which would be the source of endless discord; but by the established rules of the church, and, particularly, by that which he tells them "to hold fast," (2 Thess. ii. 15,) namely, tradition.

Dr. P., in another place, urges the exhortation of St. Paul to Timothy: "Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them: and that from a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise to salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine for reproof," &c. 2 Tim. iii.

Answer. Does, then, the prelate mean to say, that the form

of sound words which Timothy had heard from St. Paul, and which he was commanded to *hold fast*, 2 Tim. i. 13, was all contained in the Old Testament, the only Scripture which he could have read in his childhood? Or that, in this he could have learned the mysteries of the trinity and the incarnation, or the ordinances of baptism and the eucharist? The first part of the question is a general commendation of tradition, the latter of Scripture.

Against tradition, Dr. P. and yourself quote *Mark vii.*, where the Pharisees and scribes asked Christ: "Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with unwashed hands? He answered and said to them: in vain do they worship me, teaching FOR* doctrines the commandments of men. For, laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups," &c.

Answer. Among the traditions which prevailed at the time of our Saviour, some were *divine*, such as the inspiration of the books of Moses and the other prophets, the resurrection of the body, and the last judgment, which assuredly Christ did not condemn but confirm. There were others merely *human*, and of a recent date, introduced, as St. Jerom informs us, by Sammai, Killel, Achiba, and other Pharisees, from which the Talmud is chiefly gathered. These, of course, were never obligatory. In like manner there are among Catholics "divine traditions," such as the inspiration of the gospels, the observation of the Lord's day, the lawfulness of invoking the prayers of the saints, and other things not clearly contained in Scripture: and there are, among many Catholics, historical and even fabulous traditions.† Now it is to the former, as avowed to be divine by the church, that we appeal: of the others every one may judge as he thinks best.

You both, likewise, quote Coloss. ii. 8, "Beware lest any man spoil (cheat) you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ."

Answer. The apostle himself informs the Colossians what kind of traditions he here speaks of, where he says: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of any holiday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days." The

* This particule FOR, which in some degree affects the sense, is a corrupt interpolation, as appears from the original Greek. N. B. The texts which Dr. P. refers to, I quote from the common Bible: his citations of it are frequently inaccurate.

† Such are the acts of several saints condemned by Pope Gelasius: such also was the opinion of Christ's reign upon earth for a thousand years.

ancient fathers and ecclesiastical historians inform us that, in the age of the apostles, many Jews and pagan philosophers professed Christianity, but endeavored to ally with it their respective superstitions, and vain speculations, absolutely inconsistent with the doctrine of the gospel. It was against these St. Paul wrote; not against those traditions which he commanded his converts to *hold fast to, whether they had been taught by word or by epistle*, 2 Thess. ii. 15; nor against those traditions which he commended his other converts *for keeping*, 1 Cor. xi. 2.* Finally, the apostle in that passage did not abrogate this his awful sentence: "Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us." 2 Thess. iii. 6.

Against the infallibility of the church in deciding questions of faith, I am referred to various other arguments made use of by Dr. Porteus; and, in the first place, to the following: "Romanists themselves own that men must use their eyes to find this guide; why then must they put them out to follow him?" I answer by the following comparisons. Every prudent man makes use of his reason to find out an able physician to take care of his health, and an able lawyer to secure his property; but having found these to his full satisfaction, does he dispute with the former about the quality of medicines, or with the latter about forms of law? Thus the Catholic makes use of his reason to observe which, among the rival communions, is the church that Christ established and promised to remain with: having ascertained that, by the plain acknowledged marks which this church bears, he trusts his soul to her unerring judgment, in preference to his own fluctuating opinion.

Dr. Porteus adds: "Ninety-nine parts in every hundred of their (the Catholic) communion, have no other rule to follow but what a few priests and private writers tell them." According to this mode of reasoning, a loyal subject does not make any act of the legislature the rule of his civil conduct, because, perhaps, he learns it only from a printed paper, or the proclamation of the bell-man. Most likely the Catholic peasant learns the doctrine of the church from his parish priest; but then he knows that the doctrine of this priest must be conformable to that of his bishop, and that otherwise he will soon be called to an account for it; he knows also that the doctrine of the bishop himself must be conformable to that of the other bishops and the pope; and that it is a fundamental maxim with

* The English Testament puts the word *ordinances* here for *traditions*, contrary to the sense of the original Greek, and even to the authority of Beza.

them all, never to admit of any tenet, but such as is believed by all the bishops, and was believed by their predecessors up to the apostles themselves.

The prelate gives a "rule for the unlearned and ignorant in religion, (that is to say of ninety-nine in every hundred of them,) which is this: Let each man improve his own judgment and increase his own knowledge as much as he can; and be fully assured that God will expect no more." What? If *Christ has given some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting the saints, for the work of the ministry*, Ephes. iv. 11, does he not expect that Christians should hearken to them, and obey them? The prelate goes on: "In matters, *for which he must rely on authority*," (mere Scripture then and private judgment, according to the bishop himself, are not always a sufficient rule even for Protestants, but they must in some matters rely on church authority,) "in matters, for which he *must* rely on authority, let him rely on the authority of that church which God's providence has placed him under," (that is to say, whether Catholic, Protestant, Socinian, Antinomian, Jewish, &c.) "rather than another which he hath nothing to do with," (every Christian has, or ought to have, something to do with Christ's true church,) and "trust to those, who, by encouraging free inquiry, appear to love truth; rather than such as, by requiring all their doctrines to be implicitly obeyed, seem conscious that they will not bear to be fairly tried." What, my lord; would you have me trust those men who have just now deceived me, by assuring me that I should not stand in need of guides at all, rather than those who told me, from the first, of the perplexities in which I find myself entangled! Again, do you advise me to prefer these conductors, who are forced to confess that they *may* mislead me, to those others, who assure me, and this upon strong grounds, that they will conduct me with perfect safety!

Our Episcopal controvertist finishes his admonition "To the ignorant and unlearned," with an address calculated for the stupid and bigoted. He says: "Let others build on fathers and popes, on traditions and councils, what they will: let us continue firm, as we are, on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." *Ephes. ii.* What empty declamation! Do then the fathers, popes, and councils profess or attempt to build religion on any other foundation than the revelation made by God to the apostles and prophets? His lordship knows full well that they do not, and that the only questions at issue are these three: 1st, Whether this revelation has not been made and conveyed by the *unwritten*, as well as by the *written* word of God? 2dly, Whether Christ did not

commit this word to his apostles and their successors "till the end of the world," for them to preserve and announce it? Lastly, whether, independently of this commission, it is consistent with common sense, for each Protestant ploughman and mechanic, to persuade himself that he, individually, (for he cannot, according to his rule, build on the opinion of other Protestants, though he could find any whose faith exactly tallied with his own,) that he, I say, individually, understands the Scriptures better than all the doctors and bishops of the church, who now are, or ever have been since the time of the apostles.*

One of your Salopian friends, in writing to me, ridicules the idea of infallibility being lodged in any mortal man, or number of men. Hence it is fair to conclude that he does not look upon himself to be infallible; now nothing short of a man's conviction of his own infallibility, one might think, would induce him to prefer his own judgment, in matters of religion, to that of the church of all ages and all nations. Secondly, if this objection were valid, it would prove that the apostles themselves were not infallible. Finally, I could wish your friend to form a right idea of this matter. The infallibility, then, of our church is not a power of telling all things past, present, and to come, such as the pagans ascribed to their oracles; but merely the aid of God's Holy Spirit, to enable her truly to decide what her faith is, and ever has been, in such articles as have been made known to her by Scripture and tradition. This definition furnishes answers to divers other objections and questions of Dr. P. The church does not decide the controversy concerning the conception of the blessed Virgin, and several other disputed points, because she sees nothing absolutely clear and certain concerning them, either in the written or the unwritten word; and therefore leaves her children to form their own opinions concerning them. She does not dictate an exposition of the whole Bible, because she has no tradition concerning a very great proportion of it, as for example, concerning the *prophecy of Enoch*, quoted by *Jude* 14, and the *baptism for the dead*, of which St. Paul makes mention, *1 Cor.* xv. 29, and the chronologies and genealogies in Genesis. The prelate urges that the words of St. Paul, where he declares that, "The church of God is the pillar and ground of truth," *1 Tim.* iii. 15, may be translated a different way from that received.— True: they may, but not without altering the original Greek, as also the common Protestant version. He says: it was or-

* The great Bossuet obliged the minister, Claude, in his conference with him, openly to avow this principle; which, in fact, every consistent Protestant must avow, who maintains his private interpretation of the Bible to be the only rule of his faith.

dained in the old law that every controversy should be decided by the priests and Levites, Deut. xvii. 8, and yet that these avowedly erred in rejecting Christ.—True: but the law had then run its destined course, and the divine assistance failed the priests in the very act of their rejecting the promised Messiah, who was then before them.—He adds, that St. Paul, in his epistle to the Church of Rome, bids her *not to be high-minded, but fear: for* (he adds) *if God spared not the Jews, take heed lest he also spare not thee*, Rom. xi.—Supposing the quotation to be accurate, and that the threat is particularly addressed to the Christians of Rome; what is that to the present purpose? We never supposed the promises of Christ to belong to them or their successors, more than to the inhabitants of any other city. Indeed it is the opinion of some of our most learned commentators, that before the end of the world, Rome will relapse into its former paganism.* In a word, the promises of our Saviour, that *hell's gates shall not prevail against his church*—that his *Holy Spirit shall lead it into all truth*—and that he himself *will remain with it for ever*, were made to the church of all nations and all times, in communion with St. Peter and his successors, the bishops of Rome: and as these promises have been fulfilled, during a succession of eighteen centuries, contrary to the usual and natural course of events, and by the visible protection of the Almighty; so we rest assured that he will continue to fulfil them, till the church militant shall be wholly transformed into the church triumphant in the heavenly kingdom.

Finally, his lordship, with other controvertists, objects against the infallibility of the Catholic Church, that its advocates are not agreed where to lodge this prerogative; some ascribing it to the pope, others to a general council, or to the bishops dispersed throughout the church.—True: schoolmen discuss some such points; but let me ask his lordship, whether he finds any Catholic who denies or doubts that a general council, with the pope at its head, or that the pope himself, issuing a doctrinal decision, which is received by the great body of Catholic bishops, is secure from error? Most certainly not: and hence he may gather where all Catholics agree in lodging infallibility. In like manner, with respect to our national constitution; some lawyers hold that a royal proclamation, in such and such circumstances, has the force of a law; others, that a vote of the house of lords, or of the commons, or of both houses together, has the same strength: but all subjects acknowledge, that an act of the king, lords, and commons, is binding upon them; and this suffices for all practical purposes.

* See Cornel. a Lapid. in Apocalyp.

But when, dear sir, will there be an end of the objections and cavils of men, whose pride, ambition, or interest leads them to deny the plainest truths? You have seen those which the ingenuity and learning of the Porteuses, Seckers, and Tillotsons have raised against the unchangeable Catholic rule and interpreter of faith: say, is there any thing sufficiently clear and certain in them, to oppose to the luminous and sure principles on which the Catholic method is placed? Do they afford you a sure footing, to support you against all doubts and fears on the score of your religion, especially under the apprehension of approaching dissolution? If you answer affirmatively, I have nothing more to say; but if you cannot so answer; and, if you justly dread undertaking your voyage to eternity on the presumption of your private judgment, a presumption which you have clearly seen has led so many other rash Christians to certain shipwreck, follow the example of those who have happily arrived at the port which you are in quest of. In other words, listen to the advice of the holy patriarch to his son: *Then Tobias answered his father—I know not the way, &c.;—then his father said—Seek thee a faithful guide.* Tob. v. You will no sooner have sacrificed your own wavering judgment, and have submitted to follow the guide, whom your heavenly Father has provided for you, than you will feel a deep conviction that you are in the right and secure way; and very soon you will be enabled to join with the happy converts of ancient and modern times,* in this hymn of praise: “I give thee thanks, O God, my enlightener and deliverer, for that thou hast opened the eyes of my soul to know thee. Alas! too late have I known thee, O ancient and eternal truth! too late have I known thee.”

I am, dear sir, yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

St. Austin's Soliloquies, c. 33, quoted by Dean Cressy, Exomol p. 655.

THE
END OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY.

PART II.

“There are many other things which keep me in the bosom of the Catholic Church. The agreement of different people and nations keeps me there. The authority established by miracles, nourished by hope, increased by charity, and confirmed by antiquity, keeps me there. The succession of bishops in the see of St. Peter, the apostle, (to whom our Lord, after his resurrection, committed his sheep to be fed,) down to the present bishop, keeps me there. Finally, the very name of CATHOLIC, which, among so many heresies, this church alone possesses, keeps me there.”—*St. Augustin, Doctor of the Church, A. D. 400, contra Epist. Fundam. c. 4.*

ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRUE
CHURCH.

LETTER XIII.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ. &c.

ON THE TRUE CHURCH.

DEAR SIR—

THE letters which I have received from you, and some others of your religious society, satisfy me that I have not altogether lost my labor in endeavoring to prove to you, that the *private interpretation of Holy Scripture* is not a more certain rule of faith than an imaginary *private inspiration* is; and, in short, that the *Church of Christ* is the only sure expounder of the doctrine of Christ. Thus much you, sir, in particular, candidly acknowledge: but you ask me, on the part of some of your friends, as well as yourself, why, in case you “must rely on authority,” as Bishop Porteus confesses “the unlearned must,” that is to say, the great bulk of mankind—why, I say, you should not, as he advises you, “rely on the authority of that church, which God’s providence hath placed you under, rather than on that of another which you have nothing to do with,”* and why you may not trust to the Church of England, in particular, to guide

* Confutation of Errors of Popery, p. 20.

you in your road to heaven, with equal security as to the Church of Rome?—Before I answer you, permit me to congratulate with you on your advance towards the clear sight of the whole truth of revelation. As long as you profess to hunt out the several articles of divine revelation, one by one, through the several books of Scripture, and under all the difficulties and uncertainties which, as I have clearly shown, attend this study, your task was interminable, and your success hopeless; whereas now, by taking the church of God for your guide, you have but one simple inquiry to make, “Which is this church?” A question that admits of being solved by “men of good will,” with equal certainty and facility. I say, there is but one inquiry to be made, namely, “Which is the true church?” because if there is any one religious truth more evident than the others from reason, from the Scriptures, both Old* and New,† from the Apostles’ Creed,‡ and from constant tradition, it is this: that “the Catholic Church preserves the true worship of the Deity—she being the fountain of truth, the house of faith, and the temple of God,” as an ancient father of the church expresses it.§ Hence it is as clear as the noonday-light, that by solving this one question, “Which is the true church?” you will at once solve every question of religious controversy that ever has been, or that ever can be agitated. You will not need to spend your life in studying the Sacred Scriptures in their original languages, and their authentic copies, and in confronting passages with each other, from Genesis to Revelations—a task by no means calculated, as is evident, for the bulk of mankind; you will only have to hear what the church teaches upon the several articles of her faith, in order to know with certainty what God has revealed concerning them. Neither need you hearken

* Speaking of the future church of the Gentiles, the Almighty thus promises, by Isaiah: “Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear, &c.: as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so I have sworn that I would not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall depart and the hills be removed, but my kindness shall not depart from thee,” &c., liv. See also lix., lx., lxiii. Jerem. xxxiii. Ezech. xxxvii. Dan. ii. Psalm. lxxxix.

† “Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.” Matt. xvi. 18. “I am with you all days, even until THE END OF THE WORLD.” Matt. xxviii. 20. “I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you FOR EVER, even the Spirit of Truth; he will teach you ALL TRUTH.” John xiv. 16, &c. “The house of God, which is the church of the living God THE PILLAR AND GROUND OF TRUTH.” 1 Tim. iii. 14.

‡ I BELIEVE THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH, or, I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH. Art. ix. The article is read differently by different holy fathers; but, either way, it means the same thing.

§ Lactan. De Divin. Inst. l. 4.

to contending sects, and doctors of the present or of past times ; you will need only to hear the *church*, which indeed Christ commands you *to hear*, under pain of being treated *as a heathen or a publican*. Matt. xviii. 17.

I now proceed, dear sir, to your question, "Why, admitting the necessity of being guided by the church, you and your friend may not submit to be guided by the Church of England, or any other Protestant church to which you respectively belong?"—My answer is, Because no such church professes, or, consistently with the fundamental Protestant rule of private judgment, can profess, to be a *guide* in matters of religion. If you admit, but for an instant, church authority, then Luther, Calvin, and Cranmer, with all the other founders of Protestantism, were evidently heretics in rebelling against it. In short, no other church but the Catholic can claim to be a religious guide, because, evidently, she alone is "the true church of Christ." This assertion leads me to the proof of what I asserted above, respecting the facility and certainty with which persons of good will may solve that most important question, "Which is the true church?"

Luther,* Calvin,† and the Church of England,‡ assign as the characteristics or marks of the true church of Christ, truth of doctrine, and the right administration of the sacraments. But to follow this method of finding out the true church, would be to throw ourselves back into those endless controversies concerning the true doctrine and the right discipline, which it is my present object to put an end to, by demonstrating, at once, "which is the true church." To show the inconsistency of the Protestant method, let us suppose that at a levee, some person were to inquire of his neighbor, "Which of the personages present is the prince regent?" and that he was to receive for answer, "It is the king's eldest son:" would this answer, however true, be of any use to the inquirer? Evidently not. Whereas, if he were told that the prince wore such and such clothes and ornaments, and was seated in such or such a place, these exterior marks would at once put him in possession of the information he was in search of. Thus we Catholics, when we are asked, "Which are the marks of the true church?" point out certain *exterior, visible* marks, such as plain, unlearned persons can discover, if they will take ordinary pains for this purpose, no less than persons of the greatest abilities and literature ; at the same time that they are the very marks of this church, which, as I said above, natural reason, the Scriptures, the creeds, and the fathers, assign and demonstrate to be the true

* De Concil. Eccles.

† Inst. l. 41.

‡ Art. 19.

marks by which it is to be distinguished. Yes, my dear sir, these marks of the true church are so plain in themselves, and so evidently point it out, that, as the prophet Isaias has foretold, xxxv. 8, *fools cannot err* in the road to it. They are *the flaming beacons* which for ever shine on *the mountain at the top of the mountains of the Lord's house*. Isai. ii. 2. In short, the particular motives for credibility which point out the "true church of Christ," demonstrate this with no less certitude and evidence, than the general motives of credibility demonstrate the "truth of the Christian religion."

The chief marks of the true church, which I shall here assign, are not only conformable to reason, Scripture, and tradition, but (which is a most fortunate circumstance) they are such as the Church of England, and most other respectable denominations of Protestants, acknowledge and profess to believe in no less than Catholics. Yes, dear sir, they are contained in those *creeds* which you recite in your daily prayers, and proclaim in your solemn worship. In fact, what do you say of the church you believe in, when you repeat the Apostles' Creed? You say, I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH. Again, how is this church more particularly described in the Nicene Creed, which makes part of your public liturgy? In this you say, I BELIEVE IN ONE CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH.* Hence it evidently follows that the church which you, no less than we, profess to believe in, is possessed of these four marks: UNITY, SANCTITY, CATHOLICITY, and APOSTOLICITY. It is agreed upon, then, that all we have to do, by way of discovering the true church, is to find out which of the rival churches, or communions, is peculiarly ONE—HOLY—CATHOLIC—and APOSTOLIC. Thrice happy, dear sir, I deem it, that we agree together, by the terms of our common creeds, in a matter of such infinite importance, for the happy termination of all our controversies, as are these qualities or characters of the true church, whichever that may be found to be! Still, notwithstanding this agreement in our creeds, I shall not omit to illustrate these characters or marks, as I treat them, by arguments from reason, Scripture, and the ancient fathers.

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XIV.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ. &c

UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

DEAR SIR—

NOTHING is more clear to natural reason, than that God can not be the author of different religions: for being the Eternal Truth, he cannot reveal contradictory doctrines; and being at the same time, “the Eternal Wisdom,” and “the God of peace,” he cannot establish a “kingdom divided against itself.” Hence it follows, that the church of Christ must be strictly ONE; one in “doctrine,” one in “worship,” and one in “government.” This mark of unity in the true church, which is so clear from reason, is still more clear from the following passages of Holy Writ. Our Saviour, then, speaking of himself, in the character of the good Shepherd, says: “I have other sheep” (the Gentiles) “which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be ONE FOLD, and one Shepherd.” John, x. 16. To the same effect, addressing his heavenly Father, previously to his passion, he says: “I pray for all that shall believe in me, that THEY MAY BE ONE, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee.” John, xvii. 20, 21. In like manner St. Paul emphatically inculcates the unity of the church, where he writes: “We being many are ONE BODY in Christ, and every one members one of another.” Rom. xii. 5. Again he writes: “There is ONE BODY and one spirit, as you are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, ONE FAITH, and one baptism.” Ephes. iv. 4, 5. Conformably with this doctrine, respecting the necessary unity of the church, this apostle reckons HERESIES among the sins which exclude *from the kingdom of God*, Gal. v. 20; and he requires that *a man who is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, be rejected*, Tit. iii. 10.

The apostolical fathers, St. Polycarp and St. Ignatius, in their published epistles, hold precisely the same language on this subject with St. Paul; as does also their disciple, St. Irenæus, who writes thus: “No reformation can be so advantageous, as the evil of schism is pernicious.”* The great light of the third century, St. Cyprian, has left us a whole book on the *unity of the church*, in which, among other similar passages, he writes as follows: “There is but one God, and one Christ, and one faith, and a people joined in one solid body with the cement of concord. This unity cannot suffer a division, nor this one body bear to be disjointed.—He cannot have God for his Father, who

nas not the church for his mother. If any one could escape the deluge out of Noah's ark, he who is out of the church may also escape.—To abandon the church is a crime which blood cannot wash away. Such a one may be killed, but he cannot be crowned.* In the fourth century, the illustrious St. John Chrysostom, writes thus: "We know that salvation *belongs to the church alone*, and that no one can partake of Christ, *nor be saved out of the Catholic Church and faith.*"† The language of St. Augustin, in the fifth century, is equally strong on this subject, in numerous passages. Among others, the synodical epistle of the Council of Zerta, in 412, drawn up by this saint, tells the Donatist schismatics: "*Whoever is separated from this Catholic Church*, however innocently he may think he lives, for this crime alone, that he is separated from the unity of Christ, will not have life, but *the anger of God remains upon him.*"‡ To the same effect, and not less emphatical, are the testimonies of St. Fulgentius and St. Gregory the Great, in the sixth century, in various passages of their writings. I shall content myself with citing one of them. "Out of this church," says the former father, "neither the name of Christian avails, nor does baptism save, nor is a clean sacrifice offered, nor is there forgiveness of sins, nor is the happiness of eternal life to be found."§ In short, such has been the language of the fathers and the doctors of the church in all ages, concerning her essential unity, and the indispensable obligation of being united to her. Such also have been the formal declarations of the church herself, in those decrees by which she has condemned and anathematized the several heretics and schismatics that have dogmatized in succession, whatever has been the quality of their errors, or the pretext for their disunion.—I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XV.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

PROTESTANT DISUNION.

DEAR SIR—

IN the inquiry I am about to make respecting the church or society of Christians, to which this mark of unity belongs, it will

* Cypr. de Unit. Oxon. p. 109.

† Hom. 1. in Pasc.

‡ Concil. Labbe. tom. ii. p. 1520.

§ Lib. de Remiss. Peccat. c. 23—N.B. This doctrine concerning the unity of the church, and the necessity of adhering to it, under pain of damnation, which appears so rigid to modern Protestants, was almost universally taught by their predecessors: as, for example, by Calvin, l. iv. Instit. 1., and Beza, Confess. Fid. c. v.; by the Huguenots in their catechism; by the Scotch, in their Profession of 1568; by the Church of England, Art. 18; by the cele.

be sufficient for my purpose to consider, that of Protestants on one hand, and that of Catholics on the other. To speak properly, however, it is an absurdity to talk of the "church or society of Protestants;" for the term PROTESTANT expresses "nothing positive," much less any union or association of persons: it barely signifies one who *protests*, or declares, against some other person or persons, thing or things; and in the present instance it signifies those who *protest against the Catholic Church*. Hence, there may be, and there are, numberless sects of Protestants, divided from each other in every thing, except in opposing their true mother the Catholic Church. St. Augustin reckons up ninety heresies, which had protested against the church before his time, that is, during the first four hundred years of her existence; and ecclesiastical writers have counted about the same number, that rose up since that period, down to the era of Luther's protestation, which took place early in the sixteenth century; whereas, from the last-mentioned era to the end of the same century, Staphylus and Cardinal Hosius enumerated two hundred and seventy different sects of Protestants: and, alas! how have Protestant sects, beyond reckoning and description, multiplied during the last two hundred years! Thus has the observation of the above-cited holy father been verified in modern, no less than it was in former ages, where he exclaims: "Into how many morsels have these sects been broken, who have divided themselves from the unity of the church?"* You are not ignorant that the illustrious Bossuet has written two considerable volumes on the *Variations of the Protestants*; chiefly on those of the Lutheran and the Calvinistic progenies. Numerous other variations, dissensions, and mutual persecutions, even to the extremity of death,† which have taken place among them, I have had occasion to mention in my former letters and other

brated Bishop Pearson, &c. The last-named writes thus: "Christ never appointed two ways to heaven; nor did he build a church, to save some, and make another institution for other men's salvation.—As none were saved from the deluge but such as were within the ark of Noah; so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of God, which belongs not to the church of God."—Exposit. of Creed, p. 349.

* St. Aug. contra Petilian.

† Luther pronounced the Sacramentarians, namely, the Calvinists, Zuinglians, and those Protestants, in general, who denied the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, *heretics, and damned souls, for whom it is not lawful to pray*. Epist. ad Arginten. Catech. Parv. Comment. in Gen. His followers persecuted Bucer, Melancthon's nephew, with imprisonment, and put Crellius to death, for endeavoring to soften their master's doctrine in this point. Mosheim by Maclaine, vol. iv. p. 341—353. Zuinglius, while he deified Hercules, Theseus, &c., condemned the Anabaptists to be drowned, pronouncing this sentence on Felix Mans: "*Qui iterum mergunt mergantur*;" which sentence was accordingly executed at Zurich. Limborch. In.

works.* I have also quoted the lamentations of Calvin, Dudith, and other heads of the Protestants, on the subject of these divisions. You will recollect, in particular, what the latter writes concerning those differences: "Our people are carried away by every wind of doctrine. If you know what their belief is to-day, you cannot tell what it will be to-morrow. Is there one article of religion, in which these churches, who are at war with the pope, agree together? If you run over all the articles, from the first to the last, you will not find one, which is not held by some of them to be an article of faith, and rejected by others as an impiety."†

With these and numberless other historical facts of the same nature before his eyes, would it not, dear sir, I appeal to your own good sense, be the extremity of folly, for any one to lay the least claim to the mark of unity in favor of Protestants, or to pretend that they, who are united in nothing but in their hostility towards the Catholic Church, can form *the one church* we profess to believe, in the creed! Perhaps, however, you will say that the mark of unity, which is wanting among the endless divisions of Protestants in general, may be found in the church to which you belong, the Established Church of England.—I grant, dear sir, that your communion has better pretensions to this, and the other marks of the church, than any other Protestant society has. She is, as our controversial poet sings, "The least *deform'd*, because *reform'd* the least."‡ You will recollect the account I have given, in a former letter,§ of the material changes which this church has undergone, at different times, since her first formation in the reign of the last Edward, and which place her at variance with herself. You will also remember the proofs of *Hoadleyism*, in other words, of *Socinianism*, that damnable and cursed heresy, as this church termed it in her last synod,|| which I brought against several of her most illustrious bishops, archdeacons, and other dignitaries of modern times. These teach, in official charges to the clergy, in consecration sermons, and in publications addressed to the throne,

trod. 71. Not content with anathematizing and imprisoning those reformers who dissented from his system, John Calvin caused two of them, Servetus and Gruet, to be put to death. The Presbyterians of Holland and New England were equally intolerant with respect to other denominations of Protestants. The latter hanged four Quakers, one of them a woman, on account of their religion. In England itself, frequent executions of Anabaptists and other Protestants took place, from the reign of Edward VI. till that of Charles I., and other severe, though less sanguinary, persecutions of Protestants continued till the time of James II.

* Lett. to a Prebendary, &c. † Epist. ad Capiton. inter. Epist. Bezæ.

‡ Dryden's Hind and Panther.

§ Letter viii.

|| Constitutions and Canons, A.D. 1640. Sparrow's Collect. p. 355.

that the church herself is nothing more than a voluntary association of certain people for the benefit of social worship; that they themselves are in no other sense *ministers of God*, than civil officers are; that Christ has left us no exterior means of grace, and that, of course, baptism and the Lord's supper (which are declared *necessary for salvation* in the catechism) produce no spiritual effect at all; in short, that all mysteries, and among the rest those of the trinity and incarnation, (for denying which the prelates of the Church of England have sent so many Arians to the stake in the reigns of Edward, Elizabeth, and James I.) are mere nonsense.* When I had occasion to expose this fatal system, (the professors of which, Cranmer and Ridley would have sent at once to the stake,) I hoped it was of a local nature, and that defending, as I was, in this point, the articles and liturgy of the Established Church, as well as my own, I should, thus far, be supported by its dignitaries and other learned members. I found, however, the contrary to be generally the case,† and that the irreligious infection was infinitely more extensive than I apprehended. In fact, I found the most celebrated professors of divinity in the universities, delivering Dr. Balguy's doctrine to the young clergy in their public lectures, and the most enlightened bishops publishing it in their pastorals and other works. Among these the Norrisian professor of theology at Cambridge, carries his deference to the Archdeacon of Winchester so far, as to tell his scholars, "As I distrust my own conclusions more than his, (Dr. Balguy's,) if you judge that they are not reconcilable, I must exhort you to confide in him rather than me."‡ In fact his idea concerning the mysteries of Christianity, particularly the trinity, and our redemption by Christ, and indeed concerning most other theological points, perfectly agree with those of Dr. Balguy. He describes the difference between the members of the Established Church and the Socinians, as consisting in nothing but "a few unmeaning words," and asserts, that "they need never be upon their guard against each other."§ Speaking of the *custom*, as he calls it, "in the Scripture, of mentioning *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost together*, on the most solemn occasions, of which

* See extracts from the sermons of Bishop Hoadley, Dr. Balguy, and Dr. Sturges, in *Letters to a Prebendary*, Let. viii. The most perspicuous and nervous of these preachers, unquestionably was Dr. Balguy. See his *Discourses and Charges*. Lockyer Davis, 1785.

† That great ornament of the Episcopal bench, Dr. Horsley, Bishop of St. Asaph's, does not fall under this censure; as he protected the present writer both in and out of Parliament.

‡ Lectures in Divinity, delivered in the University of Cambridge, by J. Hey, D.D., as Norrisian Professor, in four volumes, 1797. Vol. ii. p. 104.

§ *Ibid.* p. 41.

baptism is one,"—he says, "Did I pretend to understand what I say, I might be a Tritheist or an infidel; but I could not worship the one true God, and acknowledge Jesus Christ to be the Lord of all."* Another learned professor of divinity, who is also a bishop of the Established Church, teaches his clergy, "Not to esteem any particular opinion concerning the *trinity*, *satisfaction*, and original sin, as necessary to salvation."† Accordingly, he equally absolves the *Unitarian* from *impiety*, in refusing divine honor to our blessed Saviour, and "the worshipper of Jesus," as he expresses himself, from *idolatry*, in paying it to him, on the score of their common *good intention*.‡ This sufficiently shows what the bishop's own belief was, concerning the adorable Trinity and the Divinity of the second person of it. I have given, in a former letter, a remarkable passage from the above quoted charge, where Bishop Watson, speaking of the doctrines of Christianity, says to his assembled clergy, "I think it *safer* to tell you *where* they are contained, than *what they are*. They are contained in the Bible; and if, in reading that book, your sentiments should be different from those of your neighbor, or *from those of the church*, be persuaded that infallibility appertains as little to you, as it does to the church." I have elsewhere exposed the complete Socinianism of Bishop Hoadley and his scholars,§ among whom we must reckon Bishop Shipley in the first rank.

Another celebrated writer, who was himself a dignitary of the Establishment,|| arguing, as he does most powerfully, against the consistency and efficacy of public confessions of faith, among Protestants of every denomination, says, that out of a hundred ministers of the Establishment, who, every year, subscribe the articles made "to prevent diversity of opinions," he has reason to believe, "that above one-fifth of this number do not subscribe or assent to these articles in one uniform sense."¶ He also quotes a right reverend author who maintains, that "No two thinking men ever agreed exactly in their own opinion, even with regard to any one article of it."** He also quotes the famous Bishop Burnet, who says, that "The requiring of subscription to the 39 articles is a great imposition,†† and that the greater part of the clergy subscribe the articles without ever examining them, and others do it because they must do it, though they

* Lectures in Divinity, delivered in the University of Cambridge, by J Hey, D.D., as Norrisian Professor, in four volumes, 1797. Vol. ii. pp. 250, 251.

† Dr. Watson, Bishop of Landaff's charge, 1795.

‡ Collect. of Theol. Tracts, Pref. p. 17. § Letters to a Prebendary.

|| Dr. Blackburn, Archdeacon of Cleveland, author of the Confessional.

¶ Confess. 3 Ed. p. 45.

** Dr. Clayton, Bishop of Clogher.

†† Confess. p. 83.

can hardly satisfy their consciences about some things in them.”* He shows that the advocates for subscription, Doctors Nichols, Bennet, Waterland, and Stebbing, all vindicated it on opposite grounds; and he is forced to confess the same thing with respect to the enemies of subscription, with whom he himself ranks. Dr. Clark pretends there is a salvo in the subscription, namely, *I assent to the articles inasmuch as they are agreeable to Scripture*,† though the judges of England have declared to the contrary.‡ Dr. Sykes alleges that they were either purposely or negligently made *equivocal*.§ Another writer, whom he praises, undertakes to explain, how “these articles may be subscribed, and consequently believed, by a Sabellian, an orthodox Trinitarian, a Tritheist, and an Arian so called.” After this citation Dr. Blackburn shrewdly adds, “One would wonder what idea this writer had of *peace*,” “when he supposed it might be kept by the act of subscription among men of these different judgments.”|| If you will look into *Overton’s True Churchman Ascertained*, you will meet with additional proofs of the repugnance of many other dignitaries and distinguished churchmen to the articles of their own church, as well as of their disagreement in faith among themselves. Hence you will not wonder that a numerous body of them should, some years ago, have petitioned the legislature to be relieved from the *grievance*, as they termed it, of subscribing to these articles;¶ nor will you be surprised at hearing of the mutilation of the liturgy by so many others, to avoid sanctioning those doctrines of their church, which they disbelieve and reject, particularly the Athanasian Creed and the Absolution.**

I might disclose a still wider departure from their original confessions of faith, and still more signal dissensions among the different dissenters, and particularly among the old stock of the Presbyterians and Independents, if this were necessary. Most of these, says Dr. Jortin, are now Socinians, though we all know they heretofore persecuted that sect with fire and sword. The renowned Dr. Priestly not only denied the divinity of Christ, but with horrid blasphemy, accused him of numerous errors, weaknesses, and faults:†† and when the authority of Calvin, in burning Servetus, was objected to him, he answered, “Calvin was a great man, but if a little man be

* Confess. p. 91. † P. 222. ‡ P. 183. § P. 237. || P. 239

¶ Particularly in 1772.

** The omission of the Athanasian Creed, in particular, so often took place in the public service, that an act of Parliament has just been passed, to enforce the repetition of it. But, if the clergymen alluded to really believe that Christ is not God, what is the legislature doing in forcing them to worship him as God!

†† Theolog. Reposit. vol. 4.

placed on the shoulders of a giant, he will be enabled to see further than the giant himself.” The doctrine now preached in the fashionable Unitarian chapels of the metropolis, I understand, greatly resembles that of the late Theophilanthropists of France, instituted by an infidel, who was one of the five directors.

The chief question, however, at present is, whether the Church of England can lay any claim to the first character or mark of the true church, pointed out in our common creed, that of UNITY? On this subject I have to observe, that in addition to the dissensions among its members, already mentioned, there are whole societies, not communicating with the ostensible Church of England, who make very strong and plausible pretensions to be, each of them, the real Church of England. Such are the Non-jurors, who maintain the original doctrine of this church, contained in the homilies, concerning passive obedience and non-resistance, and who adhere to the first ritual of Edward VI. :* such are the evangelical preachers and their disciples, who insist upon it that pure Calvinism is the creed of the established Church : † finally, such are the Methodists, whom Professor Hey describes as forming *the old Church of England*. ‡ And even now, it is notorious that many clergymen preach in the churches in the morning, and in the meeting-houses in the evening ; whilst their opulent patrons are purchasing as many church livings as they can, in order to fill them with incumbents of the same description. Tell me now, dear sir, whether, from this view of the state of the Church of England, or from any other fair view which can be taken of it, you will venture to ascribe to it that first mark of the *true church*, which you profess to belong to her, when in the face of heaven and earth, you solemnly declare: *I believe in ONE Catholic Church?* Say, is there any single mark or principle of real *unity* in it! I anticipate the answers your candor will give to these questions.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

* To this church belonged Ken, and the other six bishops who were deposed at the revolution, as also Leslie, Collier, Hicks, Bret, and many other chief ornaments of the Church of England.

† It is clear from the articles and homilies, and still more from the persecution which the asserters of free-will heretofore suffered in this country, that the Church of England was Calvinistic till the end of the reign of James I., in the course of which that monarch sent episcopal representatives from England and Scotland to the great Protestant Synod of Dort. These, in the name of their respective churches, signed that “The faithful who fall into atrocious crimes, do not forfeit justification, or incur damnation.”

‡ Vol. ii. p. 73.

LETTER XVI.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

CATHOLIC UNITY.

DEAR SIR—

WE have now to see whether that first mark of the true church, which we confess in our creeds, but which we have found to be wanting to the Protestant societies, and even to the most ostensible and orderly amongst them, the Established Church of England, does or does not appear in that principal and primeval stock of Christianity, called *the Catholic Church*. In case this church, spread, as it is, throughout the various nations of the earth, and subsisting, as it has done, through all ages, since that of Christ and his apostles, should have maintained that religious *unity*, which the modern sects, confined to a single people, have been unable to preserve, you will allow that it must have been framed by a consummate Wisdom, and protected by an Omnipotent Providence.

Now, sir, I maintain it, as a notorious fact, that this original and great church is, and ever has been, strictly ONE in all the above-mentioned particulars, and first in her faith and terms of communion. The same creeds, namely, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, and the Creed of Pope Pius IV., -drawn up in conformity with the definitions of the Council of Trent, are everywhere recited and professed, to the strict letter; the same articles of faith and morality are taught in all our catechisms, the same rule of faith, namely, the revealed word of God, contained in Scripture and tradition, and the same expositor and interpreter of this rule, the Catholic Church, speaking by the mouth of her pastors, are admitted and proclaimed by all Catholics throughout the four quarters of the globe, from Ireland to Chili, and from Canada to India. You may convince yourself of this any day at the Royal Exchange, by conversing with intelligent Catholic merchants, from the several countries in question. You may satisfy yourself respecting it even by interrogating the poor illiterate Irish, and other Catholic foreigners, who traverse the country in various directions. Ask them their belief as to the fundamental articles of Christianity, the unity and trinity of God, the incarnation and death of Christ, his divinity, and atonement for sin by his passion and death, the necessity of baptism, the nature of the blessed sacrament; question them on these and other such points, but with kindness, patience, and condescension, particularly with respect to their language and delivery, and, I will venture to say, you will not find any essential variation in the answers of most of them; and much less such as you will find by pro-

posing the same questions to an equal number of Protestants, whether learned or unlearned, of the same denomination. At all events, the Catholics, if properly interrogated, will confess their belief in one comprehensive article, namely this : *I believe whatever the holy Catholic Church believes and teaches.*

Protestant divines, at the present day, excuse their dissent from the articles which they subscribe and swear to, by reason of their alleged antiquity and obsolescence,* though none of them are yet quite two centuries and a half old;† and they feel no difficulty in avowing, that “a tacit reformation,” since the first pretended reformation, has taken place among them.‡ This alone is a confession that their church *is not one and the same* : whereas all Catholics believe as firmly in the doctrinal decisions of the Council of Nice, passed fifteen hundred years ago, as they do in those of the Council of Trent, confirmed in 1564, and other still more recent decisions : because the Catholic Church, like its divine Founder, *is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.* Heb. xiii. 8.

Nor is it in her *doctrine* only, that the Catholic Church is one and the same ; she is also uniform in whatever is essential in her *liturgy*. In every part of the world, she offers up the same unbloody sacrifice of the holy mass, which is her chief act of divine worship : she administers the same seven sacraments, provided by infinite wisdom and mercy for the several wants of the faithful ; the great festivals of our redemption are kept holy on the same days, and the apostolical fast of Lent is everywhere proclaimed and observed. In short, such is the unity of the Catholic Church, that when Catholic priests or laymen, landing at one of the neighboring ports, from India, Canada, or Brazil, come to my chapel,§ I find them capable of joining with me in every essential part of the divine service.

Lastly, as a regular, uniform, ecclesiastical constitution and *government*, and a due subordination of its members, are requisite to constitute a uniform church, and to preserve in it unity of doctrine and liturgy ; so these are undeniably evident in the Catholic Church, and in her alone. She is, in the language of St. Cyprian, “the habitation of peace and unity,”|| and in that of the inspired text, *like an army in battle array.*¶ Spread, as the Catholics are, over the face of the earth, according to my former observation, and disunited, as they are, in every other respect, they form one uniform body in the order of religion.

* Dr. Hey's Lectures in Divinity, vol. ii. pp. 49, 50, 51, &c.

† The 39 articles were drawn in 1562, and confirmed by the queen and the bishops in 1571.

‡ Hey, p. 48.

§ At Winchester, where the writer resided when this letter was written.

|| “Domicilium pacis et unitatis.” St. Cyp. ¶ Cant. vi. 4.

Whether roaming in the plains of Paraguay, or confined in the palaces of Pekin, each simple Catholic, in point of ecclesiastical economy, is subject to his pastor; each pastor submits to his bishop; and each bishop acknowledges the supremacy of the successor of St. Peter, in matters of faith, morality, and spiritual jurisdiction. In every case of error, or insubordination, which, from the frailty and malice of the human heart, must from time to time, disturb her, there are found canons and ecclesiastical tribunals and judges, to correct and put an end to the evil, while similar evils in other religious societies are found to be interminable.

I have said little or nothing of the varieties of Protestants, in regard to their liturgies and ecclesiastical governments, because these matters being very intricate and obscure, as well as diversified, would lead me too far a-field for my present plan. It is sufficient to remark, that the numerous Protestant sects, expressly disclaim any union with each other in these points;—that a great proportion of them reject every species of liturgy and ecclesiastical government whatever;—that, in the Church of England herself, very many of her dignitaries, and other distinguished members, express their pointed disapprobation of certain parts of her liturgy no less than of her articles;*—and that none of them appear to stand in awe of any authority, except that of the *civil* power. Upon a review of the whole matter of *Protestant disunion and Catholic unity*, I am forced to repeat with Tertullian: “It is the character of error to vary; but when a tenet is found to be one and the same amongst a great variety of people, it is to be considered, not as an error, but as a divine tradition.†

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

* Archdeacon Paley very naturally complains, that “the doctrine of the articles of the Church of England,” which he so pointedly objects to, “are interwoven with much industry into her forms of public worship.” I have not met with a Protestant bishop, or other eminent divine, from Archbishop Tillotson down to the present Bishop of Lincoln, who approves altogether of the Athanasian Creed, which, however, is appointed to be said or sung on thirteen chief festivals in the year.

† De Præscrip. contra Hær.—The famous Bishop Jewel, in excuse for the acknowledged variations of his own church, objects to Catholics, that there are varieties in theirs; namely, some of the friars are dressed in black, and some in white, and some in blue; that some of them live on meat, and some on fish, and some on herbs: they have also disputes in their schools, as Dr. Porteus also remarks; but they both omit to mention, that these disputes are not about articles of faith.

LETTER XVII.—FROM JAMES BROWN, ESQ.

OBJECTIONS TO THE CLAIM OF EXCLUSIVE SALVATION.

REVEREND SIR—

I AM too much taken up myself with the present subject of your letters, willingly to interrupt the continuation of them: but some of the gentlemen who frequent New Cottage, having communicated your three last to a learned dignitary, who is upon a visit in our neighborhood, and he having made certain remarks upon them, I have been solicited by those gentlemen to forward them to you. The terms of our correspondence render an apology from me unnecessary, and still more the conviction that I believe you entertain of my being, with sincere respect and regard,

Rev. sir, &c.

JAMES BROWN.

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. —, Prebendary of —, to Mr. —.

It is well known to many Roman Catholic gentlemen, with whom I have lived in habits of social intercourse, that I was always a warm advocate for their emancipation, and, that so far from having any objections to their religion, I considered their hopes of future bliss as well founded as my own. In return, I thought I saw in them a corresponding liberality and charity. But these letters which you have sent me from the correspondent of your society at Winchester, have quite disgusted me with their bigotry and uncharitableness. In opposition to the Chrysostoms and Augustins, whom he quotes so copiously, for his doctrine of exclusive salvation, I will place a modern bishop of my church, no way inferior to them, Dr. Watson, who says: "Shall we never be freed from the narrow-minded contentions of bigots, and from the insults of men who *know not what spirit they are of*, when they stint the Omnipotent in the exercise of his mercy, and bar the doors of heaven against every sect but their own? Shall we never learn to think more humbly of ourselves and less despicably of others; to believe that the Father of the universe accommodates not his judgments to the wretched wranglings of pedantic theologues; but that every one, who, with an honest intention, and to the best of his abilities, seeketh truth, whether he findeth it or not, and worketh righteousness, will be accepted by him?"* These,

* Bishop Watson's Theolog. Tracts, Pref. p. 17.

sir, are exactly my sentiments, as they were those of the illustrious Hoadley, in his celebrated sermon, which had the effect of stifling most of the remaining bigotry in the Established Church.* There is not any prayer which I more frequently or fervently repeat, than that of the liberal-minded poet, who himself passed for a Roman Catholic; particularly the following stanza of it:

“Let not this weak and erring hand
Presume thy bolts to throw,
And deal damnation round the land
On each I judge thy foe.”†

I hope your society will require its popish correspondent, before he writes any more letters to it on other subjects, to answer what our prelate and his own poet have advanced against the bigotry and uncharitableness of excluding Christians, of any denomination, from the mercies of God and everlasting happiness. He may assign whatever marks he pleases of the true church, but I, for my part, shall ever consider charity as the only sure mark of this, conformably with what Christ says: “By this shall all know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.” John, xiii. 35.

LETTER XVIII.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

DEAR SIR—

IN answer to the objections of the reverend prebendary to my letters on the mark of *unity* in the true church, and the necessity of being incorporated in this church, I must observe, in the first place, that nothing disgusts a reasoning divine more than vague charges of *bigotry and intolerance*; inasmuch as they have no distinct meaning, and are equally applied to all sects and individuals, by others, whose religious opinions are more lax than their own. These odious accusations which your churchmen bring against Catholics, the dissenters bring against you who are equally loaded with them by the Deists, as these are, in their turn, by the Atheists and Materialists. Let us,

* Bishop Headley's *Sermons on the kingdom of Christ*. This made the choice of religion a thing indifferent, and subjected the whole business of religion to the civil power. Hence sprung the famous Bangorian controversy, which was on the point of ending in a censure upon Hoadley from the Convocation, when the latter was interdicted by ministry, and has never since, in the course of a hundred years, been allowed to meet again

† Pope's Universal Prayer.

then, dear sir, in the serious discussions of religion, confine ourselves to language of a defined meaning, leaving vague and tinsel terms to poets and novelists.

It seems, then, that Bishop Watson, with the Rev. N. N., and other fashionable latitudinarians of the day, are indignant at the idea of "stinting the Omnipotent in the exercise of his mercy, and barring the doors of heaven against any sect," however heterodox or impious. Nevertheless, in the very passage which I have quoted, they themselves *stint* this mercy to those who "work righteousness," which implies a restraint on men's passions. Methinks I now hear some epicure Dives or elegant libertine, retorting on these liberal, charitable divines, in their own words: "*Pedantic Theologues, narrow-minded bigots, who stint the Omnipotent in the exercise of his mercy, and bar the doors of heaven against me, for following the impulse which he himself has planted in me!*" The same language might, with equal justice, be put into the mouth of Nero, Judas Iscariot, and of the very demons themselves. Thus, in pretending to magnify God's mercy, these men would annihilate his justice, his sanctity, and his veracity!

Our business then is, not to form arbitrary theories concerning the Divine attributes, but to attend to what God himself has revealed concerning them and the exercise of them. What words can be more express than those of Christ on this point: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned!" Mark, xvi. 16: or than those of St. Paul: "Without faith it is impossible to please God," Heb. xi. 6. Conformably with this doctrine, the same apostle classes *heresies* with *murder and adultery*; concerning which he says: *they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God*, Gal. v. 20, 21. Accordingly, he orders that *a man who is a heretic, shall be rejected*, Tit. iii. 10; and the apostle of charity, St. John, forbids the faithful to *receive him into their houses*; or even to *bid him God-speed, who bringeth not this doctrine of Christ*, 2 John, i. 10. This apostle acted up to his rule, with respect to the treatment of persons out of the church, when he hastily withdrew from a public building, in which he met the heretic Cerinthus, "lest," as he said, "it should fall down upon him."*

I have given, in a former letter, some of the numberless passages, in which the holy fathers speak home to the present point; and, as these are far more expressive and emphatical than what I myself have said upon it, I presume they have chiefly contributed to excite the bile of the reverend prebendary.

* S Iren. l. iii. Euseb. Hist. l. iii.

However he may slight these venerable authorities, yet as I am sure that you, sir, reverence them, I will, on account of their peculiar appositeness to the point in question, add two more similar quotations from the great doctor of the fifth century, St. Augustin. He says: "All the assemblies, or rather divisions, who call themselves churches of Christ, but which, in fact, have separated themselves from the congregation of unity, do not belong to the true church. They might indeed belong to her, if the Holy Ghost could be divided against himself; but as this is impossible, they do *not* belong to her."* In like manner, addressing himself to certain sectaries of his time, he says: "If our communion is the church of Christ, yours is not so: for *the church of Christ is one, whichever she is*; since it is said of her: *My dove, my undefiled is one; she is the only one of her mother.*" Cantic. vi. 9.

But setting aside Scripture and tradition, let us consider this matter, as Bishop Watson and his associates affect to consider it, on the side of natural reason alone. These modern philosophers think it absurd to suppose, that the Creator of the universe concerns himself about what we poor mortals do or do not believe; or, as the bishop expresses himself, that he "accommodates his judgments to the wrangling of pedantic theologues." With equal plausibility, certain ancient philosophers have represented it as unworthy the Supreme Being to busy himself about the actions of such reptiles as we are in his sight; and thus have opened a door to an unrestrained violation of his eternal and immutable laws! In opposition to both these schools, I maintain as the clear dictates of reason; that, as God is the author, so he is necessarily the supreme Lord and Master of all beings, with their several powers and attributes, and therefore of those noble and distinguishing faculties of the human soul, *reason and free-will*;—that he cannot divest himself of this supreme dominion, or render any being or any faculty independent of himself or of his high laws, any more than he can cease to be God;—that of course, he does, and must, require our reason to believe in his divine revelations, no less than our will to submit to his supreme commands;—that he is just, no less than he is merciful;—and therefore that due atonement must be made to him for every act of disobedience to him, whether by disbelieving what he has said, or by disobeying what he has ordered. I advance a step further, in opposition to the Hoadley and Watson school, by asserting, as a self-evident truth: that, there being a more deliberate and formal opposition to the Most High, in saying, *I will not believe what thou hast revealed*, than

* De. Verb. Dom. Serm. ii.

in saying, *I will not practise what thou hast commanded*; so, *cæteris paribus*, WILFUL infidelity and heresy involve greater guilt than moral frailty.

You will observe, dear sir, that in the preceding passage I have marked the word *wilful*, because Catholic divines and the holy fathers, at the same time that they strictly insist on the necessity of adhering to the doctrine and communion of the Catholic Church, make an express exception in favor of what is termed *invincible ignorance*; which occurs when persons out of the true church are sincerely and firmly resolved, in spite of all worldly allurements on one hand, and of all opposition on the other, to enter into it, if they can find it out, and when they use their best endeavors for this purpose. This exception in favor of the *invincibly ignorant* is made by the same St. Augustin, who so strictly insists on the general rule above quoted. His words are these: "The apostle has told us, *to reject a man that is a heretic*; but those who defend a false opinion, without pertinacious obstinacy, especially if they have not themselves invented it, but have derived it from their parents, and who seek the truth, with anxious solicitude, being sincerely disposed to renounce their error, as soon as they discover it, such persons are not to be deemed heretics."* Our great controvertist, Bellarmine, asserts that such Christians, "in virtue of the disposition of their hearts, belong to the Catholic Church."†

Who the individuals, exteriorly of other communions, but, by the sincerity of their dispositions, belonging to the Catholic Church, who, and in what numbers they are, it is for the Searcher of hearts, our future judge, alone to determine. Far be it from me and from every other Catholic "to deal damnation" on any person in particular!—still thus much, on the grounds already stated, I am bound, not only in *truth*, but also in *charity*, to say and to proclaim, that nothing short of this sincere disposition, and the actual *use* of such means as providence respectively affords those who are ignorant of the true church for discovering it, can secure their salvation:—to say nothing of the Catholic sacraments and other helps for this purpose, of which such persons are unavoidably deprived.

I just mentioned the virtue of charity: and I must here add, that on no one point are latitudinarians and genuine Catholics more at variance than upon this. The former consider themselves charitable in proportion as they pretend to open the gate of heaven to a greater number of religionists of various descriptions; but, unfortunately, *they are not possessed of the keys of that gate*; and when they fancy they have opened the gate as

* Epist. ad Episc. Donat.

† Controv. Tom. ii. lib. iii. c. 6.

wide as possible, it still remains as *narrow* and the *way to it as straight*, as our Saviour describes them to be in the Gospel, Matt. vii. 14. Thus they lull men into a *fatal indifference* about the truths of revelation, and a *false security* of their salvation. Genuine Catholics, on the other hand, are persuaded that, as there is but *one God, one faith, and one baptism*, Ephes. iv. 5, so there is but **ONE SHEEPFOLD**, namely **ONE CHURCH**. Hence they omit no opportunity of alarming their wandering brethren, on the danger they are in, and of bringing them into this *one fold of the one Shepherd*, John, x. 16. To form a right judgment in this case, we need but ask: Is it charitable or uncharitable in the physician to warn his patient of his danger in eating unwholesome food? Again, is it charitable or uncharitable in the *watchman, who sees the sword coming, to sound the trumpet of alarm?* Ezech. xxxiii. 6.

But to conclude, the reverend prebendary may continue, with most modern Protestants, to assign his latitudinarianism, which admits all religions to be right, as a mark of the truth of his sect; thus dividing *truth*, which is essentially *indivisible*: yet will the Catholic Church continue to maintain, as she ever has maintained, that there is only *one faith* and one *true church*; and that this her uncompromising firmness, in retaining and professing this *unity*, is the first mark of her being this church.—The subject admits of being illustrated by the well-known judgment of the wisest of men.—Two women dwelt together, each of whom had an infant son; but, one of these dying, they both contended for possession of the living child, and carried their cause to the tribunal of Solomon. He, finding them equally contentious, ordered the infant they disputed about to be cut in two, and one half of it to be given to each of them; which order the *pretended mother* agreed to, exclaiming: “Let it be neither mine nor thine, but divide it. Then spake the woman, whose the living child was, unto the king; for her bowels yearned upon her son, and she said: O, my lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it. Then the king answered and said: Give her the living child, and in no wise slay it: **SHE IS THE MOTHER THEREOF!**” 1 Kings, iii. 26, 27.

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XIX.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

ON SANCTITY OF DOCTRINE.

DEAR SIR—

THE second mark by which you, as well as I, describe the church in which you profess to believe, when you repeat the Apostles' Creed, is that of SANCTITY. We, each of us, say; *I believe in the HOLY Catholic Church.* Reason itself tells us, that the God of purity and sanctity could not institute a religion destitute of this character, and the inspired apostle assures us that "Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it, with the washing of water, by the word; that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle." Ephes. v. 25, 27.—The comparison which I am going to institute between the Catholic Church and the leading Protestant societies on the article of *sanctity* or *holiness*, will be made on these four heads: 1st, the *doctrine* of holiness;—2dly, the *means* of holiness;—3dly, the *fruits* of holiness;—and lastly, the *divine testimony* of holiness.

To consider, first, the doctrine of the chief Protestant communions: this is well known to have been originally grounded in the pernicious and impious principles, that God is the author and necessitating cause, as well as the everlasting punisher of sin;—that man has no free-will to avoid it;—and that justification and salvation are the effects of an enthusiastic *persuasion*, under the name of *faith*, that a person is actually *justified and saved*, independently of any real belief in the revealed truths, independently of hope, charity, repentance for sin, benevolence to our fellow-creatures, loyalty to our king and country, or any other virtue; all which were censured by the first reformers as they are by the strict Methodists still, under the name of *works*, and by many of them declared to be even hurtful to salvation. It is asserted in *The Harmony of Confessions*, a celebrated work, published in the early times of the Reformation, that "all the confessions of the Protestant churches teach this primary article (of justification) with a holy consent;" which seems to imply, says Archdeacon Blackburn, "that this was the single article in which they all did agree."* Bishop Warburton expressly declares, that "Protestantism was built upon it:"† and yet, "what impiety can be more execrable," we may justly exclaim with Dr. Balguy, "than to make God a tyrant!"‡ And what lessons can be taught more immoral, than that men are not required to repent of their sins to obtain their forgive-

* Archdeacon Blackburn's Confessional, p. 16

† Doctrine of Grace, cited by Overton, p. 31.

‡ Discourses, p. 59.

ness, nor to love either God or man to be sure of their salvation!

To begin with the father of the Reformation: Luther teaches that "God works the evil in us as well as the good, and that the great perfection of faith consists in believing God to be just, although, *by his own will, he necessarily renders us worthy of damnation, so as to seem to take pleasure in the torments of the miserable.*"* Again he says, and repeats it, in his work *De Servo Arbitrio*, and his other works, that "free-will is an empty name;" adding, "if God foresaw that Judas would be a traitor, Judas *necessarily* became a traitor; nor was it in his power to be otherwise."† "Man's will is like a horse: if God sit upon it, it goes as God would have it; if the devil ride it, it goes as the devil would have it. Nor can the will choose its rider, but each of them strives which shall get possession of it."‡ Conformably to this system of necessity he teaches: "Let this be your rule in interpreting the Scriptures—wherever they command any good work, do you understand that they forbid it; because you cannot perform it."§ "Unless faith be without the least good work, it does not justify; it is not faith."|| "See how rich a Christian is, since he cannot lose his soul, do what he will, unless he refuse to believe; for no sin can damn him but unbelief."¶ Luther's favorite disciple and bottle-companion, Amsdorf, whom he made Bishop of Nauburgh, wrote a book expressly to prove that good works are not only *unnecessary*, but that they are *hurtful* to salvation, for which doctrine he quotes his master's works at large.** Luther himself made so great account of this part of his system, which denies free-will, and the utility and possibility of good works, that, writing against Erasmus upon it, he affirms it to be the *hinge* on which the whole turns; declaring the questions about the pope's supremacy, purgatory, and indulgences, to be trifles, rather than subjects of controversy.†† In a former letter, I quoted a remarkable passage from this patriarch of Protestantism, in which he pretends to prophesy, that this article of his shall subsist for ever in spite of all the emperors, popes, kings, and devils, concluding thus: "If they attempt to weaken this article, may hell-fire be their reward. Let this be taken for an inspiration of the Holy Ghost, made to me, Martin Luther."

* Luth. Opera, ed. Wittemb. tom. ii. fol. 437. † De Serv. Arbit fol. 469.

‡ Ibid. tom. ii.

§ Ibid. tom. iii. fol. 171.

|| Ibid. tom. i. fol. 361.

¶ De Captiv. Babyl. tom. ii. fol. 74.

** See Brierley's Protest. Apol. 393. See also Mosheim and Maclaine Eccles. Hist. vol. vi. pp. 324, 328.

†† See the passage extracted from the work *De Servo Arbitrio*. in Letters to a Prebendary, letter v.

However, in spite of these prophecies and curses of their father, the Lutherans in general, as I have before noticed, shocked at the impiety of this his primary principle, soon abandoned it, and even went over to the opposite impiety of semi-Pelagianism, which attributes to man the *first motion*, or cause of conversion and sanctification. Still, it will always be true to say, that Lutheranism itself originated in the impious doctrine described above.* As to the second branch of the Reformation, Calvinism, where it has not sunk into latitudinarianism or Socinianism,† it is still distinguished by this impious system. To give a few passages from the works of this second patriarch of Protestants: Calvin says, "God requires nothing of us but faith; he asks nothing of us, but that we believe."‡ I do not hesitate to assert that "the will of God makes all things necessary."§ "It is plainly wrong to seek for any other cause of damnation than the hidden councils of God."|| "Men, by the free will of God, without any demerit of their own, are predestinated to eternal death."¶ It is useless to cite the disciples of Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, &c., as they all adhere closely to the doctrine of their master; still I will give them the following remarkable passage from the works of the renowned Beza: "Faith is peculiar to the elect, and consists in an absolute dependence each one has on the certainty of his election, which implies an assurance of his perseverance. Hence we have it in our power to know whether we be predestinated to salvation, not by fancy, but by conclusions as certain as if we had ascended into heaven to hear it from the mouth of God himself."** And is there a man that, having been worked up by such dogmatizing, or by his own fancy, to this full assurance of his indefeasible predestination and impeccability, can, under any violent temptation to break the laws of God or man, be expected to resist it!

After all the pains which have been taken of late by Bishop Marsh, and other modern divines of the Church of England, to clear her from this stain of Calvinism, nothing is more certain than that she was, at first, deeply infected with it. The 42 Articles of Edward VI., and the 39 Articles of Elizabeth, are evidently grounded in that doctrine;†† which, however, is more expressly inculcated in the Lambeth Articles,‡‡ approved of by

* Bossuet's Variat. l. viii. pp. 23, 54, &c. Mosheim and Maclaine, vol. v p. 446. † Ibid. p. 458. ‡ Calv. in Joan. vi. Rom. i. Galat. ii. § Instit. l. iii. c. 23. || Ibid. ¶ Ibid. l. iii. c. 23.

** Exposit. cited by Bossuet, Variat. l. xiv. pp. 6, 7.

†† Particularly the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 17th, of the 39 Articles. By the tenor of the 13th among the 39, it would appear that the patience of Socrates, the integrity of Aristides, the continence of Scipio, and the patriotism of Cato, "had the nature of sin," because they were "works done before the grace of Christ."

‡‡ Fuller's Church History, p. 230.

the two archbishops, the Bishop of London, &c., in 1595, "whose testimony," says the renowned Fuller, "is an infallible evidence what was the general and received doctrine of the Church of England in that age about the fore-named controversies."* In the History of the University of Cambridge, by this author, a strict churchman, we have evident proof that no other doctrine but that of Calvin was so much as *tolerated* by the Established Church, at the time I have been speaking of. "One W. Barret, fellow of Gonville and Caius College, preached *ad Clerum* for his degree of bachelor in divinity, wherein he vented such doctrines, for which he was summoned, six days after, before the Consistory of Doctors, and there enjoined the following retractation:—1st, *I said that, No man is so strongly underpropped by the certainty of faith, as to be assured of his salvation*: but now, I protest, before God, that they which are justified by faith, are *assured of their salvation with the certainty of faith*.—3dly, I said that, *Certainty concerning the time to come is proud*: but now I protest that *justified faith can never be rooted out of the minds of the faithful*.—6thly, These words escaped me in my sermon: *I believe against Calvin, Peter Martyr, &c., that sin is the true, proper, and first cause of reprobation*: but now, being better instructed, I say, that the *reprobation of the wicked is from everlasting*; and I am of the same mind concerning election, as the *Church of England teacheth in the articles of faith*.—Last of all, I uttered these words rashly against Calvin, a man that hath very *well deserved of the church of God*: that *he durst presume to lift himself above the High God*: by which words I have done great injury to that learned and right-godly man. I have also uttered many bitter words against Peter Martyr, Theodore Beza, &c., being *the lights and ornaments of our church*, calling them by the odious name of Calvinists," &c.† Another proof of the former intolerance of the Church of England, with respect to the moderate system, which all her present dignitaries hold, is the order drawn up by the archbishops and bishops in 1566, for government to act upon; namely, that "All incorrigible *free-will men, &c.*, should be sent into some castle in North Wales, or at Wallingford, there to live on their own labor, and no one to be suffered to resort to them, but their keepers, until they be found to repent their errors."‡ A still stronger, as well as

* Fuller, p. 232.—N. B. On the point in question, Dr. Hey, vol. iv. p. 6, quotes the well-known speech of the great Lord Chatham in parliament: "We have a Calvinistic creed, and an Arminian clergy."

† Fuller's Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge, p. 150.—N. B. It will be evident to the reader that I have greatly abridged this curious recantation, which was too long to be quoted in full.

‡ Strype's Annals of Reform. vol. i. p. 214.

more authentic evidence of the former Calvinism of the English church, is furnished by the history and acts of the General Calvinistic Synod of Dort, held against Vorstius, the successor of Arminius, who had endeavored to modify that impious system. Our James I., who had the principal share in assembling this synod, was so indignant at the modification, that, in a letter to the States of Holland, he termed Vorstius "the enemy of God," and insisted on his being expelled, declaring, at the same time, that "it was his own duty, in quality of *Defender of the Faith*, with which title," he said, "God had honored him, to extirpate those cursed heresies, and to drive them to hell!"* To be brief, he sent Carlton and Davenport, the former being Bishop of Llandaff, the latter of Salisbury, with two other dignitaries of the Church of England, and Balcanqual, on the part of the Church of Scotland, to the synod, where they appeared among the foremost in condemning the Arminians, and in defining "that God gives true and lively faith to those whom he resolves to withdraw from the common damnation, and to them alone: and that the true faithful, *by atrocious crimes, do not forfeit the grace of adoption and the state of justification!*"†

It might have been expected that the decrees of this synod would have greatly strengthened the system of Calvinism; whereas it is from its termination, which corresponds with the concluding part of the reign of James I., that we are to date the decline of it, especially in England.‡ Still great numbers of its adherents, under the name of Calvinists, professing, not without reason, to maintain the original tenets of the Church of England, subsist in this country, and their ministers arrogate to themselves the title of *evangelical preachers*. In like manner, the numerous and diversified societies of Methodists, whether Wesleyans or Whitfieldites, Moravians or Revivalists, New Itinerants or Jumpers,§ are all partisans of the impious and immoral system of Calvin. The founder of the first-mentioned branch of these sectaries, Wesley, witnessing the follies and crimes which flowed from it, tried to reform them by means of a labored but groundless distinction.||

After all, the first and most sacred branch of holy doctrine consists in those articles which God has been pleased to reveal concerning his own divine nature and operations, namely, the articles of *the unity and trinity of the Deity*, and of *the incarnation, death, and atonement of the consubstantial Son of God*. It is admitted that these mysteries have been abandoned by the

* Hist. Abreg. de Gerard Brandt. tom. i. p. 417, tom. ii. p. 2.

† Bossuet's Variat. vol. ii. pp. 291, 294, 304.

‡ Mosheim and Maclaine, vol. v. pp. 369, 389.

§ See Evans' Sketch of all Religions.

|| See Postscript, p. 122.

Protestants of Geneva, Holland, and Germany. With respect to Scotland, a well-informed writer says, "It is certain, that Scotland, like Geneva, has run from high Calvinism, to almost as high Arianism or Socinianism: the exceptions, especially in the cities, are few." It will be gathered from many passages, which I have cited in my former letters, how widely extended, throughout the Established Church, is that "*tacit reform*," which a learned professor of its theology, signifies to be the same thing with Socinianism. A judgment may also be formed of the prevalence of this system, by the act of July 21, 1813, exempting the professors of it from the penalties to which they were before subject. And yet this system, as I have before observed, is pronounced by the Church of England, in her last named canons, "a damnable and cursed heresy, being a complication of many former heresies, and contrariant to the articles of religion now established in the Church of England."* I say nothing of the numerous Protestant victims, who have been burnt at the stake in this country, during the reigns of Edward VI., Elizabeth, and James I., for the Arian and Socinian errors in question, except to censure the inconsistency and cruelty of the proceeding: all that I have occasion to show is, that most Protestants, and among the rest, those of the English church, instead of uniformly maintaining at all times the same *holy doctrine*, heretofore abetted an acknowledged impious and immoral system, namely, Calvinism, which they have since been constrained to reject; and that they have now compromised with impieties, which formerly they condemned as "damnable heresies," and punished with fire and fagot.

But it is time to speak of the doctrine of the Catholic Church. If this was once *holy*, namely, in the apostolic age, it is *holy* still; because the church never changes her doctrine, nor suffers any persons in her communion to change it, or to question any part of it. Hence the adorable mysteries of the trinity, the incarnation, &c., taught by Christ and his apostles, and defined by the four first general councils, are now as firmly believed by every real Catholic, throughout her whole communion, as they were when those councils were held. Concerning the article of man's justification, so far from holding the impious and absurd doctrines imputed to her by her unnatural children, (who sought for a pretext to desert her,) she rejects, she condemns, she anathematizes them! It is then false, and notoriously false, that Catholics believe, or in any age did believe, that they could justify themselves by their own proper merits; —or that they can do the least good, in the order of salvation,

* Constit. and Can. A.D. 1640.

without the grace of God, merited for them by Jesus Christ ;—or that we can deserve this grace, by any thing we have the power of doing :—or that leave to commit sin, or even the pardon of any sin which has been committed, can be purchased of any person whomsoever ;—or that the essence of religion and our hopes of salvation consist in forms and ceremonies, or in other exterior things.—These and other calumnies, or rather blasphemies, of a similar nature, however frequently or confidently repeated in popular sermons and controversial tracts, there is reason to think are not really believed by any Protestant of learning.* In fact, what ground is there for maintaining them ? Have they been defined by our councils ? No : they have been condemned by them, and particularly by that of Trent. Are they taught in our catechisms, such as the *Catechismus ad Parochus*, the *General Catechism* of Ireland, the *Doway Catechism* ; or in our books of devotion ; for example, in those written by an à Kempis, a Sales, a Granada, and a Challoner ? No : the contrary doctrine is, in these, and in our other books, uniformly maintained.—In a word, the Catholic Church teaches, and ever has taught, her children to trust for mercy, grace, and salvation, to the merits of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, she asserts that we have free-will, and that this, being prevented by divine grace, can and must coöperate to our justification by faith, sorrow for our sins, and other corresponding acts of virtue, which God will not fail to bestow upon us, if we do not throw obstacles in the way of them. Thus is all honor and merit ascribed to the Creator, and every defect and sin attributed to the creature. The Catholic Church inculcates moreover the indispensable necessity of *humility*, as the ground-work of all virtues, by which, says St. Bernard, “from a thorough knowledge of ourselves we become little in our own estimation.” I mention this Catholic lesson, in particular, because, however strongly it is enforced by Christ and his disciples, it seems to be entirely overlooked by Protestants ; insomuch that they are perpetually *boasting* in their speeches and writings of the opposite vice, *pride*. In like manner, it appears from the above-mentioned catechisms and spiritual works, what pains our church bestows, in regulating the interior no less than the exte-

* The Norrisian Professor, Dr. Hey, says, “The Reformed have departed so much from the rigor of their doctrine about faith, and the Romanists from theirs about good works, that there seems very little difference between them.” Lect. vol. iii. p. 262. True, most of the reformers, after building their religion on *faith alone*, have now gone into the opposite heresy of *Pelagianism*, or at least *Semi-pelagianism* ; but Catholics hold exactly the same tenets regarding good works which they ever held, and which were a ways very different from what Dr. Hey describes them to have been. Vol.

rior of her children, by repressing every thought or idea contrary to religion or morality ; of which matter, I perceive little or no notice is taken in the catechisms and tracts of Protestants. Finally, the Catholic Church insists upon the necessity of being "perfect even as our heavenly Father is perfect," Matt. v. 48, by such an entire subjugation of our passions, and a conformity of our will with that of God, that *our conversation may be in heaven*, while we are yet living here on earth. Philip. v. 20.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER XIX.

THE Life of the late Rev. John Wesley, founder of the Methodists, which has been written by Dr. Whitehead, Dr. Coke, and others of his disciples, shows, in the clearest light, the errors and contradictions to which even a sincere and religious mind is subject, that is destitute of the clue to revealed truth, the living authority of the Catholic Church ; as also the impiety and immorality of Calvinism. At first, that is to say, in the year 1729, Wesley was a modern Church-of-England-man, distinguished from other students at Oxford by nothing but a more strict and methodical form of life. Of course, his doctrine then was the prevailing doctrine of that church ; this he preached in England, and carried with him to America, whither he sailed to convert the Indians. Returning, however, to England in 1738, he writes as follows : "For many years I have been tossed about by various winds of doctrine," the particulars of which, and of the different schemes of salvation which he was inclined to trust in, he details. Falling, however, at last, into the hands of Peter Bohler and his Moravian brethren, who met in Fetter-lane, he became a warm proselyte to their system : declaring, at the same time, with respect to his past religion, that, *hitherto he had been a Papist without knowing it*. We may judge of his ardor by his exclamation when Peter Bohler left England : "O what a work hath God begun since his (Bohler's) coming to England ; such a one as shall never come to an end till heaven and earth shall pass away." To cement his union with this society, and to instruct himself more fully in its mysteries, he made a journey to Heruhuth in Moravia, which is the chief seat of the United Brethren. It was whilst he was a Moravian, namely, "on the 24th of May, 1738, a quarter of an hour before nine in the evening," that John Wesley, by his own account, was "saved from the law of sin and death." This all-important event happened "at a meeting-house, in Aldersgate-

street, while a person was reading Luther's Preface to the Galatians." Nevertheless, though he had professed such deep obligations to the Moravians, he soon found out and declared that theirs was not the right way to heaven. In fact, he found them, "and nine parts in ten of the Methodists" who adhered to them, "swallowed up in the dead sea of stillness, opposing the ordinances, namely, prayer, reading the Scripture, frequenting the sacrament and public worship, selling their Bibles, &c., in order to rely more fully 'on the blood of the Lamb.'" In short, Wesley abandoned the Moravian connection, and set up that which is properly his own religion, as it is detailed by Nightingale in his *Portraiture of Methodism*. This happened in 1740, soon after which he broke off from his rival Whitfield. In fact, they maintained quite opposite doctrines on several essential points: still the tenet of instantaneous justification, without repentance, charity, or other good works, and the actual feeling and certainty of this and of everlasting happiness, continued to be the essential and vital principles of Wesley's system, as they are of the Calvinistic sects in general; till having witnessed the horrible impieties and crimes to which it conducted, he, at a conference or synod of his preachers, in 1744, declared that he and they had "leaned too much to Calvinism and Antinomianism." In answer to the question: "What is Antinomianism?" Wesley, in the same conference, answers: "The doctrine which makes void the law through faith. Its main pillars are, that Christ abolished the moral law;—that, therefore, Christians are not obliged to keep it;—that Christian liberty, is liberty from obeying the commands of God;—that it is bondage to do a thing because it is commanded, or forbear it because it is forbidden;—that a believer is not obliged to use the ordinances of God, or to do good works;—that a preacher ought not to exhort to good works," &c. See here the essential morality of religion which Wesley had hitherto followed and preached, as drawn by his own pen, and which still continues to be preached by the other sects of Methodists!* We shall hereafter see in what manner he changed it. The very mention, however, of a change in this ground-work of Methodism, startled all the other Methodist connections. Accordingly, the Hon. and

* The *Wesleyan Methodists* deny that the *Whitfieldites*, now called *Lady Huntingdon's Connection*, the *Kilhamites*, &c., have a right to the name of *Methodists*; though certainly George Whitfield, when a fellow student with John Wesley at Oxford, was, equally with him, termed a Methodist at their setting out. They also deny that the Rev. Mr. Coke is their head, or has any jurisdiction over them in England, though they allow him to be a bishop over their brethren in America; having been consecrated, they say, for that department by their celebrated father, the Rev. John Wesley.

Rev. Mr. Shirley, chaplain to Lady Huntingdon, in a circular letter, written at her desire, declared against the *dreadful heresy* of Wesley, which, as he expresses himself, "*injured the foundation of Christianity.*" He, therefore, summoned another conference, which severely censured Wesley. On the other hand, this patriarch was strongly supported, particularly by Fletcher of Madeley, an able writer, whom he had destined to succeed him, as the head of his connection. Instead of being offended at his master's change, Fletcher says: "I admire the candor of an old man of God, who, instead of obstinately maintaining an old mistake, comes down like a little child, and acknowledges it before his preachers, whom it is his interest to secure." The same Fletcher published seven volumes of *Checks to Antinomianism*, in vindication of Wesley's change in this essential point of his religion. In these he brings the most convincing proofs and examples of the impiety and immorality to which the enthusiasm of Antinomian Calvinism had conducted the Methodists. He mentions a highwayman, lately executed in his neighborhood, who vindicated his crimes upon this principle. He mentions other more odious instances of wickedness, which, to his knowledge, had flowed from it.* All these, he says, are represented by their preachers to be "damning sins in Turks and pagans, but only spots in God's children." He adds, "There are few of our celebrated pulpits; where more has not been said *for sin* than *against it!*" He quotes an honorable M. P., "once my brother," he says, "but now my opponent," who in his published treatise, maintains, "that murder and adultery do not hurt the pleasant children, (the elected,) but work even for their good:" adding, "My sins may displease God, my person is always acceptable to him.—Though I should out-sin Manasses himself, I should not be less a pleasant child, because God always views me in Christ.—Hence, in the midst of adulteries, murders, and incest, he can address me with: *Thou art all fair, my love, my undefiled; there is no spot in thee.*—It is a most pernicious error of the schoolmen to distinguish *sins according to the fact*, not according to the person.—Though I highly blame those who say, *let us sin that grace may abound*; yet adultery, incest, and murder, shall, upon the whole, make me holier on earth and merrier in heaven!"† It only remains to show in what manner Wesley purified his religious system, as he thought, from the defilement of Antinomianism. To be brief, he invented a two-fold mode of justification, one without repentance, the love of God, or other works; the other,

* See Fletcher, vol. ii.

† The Hon. Richard Hill, in his *Five Letters*. See also Eaton's *Honeycomb of Salvation*.

in which these works are essential: the former is for those who die soon after their pretended experience of saving faith, the latter for those who have time and opportunity of performing them. Thus, to say no more of the system, a Nero and a Robespierre might, according to its doctrine, have been established in the grace of God, and in a right to the realms of infinite purity, without one act of sorrow for their enormities, or so much as an act of their belief in God!

LETTER XX.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ. &c.

ON THE MEANS OF SANCTITY.

DEAR SIR—

THE *efficient cause* of justification, or sanctity, according to the Council of Trent,* is the mercy of God through the merits of Jesus Christ; still, in the usual economy of his grace, he makes use of certain instruments or means, both for conferring and increasing it. The principal and most efficacious of these are THE SACRAMENTS. Fortunately, the Established Church agrees in the main sense with the Catholic and most other Christian churches, when she defines a sacrament to be “An outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, and ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.”† But though she agrees with other Protestant communions in reducing the number of these to two, *baptism* and *the Lord's supper*, she differs with all others in this particular, namely, with the Catholic, the Greek, the Russian, the Armenian, the Nestorian, the Eutychian, the Coptic, the Ethiopian, &c., all of which firmly maintain, and ever have maintained, as well since, as before their respective defections from us, the whole collection of the *seven sacraments*.‡ This fact alone refutes the airy speculations of Protestants concerning the origin of the five sacraments which they reject, and thus demonstrates that they are deprived of as many divinely instituted instruments or means of sanctity.—As each of these seven channels of grace,

* Sess. vi. cap. 7.

† Catechism in Com. Prayer.—N. B. The last clause in this definition is far too strong, as it seems to imply, that every person who is partaker of the outward part of a sacrament, necessarily receives the grace of it, whatever may be his dispositions; an impiety which the Bishop of Lincoln calumniously attributes to the Catholics.—Elements of Theol. vol. ii. p. 436.

‡ This important fact is incontrovertibly proved in the celebrated work, *La Perpetuité de la Foi*, from original documents procured by Louis XIV., and preserved in the King's Library at Paris.

though all supplied from the same fountain of Christ's merits, supplies each of them a separate grace, adapted to the different wants of the faithful, and as each of them furnishes matter of observation for the present discussion, I shall take a cursory view of them.

The first sacrament, in point of order and necessity, is baptism. In fact, no authority can be more express than that of the Scripture as to this necessity. "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit," says Christ, "he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." John, iii. 5. "Repent," cries St. Peter, "and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus, for the remission of sins." Acts, ii. 38. "Arise," answered Ananias to St. Paul, "and be baptized, and wash away thy sins." Acts, xxii. 16. This *necessity* was heretofore acknowledged by the Church of England, at least, as appears from her articles, and still more clearly from her Liturgy* and the works of her eminent divines.† Hence, as baptism is valid, by whomsoever it is conferred, the English church may be said to have been upon an equal footing with the Catholic Church, as much as concerns this instrument or means of holiness. But the case is different now, since that *tacit reformation* which is acknowledged to have taken place in her practice. This has nearly swept out of her both the belief of original sin and its necessary remedy, baptism. "That we are born guilty," the great authority, Dr. Balguy, says, "is either unintelligible or impossible." Accordingly, he teaches that "the rite of baptism is no more than a *representation* of our entrance into the church of Christ."—Elsewhere he says: "The sign (of a sacrament) is *declaratory*, not *efficient*."‡ Dr. Hey says, the negligence of the parent, with respect to procuring baptism, "*may* affect the child: to say it *will* affect him, is to run into the error I am condemning."§ Even the Bishop of Lincoln calls it, "An unauthorized principle of papists, that no person whatsoever can be saved who has not been baptized."|| Where the doctrine of baptism is so lax, we may be sure the practice of it will not be more strict. Accordingly, we have abundant proofs that, from the frequent and long delays in the administration of this sacrament among Protestants, very many children die without receiving it, and that,

* Common Prayer.

† See B. Pearson on the Creed, Art. x. Hooker, Eccl. Polit. b. v. p. 60.

‡ Charge vi. pp. 298, 300. § Lectures in Divinity, vol. iii. p. 182.

|| Vol. ii. p. 470. The learned prelate can hardly be supposed ignorant that many of our martyrs, recorded in our Martyrology and our Breviary, are expressly declared not to have been *actually* baptized; or that our divines unanimously teach, that not only the baptism of blood by martyrdom, but also a sincere desire of being baptized, suffices, where the means of baptism are wanting.

from the negligence of their ministers, as to the right matter and the form of words, many more children receive it invalidly. Look, on the other hand, at the Catholic Church: you will find the same importance still attached to this sacred rite, on the part of the people and the clergy, which is observable in the Acts of the Apostles and in the writings of the holy fathers; the former being ever impatient to have their children baptized, the latter equally solicitous to administer it in due time, and with the most scrupulous exactness. Thus, as matters now stand, the two churches are not upon a level with respect to this first means of sanctification; the members of the one having a much greater moral certainty of the remission of that sin in which we were all born, and of their having been heretofore actually received into the church of Christ, than the members of the other. It would be too tedious a task to treat of the tenets of other Protestants, on this and the corresponding matters: let it suffice to say, that the famous Synod of Dort, representing all the Calvinistic states of Europe, formally decided that the children of the elect are included in the covenant made with their parents, and thus are exempt from the necessity of baptism, as likewise of faith and morality, being thus insured, themselves and all their posterity, till the end of time, of their justification and salvation!*

Concerning the second channel of grace, or means of sanctity, *confirmation*, there is no question. The Church of England, which, among the different Protestant societies, alone, I believe, lays claim to any part of this rite, under the title of *The ceremony of laying on of hands*, expressly teaches, at the same time, that it is *no sacrament*, as not being *ordained by God*, nor any *effectual sign of grace*.† But the Catholic Church, instructed by the solicitude of the apostles, to *strengthen* the faith of those her children who had received it in baptism,‡ and by the lessons of Christ himself, concerning the importance of receiving that Holy Spirit, which is communicated in this sacrament,§ religiously retains and faithfully administers it to them, for the self-same purpose, through all ages. In a word, those who are true Christians, by virtue of baptism, are not made perfect Christians, except by virtue of the sacrament of confirmation, which none of the Protestant societies so much as lays a claim to.

Of the third sacrament, indeed, *the Lord's supper*, as they call it, the Protestant societies, and particularly the Church of England, in her prayer-book, say great things: nevertheless, what is it, after all, upon her own showing?—Mere *bread and wine* received in memory of Christ's passion and death, in order

* Bossuet's Variat. book xiv. p. 46

† Acts viii. 14.—xix. 2.

‡ Art. xxv.

§ John, xvi.

to excite the receiver's faith in him: that is to say, it is a bare *type* or *memorial* of Christ. Any thing may be instituted to be the type or memorial of another thing; but certainly the Jews, in their paschal lamb, had a more lively figure of the death of Christ, and so have Christians in each of the four evangelists, than *eating bread* and *drinking wine* can be. Hence, I infer, that the communion of Protestants, according to their belief and practice in this country, cannot be more than a feeble excitement to their devotion, and an inefficient help to their sanctification.—But, if Christ is to be believed upon his own solemn declaration, where he says, "Take ye and eat; this is my body:—drink ye all of this; for this is my blood," Matt. xxvi. 26;—"My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed," John, vi. 56; then the holy communion of Catholics is, beyond all expression and all conception, not only the most powerful stimulative to our faith, our hope, our love, and our contrition, but also the most efficacious means of obtaining these and all other graces from the Divine bounty. Those Catholics who frequent this sacrament with the suitable dispositions, are the best judges of the truth of what I here say: nevertheless, many Protestants have been converted to the Catholic Church from the ardent desire they felt of receiving their Saviour Christ himself into their bosoms, instead of a bare memorial of him, and from a just conviction of the spiritual benefits they would derive from this intimate union with him.

The four remaining instruments of grace, *penance*, *extreme unction*, *order*, and *matrimony*, Protestants, in general, give up to us, no less than confirmation. The Bishop of Lincoln,* Dr. Hey,† and other controvertists, pretend that it was Peter Lombard, in the twelfth century, who made sacraments of them. True it is, that this industrious theologian collected together the different passages of the fathers, and arranged them, with proper definitions of each subject, in their present scholastic order: this he did not only with respect to the sacraments, but likewise to the other branches of divinity, on which account he is called *the master of the sentences*:—but Peter Lombard could as soon have introduced Mahometanism into the church, as the belief of any one sacrament, which it had not before received as such. Besides, supposing him to have deceived the Latin Church into this belief, I ask by what means were the schismatical Greek churches fascinated into it? In short, though these holy rites had not been indued by Christ with a sacramental grace, yet, practised as they are in the Catholic Church, they would still be great helps to piety and Christian morality.

* Elem. vol. ii. p. 414.

† Lect vol. iv. p. 199.

What I have just asserted concerning these five sacraments in general, is particularly true with respect to the sacrament of *penance*. For what does this consist of? and what is the preparation of it, as set forth by all our councils, catechisms, and prayer-books? There must first be fervent prayer to God for his light and strength; next an impartial examination of the conscience, to acquire that most important of all sciences, the knowledge of ourselves: then true sorrow for our sins, with a firm purpose of amendment, which is the most essential part of the sacrament. After this there must be a sincere exposure of the state of the interior to a confidential, and at the same time, a learned, experienced, and disinterested director. If the latter could afford no other benefit to his penitents, yet how inestimable a one is it, to make known to them many defects and many duties, which their self-love had probably overlooked! as likewise his prescribing to them the proper remedies for their spiritual maladies! and his requiring them to make restitution for every injury done to each injured neighbor! But we are well assured, that these are far from being the only benefits, which the minister of this sacrament confers upon the subject of it: for it was not an empty compliment which Christ paid to his apostles, when, "Breathing on them, he said to them; Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall remit, they are remitted, and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained." John, xx. 22, 23. O sweet balm of the wounded spirit! O sovereign restorative of the soul's life and vigor! best known to those who faithfully use thee, and not unattested by those who neglect and blaspheme thee!*

It might appear strange, if we were not accustomed to similar inconsistencies, that those who profess to make Scripture, in its plain, obvious sense, the sole rule of their faith and practice, should deny *extreme unction* to be a sacrament, the external sign of which, *anointing the sick*, and the spiritual effect of which, the *forgiveness of sins*, are so expressly declared by St. James, in his epistle, v. 14. Martin Luther, indeed, who had taken offence at this epistle, for its insisting so strongly on good works,† rejected the authority of this epistle, alleging that it was "not lawful for an apostle to institute a sacrament.‡ But I trust that you, dear sir, and your conscientious society, will agree with me, that it is more incredible that an apostle of Christ

* See the form of ordaining priests, in Bishop Sparrow's Collect. p. 158; also the form of absolution, in the Visitation of the Sick in the common prayer.

† Luther, in his original Jena edition of his works, calls this epistle "a dry and chaffy epistle, unworthy of an apostle."

‡ See Luther, in his original Jena edition

should be ignorant of what he was authorized by him to say and do, than that a profligate German friar should be guilty of blasphemy. Indeed, the Church of England, in the first form of her common prayer in Edward's reign, enjoined the unction of the sick, as well as prayer for them.* It was evidently well worthy the mercy and bounty of our divine Saviour, to institute a special sacrament for purifying and strengthening us at the time of our greatest need and terror. Owing to the institution of this, and the two other sacraments, penance and the real body and blood of our Lord, it is a fact, that few, very few Catholics die without the assistance of their clergy: which assistance the latter are bound to afford, at the expense of ease, fortune, and life itself, to the most indigent and abject of their flock, who are in danger of death, no less than to the rich and the great: while, on the other hand, very few Protestants, in that extremity, partake at all of the cold rites of their religion; though one of them, the Lord's supper, is declared, in the catechism, to be "necessary for salvation."

It is equally strange that a clergy, with such high claims and important advantages, as those of the Establishment, should deny that the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, are sacramental, or that the episcopal form of church government, and of ordaining the clergy, is required in Scripture. In fact, this is telling the legislature and the nation that, if they prefer the less expensive ministry of the Presbyterians or the Methodists, there is nothing divine or essential in the ministry itself, which will be injured by the change; and that clergymen may be as validly ordained by the town-crier with his bell, as by the metropolitan's imposition of hands! Nevertheless, strange as it appears, this is the doctrine not only of Hoadley's Socinian school, as I have elsewhere demonstrated,† but also of those modern divines and dignitaries, who are the standard of orthodoxy.‡ Thus are the clergy of the English church, as well as all other Protestant ministers, by their own confession, destitute of all sacramental grace for performing their functions holily and beneficially.§ But, we know, conformably with the doctrine of St. Paul, in both his epistles to Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 14, 2 Tim. i. 6, and the constant doctrine of the Catholic Church, as likewise of all other ancient churches, that this grace is conferred on those who are truly ordained and in fit dispositions to receive it. We know, moreover, that the persuasion which the faithful entertain of the divine character and

* See Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii., p. 257. † Dr. Balguy, Dr. Hey, &c.

‡ The Bishop of Lincoln's Elem. of Theol. vol. ii. pp. 376, 396.

§ See Letters to a Prebendary, letter viii.

grace of their clergy, gives a great additional weight to their lessons and ministry. In like manner, with respect to *matrimony*, which the same apostle expressly calls a *sacrament*, Ephes. v. 32, the very idea of its *sanctity*, independently of its peculiar *grace*, is a preparation for entering into that state with religious dispositions.

Next to the sacraments of the Catholic Church, as so many helps to the holiness and salvation of her children, I must mention her public service. We continually hear the advocates of the Establishment crying up the beauty and perfection of their liturgy;* but they have not the candor to inform the public that it is all, in a manner, borrowed from the Catholic missal and ritual. Of this fact any one may satisfy himself, who will compare the prayers, lessons and gospels in these Catholic books, with those in the *Book of Common Prayer*. But, though our service has been thus purloined, it has by no means been preserved entire: on the contrary, we find it, in the latter, eviscerated of its noblest parts; particularly with respect to the principal and essential worship of all the ancient churches, the holy mass, which, from a true propitiatory sacrifice, as it stands in all our missals, is cut down to a mere verbal worship, in *The order for the morning prayer*. Hence our James I. pronounced of the latter, that it is *an ill said mass*. The servants of God had, by his appointment, SACRIFICE, both under the law of nature and the written law; it would then be extraordinary, if under the law of grace they were left destitute of this, the most sublime and excellent act of religion which man can offer to his Creator. But we are not left destitute of it; on the contrary, that prophecy of Malachy is fulfilled, Mal. i. 11: *In every place, from the rising to the setting of the sun, sacrifice is offered and a pure oblation*; even Christ himself, who is really present and mystically offered on our altars in the sacrifice of the mass.

I pass over the solemnity, the order, and the magnificence of our public worship and ritual in Catholic countries, which most candid Protestants, who have witnessed them, allow to be exceedingly impressive, and great helps to devotion, and which, certainly, in most particulars, find their parallel in the worship and ceremonies of the old law, ordained by God himself. Nevertheless, it is a gross calumny to assert that the Catholic Church does, or ever did, make the essence of religion to consist in these externals; and we challenge them to our councils and doctrinal books in refutation of the calumny. In like

* Dr. Rennel calls the church liturgy "the most perfect of human compositions, and the sacred legacy of the first reformers." Disc. p. 237.

manner, I pass over the many private exercises of piety which are generally practised in regular Catholic families and by individuals; such as daily meditation and spiritual reading, evening prayers and examination of the conscience, &c. These, it will not be denied, must be helps for attaining sanctity to those who are desirous of it.—But I have said more than enough to convince your friends, in which of the rival communions the means of sanctity are chiefly to be found.

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XXI.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ.

ON THE FRUITS OF SANCTITY.

DEAR SIR—

THE fruits of sanctity are the virtues practised by those who are possessed of it. Hence the present question is, whether these are to be found, for the most part, among the members of the ancient Catholic Church, or among the different innovators, who undertook to reform it in the 16th and 17th centuries? In considering the subject, the first thing which strikes me is, that all the saints, and even those who are recorded as such in the calendar of the Church of England, and in whose name their churches are dedicated, lived and died strict members of the Catholic Church, and zealously attached to her doctrine and discipline.* For example, in this calendar, we meet with a Pope Gregory, March 12, the zealous asserter of the papal supremacy,† and other Catholic doctrines; a St. Benedict, March 21, the patriarch of the western monks and nuns; a St. Dunstan, May 19, the vindicator of clerical celibacy; a St. Augustin, of Canterbury, May 26, the introducer of the whole system of Catholicity into England; and a venerable Bede, May 27, the witness of this important fact. It is sufficient to mention the names of other Catholic saints, for example, David, Chad, Edward, Richard, Elphege, Martin, Swithun, Giles, Lambert, Leonard, Hugh, Etheldreda, Remigius, and Edmund; all of

* I must except King Charles I. who is rubricated as a martyr on Jan. 30. nevertheless, it is confessed that he was far from possessing either the purity of a saint or the constancy of a martyr; for he actually gave up Episcopacy and other essentials of the established religion, by his last treaty in the Isle of Wight.

† Many Protestant writers pretended that St. Gregory disclaimed the supremacy because he asserted against John of Constantinople that neither he nor any other prelate ought to assume the title of *Universal Bishop*; but that he claimed and exercised the *supremacy*, his own works and the history of Bede incontrovertibly demonstrate.

which are inserted in the calendar, and give names to some or other churches of the Establishment. Besides these, there are very many of our other saints, whom all learned and candid Protestants unequivocally admit to have been such, for the extraordinary purity and sanctity of their lives. Even Luther acknowledges St. Anthony, St. Bernard, St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Bonaventure, &c., to have been saints, though avowed Catholics, and defenders of the Catholic Church against the heretics and schismatics of their times. But, independently of this and of every other testimony, it is certain that the supernatural virtues, and heroic sanctity of a countless number of holy personages of different countries, ranks, professions, and sexes, have illustrated the Catholic Church in every age, with an effulgence which cannot be disputed or withstood. Your friends, I dare say, are not much acquainted with the histories of these brightest ornaments of Christianity; let me then invite them to peruse them, not in the legends of obsolete writers, but in a work which, for its various learning and luminous criticism, was commended even by the infidel Gibbon; I mean *The Lives of Saints*, in twelve octavo volumes, written by the late Rev. Alban Butler, President of St. Omer's College. Protestants are accustomed to paint in the most frightful colors, the alleged depravity of the church, when Luther erected his standard, in order to justify him and his followers in their defection from it. But to form a right judgment in the case, let them read the works of the contemporary writers, an à Kempis, a Gerson, an Antonius, &c.; or let them peruse the lives of St. Vincent Ferrer, St. Laurence Justinian, St. Francis Paula, St. Philip Neri, St. Cajetan, St. Teresa, St. Francis Xavierius, and of those other saints who illuminated the church about the period in question. Or let them, from the very accounts of Protestant historians, compare, as to religion and morality, Archbishop Cranmer, with his rival, Bishop Fisher; Protector Seymour with Chancellor More; Ann Boleyn with Catharine of Arragon; Martin Luther and Calvin with Francis Xavierius and Cardinal Pole; Beza with St. Francis of Sales; Queen Elizabeth with Mary Queen of Scots; these contrasted characters having more or less relation with each other. From such a comparison, I have no sort of doubt what the decision of your friends will be concerning them in point of their respective holiness.

I have heretofore been called upon to consider the virtues and merits of the most distinguished reformers;* and certainly we have a right to expect from persons of this description fin

* Reflections on Popery, by Dr. Sturges, LL. D. &c.

ished models of virtue and piety. But instead of this being the case, I have shown that Patriarch Luther was the sport of his unbridled passions,* pride, resentment, and lust; that he was turbulent, abusive, and sacrilegious, in the highest degree; that he was the trumpeter of sedition, civil war, rebellion, and desolation; and finally, that by his own account, he was the scholar of Satan, in the most important article of his pretended Reformation.† I have made out nearly as heavy a charge against his chief followers, Carlostad, Zuinglius, Ochin, Calvin, Beza, and Cranmer. With respect to the last-named, who under Edward VI., and his fratricide uncle, the Duke of Somerset, was the chief artificer of the Anglican Church, I have shown that, from his youthful life in a college, till his death at the stake, he exhibited such a continued scene of libertinism, perjury, hypocrisy, barbarity, (in burning his fellow Protestants,) profligacy, ingratitude, and rebellion, as is, perhaps, not to be matched in history. I have proved that all his fellow-laborers and fellow-sufferers, were rebels like himself, who would have been put to death by Elizabeth, if they had not been executed by Mary. I adduced the testimony not only of Erasmus and other Catholics, but also of the gravest Protestant historians, and of the very reformers themselves, in proof that the morals of the people, so far from being changed for the better, by embracing the new religion, were greatly changed for the worse.‡ The pretended Reformation, in foreign countries, as in Germany, the Netherlands, at Geneva, in Switzerland, France, and Scotland, besides producing popular insurrections, sackages, demolitions, sacrileges, and persecution beyond description, excited also open rebellions and bloody civil wars.§ In England, where our wri-

* Letters to a Prebendary, Letter V.

† Ibid. p. 183, where Satan's conference with Luther, and the arguments by which he induced this reformer to abolish the mass, are detailed from Luther's works. Tom. vii. p. 228.

‡ Ibid.

§ The Huguenots in Dauphiny alone, as one of their writers confesses, burnt down 900 towns or villages, and murdered 378 priests or religious, in the course of one rebellion. The number of churches destroyed by them throughout France is computed at 20,000. The History of England's Reformation (though this was certainly more orderly than that of other countries) has caused the conversion of many English Protestants; it produced this effect on James II. and his first consort, the mother of Queen Mary and Queen Anne. The following is the account which the latter has left of this change, and which is to be found in Dodd's last volume, and in the Fifty Reasons of the Duke of Brunswick: "Seeing much of the devotion of the Catholics, I made it my constant prayer that, if I were not, I might, before I died, be in the true religion. I did not doubt but that I was so till November last, when reading a book called *the History of the Reformation, by Dr. Heylin*, which I had heard very much commended, and had been told, if ever I had any doubts in my religion, that would settle me: instead of which

ters boast of the orderly manner in which the change of religion was carried on, it, nevertheless, most unjustly and sacrilegiously seized upon, and destroyed, in the reign of Henry VIII., 645 monasteries, 90 colleges, and 110 hospitals, besides the bishoprick of Durham; and, under Edward VI., or rather his profligate uncle, 2,374 colleges, chapels, or hospitals, in order to make princely fortunes for that uncle and his unprincipled comrades, who, like banditti quarrelling over their spoils, soon brought each other to the block. Such were the fruits of sanctity, everywhere produced by this pretended Reformation.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XXII.—TO MR. J. TOULMIN.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

DEAR SIR—

I HAVE received your letter, animadverting upon mine to our common friend Mr. Brown, respecting the fruits of sanctity, as they appear in our respective communions. I observe you do not contest my general facts or arguments, but resort to objections which have been already answered in these, or in my other letters now before the public. You assert, as a notorious fact, that for several ages prior to the Reformation, the Catholic religion was sunk into ceremonies and pageantry, and that it sanctioned the most atrocious crimes. In refutation of these calumnies, I have referred to our councils, to our most accredited authors of religion and morality, and to the lives and deaths of our most renowned saints, during the ages in question. I grant, sir, that you hold the same language on this subject with other Protestant writers; but I maintain that none of them make good their charges, and that their motive for advancing them, is to find a pretext for excusing the irreligion of the pretended Reformation. You next extol the alleged sanctity of the Protestant sufferers, called martyrs, in the unhappy persecution of Queen Mary's reign. I have discussed this matter at some

I found it the description of the horridest sacrileges in the world: and could find no cause why we left the church, but for three the most abominable ones: 1st, Henry VIII. renounced the Pope, because he would not give him leave to part with his wife and marry another; 2dly, Edward VI. was a child, and governed by his uncle, who made his estate out of the church lands; 3dly, Elizabeth, not being lawful heiress to the crown, had no way to keep it but by renouncing a church which would not suffer so unlawful a thing. I confess I cannot think the Holy Ghost could ever be in such councils." *Declaration of the Duchess of York.*

length in *The Letters to a Prebendary*, and have shown, in opposition to John Fox and his copyists, that some of these pretended martyrs were alive when he wrote the history of their death;* that others of them, and the five bishops in particular, so far from being saints, were notoriously deficient in the ordinary duties of good subjects and honest men;† that others again were notorious assassins, as Gardener, Flower, and Rough; or robbers, as Debenham, King, Marsh, Cauches, Gilbert, Massey, &c.;‡ while not a few of them retracted their errors, as Bilney, Taylor, Wassalia, and died, to all appearance, Catholics. To the whole ponderous folio of Fox's falsehoods, I have opposed the genuine and edifying *Memoirs of Missionary Priests and other Catholics, who suffered death for their Religion*, during the reigns of Elizabeth and the Stuarts. Finally, you reproach me with the scandalous lives of some of our popes, during the middle ages, and of very many Catholics of different descriptions, throughout the church at the present day; and you refer me to the edifying lives of a great number of Protestants, now living in this country.

My answer, dear sir, to your concluding objections, is briefly this, that I, as well as Baronius, Bellarmin, and other Catholic writers, have unequivocally admitted, that some few of our pontiffs have disgraced themselves by their crimes, and given just cause of scandal to Christendom;§ but I have remarked that the credit of our cause is not affected by the personal conduct of particular pastors, who succeeded one another in a regular way, in the same manner, as the credit of yours is by the behavior of your *founders*, who professed to have received an *extraordinary commission from God to reform religion*.|| I acknowledge, with the same unreservedness, that the lives of very many Catholics, in this and other parts of the church, are a disgrace to that *holy Catholic Church* which they profess to believe in. Unhappy members of the true religion *by whom the name of God* (and of his holy church) *is blasphemed among the nations!* Rom. ii. 24. Unhappy Catholics, who "live enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, who mind only earthly things!" Philip. iii. 18. But, "It must needs be that scandals should come: nevertheless, wo to that man by whom the scandal cometh!" Matt. xviii. 7. In short, I bear a willing testimony to the public and private worth of very many of my Protestant countrymen of different religions, as citizens, as subjects, as friends, as children, as parents, as moral men, and as Christians, in the general sense of the word; still I must say

* See Letter IV. on Persecution. † See Letter V. on the Reformation
 ‡ Letter IV. § See Letter II. on Supremacy. || Ibid.

that I find the best of them far short of the *holiness* which is prescribed in the Gospel, and is exemplified in the lives of those saints whom I have mentioned. On this subject I will quote an authority, which, I think, you will not object to. Dr. Hey says, "In England, I could almost say, we are too little acquainted with contemplative religion. The monk, painted by Sterne, may give us a more favorable idea of it, than our prejudices generally suggest. I once travelled with a *Recolet*, and conversed with a *Minim* at his convent; and they both had that kind of character which Sterne gives to his monk: that refinement of body and mind, that pure glow of meliorated passion, that polished piety and humanity," &c.* In a former letter to your society, I have stated that sincere humility, by which, from a thorough knowledge of our sins and misery, we become little in our own eyes, and try to avoid, rather than to gain the praise and notice of others, is the very groundwork of all other Christian virtues. It has been objected to Protestants, ever since the defection of their arrogant patriarch, Luther, that they have said little, and have appeared to understand less of this essential virtue. I might say the same with respect to the necessity of an entire subjugation of our other congenial passions, avarice, lust, anger, intemperance, envy, and sloth, as I have said of pride and vain-glory; but I pass over these to say a few words of certain maxims expressly contained in Scripture. It cannot then be denied that our Saviour said to the rich young man, "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell all thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasures in heaven;" nor that he declared on another occasion, "There are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs (continent) for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." Matt. xix. 12. Now it is notorious that this life of voluntary poverty and perpetual chastity continues to be vowed and observed by great numbers of both sexes in the Catholic Church; while it is nothing more than a subject of ridicule to the best of Protestants. Again, "that we ought to fast, is a truth too manifest to stand in need of any proof:" I here use the words of the Church of England in her Homily iv. p. 11; conformably with which doctrine your church enjoins in her Common Prayer Book, the same days of fasting and abstinence which the Catholic Church does; namely, the forty days of Lent, the Ember-days, all the Fridays in the year, &c.: nevertheless, where is the Protestant to be found who will submit to the mortification of fasting, even to obey his own church? I may add, that Christ enjoins *constant prayer*, Luke, xviii. 1; conforms bl

* Lectures in Divinity, vol. 1. p. 364.

with which injunction, the Catholic Church requires her clergy at least, from the sub-deacon up to the pope, daily to say the seven Canonical Hours, consisting chiefly of Scriptural psalms and lessons; which take up in the recital near an hour and a half, in addition to their other devotions. Now, what pretext had the Protestant clergy, whose pastoral duties are so much lighter than ours, to lay aside these inspired prayers, except in-devotion? Luther himself said his office for some time after his apostacy.—But to conclude: as it is of so much importance to ascertain which is the *holy church* mentioned in your creed, and as you can follow no better rule for this purpose, than to *judge of the tree by its fruits*; so let me advise you and your friends, to make use of every means in your power, to compare regular families, places of education, and especially ecclesiastical establishments of the different communions, with each other, as to morality and piety, and to decide for yourselves according to what you may observe in them.—I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XXIII.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ.

ON DIVINE ATTESTATION OF SANCTITY.

DEAR SIR—

HAVING demonstrated the distinctive holiness of the Catholic Church, in her *doctrine*, her *practices*, and her *fruits* of sanctity, I am prepared to show that God himself has borne testimony to her holiness, and to those very doctrines and practices which Protestants object to as unholy and superstitious, by the many incontestable miracles he has wrought in her and in their favor, from the age of the apostles down to the present age.

The learned Protestant advocates of revelation, such as Grotius, Abbadie, Paley, Watson, &c., in defending this common cause against infidels, all agree in the sentiment of the last named, that “Miracles are the criterion of truth.” Accordingly they observe, that both Moses, Exod. iv. xiv, Numb. xvi. 29, and Jesus Christ, John, x. 37, 38,—xiv. 12,—xv. 24, constantly appealed to the prodigies they wrought, in attestation of their divine mission and doctrine. Indeed the whole history of God’s people, from the beginning of the world down to the time of our blessed Saviour, was nearly a continued series of miracles.* The latter, so far from confining the power of working

* To say nothing of the Urim and Thummim, the Water of Jealousy, and the superabundant harvest of the sabbatical year, it is incontestable, from the Gospel of St. John, v. 2, that the probatical pond was endowed by an angel with a miraculous power of healing every kind of disease, in the time of Christ.

them to his own person or time, expressly promised the same, and even a greater power of this nature, to his disciples, Mark, xvi. 17, John, xiv. 12. For both the reasons here mentioned, namely, that the Almighty was pleased to illustrate the society of his chosen servants, both under the law of nature and the written law, with frequent miracles, and that Christ promised a continuance of them to his disciples under the new law, we are led to expect that the true church should be distinguished by miracles, wrought in her, and in proof of her divine origin. Accordingly, the fathers and doctors of the Catholic Church, amongst other proofs in her favor, have constantly appealed to the miracles by which she is illustrated, and reproached their contemporary heretics and schismatics with the want of them. Thus St. Irenæus, disciple of St. Polycarp, who himself was a disciple of St. John the evangelist, reproaches the heretics, against whom he writes, that they could not give sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, cast out devils, or raise the dead to life; as he testifies was frequently done in the true church.* Thus also his contemporary, Tertullian, speaking of the heretics, says, "I wish to see the miracles they have wrought."† St. Pacian, in the fourth century, writing against the schismatic Novatus, scornfully asks, "Has he the gift of tongues or prophecy? Has he restored the dead to life?"‡ The great St. Augustin, in various passages of his works, refers to the miracles wrought in the Catholic Church, in evidence of her veracity.§ St. Nicetas, Bishop of Treves, in the sixth century, in order to convert her husband, Albion, king of the Lombards, from Arianism, advises Queen Clodosind to induce him to send confidential messengers, to witness the miracles wrought at the tombs of St. Martin, St. Germanus, or St. Hilary, in giving sight to the blind, speech to the dumb, &c., adding, "Are such things done in the churches of the Arians?"|| About the same time Levigild, king of the Goths in Spain, an Arian, who was converted, or nearly so, by his Catholic son, St. Hermengild, reproached his Arian bishops that no miracles were wrought among them, as was the case, he said, among the Catholics.¶ The seventh century was illustrated by the miracles of our apostle, St. Augustin of Canterbury, wrought in confirmation of

* Lib. ii. contra Hær. c. 31.

† Lib. de Præscr.

‡ Ep. ii. ad Symphor.

§ "Dubitamus nos ejus Ecclesiæ condere gremio, quæ usque ad confessionem generis humani ab apostolica sede, per successionem Episcoporum (frustra hæreticis circumlatrantibus, et partim plebis ipsius judicio, partim conciliorum gravitate, partim etiam *miraculorum majestate* damnatis) eul. men auctoritatis obtinuit?"—De Utilit. Cred. c. iv.

|| Labbe's Concil. tom. v. p. 835.

¶ Greg. Turon. l. ix. c. 15.

the *doctrine* which he taught, as was recorded on his tomb.* and this doctrine, by the confession of learned Protestants, was purely the Roman Catholic.† In the eleventh century, we hear a celebrated doctor, speaking of the proofs of the Catholic religion, exclaim thus, "O Lord, if what we believe is an error, thou art the author of it, since it is confirmed amongst us by those signs and prodigies which could not be wrought but by thee."‡ In short, St. Bernard, St. Dominic, St. Xaverius, &c., all appealed to the miracles which God wrought by their hands, in proof of the Catholic doctrine. I need not mention the controversial works of Bellarmin and other modern schoolmen: nevertheless, I cannot refrain from observing that even Luther, when the Anabaptists, adopting his own principles, had proceeded to excesses of doctrine and practice which he disapproved of, required them to prove their authority for their innovations by the performance of miracles.§ You will naturally ask, dear sir, how Luther himself got rid of the argument implied by this requisition, which, it is evident, bore as strongly against him, as against the Anabaptists?—On one occasion, he answered thus, "I have made an agreement with the Lord, not to send me any visions, or dreams, or angels," &c.|| On another occasion, he boasts, of his visions as follows: "I also was in spirit," and "if I must glory in what belongs to me, I have seen more spirits than they (the Swinkfeldians, who denied the real presence) will see in a whole year."¶

Such has been the doctrine of the fathers and Catholic writers concerning miracles in general, as divine attestations in favor of that church in which God is pleased to work them. I will now mention, or refer to a few particular miraculous events of unquestionable evidence, which have illustrated this church, during the eighteen centuries of her existence.

No Christian questions the miracles and prophecies of the apostles or their converts, 1 Cor. xii. 10, Galat. iii. 5; and if they do not, why should any Christian question the vision and prophecy of the apostolic Saint Polycarp, the angel of the church of Smyrna, Rev. ii. 8, concerning the manner of his future martyrdom, namely, by fire?*** or the testimony of his episcopal cor-

* "Hic requiescit D. Augustinus, &c.. qui operatione miraculorum suffultus, Edelberthum Regem ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad fidem Christi convertit."—Bed. Eccles. Hist. l. ii. c. 3. See, in particular, the account of this saint's restoring sight to a blind man in confirmation of his doctrine. Ibid. c. 2.

† The Centuriators of Magdeburg, Sæc. 6. Bale. In Act Rom. Pont. Humphrey's Jesuit, &c. † Ric. a S. Vict. de Trinit. l. i.

§ Sleidan. Comment de Stat. Rel.

|| Manlius in loc. commun. See Brierly's Apology, p. 448.

¶ Luth. ad Senat. Civil. Germ.

*** Genuine Acts by Ruinart.

respondent, who was likewise a disciple of the apostles, St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who testifies that the wild beasts let loose upon the martyrs, were frequently restrained by a divine power from hurting them? In consequence of this, he prayed that it might not be the case with him.* St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, was the disciple of St. Polycarp, and, like him, an illustrious martyr. Shall we then call in question his testimony, when he declares, as I have noticed above, that miracles, even to the revival of the dead, frequently took place in the Catholic Church, but never among the heretics?† Or shall we disbelieve the testimonies of the learned Origen, in the next century, who says that it was usual with the Christians of his time to drive away devils, heal the sick, and foretell things to come? adding: "God is my witness, I would not recommend the religion of Jesus by fictitious stories, but only by clear and certain facts."‡ One of the scholars of Origen was St. Gregory, Bishop of Neocesarea, surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, or Wonderworker, on account of the numerous and astonishing miracles which God wrought by his means. Many of these, even to the stopping the course of a flood, and the moving of a mountain, are recorded by the learned fathers, who, soon after, wrote his life.§ St. Cyprian, the great ornament of the third century, recounts several miracles which took place in it; some of which prove the blessed eucharist to be a *sacrifice*, and the lawfulness of receiving it *under one kind*. In the middle of the fourth century happened that wonderful miracle, when the Emperor Julian the Apostate, attempting to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, in order to disprove the prophecy of Daniel concerning it, Dan. ix. 27, tempests, whirlwinds, earthquakes, and fiery eruptions convulsed the scene of the undertaking, maiming or blasting the thousands of Jews and other laborers employed in the work, and, in short, rendering the completion of it utterly impossible. In the mean time a luminous cross, surrounded with a circle of rays, appeared in the heavens, and numerous crosses were impressed on the bodies and garments of the persons present. These prodigies are so strongly attested by almost all the authors of the age, Arians, and pagans, no less than Catholics,|| that no one but a downright skeptic can call them in question. They have accordingly been acknowledged by the most learned Protestants.¶

* Ep. ad. Roman. † Contra Hær. l. ii. c. 31. ‡ Contra Cels. l. i.

§ Greg. Nyss. Euseb. l. vi. St. Basil, St. Jerom.

|| Besides the testimony of the fathers, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and of the historians Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, &c., these events are also acknowledged by Philostorgius the Arian, Ammi-
anus Marcellinus the Pagan, &c.

¶ Bishop Warburton published a book called *Julian*, in proof of these miracles. They are also acknowledged by Bishop Halifax, Disc. p. 23.

Another miracle, which may vie with the above-mentioned, for the number and quality of its witnesses, took place in the following century, at Typassus in Africa; where a whole congregation of Catholics being assembled to perform their devotions, contrary to the orders of the Arian tyrant, Hunneric, their right hands were chopped off, and their tongues cut out to the roots, by his command: nevertheless, they continued to speak as perfectly as they did before this barbarous act.* I pass over numberless miracles recorded by SS. Basil, Athanasius, Jerom, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustin, and the other illustrious fathers and church-historians, who adorned the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries of Christianity; and shall barely mention one miracle, which both the last-mentioned holy bishops relate, as having been themselves actual witnesses of it, that of restoring sight to a blind man, by the application to his eyes of a cloth which had touched the relics of SS. Gervasius and Protasius.† The latter saint, one of the most enlightened men that ever nandled a pen, gives an account, in the work to which I have just referred,‡ of a great number of miracles wrought in Africa, during his episcopacy, by the relics of St. Stephen; and among the rest, of seventy wrought in his own diocese of Hippo, and some of them in his own presence, in the course of two years. Among these was the restoration of three dead bodies to life.

From this notice of the great St. Augustin of Hippo, in the fifth century, I proceed to observe, concerning St. Augustin of Canterbury, at the end of the sixth, that the miracles wrought by him, were not only recorded on his tomb, and in the history of the venerable Bede, and other writers, but that an account of them was transmitted, at the time they took place, by St. Gregory to Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, in an epistle, still extant, in which this pope compares them with those performed by the apostles.§ The latter saint wrote likewise an epistle to St. Augustin himself, which is still extant in his works, and in Bede's history, cautioning him against being elated with vain-glory, on the occasion of these miracles, and reminding him that God had bestowed the power of working them, not on his own account, but for the conversion of the English nation.||

* The vouchers of this miracle are Victor Vitensis, *Hist. Persec. Vandal.* l. ii., the Emperor Justinian, who declares that he had seen some of the sufferers, *Codex. Just. Tit. 27*; the Greek historian Procopius, who says he had conversed with them, *L. i. de Bell. Vand. c. 8*; Æneas of Geza, a platonian philosopher, who, having examined their mouths, protested that he was not so much surprised at their being able to talk as at their being able to live; *De Immort. Anim. Victor, Turon, Isid. Hispal. Greg. Magn. &c.* The miracle is admitted by Abbadie, Dodwell, Mosheim, and other learned Protestants.

† *Aug. De Civit. Dei*, l. xii. p. 8.

‡ *Ibid.* l. xii.

§ *Epist. S. Greg.* l. vii.

|| *Ibid. et Hist. Bede*, l. i. c. 31.

On the supposition that our apostle had wrought no miracles, what farces must these epistles have exhibited among the first characters of the Christian world !

Among the numberless and well-attested miracles which the histories of the middle ages present to our view, I stop at those of the illustrious abbot St. Bernard, in the twelfth century, to whose sanctity the most eminent Protestant writers have borne high testimony.* This saint, in the life of his friend, St. Malachy of Armagh, amongst other miracles, mentions the cure of the withered hand of a youth, by the application to it of the dead hand of his friend.† But this, and all the miracles which St. Bernard mentions of other saints, totally disappear, when compared with those wrought by himself ; which, for their splendor and publicity, never were exceeded. All France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy bore testimony to them ; and prelates, princes, and the emperor himself, were often the spectators of them. In a journey which the saint made into Germany, he was followed by Philip, Archdeacon of Liege, who was sent by Sampson, Archbishop of Rheims, to observe his actions.‡ This writer accordingly gives an account of a vast number of instantaneous cures, which the holy abbot performed on the lame, the blind, the paralytic, and other diseased persons, with all the circumstances of them. Speaking of those wrought at Cologne, he says : “ They were not performed in a corner ; but the whole city was witness to them. If any one doubts, or is curious, he may easily satisfy himself on the spot, especially as some of them were wrought on persons of no inconsiderable rank and reputation.”§ A great number of these miracles were performed in express confirmation of the Catholic doctrine which he defended. Thus, preaching at Sarlet against the impious and impure Henricians, a species of Albigenses, he took some loaves of bread and blessed them : after which he said : “ By this you shall know that I preach to you the true doctrine ; and the heretics a false doctrine : *all your sick, who eat of this bread, shall recover their health ;*” which prediction was confirmed by the event.|| St. Bernard himself, in the most celebrated of his works,¶ addressed to Pope Eugenius III., refers to the miracles, which God enabled him to work, by way of justifying himself for having preached up the second crusade ;** and, in his letter to the peo-

* Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Ecolompadius, Jewel, Whitaker, Mosheim, &c.

† Vita Malach. inter Oper. Bern.

‡ St. Bernard's Life was written by his three contemporaries, William, abbot of Thierry ; Arnold, abbot of Bonevaux ; and Geoffry, the saint's secretary, and by other early writers : his own eloquent epistles, and other works, furnish many particulars.

§ Published by Mabillon.

|| Geof. in Vit. Bern.

¶ De Consideratione.

** Ibid. l. ii.

ple of Thoulouse, he mentions his having detected the heretics among them, not only by words, but also by miracles.*

The miracles of St. Francis Xaverius, the Apostle of India, who was contemporary with Luther, in number, splendor, and publicity, may vie with St. Bernard's. They consisted in foretelling future events, speaking unknown languages, calming tempests at sea, curing various maladies, and raising the dead to life; and, though they took place in remote countries, yet they were verified in the same, soon after the saint's death, by virtue of a commission from John III., King of Portugal, and were generally acknowledged, not only by Europeans of different religions in the Indies,† but also by the native Mahometans and pagans.‡ At the same time with this saint, lived the holy, contemplative St. Philip Neri, in proof of whose miracles three hundred witnesses, some of them persons of high rank, were juridically examined.§ The following century was illustrated by the attested miracles of St. Francis of Sales,|| even to the resurrection of the dead; as it was also by those of St. John Francis Regis; concerning which, twenty-two bishops of Languedoc wrote thus to Pope Clement XI.: "We are witnesses that before the tomb of F. J. F. Regis, the blind see, the lame walk, the deaf hear, the dumb speak."¶

You will understand, dear sir, that I mention but a few of the saints, and with respect to these, but a few of their miracles; as my object is to prove the single fact that God has illustrated the Catholic Church with undeniable miracles, chiefly by means of his saints, in the different ages of her existence. What now will you, dear sir, and your friends, say to the evidence here adduced? Will you say that all the holy fathers, up to the apostolic age, and that all the ecclesiastical writers down to the Reformation; and, since that period, that all the Catholic authors, prelates, and officials, have been in a league to deceive mankind? In short, that they are all liars and impostors alike? Such, in fact, is the absurd and horrible system, which, to get rid of the DIVINE ATTESTATION, in favor of the Catholic Church, the celebrated Dr. Conyers Middleton has declared for; as have most Protestant writers who have handled the subject, since the publication of his *Free Inquiry*. This system, however, which is a *libel on human nature*, does not only lead to general skepticism in other respects, but also undermines the

* Ad Tolos. Ep. 241.

† See the testimonies of Hackluyt, Baldens, and Tavernier, all Protestants, in Bouhour's Life of St. Xaverius, translated by the poet Dryden.

‡ Ibid. § See Butler's Saints' Lives, May 26.

|| See Marsollier's Life of St. F. de Sales, translated by Dr. Coombes.

¶ See his life by Daubenton, which is abridged by Butler, June 16.

credit of the Gospel itself. For if all the ancient fathers and other writers are to be disbelieved, respecting the miracles of their times, and even those which they themselves witnessed, upon what grounds are we to believe them, in their report of the miracles which they had heard of Christ and his apostles, those main props of the Gospel and our common Christianity? Who knows but they may have forged all the contents of the former, and the whole history of the latter? It was impossible that these consequences should escape the penetration of Middleton: but, in his opinion, a worse consequence, namely, a *divine attestation of the sanctity of the Catholic Church*, which would inevitably follow from admitting the veracity of the holy fathers, banished his dread of the former. Let him now speak to this point for himself, in his own flowing periods. He begins with establishing an important fact, which I also have been laboring to prove, where he says: "It must be confessed, that the claim to a miraculous power was universally asserted and believed in all Christian countries and in all ages of the church, till the time of the Reformation: for ecclesiastical history makes no difference between one age and another, but carries on the succession of its miracles, as of all other common events, through all of them indifferently to that memorable period."* As far as "church-historians can illustrate any thing, there is not a single point, in all history, so constantly, explicitly, and unanimously affirmed by them, as the continual succession of those powers, through all ages, from the earliest father, who first mentions them, down to the Reformation; which same succession is still further deduced by persons of the same eminent character for probity, learning, and dignity, in the Romish Church, to this very day: so that the only doubt which can remain with us is, whether church-historians are to be trusted or not; for if any credit be due to them in the present case, it must reach to all or none: because the reason for believing them in any one age, will be found to be of equal force in all, as far as it depends on the character of the persons attesting, or on the thing attested."† We shall now hear Dr. Middleton's decision on this weighty matter, and upon what grounds it is formed. He says: "The prevailing opinion of Protestants, namely, of Tillotson, Marshall, Dodwell, &c., is that miracles continued during the three first centuries. Dr. Waterland brings them down to the fourth, Dr. Beriman to the fifth. These unwarily betrayed the Protestant cause into the hands of its enemies: for it was in those primitive ages, particularly in the third, fourth, and fifth, those flourishing times of mira-

* Free Inquiry, Introduct. Disc. p. xlv.

† Ibid. Pref. p. 15.

cles, in which the chief corruptions of Popery, monkery, the worship of relics, invocations of saints, prayers for the dead, the superstitious use of images, and of sacraments, were introduced.”* “We shall find, after the conversion of the Roman empire, the greater part of their boasted miracles were wrought either by monks, or relics, or the sign of the cross, &c. : wherefore, if we admit the miracles, we must admit the rites for the sake of which they were wrought : they both rest on the same bottom.”† “Every one may see *what a resemblance the principles and practice of the fourth century, as they are described by the most eminent fathers of that age, bear to the present rites of the Popish Church.*”‡ “When we reflect on the surprising confidence with which the fathers of the fourth age affirmed, as true, what they themselves had forged, or knew to be forged, it is natural to suspect that so bold a defiance of truth could not be acquired or become general at once, but must have been gradually carried to that height by the example of former ages.”§ Such are the grounds on which this shameless disclaimer accuses all the most holy and learned men whom the world has produced during eighteen hundred years, of forgery and a combination to cheat mankind. He does not say a word to show that the combination itself is either probable or possible ; all he advances is, that this libel on human nature is *necessary for the support of Protestantism* : for he says, and this with evident truth : “By granting the Romanists but a single age of miracles, after the time of the apostles, we shall be entangled in a series of difficulties, whence we can never fairly extricate ourselves, till we allow the same powers also to the present age.”||

Methinks I hear some of your society thus asking me : *Do you then pretend that your church possesses the miraculous powers at the present day?*—I answer, that the church never possessed miraculous powers, in the sense of most Protestant writers, so as to be able to effect cures, or other supernatural events, at her mere pleasure : for even the apostles could not do this : as we learn from the history of the lunatic child, Matt. xvii. 16. But this I say, that the Catholic Church, being always the beloved *spouse of Christ*, Rev. xxi. 9, and continuing at all times to bring forth children of heroic sanctity, God fails not in this, any more than in past ages, to illustrate her and them by unquestionable miracles. Accordingly, in those processes which are commonly going on, at the apostolical see, for the canonization of new saints, ¶ fresh miracles of a recent date continue to

* Free Inquiry, Introd. p. li.

† Ibid. p. lxvi.

‡ Ibid. p. lxv.

§ Ibid. p. lxxxiv.

|| Ibid. p. xcvi.

¶ Among the late canonizations are those, in 1807 and 1808, of St. F

be proved with the highest degree of evidence, as I can testify from having perused, on the spot, the official printed account of some of them.”* For the further satisfaction of your friends, I will inform them that I have had satisfactory proof, that the astonishing catastrophe of Louis XVI., and his queen, in being *beheaded on a scaffold*, was foretold by a nun of Fougères, Sœur Nativité, twenty years before it happened; and that the banishment of the French clergy from their country, long before it happened, was predicted by the holy French pilgrim, Benedict Labre, whose miracles caused the conversion of the late Rev. Mr. Thayer, an American clergyman, who, during his residence at Rome, was an ocular witness to several of them. With respect to miraculous cures of a late date, I have the most respectable attestation of several of them, and I am well acquainted with four or five persons who have experienced them. The following facts are respectively attested, by the Rev. Thomas Sadler, of Trafford, near Manchester, and the Rev. J. Crathorne, of Garswood, near Wigan:—Joseph Lamb, of Eccles, near Manchester, on the 12th of August, 1814, fell from a hay-rick, four yards and a half high, by which accident the spine of his back appears to have been broken. Certain it is, that he could neither walk nor stand without crutches, down to the second of October, and that he described himself as suffering the most exquisite pain in his back. On that day, having prevailed, with much difficulty, upon his father, who was then a Protestant, to take him in a cart, with his wife and two friends, Thomas Cutler and Elizabeth Dooley, to Garswood, near Wigan, where the hand of F. Arrowsmith, one of the Catholic priests who suffered death at Lancaster, for the exercise of his religion, in the reign of Charles I., is preserved, and has often caused wonderful cures, he procured himself to be conveyed to the altar-rails of the chapel, and there to be signed, on his back, with the sign of the cross, by that hand; when, feeling *a particular sensation and total change in himself*, as he expressed it, he exclaimed to his wife: *Mary, I can walk!*—This he did, without any help whatever, walking first into an adjoining room, and thence to the cart which conveyed him home. With his debility, his pains also left him, and his back has continued well ever since.† These

Caracciolo, founder of the Regular Clerks; of St. Angela de Mercis, foundress of the Ursuline Nuns; of St. Mary of the Incarnation, Mlle. Acarie, &c. One of the latest beatifications is that of B. Alfonso Liguori, Bishop of St. Agata de Goti.

* One of these, proved in the process of the last-mentioned saint, consisted in the cure and *restoration of an amputated breast* of a woman, who was at the point of death from a cancer.

† The Rev. Mr. Sadler's letter to me is dated August 6, 1817.

particulars the above-named persons all declare upon oath. I have attestations of incurable cancers, and other disorders, being suddenly remedied by the same instrument of God's bounty; but it would be a tedious work to transcribe them, or the other attestations in my possession of a similar nature.

Among those of my personal acquaintance who have experienced supernatural cures, I will mention Mary Wood, now living at Taunton Lodge, where several other witnesses of the facts which I am going to state live with her. "On March 15, 1809, Mary Wood, in attempting to open a sash-window, pushed her left hand through a pane of glass, which caused a very large and deep transverse wound in the inside of the left arm, and divided the muscles and nearly the whole of the tendons that lead to the hand; from which accident she not only suffered, at times, the most acute pain, but was from the period I first saw her (March 15) till some time in July, totally deprived of the use of her hand and arm."* What passed between the latter end of July, when, as the surgeon elsewhere says, "he left his patient," having no hopes of restoring her, till the 6th of August, on the night of which she was perfectly and miraculously cured, I shall copy from a letter to me, date Nov. 19, 1809, by her amanuensis, Miss Maria Hornyold: "The surgeon gave little or no hopes of her ever again having the use of her hand, which, together with the arm, seemed withered and somewhat contracted; only saying, *in some years*, nature might give her some little use of it, which was considered by her superiors as a mere delusive comfort. Despairing of further human assistance towards her cure, she determined, with the approbation of her said superiors, to have recourse to God, through the intercession of St. Winefred, by a Novena.† Accordingly, on the 6th of August, she put a piece of moss, from the saint's well, on her arm, continuing recollected and praying, &c., when, to her great surprise, the next morning she found she could dress herself, put her arm behind her and to her head, having regained the free use and full strength of it. In short, she was perfectly cured!" In this state I myself saw her a few years afterwards, when I examined her hand; and in the same state she still continues, at the above-named place, with many other highly creditable vouchers who are ready respectively to attest these particulars. "On the 16th of the month, the surgeon was sent for; and, being asked his opinion concerning Mary Wood's arm, he gave *no hope of a perfect cure*,

* This account is copied from a letter to Miss F. T. Bird, dated September 30, 1809, by Mr. Woodford, an eminent surgeon of Taunton, who attended Mary Wood.

† Certain prayers continued during nine days.

and very little of her ever having *even the least use of it*; when, she being introduced to him and showing him the arm, which he thoroughly examined and tried, he was so affected at the sight and the recital of the manner of the cure as to shed tears, and exclaim, *It is a special interposition of divine Providence.*"

I shall say little of the miraculous cure of Winefred White, a young woman of Wolverhampton, on the 28th of June, 1805, at Holy-well, having published a detailed account of it soon after it happened, which has been republished in England and in Ireland.* Let it suffice to say, 1st, that the disease was one of the most alarming of a topical nature of any that is known, namely, a *curvature of the spine*, as her physician and surgeon ascertained, who treated it accordingly, by making two great issues, one on each side of the spine, of which the marks are still imprinted on the patient's back; 2dly, that, besides the most acute pains throughout the whole nervous system, and particularly in the brain, this disease of the spine produced a *hemiplegia*, or palsy, on one side of the patient, so that when she could feebly crawl with the help of a crutch under her right arm, she was forced to drag her left leg and arm after her, just as if they constituted no part of her body; 3dly, that her disorder was of long continuance, namely, of three years' standing, though not in the same degree till the latter part of that time, and that it was publicly known to all her neighbors and a great many others; 4thly, that having performed the acts of devotion which she felt herself called to undertake, and having bathed in the fountain, she, *in one instant* of time, on the 28th of June, 1805, found herself freed from all her pains and disabilities, so as to be able to walk, run, and jump like any other young person, and to carry a greater weight with the left arm than she could with the right; 5thly, that she has continued in this state these thirteen years down to the present time; and that all the above-mentioned circumstances have been ascertained by me in the regular examination of the several witnesses of them, in the places of their respective residences, namely, in Staffordshire, Lancashire, and Wales, they being persons of different counties, no less than of different religions and situations in life. The authentic documents of the examination, and of the whole process of the cure, are contained in the work referred to above. Several of the witnesses are still living, as is Winefred White herself.†—I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

* By Keating & Brown, Duke-st., Grosvenor-sq., London; Coyne, Dublin

† She has since departed this life, namely, on the 13th of January, in the year 1824, being the nineteenth year since the cure of her hemiplegia. She died of a consumption.

LETTER XXIV.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

DEAR SIR—

I SUBSCRIBE to the objection, which you say has been suggested to you by your learned friend, on the subject of miracles. Namely, I admit that a vast number of incredible and false miracles, as well as other fables, have been forged by some, and believed by other Catholics in every age of the church, including that of the apostles.* I agree with him and you in rejecting the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, the *Speculum* of Vincentius Belluacensis, the *Saints' Lives* of the Patriarchian Metaphrastes, and scores of similar legends, stuffed, as they are, with relations of miracles of every description. But, sir, are we to deny the truth of all history, because there are numberless false histories? Are we to question the four evangelists, because there have been several fabricated gospels? Most certainly not: but we must make the best use we can of the discernment and judgment which God has given us, to distinguish false accounts of every kind from those which are true; and we ought, I allow, to make use of redoubled diligence and caution, in examining alleged revelations and events contrary to the general laws of nature.

Your friend's second objection, which impeaches the diligence, integrity, and discernment of the cardinals, prelates, and other ecclesiastics at Rome, appointed to examine into the proofs of the miracles there published, shows that he is little acquainted with the subject he talks of. In the first place, then, a juridical examination of each reported miracle must be made in the place where it is said to have happened, and the depositions of the several witnesses must be given upon oath; this examination is generally repeated two or three different times, at intervals. In the next place, the examiners at Rome are unquestionably men of character, talents, and learning, who, nevertheless, are not permitted to pronounce upon any cure or other effect in nature, till they have received a regular report of physicians and naturalists upon it. So far from being precipitate, it employs them whole years to come to a decision, on a few cases, respecting each saint; this is printed and handed about among indifferent persons, previously to its being laid before the pope. In short, so strict is the examination, that, according to an Italian

* St. Jerom, in rejecting certain current fables concerning St. Paul and St. Thecla, mentions a priest who was deposed by St. John the Evangelist, for inventing similar stories.—De Script. Apost. Pope Gelasius, in the fifth century, condemned several apochryphal gospels and epistles, as also several false legends of saints, and among the latter, the common ones of St. George.

proverb, *it is next to a miracle to get a miracle proved at Rome.* It is reported by F. Daubenton, that an English Protestant gentleman, meeting, in that city, with a printed process of forty miracles, which had been laid before the congregation of rites, to which the examination of them belonged, was so well satisfied with the respective proofs of them, as to express a wish that Rome would never allow of any miracles, but such as were as strongly proved as those appeared to be, when, to his great surprise, he was informed that every one of these had been rejected by Rome, as not sufficiently proved!

Nor can I admit of the third objection of your friend, by which he rejects our miracles, on the alleged ground, that there was not sufficient cause for the performance of them; for, not to mention that many of them were performed for the conversion of infidels, I am bound to cry out with the apostle, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor!" Rom. xi. 34. Thus much is certain from Scripture, that the same Deity who preserved Jonas in the whale's belly to preach repentance to the Ninevites, created a gourd to shelter his head from the heat of the sun, (Jonas iv. 6,) and that as he sent fire from heaven to save his prophet Elias, so he caused iron to swim, in order to enable the son of a prophet to restore the axe which had been borrowed. 2 Kings, vi. 6. In like manner, we are not to reject miracles, sufficiently proved, under a pretext that they are mean, and unworthy the hand of Omnipotence; for we are assured, that God equally turned the dust of Egypt into lice, and the waters of it into blood. Exod. viii.

Having lately perused the works of several of the most celebrated Protestant writers, who, in defending the Scripture-miracles, endeavored to invalidate the credit of those they are pleased to call *Popish miracles*, I think it just, both to your cause and my own, to state the chief arguments they make use of, and the answers which occur to me in refutation of them. On this head, I cannot help expressing my surprise and concern that writers of character, and some of them of high dignity, should have published several *gross falsehoods*, not, I trust, intentionally, but from the blind precipitancy and infatuation which a panic fear of Popery generally produces. The late learned Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. J. Douglas, has borrowed from the infidel Gibbon what he calls, "A most satisfying proof that the miracles ascribed to the Romish saints are *forgeries* of an age posterior to that they lay claim to."* The latter says, "It may seem remarkable, that Bernard of Clairvaux, who records so

* The criterion, or rules, by which the true miracles of the New Testament are distinguished from the spurious miracles of pagans and papists, by John Douglas, D. D., Lord Bishop of Salisbury, p. 71, note.

many miracles of his friend St. Malachy, *never takes notice* of his own, which, in their turn, however, are carefully related by his companions and disciples. In the long series of ecclesiastical history, does there occur an instance of a saint asserting that he himself possessed the gift of miracles?*" Adopting this objection, the Bishop of Salisbury says: "I may safely challenge the admirers of the Romish saints to produce any writing of any of them, in which a power of working miracles is claimed."† Elsewhere he says: "From Xaverius himself (namely, from his published letters) we are furnished, not only with a negative evidence against his having any miraculous power, but also with a positive fact, which is the strongest possible presumption against it."‡ Nevertheless, in spite of the confident assertions of these celebrated authors, it is certain (though the last things which true saints choose to speak of are their own supernatural favors) that several of them, when the occasion required it, have spoken of the miracles of which they were the instruments;§ and, among the rest, these two identical saints, St. Bernard and St. Francis Xaverius, whom Gibbon and Dr. Douglas instance to prove their assertion. I have already referred to the passages in the works of St. Bernard, where he speaks of his miracles as of notorious facts, and I here again insert them in a note.|| With respect to St. Xaverius, he not only mentions, in those very letters which Dr. Douglas appeals to, a miraculous cure, which he wrought upon a dying woman in the kingdom of Travancor, but he expressly calls it a MIRACLE, and affirms that it caused the conversion of the whole village in which she resided.¶

A second palpable falsehood is thus confidently advanced by the capital enemy of miracles, Dr. Middleton: "I might risk the merit of my argument on this single point, that, after the apostolic times, there is not, in all history, one instance, either

* Hist. of Decline and Fall, chap. xv.

† Criterion, p. 369.

‡ Ibid. p. 76.

§ The great St. Martin acknowledged his own miracles, since, according to his friend and biographer, Sulpicius, Dialogue 2, he used to say that he was not endowed with so great a power of working them, after he was a bishop, as he had been before.

|| Addressing himself to P. Eugenius III., in answer to his enemies, who reproached him with the ill success of the second crusade, he says: "Sed dicunt forsitan isti: *Unde scimus quod a Domino sermo egressus sit? Quæ signa tu facis ut credamus tibi?* Non est quod ad ista ipse respondeam: parcendum verecundiæ meæ: responde tu pro me et pro te ipso, secundum ea quæ vidisti et audisti."—De Consid. l. ii. c. 1. In like manner, writing to the people of Thoulouse, of his miracles wrought there, he says: "Mora quidem brevis apud vos sed non infructuosa: veritate nimirum per nos manifestatâ, non solum in sermone sed etiam *in virtute.*"—Ep. 241.

¶ Epist. S. F. Xaq. l. i. ep. iv.

well attested, or *even so much as mentioned*, of any particular person who had ever exercised that gift, (of tongues,) or pretended to exercise it, in any age or country whatsoever.”* In case your learned friend is disposed to take up the cause of Middleton, I beg to refer him to the history of St. Pacomius, the Egyptian abbot, and founder of the Cenobites, who, “though he never learned the Greek or Latin language, yet sometimes miraculously spoke them both,” as his disciple and biographer reports; † and to that of the renowned preacher, St. Vincent Ferrer, who, having the gift of tongues, preached indifferently to Jews, Moors, and Christians, in their respective languages, and converted incredible numbers of each of these descriptions. ‡ In like manner, the bull of the canonization of St. Lewis Bertrand, A.D. 1671, declares that he possessed the gift of tongues, by means of which he converted as many as 10,000 Indians of different tribes in South America, in the space of three years. § Lastly, let your friend peruse the history of the great Apostle of the East Indies, St. Xaverius, who, though he ordinarily studied the languages of the several nations to whom he announced the word of God, yet on particular occasions, he was empowered to speak those which he had not learned. || This was the case in Travancor, as his companion Vaz testifies; so as to enable him to convert and instruct 10,000 infidels, all of whom he baptized with his own hand. This was the case again at Amanguchi, in Japan, where he met with a number of Chinese merchants. Finally, the bull of St. Xaverius’s canonization by Urban VIII. proclaims to the world, that this saint was illustrated with the *gift of tongues*. So false is the bold assertion of Middleton, adopted in part by Bishop Douglas and other Protestants, that “there is not, in all history, one instance, either well attested, or so much as mentioned, of any person who had ever exercised the gift of tongues, or pretended to exercise it.”

Nor is there more truth in what the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Paley, &c., maintain, namely, that “the Popish miracles,” as they insultingly call them, “were not wrought to confirm any truth, and that no converts were made by them!” ¶ In refutation of this, I may again refer to the epitaph of our apostle, St. Augustin, and to the miracles of St. Bernard at Sarlat, mentioned above. To these instances, I may add the prodigy of

* Inquiry into Mirac. Powers, p. 120, &c.

† Tillemont. Mem. Ecc. tom. vii.

‡ See his Life by Lanzano, Bishop of Lucca, also Spondanus ad An. 1403

§ See Alban Butler’s Saints’ Lives, Oct. 9.

|| See Bouhour’s Life of St. Xaverius, translated by Dryden, &c.

¶ Criterion, p. 369. View of Evidences, by Dr. Paley, vol. i. p. 346.

St. Dominic, who, to prove the truth of the Catholic doctrine, threw a book containing it into the flames, in which it remained unconsumed; at the same time challenging the heretics, whom he was addressing, to make the same experiment on their creed.* In like manner, St. Xaverius, on a certain occasion, finding his words to have no effect on his Indian auditory, requested them to open the grave of a corpse that had been buried the day before, when falling on his knees, he besought God to restore it to life for the conversion of the infidels present; upon which, the dead man was instantly restored to life and perfect health, and the country round about received the faith.†

It is chiefly through the sides of the Apostle of India, that the author of *The Criterion* endeavors to wound the credit of the other saints, and the Catholic Church, on the point of miracles. Hence, in the application of his three labored rules of criticism, he objects, that the alleged miracles of St. Xaverius were performed in the extremities of the east;—that the accounts of them were published, not on the spot, but in Europe, at an immense distance;—and this not till thirty-five years after the saint's death.‡ A single document, of the most public nature, at once overturns all the three rules in regard of this saint. He died at the end of 1552; and on the 28th of March, 1556, a letter was sent from Lisbon by John III., King of Portugal, to his viceroy in India, Don Francisco Baretto, “enjoining him to take depositions upon oath, in all parts of the Indies, where there is a probability of finding witnesses, not only concerning the life and manners of Francis Xaverius, and of all the things commendably done by him, for the salvation and example of men, but also concerning the *miracles* which he has wrought, both living and dead. You shall send these authentic instruments, with all the evidences and proofs, signed with your handwriting, and sealed with your ring, by three different conveyances.”§

But the author of the *Criterion*, it seems, has more positive, and what he calls “conclusive evidence, that during this time

* Petrus Valis Cern. Hist. Alb. Butler's Saints' Lives, Aug. 4.

† This was one of the miracles referred to by the Paravas of Cape Comorin, when the Dutch sent a minister from Batavia, to proselyte them to Protestantism. On this occasion, they answered this minister's discourse thus: “The great father (St. Xaverius) raised to life five or six dead persons; do you raise twice as many; do you cure all our sick, and make the sea twice as productive of fish as it now is, and then we will listen to you.” Du Halde's Recueil, vol. v. Bercault's Bercastle's Hist. Ecc. tom. xxiii. p. 454.

‡ Criter. pp. 78, 81.

§ This letter is extant in Tersellinus, but had been published several years before by Emanuel Acosta, in his *Rerum in Oriente Gestarum*. Dilingen, 1571. Paris, 1572.

(thirty-five years from his death) Xaverius's miracles had not been heard of. The evidence," he says, "I shall allege, is that of Acosta, (namely Joseph Acosta,) who himself had been a missionary among the Indians. His work, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, was printed in 1589, that is, about thirty-seven years after the death of Xaverius, and in it we find an express acknowledgment that no miracles had ever been performed by missionaries among the Indians.—Acosta was himself a Jesuit, and therefore from his silence, we may infer unexceptionably, that between thirty and forty years had elapsed before Xaverius's miracles were thought of."*—The argument has been thought so conclusive, that Mr. Le Mesurier,† Hugh Farmer,‡ the Rev. Peter Roberts,§ and other Protestant writers on miracles, have adopted it with exultation, and it has probably contributed as much to the author's title of *Detector Douglas*, as his exposure of the two impostors, Lauder and Archibald Bower. But what will the admirers of this *Detector* say, if it should appear that Acosta barely says, that "there was not *the same faculty* or *facility* of working miracles among the missionaries, which there was among the apostles?"|| Or rather, what will they say, if this same Acosta, in the very work which Dr. Douglas quotes, expressly asserts, that *signs and miracles* too numerous to be related, accompanied the preaching of the gospel both in the East and in the West Indies *in his own time*!¶ And when, with respect to this illustrious personage, he further adds, "Blessed Father Francis," as he calls him, "being a man of an apostolical life, so many and such great signs have been reported of him by numerous and credible witnesses, that hardly more in number or greater in magnitude are read of any one, except the apostles.** Now all this I affirm Acosta does say, in the very work quoted by Bishop Douglas, a copy of which, I beg leave to inform your learned friend, (and through him, other learned men,) is to be found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, under the title which I insert below.†† The author of *The Cri-*

* Criterion, p. 73.

† Bampton Lectures, p. 288.

‡ Dissertation on Miracles, p. 205.

§ Observations on a pamphlet.

|| "Altera causa in nobis est cur apostolica prædicatio institui omnino non possit Apostolicè, quod miraculorum nulla *facultas* sit, quæ apostoli plurima perpetrarunt."—Acosta, de Proc. l. ii. c. 8.

¶ "Et quidem dona spiritus *signa et miracula*, quæ fidei prædicatione innotuerunt, *his etiam temporibus*, quando charitas, usque adeo reffixit, enumerare longum esset, tum in Orientali illa India, tum in hac Occidentali."—De Procur. l. i. c. 6. p. 141.

** "Convertamus oculos in nostri sæculi hominen, B. Magistrum Franciscum, virum apostolicæ vitæ, cujus tot et tam magna signa referuntur per plurimos, eosque idoneos testes, ut vix de alio, exceptis apostolis, plura legantur. Quid Magister Gaspar aliique socii, &c."—De Procur. Ind. Salut. l. ii. c. 10, p. 226.

†† The work of Joseph Acosta, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, is to be

terion is hardly entitled to more mercy, for his cavils on what Ribadeneira says of the miracles of St. Ignatius, than for those on what Acosta says of the miracles of St. Xaverius. The fact is, the Council of Trent, having recently prohibited the publication of any new miracles, until they had been examined and approved of by the proper ecclesiastical authority, Ribadeneira, in the first edition of his Life of St. Ignatius, observed due caution in speaking of this saint's miracles. However, in that very edition, he declared that many such had been wrought by him; which having been afterwards juridically proved, in the process of the saint's canonization, his biographer published them without scruple, as he candidly and satisfactorily informs his readers, in that third edition; which now stands in his folio work of *The Saints' Lives*.*

I shall close this very long letter with a very few words respecting a work which has lately appeared, animadverting on my account of *the Miraculous Cure of Wenefred White*.* The writer sets out with the system of Dr. Miiddleton, by admitting none except Scripture miracles; but very soon he undermines these miracles also, where he says: "An independent and express divine testimony is that alone, which can assure us whether effects are miraculous or not, except in a few cases." He thus reserves the proofs of Christianity, as its advocates and its divine Founder himself have laid them down. He adds: "No mortal ought to have the presumption to say, a thing is or is not contrary to the established laws of nature." Again he

inquired for at the Bodleian Library under the following quaint title: *Johanna Papissa toti orbi manifesta*, 8vo. c. 29. Art. Seld., because, for some reason or other, it is bound up with that fanatical treatise.

* "Mihi tantum abest ut ad vitam Ignatii illustrandam miracula deesse videantur, ut multa eaque præstantissima judicem in media luce versari." The writer proceeds to mention several cures, &c. edit. 1572.—I cannot close this article without protesting against the disingenuity of several Protestant writers, in reproaching Catholics with the impositions practised by the Jansenist heretics at the tomb of Abbé Paris. In fact, who detected those impositions, and furnished Dr. Campbell, Dr. Douglas, &c., with arguments against them, except our Catholic prelates and theologians? In like manner, Catholics have reason to complain of these and other Protestant writers, for the manner in which they discuss the stupendous miracle that took place at Saragossa in 1640, on one Michael Pellicer, whose leg, having been amputated, he, by his prayers, obtained a new, natural leg: just as if this miracle rested on no better foundation than the slight mention which Cardinal Rétz makes of it in his *Memoirs*. In fact, we might have expected that learned divines would have known that this miracle had been amply discussed, soon after it happened, between Dr. Stillingfleet and the Jesuit Edward Worsley; in which discussion, the latter produced such attestations of the fact as it seems impossible to discredit.—See Reason and Religion, p. 328.

† By the Rev. Peter Roberts, Rector of Llanarmon, &c.

says: "To prove a miracle there must be a proof of the particular divine agency." According to this system we may say: No one knows but the motion of the funeral procession, or some occult quality of nature, raised to life the widow of Naim's son! Mr. Roberts will have no difficulty in saying so, as he denies that the resurrection of the murdered man from the touch of the prophet Elisha's bones, 2 Kings, xiii., was a miracle! Possessed of this opinion, he can readily persuade himself, that a curvated spine and hemiplegia, or any other disease whatever, may be cured in an instant, by immersion in cold water, or by any other means. As it is not likely, however, that any one else will adopt his opinion, I will say no more of his physical arguments on this subject.—He next proceeds to charge W. White and her friends with a studied imposition; in support of which charge, he asserts, that "the Church of Rome had not announced a miracle for many years." This only proves, that his ignorance of what is continually going on in the church, is equal to his bigotry against it. The same ignorance and bigotry are manifested in the ridiculous story concerning Sixtus V., which he copies from the unprincipled Leti, as also in his account of the exploded and condemned book, the *Taxe Cancellariæ, &c.** Towards the conclusion of his work, he expresses a doubt whether I have read Bishop Douglas's Criterion, though I have so frequently quoted it; because, he says, if I had read it, I must have known that Acosta proves that St. Xaverius wrought no miracles among the Indians, and that the same thing appears from the saint's own letters. Now the only thing, dear sir, which these assertions prove, is that Mr. Roberts himself, no more than Bishop Douglas, ever read either Acosta's work, or St. Xaverius's letters, notwithstanding they so frequently refer to them; for this is the only way of acquitting them of a far heavier charge.

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XXV.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ. &c.

ON THE TRUE CHURCH BEING CATHOLIC.

DEAR SIR—

IN treating of this third mark of the true church, as expressed in our common creed, I feel my spirits sink within me, and I am almost tempted to throw away my pen, in despair. For what chance is there of opening the eyes of candid Protestants

* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. vi. c. 15.

to the other marks of the church, if they are capable of keeping them shut to this? Every time they address the God of truth, either in solemn worship or in private devotion, they are forced, each of them, to repeat: *I believe in THE CATHOLIC Church*; and yet if I ask any of them the question: *Are you a Catholic?* he is sure to answer me: *No I am a PROTESTANT!* Was there ever a more glaring instance of inconsistency and self-condemnation among rational beings!

At the first promulgation of the Gospel, its followers were distinguished from the Jews by the name of *Christians*, as we learn from Scripture, Acts, xi. 26. Hence the title of Catholic did not occur in the primitive edition of the Apostles' Creed;* but no sooner did heresies and schisms arise, to disturb the peace of the church, than there was found to be a necessity of discriminating the main stock of her faithful children, to whom the promises of Christ belonged, from those self-willed *choosers* of their articles of belief, as the word *heretic* signifies, and from those disobedient *separatists*, as the word *schismatic* means. For this purpose the title of CATHOLIC, or *Universal*, was adopted, and applied to the true church and her children. Accordingly, we find it used by the immediate disciples of the apostles, as a distinguishing *mark of the true church*. One of these was the illustrious martyr St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who, writing to the church of Smyrna, expressly says, that "Christ is where the *Catholic Church* is." In like manner, the same Church of Smyrna, giving a relation of the martyrdom of that holy bishop St. Polycarp, who was equally a disciple of the apostles, addresses it to "The *Catholic Churches*."† This characteristic title of the true church continued to be pointed out by the succeeding fathers in their writings and the acts of their councils.‡ St. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, in the 4th century, gives the following direction to his pupils: "If you go into any city, do not ask merely, *Where is the church, or house of God?* because the heretics pretend to have this: but ask, *Which is the Catholic Church?* because this title belongs alone to our holy mother."§ "We," says a father of the 5th century, "are called *Catholic Christians*."|| His contemporary, St. Pacian, describes himself as follows: "*Christian* is my name, *Catholic* is my surname: by the former I am called, by the latter I am distinguished. By the name of *Catholic*, our society is distinguished from all *heretics*."¶ But there is not one of the fathers or doctors of anti-

* See four collated copies of it in Dupin's Bib. Eccl. tom. 1.

† Euseb. Ecc. Hist. l. iv. c. 15.

‡ SS. Justin. Clem. Alex. Appolin. 1 Nicæan can. 8. 1. Constan can. 7. &c. § Catech. 18. || Salvia de Gubern. Dei. l. iv.

¶ St. Pacian, Ep. i. ad Symp.

quity, who enlarges so copiously or so pointedly on this title of the true church, as the great St. Augustin, who died in the early part of the 5th century. "Many things," he says, "detrain me in the bosom of the Catholic Church—the very name of CATHOLIC detains me in it, which she has so happily preserved amidst the different heretics; that whereas they are all desirous of being called *Catholics*, yet, if any stranger were to ask them, *Which is the assembly of the Catholics?* none of them would dare to point out his own place of worship."* To the same purpose, he says elsewhere: "We must hold fast the communion of that church which is called *Catholic*, not only by her own children, but also by all her enemies. For heretics and schismatics, whether they will or not, when they are speaking of the Catholic Church with strangers, or with their own people, call her by the name of *Catholic*, inasmuch as they would not be understood, if they did not call her by the name by which all the world calls her."† In proportion to their affection for the glorious name of *Catholic*, is the aversion of these primitive doctors, to every ecclesiastical name or title derived from particular persons, countries, or opinions. "What new heresy," says St. Vincent of Lerins, in the 6th century, "ever sprouted up, without bearing the name of its founder, the date of its origin," &c.‡ St. Justin, the philosopher and martyr, had previously made the same remark in the second century, with respect to the Marcionite, Valentinian, and other heretics of his time.§ Finally, the nervous St. Jerom lays down the following rule on this subject: "We must live and die in that church, which, having been founded by the apostles, continues down to the present day. If, then, you should hear of any Christians not deriving their name from Christ, but from some other founder, as the Marcionites, the Valentinians, &c., be persuaded that they are not of Christ's society, but of Antichrist's."||

I now appeal to you, dear sir, and to the respectable friends who are accustomed to deliberate with you on religious subjects, whether these observations and arguments of the ancient fathers are not as strikingly true in this 19th century, as they were during the six first centuries, in which they wrote? Is there not among the rival churches, one exclusively known and distinguished by the name and title of THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, as well in England, Holland, and other countries, which *protest* against this church, as in those which adhere to it? Does not this effulgent mark of the true religion so incontestably belong

* *Contrâ. Epist. Fundam.* c. 1.

† *De Ver. Relig.* c. 7.

‡ *Common. Advers. Hær.* c. 34.

§ *Advers. Tryphon.*

|| *Advers. Luciferan.*

to us, in spite of every effort to obscure it by the nick-names of *Papists*, *Romanists*, &c.,* that the rule of St. Cyril and St. Augustin is as good and certain now, as it was in their times? What I mean is this: if any stranger in London, Edinburgh, or Amsterdam, were to ask his way to the *Catholic chapel*, I would risk my life for it, that no sober Protestant inhabitant would direct him to any other place of worship than to ours. On the other hand, it is notorious, that the different sects of Protestants, like the heretics and schismatics of old, are denominated either from their founders, as the *Lutherans*, the *Calvinists*, the *Socinians*, &c., or from the countries in which they prevail, as the *Church of England*, the *Kirk of Scotland*, the *Moravians*, &c.; or from some novelty in their belief or practice, as the *Anabaptists*, the *Independents*, the *Quakers*, &c. The first father of Protestants was so sensible that he and they were destitute of every claim to the title of *Catholic*, that in translating the Apostles' Creed into Dutch, he substituted the word *Christian* for that of *Catholic*. The first Lutherans did the same thing in their catechism, for which they are reproached by the famous Fulke, who, to his own confusion, proves that the true church of Christ must be *Catholic in name*, as well as in *substance*.†

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XXVI.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

ON THE QUALITIES OF CATHOLICITY.

DEAR SIR—

To proceed now, from the name *Catholic*, to the signification of that name: this is to be gathered from the etymology of the word itself, and from the sense in which the apostolical fathers and other doctors of the church have constantly used it. It is derived from the Greek word καθολικός, which means *Universal*; and, accordingly, it has ever been employed by those writers, to discriminate the great body of Christians, under their legitimate pastors, and subsisting in all nations and all ages, from those comparatively small bodies of Christians, who, in certain places, and at certain times, have been separated from it. "The Catholic Church," says St. Augustin, "is so called, because it is spread throughout the world."‡ "If your church," adds he, addressing certain heretics, "is Catholic, show me that

* St. Gregory of Tours, speaking of the Arians, and other contemporary heretics of the 6th century, says: "Romanorum nomine vocitant nostræ religionis homines." Hist. l. xvii. c. 25.

† On the New Testament, p. 378. ‡ Epist. 170. ad S. Sever.

it spreads its branches throughout the world; for such is the meaning of the word Catholic.”* “The Catholic or universal doctrine,” writes St. Vincent of Lerins, “is that which remains the same throughout all ages, and will continue so till the end of the world.—He is a true Catholic, who firmly adheres to the faith which he knows the Catholic Church has universally taught from the days of old.”† It follows, from these and other testimonies of the fathers, and from the meaning of the term itself, that the true church is *Catholic* or universal in three several respects, as to *persons*, as to *places*, and as to *time*. It consists of *the most numerous body of Christians*; it is more or less *diffused wherever Christianity prevails*; and it has *visibly existed ever since the time of the apostles*. Hence, dear sir, when you hear me glorying in the name of *Catholic*, you are to understand me as equivalently proclaiming:—I am not a Lutheran, nor a Calvinist, nor a Whitfieldite, nor a Wesleyan; I am not of the Church of England, nor of the Kirk of Scotland, nor of the Consistory of Geneva: I can tell the place *where*, and the time *when*, each of these sects began; and I can describe the *limits* within which they are respectively confined: but I am a member of that great Catholic Church, which was planted by Christ and his apostles, and has been spread throughout the world, and which still constitutes *the main stock of Christianity*; that to which all the fathers of antiquity and the saints of all ages have belonged on earth, and still belong in the bright regions above; that which has endured and overcome the persecutions and heresies of eighteen centuries: in short, that against which *the gates of hell have not prevailed*, and we are assured *never shall prevail*. All this is implied by my title of *Catholic*.

But to form a more accurate opinion of the number and diffusiveness of Catholics, compared with any sect of Protestants, it is proper to take a slight survey of their state in the four quarters of the world. In Europe, then, notwithstanding the revolutionary persecutions which the Catholic religion has endured, and is enduring, it is still the religion of the several states of Italy, of most of the Swiss Cantons, of Piedmont, of France, of Spain, of Portugal, and of the islands in the Mediterranean, of three parts in four of the Irish, of far the greater part of the Netherlands, Poland, Bohemia, Germany, Hungary, and the neighboring provinces; and in those kingdoms and states in which it is not the established religion, its followers are very

* Contra Gaudent. l. iii. c. 1.

† Commonit. The same father briefly and accurately defines the Catholic doctrine to be, that which has been believed *Semper et ubique et ab omnibus*.

numerous, as in Holland, Russia, Turkey, the Lutheran and Calvinistic states of Germany and England. Even in Sweden and Denmark several Catholic congregations, with their respective pastors, are to be found.—The whole vast continent of South America, inhabited by many millions of converted Indians, as well as by Spaniards and Portuguese, may be said to be Catholic; the same may be said of the empire of Mexico, and the surrounding kingdoms in North America, including California, Cuba, Hispaniola, &c.; Canada and Louisiana are chiefly Catholic; and throughout the United Provinces, the Catholic religion, with its several establishments, is completely protected, and unboundedly propagated.—To say nothing of the islands of Africa, inhabited by Catholics, such as Malta, Madeira, Cape Verd, the Canaries, the Azores, Mauritius, Goree, &c., there are numerous churches of Catholics, established and organized under their pastors, in Egypt, Ethiopia, Algiers, Tunis, and the other Barbary states on the northern coast; and thence, in all the Portuguese settlements along the western coast, particularly at Angola and Congo. Even on the eastern coast, especially in the kingdom of Zanguebar and Monopotapa, are numerous Catholic churches. There are also numerous Catholic priests, and many bishops, with numerous flocks, throughout the greater part of Asia. All the Maronites about Mount Libanus, with their bishops, priests, and monks, are Catholics; so are many of the Armenians, Persians, and other Christians, of the surrounding kingdoms and provinces.* In whatever islands or states the Portuguese or Spanish power does prevail, or has prevailed, most of the inhabitants, and in some, all of them have been converted to the Catholic faith. The whole population of the Philippine Islands, consisting of two millions of souls, is all Catholic. The diocese of Goa contains 400,000 Catholics. In short, the number of Catholics is so great throughout all the peninsula of India within the Ganges, notwithstanding the power and influence of Britain, as to excite the jealousy and complaints of the celebrated Protestant missionary, Dr. Buchanan.† In a late parliamentary record, it is stated, that in Travancor and Cochin is a Catholic archbishopric and two bishoprics, one of which contains 35,000 *communicants*.‡ There are numerous Catholic flocks, with their priests and even bishops, in all the kingdoms and states beyond the Ganges, particularly in Siam, Cochin-China, Tonquin, and

* See Sir R. Steele's Account of the Catholic Religion throughout the world.

† See Christian Researches in Asia, p. 131. Mem. Eccl.

‡ Dr. Kerr's Letter, quoted in the late parliamentary report on the Catholic question, p. 487.

the different provinces of the Chinese empire. I must add, on his subject, that, whereas none of the great Protestant sects was ever much more numerous or widely spread than at present, the Catholic Church, heretofore, prevailed in all the countries which they now separately inhabit. The same may be said of the Greek schismatics, and in a great measure of the Mahometans. It is in this point of view that the Right Rev. Dr. Marsh ought to institute his comparison between the Church of England and the Church of Rome;* or rather, the *Catholic Church, in communion with the See of Rome*. In the mean time; we are assured by his fellow-prelate, the Bishop of Lincoln, that "The articles and liturgy of the Church of England do not correspond with the sentiments of the eminent reformers on the Continent; or with the creeds of any Protestant churches there established."† And with respect to this very church, nothing can be more inconsistent, than to ascribe the greater part of the population of our two islands to it. For if the Irish Catholics, the Scotch Presbyterians, the English Methodists and other dissenters, together with the vast population who neither are, nor profess to be, of any religion at all, are subtracted, to what a comparatively small number will the Church of England be reduced! And, how utterly absurd would it be in *her* to pretend to be the *Catholic Church*! Nor are these the only subtractions to be made from her numbers, and indeed from those of all other Christian societies, divided from the true church; since there being but *one baptism*, all the young children who have been baptized in them, and all invincibly ignorant Christians, who exteriorly adhere to them, really belong to the Catholic Church, as I have elsewhere shown.

In finishing this subject, I shall quote a passage from St. Augustin, which is as applicable to the sectaries of this age as it was to those of the age in which he wrote: "There are heretics everywhere, but not the same heretics everywhere. For there is one sort in Africa, another sort in the East, a third sort in Egypt, and a fourth sort in Mesopotamia, being different in different countries, though all produced by the same mother, namely, pride. Thus also the faithful are all born of one common mother, the Catholic Church; and though they are everywhere dispersed, they are everywhere the same."‡

But it is still more necessary that the true church should be *Catholic* or *universal*, as to *time*, than as to numbers or to place. If there ever was a period since her foundation, in which she has failed, by teaching or promoting error or vice, then the pro-

* See his Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome.

† Dr. Tomline's Charge in 1803.

‡ Lit. de Fact. c. 8.

mises of the Almighty in favor of the seed of David and the kingdom of the Messiah, in the Book of Psalms,* and in those of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, have failed; † then the more explicit promises of Christ, concerning this church and her pastors, have failed; ‡ then the creed itself, which is the subject of our present discussion, has been false. §—On this point learned Protestants have been wonderfully embarrassed, and have involved themselves in the most palpable contradictions. A great proportion of them have maintained that the church, in past ages, totally failed, and became the synagogue of Satan, and that its head pastor, the Bishop of Rome, was and is the *man of sin*, the identical *antichrist*: but they have never been able to settle among themselves, when this, the most remarkable of all revolutions which have happened since the world began, actually took place; or who were the authors, and who the opposers of it; or by what strange means these authors prevailed on so many millions of people of different nations, languages, and interests, throughout Christendom, to give up the supposed pure religion, which they had learned from their fathers, and to embrace a new and false system, which its adversaries now call *Popery*! In a word, there is no way of accounting for the pretended change of religion, at whatever period this may be fixed, but by supposing, as I have said, that the whole collection of Christians, on some one night went to bed Protestants, and awoke the next morning papists.

That the church in communion with the See of Rome is the original, as well as the most numerous church, is evident in several points of view. *The stone cries out of the wall*, as the prophet expresses it, || in testimony of this. I mean that our venerable cathedrals and other stone churches, built by Catholic hands and for the Catholic worship, so as to resist, in some sort, that which is now performed in them, proclaim that ours is the ancient and original church. This is still more clear from the ecclesiastical historians of our own as well as other nations. Venerable Bede, in particular, bears witness ¶ that the Roman missionary, St. Augustin of Canterbury, and his companions, converted our Saxon ancestors, at the end of the sixth century to the belief of the pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the other Catholic doctrines and practices; as learned Protestants in general agree.** Now, as these mission-

* Ps. lxxxviii. alias lxxxix. &c.

† Isaiah, c. liv. lix. Jerem. xxxi. 31. Dan. ii. 44.

‡ Matt. xv. 13.—xxviii. 19, 20. § I believe in the Holy Catholic Church

|| Habak. ii. 11.

¶ Hist. Eccles.

** Bishop Bale. Dr. Humphreys, the Centur. of Magdeb. &c.

aries were found to be of the same faith and religion, not only with the Irish, Picts, and Scots, who were converted almost two centuries before them, but also with the Britons or Welsh, who became Christians in the second century, so as only to differ from them about the time of keeping Easter, and a few other unessential points, this circumstance alone proves the Catholic religion to have been that of the church at that early age. Still, the most demonstrative proofs of the antiquity and originality of our religion, are gathered from comparing it with that contained in the works of the ancient fathers. An attempt was made, during a certain period, by some eminent Protestants, especially in this country, to press the fathers into their service. Among these, Bishop Jewel of Sarum was the most conspicuous. He not only boasted that those venerable witnesses of the primitive doctrine were generally on his side, but also published the following challenge to the Catholics: "Let them show me one only father, one doctor, one sentence, two lines, and the field is theirs."* However, this his vain boasting, or rather deliberate impugning the known truth, only served to scandalize sober and learned Protestants, and among others his biographer, Dr. Humphreys, who complains that he thereby "gave a scope to the papists, and spoiled himself and the Protestant Church."† In fact, this hypocrisy, joined with his shameful falsifications of the fathers, in quoting them, occasioned the conversion of a benefited clergyman, and one of the ablest writers of his age, Dr. W. Reynolds.‡ Most Protestant writers of later times§ follow the late Dr. Middleton, and Luther himself; in giving up the ancient fathers to the Catholics without reserve, and thereby the faith of the Christian church during the six first centuries, of which faith these fathers were the witnesses and teachers. Among other passages to this purpose, the above-named doctor writes as follows: "Every one must see what a resemblance the principles and practice of the fourth century bear to the present rites of the Popish church."|| Thus, by the confession of her most learned adversaries, our church is not less CATHOLIC or *universal*, as to *time*, than she is with respect to *name*, *locality*, and *numbers*.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

* See Jewel's Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, likewise his Answers to Dr. Cole.

† Life of Jewel, quoted by Walsingham, in his invaluable *Search into Matters of Religion*, p. 172.

‡ Dodd's Church Hist. vol. ii.

§ See the acknowledgment on this head of the learned Protestants, Obrecht, Doumoulin, and Casaubon.

|| *Inquiry into Miracles*, Introd. p. 45.

LETTER XXVII.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

DEAR SIR—

I HAVE received the letter written by your visitor, the Rev. Joshua Clark, B. D., at the request, as he states, of certain members of your society, animadverting on my last to you; an answer to which letter I am requested to address to you. The reverend gentleman's arguments are by no means consistent one with another; for like other determined controvertists, he attacks his adversary with every kind of weapon that comes to his hand, in the hope *per fas et nefas* of disabling him. He maintains, in the first place, that though Protestantism was not visible before it was unveiled by Luther, it subsisted in the hearts of the true faithful, ever since the days of the apostles, and that the believers in it constituted the real primitive Catholic Church.—To this groundless assumption I answer, that an invisible church is no church at all; that the idea of such a church is at variance with the predictions of the prophets respecting Jesus Christ's future church, where they describe it as a *Mountain on the top of mountains*, Is. ii. 2, Mich. iv. 2, and as a city, whose *watchmen shall never hold their peace*, Is. lxii. 6, and, indeed, with the injunction of our Lord himself *to tell the church*, Matt. xviii. 17, in the case which he mentions. It is no less repugnant to the declaration of Luther, who says of himself, "At first I stood alone;"* and to that of Calvin, who says, "The first Protestants were obliged to break off from the whole world;"† as also to that of the Church of England in her homilies, where she says: "Laity and clergy; learned and unlearned, all ages, sects, and degrees have been drowned in abominable idolatry, most detested by God and damnable to man, for 800 years and more."‡ As to the argument in favor of an invisible church, drawn from 1 Kings, xix. 18, where the Almighty tells Elijah, "I have left me 7,000 in Israel, whose knees have not been bowed to Baal;" our divines fail not to observe, that however invisible the church of the old law was in the schismatical kingdom of Israel, at the time here spoken of, it was most conspicuous and flourishing in its proper seat, the kingdom of Judah, under the pious King Josaphat. Mr. Clark's second argument is borrowed from Dr. Porteus, and consists in a mere quibble. In answer to the question: "Where was the Protestant religion before Luther?" this prelate replies: "It was just where it is now: only that then it

* Opera. Pref.

† Epist. 171.

‡ Peril of Idolatry, p. iii.

was corrupted with many sinful errors, from which it is now reformed.”* But this is to fall back into the refuted system of an invisible church and to contradict the homilies, or else it is to confess the real truth, that Protestantism had no existence before the sixteenth century.

The reverend gentleman next maintains, on quite opposite grounds, that there have been large and *visible* societies of *Protestants*, as he calls them, who have stood in opposition to the Church of Rome, in all past ages.—True, there have been heretics and schismatics of one kind or other during all that time, from Simon Magus down to Martin Luther; many sects of whom, such as the Arians, the Nestorians, the Eutychians, the Monotholites, the Albigenses, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites, have been exceedingly numerous and powerful in their turns, though most of them have now dwindled away to nothing: but observe, that none of the ancient heretics held the doctrines of any description of modern Protestants, and all of them maintained doctrines and practices which modern Protestants reprobate, as much as Catholics do. Thus the Albigenses were real Manicheans, holding two first principles or deities, attributing the Old Testament, the propagation of the human species, to Satan, and acting up to these diabolical maxims.† The Wickliffites and Hussites, were the levelling and sanguinary Jacobins of the times and countries in which they lived;‡ in other respects these two sects were Catholics, professing their belief in the seven sacraments, the mass, the invocation of saints, purgatory, &c. If, then, your reverend visiter is disposed to admit such company into his religious communion, merely because they protested against the supremacy of the pope, and some other Catholic tenets, he must equally admit Jews, Mahometans, and pagans into it, and acknowledge them to be equally *Protestants* with himself.

Your reverend visiter concludes his letter with a long dissertation, in which he endeavors to show, that however we Catholics may boast of the antiquity and perpetuity of our church in past times, our triumphs must soon cease by the extinction of this church, in consequence of the persecution now carrying on against it in France, and other parts of the continent;§ and also from the preponderance of the Protestant power in Europe, particularly that of our own country, which, he says, is nearly as much interested in the extirpation of Popery as of Jacobinism. My answer is this: I see and bewail the anti-catholic persecution which has been, and is carried on in France and its de-

* Confut. p. 79.

† See an account of them, and the authorities on which this rests, in *Letters to a Prebendary*, Letter IV.

‡ Ibid.

§ Namely, in 1803

pendent states, where to *decatholicize* is the avowed order of the day. This was preceded by the less sanguinary, though equally anti-catholic persecution of the Emperor Joseph II., and his relatives in Germany and Italy. I hear the exultations and menaces on this score of the Wranghams, De Coetlogons, Townsons, Bichenos, Ketts, Fabers, Daubenys, and a crowd of other declamatory preachers and writers, some of whom proclaim that the Romish Babylon is on the point of falling, and others that she is actually fallen. In the mean time, though more living branches of the mystical Vine should be cut off by the sword, and though more rotten branches should fall off, from their own decay,* I am not at all fearful for the life of the Tree itself, since the Divine veracity is pledged for its safety, *as long as the sun and moon shall endure*, (Psalm lxxxix.,) and since the experience of eighteen centuries has confirmed our faith in these divine promises. During this long interval, kingdoms and empires have risen and fallen, the inhabitants of every country have been repeatedly changed; in short, every thing has changed except the doctrine and jurisdiction of the Catholic Church, which are precisely the same now that Christ and his apostles left them. In vain did pagan Rome, during three centuries, exert its force to drown her in her own blood; in vain did Arianism and the other contemporary heresies sap her foundations during two centuries more; in vain did hordes of barbarians from the north, and of Mahometans from the south, rush forward to overwhelm her; in vain did Luther swear that he

* Since the present letter was written, many circumstances have occurred to show the *mistaken* politics of our rulers, in endeavoring to weaken and supplant the religion of their truly loyal and conscientious Catholic subjects. Among other measures for this purpose, may be mentioned the late instructions sent to the Governor of Canada, which Catholic province alone remained faithful at the time of trial, when all the Protestant provinces abjured their allegiance. To the same intent may be cited the letter of Dr. Kerr, senior chaplain of Fort St George, quoted in the late parliamentary report. By this it appears that the Catholics in that province generally converted about three hundred infidels to Christianity every year, and that there was a prospect of their converting many of the Hindoo chiefs, but that *our government set its face against these conversions*. Thus is the obscene and barbarous worship of Juggernaut himself preferred to the religion which converted and civilized our ancestors. Juggernaut, as Dr. Buchanan informs us, is a huge idol, carved with the most obscene figures round it, and publicly worshipped before hundreds of thousands, with obscene songs and unnatural rites, too gross to be described. It is placed on a carriage, under the wheels of which great numbers of its votaries are encouraged to throw themselves, in order to be crushed to death by them. Now this infernal worship is *not barely permitted*, but even supported by our government in India, as it takes a tribute from each individual who is present at it, and likewise *defrays the expense of it*, to the amount, says Dr. Buchanan, of £8,700 annually, including the keep of prostitutes, &c.

himself would be her death :* she has survived these, and numerous other enemies equally redoubtable ; and she will survive even the fury and machinations of anti-christian philosophy, though directed against her exclusively, for not a drop of Protestant blood has been shed in this impious persecution. Nor is that church which, in a single kingdom, the very head-quarters of infidelity, could at once furnish 24,000 martyrs and 60,000 voluntary exiles, in defence of her faith, so likely to sink under external violence, or internal weakness, as your reverend visiter supposes. Alluding to the then recent attempt of the Emperor Julian to falsify the prophecy of Daniel, by rebuilding the Jewish temple, St. John Chrysostom exclaimed : “ Behold the temple of Jerusalem ; God has destroyed it : have men been able to restore it ? Behold the church of Christ ; God has built it : have men been able to destroy it ? ” Should the Almighty permit such a persecution to befall any of the Protestant communions, as we have beheld raging against the Catholic Church on the continent, does your visiter really believe that its clergy and other members will exhibit the same constancy in suffering for their respective tenets, that our clergy and people have shown in defence of hers ? In fact, for what tenets should the former suffer exile and death, since, without persecution, they have all, in a manner, abandoned their original creeds, from the uncertainty of their rule of faith, and their own natural mutability ? Human laws and premiums may preserve the exterior appearance, or *mere carcass of a church*, as one of your divines expresses it ; but while the pastors and doctors of it demonstrate by their publications, that they no longer maintain her fundamental articles, can we avoid subscribing to the opinion expressed by a late dignitary of it, that “ the Church of England, properly so called, is not in existence ? ” †—I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XXVIII.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

ON THE APOSTOLICITY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

DEAR SIR—

THE last of the four marks of the church, mentioned in our common creed, is APOSTOLICITY. We each of us declare, in our solemn worship : *I believe in One, Holy, Catholic, and APOSTOLICAL Church.* Christ’s last commission to his

* Luther ordered this epitaph to be engraved on his tomb :—*Pestis eram vivens, moriens ero mors tua, papa.*

† Confessional, p. 244.

apostles was this: *Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: and, lo! I am with you always, even unto THE END OF THE WORLD.* Matt. xxviii. 20. Now the event has proved, as I have already observed, that the apostles themselves were only to live the ordinary term of man's life; therefore the commission of preaching and ministering, together with the promise of the Divine assistance, regards the successors of the apostles, no less than the apostles themselves. This proves that there must have been an uninterrupted series of such successors of the apostles in every age since their time; that is to say, successors to their *doctrine*, to their *jurisdiction*, to their *orders*, and to their *mission*. Hence it follows, that no religious society whatever, which cannot trace its succession, in these four points, up to the apostles, has any claim to the characteristic title, APOSTOLICAL.

Conformably with what is here laid down, we find the fathers and ecclesiastical doctors of every age, referring to this mark of *apostolical succession*, as demonstrative of their belonging to *the true church of Christ*. St. Irenæus of Lyons, the disciple of St. Polycarp, who himself appears to have been consecrated by St. John the Evangelist, repeatedly urges this argument against his contemporary heretics. "We can count up," he says, "those who were appointed bishops in the churches by the apostles and their successors down to us, none of whom taught this doctrine. But as it would be tedious to enumerate the succession of bishops in the different churches, we refer you to the tradition of that greatest, most ancient, and universally known church, founded at Rome by St. Peter and St. Paul, and which has been preserved there, through the succession of its bishops, down to the present time." He then recites the names of the several popes down to Eleutherius, who was then living.* Tertullian, who also flourished in the same century, argues in the same manner, and challenges certain heretics in these terms: "Let them produce the origin of their church; let them display the succession of their bishops, so that the first of them may appear to have been ordained by an *apostolic man*, who persevered in their communion." He then gives a list of the pontiffs in the Roman See, and concludes as follows: "Let the heretics feign any thing like this."† The great St. Augustin, who wrote in the fifth century, among other motives of credibility in favor of the Catholic religion, mentions the one in question: "I am kept in this church," he says, "by the succession

* Lib. iii. advers. Hær. c. 3.

† "Fingant tale aliquid hæretici." Præscript.

of prelates from St. Peter, to whom the Lord committed the care of his sheep, down to the present bishop.”* In like manner St. Optatus, writing against the Donatists, enumerates all the popes from St. Peter down to the then living pope, Siricius, “with whom,” he says, “we and all the world are united in communion. Do you, Donatists, now give the history of your episcopal ministry.”† In fact, this mode of proving the Catholic Church to be *apostolical*, is conformable to common sense and constant usage. If a prince is desirous of showing his title to a throne, or a nobleman or gentleman his claim to an estate, he fails not to exhibit his genealogical table, and to trace his pedigree up to some personage whose right to it was unquestionable. I shall adopt the same precise method on the present occasion, by sending your society a slight sketch of our *apostolical tree*, by which they will see, at a glance, an abridgment of the succession of our chief bishops in the Apostolical See of Rome, from St. Peter up to the present edifying pontiff, Pius VII., as likewise that of other illustrious doctors, prelates, and saints, who have defended the apostolical doctrine by their preaching and writings, or who have illustrated it by their lives. They will also see the fulfilment of Christ’s injunction to the apostles and their successors, in the conversion of nations and people to his faith and church. Lastly, they will behold the unhappy series of heretics and schismatics, who, in different ages, have fallen off from the doctrine or communion of the Apostolic Church. But as it is impossible, in so narrow a compass as the present sheet, to give the names of all the popes, or to exhibit the other particulars here mentioned, in the distinct and detailed manner which the subject seems to require, I will try to supply the deficiency by the subjoined copious note.‡

* Contra Epist. Fundam.

† Contra Parmen. lib. ii.

‡ CENT. I.

Within the first century from the birth of Christ, this long expected Messiah founded the kingdom of his holy church in Judea, and chose his apostles to propagate it throughout the earth, over whom he appointed Simon, as the *centre of union* and *head pastor*, charging him to feed his whole flock, sheep as well as lambs, giving him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and changing his name into that of PETER, or ROCK; adding, *On this rock I will build my church*. Thus dignified, St. Peter first established his see at Antioch, the head city of Asia, whence he sent his disciple, St. Mark, to establish and govern the See of Alexandria, the head city of Africa. He afterwards removed his own see to Rome, the capitol of Europe and the world. Here having, with St. Paul, sealed the gospel with his blood, he transmitted his prerogative to St. Linus, from whom it descended in succession to St. Cletus and St. Clement. Among the other illustrious doctors of this age are to be reckoned, first, the other apostles, then SS. Mark, Luke, Barnaby, Timothy, Titus, Hermas, Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, and Polycarp, of Smyrna. From the few remaining writings of these may be gathered the

I do not, dear sir, pretend to exhibit a history of the church, nor even a regular epitome of it, in the present note, any more than in the apostolical tree; nevertheless, either of these will give you and your respectable society, a sufficient idea of the

necessity of unity and submission to bishops, tradition, the real presence the sacrifice of the mass, veneration for relics, &c. In this age churches were founded in the above-mentioned places, as also in Samaria, throughout Lesser Asia, in Armenia, India, Greece, Egypt, Ethiopia, Italy, Spain, and Gaul. In this apostolical age, also, and, as it were, under the eyes of the apostles, different proud innovators pretended to *reform* the doctrine which the latter taught. Among these were Simon the magician, Hymeneus and Philetus, the incontinent Nicolaites, Cerinthus, Ebion, and Menander.

CENT. II.

The succession of chief pastors in the chair of Peter was kept up through this century by the following popes, who were also, for the most part, martyrs: Anacletus, Evaristus, Alexander I., Xystus I., Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius I., Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, who sent Fugatius and Damianus to convert the Britons, and Victor I., who exerted his authority against certain Asiatic bishops, the Quarto-decimans, so called from their keeping Easter at an undue time. The truth of Christianity was defended in this age, by the apologists Quadratus, Aristides, Melito, and Justin, the philosopher and martyr; and the rising heresies of Valentinian, Marcian, and Carpocrates, were confounded by the bishops Dionysius of Corinth, and Theophylus of Antioch, in the East; and by St. Irenæus and Tertullian in the West. In the mean time the Catholic Church was more widely spread, through Gaul, Germany, Scythia, Africa, and India, besides Britain.

CENT. III.

The popes who presided over the church in the third age, were all eminent for their sanctity, and almost all of them became martyrs. Their names are Zephyrinus, Calixtus I., Urban I., Pontianus, Antherus, Fabian, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephen I., Xystus II., Dionysius, Felix I., Eutychian, Caius, and Marcellinus. The most celebrated doctors of this age were St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Minutius Felix; St. Cyprian and St. Hypolitus, both martyrs; and St. Gregory, surnamed for his miracles, Thaumaturgus, Bishop of Neocesarea. At this time, Arabia, the Belgic provinces, and many districts of Gaul were almost wholly converted; whilst Paul of Samosata, for denying the divinity of Christ; Sabellius, for impugning the distinction of persons in the B. Trinity; and Novatus, for denying the power of the Church to remit sins; with Manes, who believed in two Deities, were cut off as rotten branches from the apostolic tree.

CENT. IV.

St. Marcellus, the first pope in this century, died through the hardships of imprisonment for the faith. After him came Eusebius, Melchiades, Silvester, under whom the Councils of Arles, against the Donatists, and of Nice, against the Arians, were held; Marcus, Julius, in whose time the right of appeal to the Roman See was confirmed, Liberius and Damasus. The church, which hitherto had been generally persecuted by the Roman emperors, was, in this age, alternately protected and oppressed by them. In the mean time, her numbers were prodigiously increased by conversions throughout the Roman empire, and also in Armenia, Iberia, and Abyssinia; and her

uninterrupted succession of supreme pastors, which has subsisted in the See of Rome from St. Peter, whom Christ made head of his church, up to the present pope, Pius VII. And this attribute of perpetual succession, you are, dear sir, to observe,

faith was invincibly maintained by St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Basil, St. Ambrose of Milan, &c., against the Arians, who opposed the Divinity of Christ; the Macedonians, who denied that of the Holy Ghost, the Arians, who impugned episcopacy, fasting, and prayers for the dead, and other new heretics and schismatics.

CENT. V.

During this age the perils and sufferings of the church were great; but so also were the resources and victories by which her divine Founder supported her. On one hand, the Roman empire, that fourth great dynasty, compared by Daniel to iron, was broken to pieces by numerous hordes of Goths, Vandals, Huns, Burgundians, Franks, and Saxons, who came pouring in upon the civilized world, and seemed to be on the point of overwhelming arts, sciences, laws, and religion, in one undistinguished ruin. On the other hand, various classes of powerful and subtle heretics strained every nerve to corrupt the apostolic doctrine, and to interrupt the course of the apostles' successors. Among these, the Nestorians denied the union of Christ's divine and human natures; the Eutychians confounded them together; the Pelagians contradicted the necessity of divine grace, and the followers of Vigilantius scoffed at celibacy, prayers to the saints, and veneration for their relics. Against those innovators, a train of illustrious pontiffs and holy fathers opposed themselves, with invincible fortitude and decided success. The popes were Innocent I., Zosimus, Boniface I., Celestin I., who presided by his legates in the Council of Ephesus, Xystus III., Leo the Great, who presided in that of Chalcedon, Hilarius, Simplicius, Felix III., Gelasius I., Anastasius II., and Symmachus. Their zeal was well seconded by some of the brightest ornaments of orthodoxy and literature that ever illustrated the church; St. John Chrysostom, St. Jerom, St. Augustin, St. Gregory of Nyssa, &c. By their means, and those of other apostolic Catholics, not only were the enemies of the church refuted, but also her bounds greatly enlarged by the conversion of the Franks, with their king, Clovis, and of the Scotch and the Irish. The apostle of the former was St. Palladius, and of the latter St. Patrick, both commissioned by the See of Rome.

CENT. VI.

The church had to combat with infidels, heretics, and worldly politicians, in this as in other ages; but failed not to receive the accustomed proofs of the divine protection, amidst her dangers. The chief bishops succeeded each other in the following order: Hormisdas, St. John I., who died a prisoner for the faith, Felix IV., Boniface II., John II., Agapetus I., St. Silvester, who died in exile for the unity of the church, Vigilius, Pelagius I., John III., Benedict I., Pelagius II., and St. Gregory the Great, a name which ought to be engraved on the heart of every Englishman who knows how to value the benefits of Christianity, since it was he who first undertook to preach the gospel to our Saxon ancestors, and when he was prevented by force from doing this, sent his deputies, St. Augustin and his companions, on this apostolical errand. Other shining lights of this age were St. Fulgentius of Ruspa, Cesarius of Arles, Lupus, Germanus, Severus, Gregory of Tours, our venerable Gildas, and the great patriarch of the monks, St. Benedict.

is peculiar to the See of Rome: for in all the other Churches founded by the apostles, as those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth, Ephesus, Smyrna, &c., owing to internal dissensions and external violence, the succession of their bishops

The chief heretics who disturbed the peace of the church were the Asechali and the Jacobites, both branches of Eutychianism; the Tritheists the powerful supporters of the Three Chapters, Severus, Eleurus, Mongus, Anthimus, and Acacius. A more terrible scourge than these, or than any other which the church had yet felt, God permitted in this age to fall upon her, in the rapid progress of the impostor Mahomet. What, however, she lost in some quarters, was made up to her in others, by the suppression of Arianism among the Visigoths of Spain, and among the Ostrogoths of Italy, and by the conversion of the Lazas, Axumites, and Southern English.

CENT. VII.

The popes in this century are most of them honored for their sanctity namely, Sabinianus, Boniface III., Boniface IV., Deusdedit, Boniface V. Honorius I., Severinus, John IV., Theodorus, Martin I., who died in exile in defence of the faith, Eugenius I., Vitalianus, Domnus I., Agatho, who presided by his legates in the sixth general council, held against the Monotholites, Leo II., Benedict II., John V. Conon, and Sergius I. Other contemporary doctors and saints were St. Sophronius and St. John the Almoner bishops; and St. Maximus, martyr, in the East. SS. Isidore, Ildefonsus and Eugenius, in Spain, SS. Amand, Eligius, Omer and Owen, in France, and SS. Paulinus, Wilfrid, Birinus, Felix, Chad, Aidan, and Cuthbert, in England. The East at this time was distracted by the Monotholite heretics, and, in some parts, by the Paulicians, who revived the detestable heresy of the Manicheans, but most of all by the sanguinary course of the Mahometans, who overran the most fertile and civilized countries of Asia and Africa, and put a stop to the apostolical succession in the primitive sees of the East. To compensate for these losses, the church spread her roots wide in the northern regions. The whole heptarchy of England became Christian, and diffused the sweet odor of Christ throughout the West. Hence issued St. Willibrord and Swibert, to convert Holland and Frizeland, and the two brothers of the name of Ewald, who confirmed their doctrine with their blood. The martyr St. Killian, who converted Franconia, was an Irishman; but all these apostolic men received their commissions from the chair of St. Peter.

CENT. VIII.

The apostolic succession in the See of Rome was kept up in this age by John VI., John VII., Sisinnius, Constantine, Gregory II., Gregory III., Zacharias, Stephen II., Stephen III., Paul I., Adrian I., who presided by his legates in the seventh general council against the Iconoclasts, and Leo III. The Saracens now crossed the straits of Gibraltar and nearly overran Spain, making numerous martyrs, whilst Felix and Elipand broached errors in the West, nearly resembling those of Nestorius. The most signal defenders of the orthodox doctrine were St. Germanus, Patriarch, St. John Damascen, Paul the Deacon, Ven. Bede, St. Aldhelm, St. Willibald, Alcuin, St. Boniface, bishop and martyr, and St. Lullus. Most of these were Englishmen, and by their means, Hessa, Thuringia, Saxony, and other provinces, were added to the Catholic Church.

CENT. IX.

The apostolic tree, in this age, was agitated by storms more violent than

has, at different times, been broken and confounded. Hence the See of Rome is emphatically and for a double reason called the APOSTOLICAL SEE; and being the head see and the centre of union to the whole Catholic Church, furnishes the first

usual; but, being refreshed with the dew of grace from above, held fast by its roots. Claudius of Turin united in one system the heresies of Nestorius, Vigilantius, and the Iconoclasts, while Gotescale labored to infect the church with predestinarianism. A more severe blow to her, however, was the Greek schism, occasioned by the resentment and ambition of the hypocrite Photius. But the greatest danger of all arose from the overbearing power of the anti-christian Musselmans, who now carried their arms into Sicily, France, and Italy, and became masters, for a time, of the holy see itself. The succession of its bishops, however, continued uninterrupted in the following order: Stephen V., Paschal I., Eugenius II., Valentine, Gregory IV., Sergius II., Leo IV., Benedict III., Nicholas I., Adrian II., who presided by his legates in the eighth general council, John VIII., Marinus, Adrian III., Stephen VI., Formosus, Stephen VII., and Romanus.—Other props of the church, in this age, were Theodore the Studite, St. Ignatius, the legitimate Patriarch of Constantinople, Rabanus, Hincmar, and Agobard, French bishops, together with our countrymen, St. Swithin, Neot, Grimbald, Alfred, and Edmund. In this age St. Ansgarius converted the people of Holstein, and SS. Cyril and Methodius the Scлавonians, Moravians, and Bohemians, by virtue of a commission from Pope Adrian II.

CENT. X.

The several popes during this century were Theodore II., John IX., Benedict IV., Leo V., Christopher, Sergius III., Anastasius, Lando, John X., Leo VI., Stephen VIII., John XI., Leo VII., Stephen IX., Martin II., Agapetus II., John XII., Benedict V., John XIII., Benedict VI., Domnus II., Benedict VII., John XIV., John XV., and Gregory V. This age is generally considered as the least enlightened by piety and literature of the whole number. Its greatest disgrace, however, arose from the misconduct of several of the above-mentioned pontiffs, owing to the prevalence of civil factions at Rome, which obstructed the freedom of canonical election: yet in this list of names there are ten or twelve which do honor to the papal calendar, and even those who disgraced it by their lives, performed their public duty, in preserving the faith and unity of the church, irreproachably. In the mean time a crowd of holy bishops and other saints, worthy the age of the apostles, adorned most parts of the church, which continued to be augmented by numerous conversions. In Italy, SS. Peter, Damian, Romuald, Nilus, and Rathier, Bishop of Verona, adorned the church with their sanctity and talents, as did the holy prelates, Ulric, Wolfgang, and Bruno, in Germany, and Odo, Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwold, in England. At this time, St. Adalbert, Bishop of Prague, converted the Poles by his preaching and his blood; the Danes were converted by St. Poppo, the Swedes by St. Sigifrid, an Englishman, the people of Lesser Russia by SS. Bruno and Boniface, and the Muscovites by missionaries sent from Greece, but at a time when that country was in communion with the See of Rome.

CENT. XI.

During this age the vessel of Peter was steered by several able and virtuous pontiffs. Silvester II. was esteemed a prodigy of learning and talents. After him came John XVIII., John XIX., Sergius IV., Benedict VIII., John XX., Benedict IX., Gregory VI., Clement II., Damasus II., Leo IX., who

claim to its title of **THE APOSTOLICAL CHURCH**. But you also see, in the sketch of this mystical tree, an uninterrupted series of other bishops, doctors, pastors, saints, and pious personages, of different times and countries, through these eighteen

has deservedly been reckoned among the saints, Victor II., Stephen X., Nicholas II., Alexander II., Gregory VII., who is also canonized, with Victor III., and Urban II. Other defenders of virtue and religion, in this age, were St. Elphege and Lanfranc, Archbishops of Canterbury, the prelates Burcard of Worms, Fulbert and Ivo of Chartres, Odilo, an abbot, Algar, a monk, Guitmund and Theophylactus. The crown, also, was now adorned with saints, equally signal for their virtue and orthodoxy. In England shone St. Edward the Confessor; in Scotland, St. Margaret; in Germany, St. Henry, emperor; in Hungary, St. Stephen. The cloister was also now enriched with the Cistercian Order, by St. Robert, with the Carthusian Order, by St. Bruno, and with the Order of Val-ombrosa, by St. John Gualbert. While on one hand a great branch of the apostolic tree was lopped off, by the second defection of the Greek Church, and some rotten boughs were cut off from it in the new Manicheans, who had found their way from Bulgaria into France, as likewise in the followers of the innovator Berengarius, it received fresh strength and increase from the conversion of the Hungarians, and of the Normans and Danes, who before had desolated England, France, and the two Sicilies.

CENT. XII.

In this century heresy revived with fresh vigor, and in a variety of forms though chiefly of the Manichean family. Mahometanism also again threatened to overwhelm Christianity. To oppose these, the Almighty was pleased to raise up a succession of as able and virtuous popes as ever graced the tiara, with a proportionable number of other Catholic champions to defend its cause. These were Paschal II., Gelasius II., Calixtus II., Honorius II., Innocent II., who held the second general council of Lateran, Celestin II., Lucius II., Eugenius III., Anastasius IV., Adrian IV., an Englishman, Alexander III., who held the third Lateran council, Lucius III., Urban III., Gregory VIII., Clement III., and Celestine III. The doctors of note were, in the first place, the mellifluous Bernard, a saint, however, who was not more powerful in word than in work; likewise the Venerable Peter, Abbot of Clugni, St. Anslem and St. Thomas, Archbishops of Canterbury, Peter Lombard, Master of the Sentences, St. Otto, Bishop of Bamberg, St. Norbert of Magdeburg, St. Henry of Upsal, St. Malachy of Armagh, St. Hugh of Lincoln, and St. William of York. The chief heresies alluded to, were those propagated by Marsilius of Padua, Arnold of Brescia, Henry of Thoulouse, Tranchelm, Peter Bruise, the Waldenses, or disciples of Peter Waldo, and the Bogomilians, Patarini, Cathari, Puritans, and Albigenses, all the latter being different sects of Manicheans. To make up for the loss of these, the church was increased by the conversion of the Norwegians and Livonians, chiefly through the labors of the above-named Adrian IV., then an apostolic missionary, called Nicholas Breakspear. Courland was converted by St. Meinard, and even Iceland was engrafted in the apostolic tree by the labors of the Catholic missionaries.

CENT. XII.

The successors of St. Peter in this age were innocent III., who held the fourth Lateran council, at which 412 bishops, 800 abbots, and ambassadors from most of the Christian sovereigns, were present, for the extinction of the

centuries, who have, in their several stations, kept up the perpetual succession: those of one century having been the instructors of those who succeeded them in the next: all of them following the same two-fold rule of Scripture and tradition; all

impious and infamous Albigenian or Manichean heresy. Honorious III., Gregory IX., Celestin IV., Innocent IV., who held the first general council of Lyons, Alexander IV., Urban IV., Gregory X., who held the second council of Lyons, in which the Greeks renounced their schism, though they soon fell back into it, Innocent V., Adrian V., John XXI., Nicholas III., Martin IV., Honorus IV., Nicholas IV., Celestin V., who abdicated the pontificate, and was afterwards canonized, and Boniface VIII. The most celebrated doctors of the church were St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Bonaventure, St. Antony of Padua, and St. Raymund of Pennafort. Other illustrious supporters and ornaments of the church were, St. Lewis, King of France, St. Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary, St. Hedwige of Poland, St. Francis of Assisium, St. Dominic, St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Thomas of Hereford, and St. Richard of Chichester. The chief heretics were the Beguardi and Fratricelli, whose gross immoralities Mosheim himself confesses. In the mean time Spain was, in a great measure, recovered to the Catholic Church from the Mahometan impiety; Courland, Gothland, and Estonia, were converted by Baldwin, a zealous missionary; the Cumani, near the mouths of the Danube, were received into the church, and several tribes of Tartars, with one of their emperors, were converted by the Franciscan missionaries, whom the pope sent among them, not, however, without the martyrdom of many of them.

CENT. XIV.

Still did the promise of Christ, in the preservation of his church, contrary to all opposition, and beyond the term of all human institutions, continue to be verified. The following were the head pastors who successively presided over it: Benedict XI., Clement V., who held the general council of Vienna, John XXII., Clement VI., Innocent VI., Urban V., Gregory XI., Urban VI., and Boniface IX. Among the chief ornaments of the church in this age, may be reckoned St. Elizabeth, Queen of Portugal, St. Bridget of Sweden, Count Elzear, and his spouse Delphina, St. Nicholas of Tolentino, St. Catharine of Sienna, John Rusbrock, Peter, Bishop of Autun, &c. The Manichean abominations maintained and practised by the Turlupins, Dulcinians, and other sects, continued to exercise the vigilance and zeal of the Catholic pastors; and the Lollards of Germany, together with the Wickliffites of England, whose errors and conduct were levelled at the foundations of society, as well as of religion, were opposed by all true Catholics in their respective stations. The chief conquests of the church in this century, were Lithuania, the prince and people of which received her faith, and in Great Tartary, where the archbishopric of Cambalu and six suffragan bishoprics were established by the pope. Odoric, the missionary, who furnished the account of these events, is known himself to have baptized 20,000 converts.

CENT. XV.

The succession of popes continued through this century, though among numerous difficulties and dissensions, in the following order:—Innocent VII., Gregory XII., Alexander V., John XXIII., Martin V., Eugenius IV., who held the general council of Florence, and received the Greeks once more into the Catholic communion, Nicholas V., Calixtus III., Pius II., Paul II., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI. In this age flour-

of them acknowledging the same expositor of this rule, the Catholic Church; and all of them adhering to the main trunk or centre of union, the apostolical see. Some of the general councils or synods likewise appear, in which the bishops from

ished St. Vincent Ferrer, the wonder-worker, both in the order of grace and in that of nature, St. Francis of Paula, whose miracles were not less numerous or extraordinary, St. Laurence Justinian, Patriarch of Venice, St. Antonius, Archbishop of Florence, St. Casimir, Prince of Poland, the venerable Thomas à Kempis, Dr. John Gerson, Thomas Waldensis, the learned English Carmelite, Alphonsus Tostatus, Cardinal Ximenes, &c. At this period, the Canary Islands were added to the church, as were, in a great measure, the kingdoms of Congou and Angola, with other large districts in Africa and Asia, wherever the Portuguese established themselves. The Greek schismatics also, as I have said, together with the Armenians and Monotholites of Egypt, were, for a time, engrafted on the apostolic tree. These conquests, however, were damped by the errors and violence of the various sects of Hussites, and the immoral tenets and practices of the Adamites and other remnants of the Albigenes.

CENT. XVI.

This century was distinguished by that furious storm from the North, which stripped the apostolic tree of so many leaves and branches in this quarter. That arrogant monk, Martin Luther, vowed destruction to the tree itself, and engaged to plant one of those separated branches instead of it; but the attempt was fruitless; for the main stock was sustained by the arm of Omnipotence, and the dissevered boughs splitting into numberless fragments, withered as all such boughs had heretofore done. It would be impossible to number up all these discordant sects; the chief of them were, the Lutherans, the Zuinglians, the Anabaptists, the Calvinists, the Anglicans, the Puritans, the Family of Love, and the Socinians. In the mean time, on the trunk of the apostolic tree grew the following pontiffs:—Pius III., Julius II., who held the fifth Lateran council, Leo X., Adrian VI., Clement VIII., Paul II., Julius III., Marcellus II., Paul IV., Pius IV., who concluded the council of Trent, where 281 prelates condemned the novelties of Luther, Calvin, &c., St. Pius V., Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Urban VII., Gregory XIV., Innocent IX., and Clement VIII. Other supporters of the Catholic and Apostolic Church against the attacks made upon her, were Fisher, Bishop of Rochéster, Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of England; Cuthbert Maine, and some hundreds more of priests and religious, who were martyred under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth in this cause; also the Cardinals Pole, Hosius, Cajetan, and Allen; with the writers Eckius, Cochleus, Erasmus, Campion, Parsons, Stapleton, &c., together with that constellation of great sants which then appeared, SS. Charles Borromeo, Cajetan, Philip Neri, Ignatius, F. Xaverius, F. Borgia, Teresa, &c. In short, the damages sustained from the northern storm were amply repaid to the church, by innumerable conversions in the new eastern and western worlds. It is computed that St. Xaverius alone preached the faith in fifty-two kingdoms or independent states, and baptized a million of converts with his own hand in India and Japan. St. Lewis Bertrand, Martin of Valentia, and Bartholomew Las Casas, with their fellow-missionaries, converted most of the Mexicans, and great progress was made in the conversion of the Brazilians, though not without the blood of many martyred preachers in these and the other Catholic missions. David, Emperor of Abyssinia, with many of his

different parts of the church assembled from time to time, under the authority of the pope, to define its doctrine and regulate its discipline. The size of the sheet was insufficient to exhibit all the various councils. Again, you behold in this tree, the con-

family and other subjects, was now reclaimed to the church, and Pulika, Patriarch of the Nestorians in Assyria, came to Rome, in order to join the numerous churches under him to the centre of unity and truth.

CENT. XVII.

The sects of which I have been speaking, were, at the beginning of this century, in their full vigor; and though they differed in most other respects, yet they combined their forces, under the general name of Protestants, to overthrow Christ's everlasting church. These attempts, however, like the waves of the troubled ocean, were dashed to pieces against the rock on which he had built it. On the contrary, they weakened themselves by civil wars and fresh divisions. The Lutherans split into Diaphorists and Abiaphorists, the Calvinists into Gomarists and Arminians, and the Anglicans into Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, and Quakers. A vain effort was now set on foot, through Cyril Lucaris, to gain over the Greek churches to Calvinism, which ended in demonstrating their inviolable attachment to all the controverted doctrines of Catholicity. Another more fatal attempt, was made to infect several members of the church itself with the distinguishing error of Calvinism, under the name of Jansenism. But the successors of St. Peter continued, through the whole of this century, equally to make head against Protestant innovations, Jansenistical rigor, and casuistical laxity. Their names, in order, were these: Leo XI., Paul V., Gregory XV., Urban VIII., Innocent X., Alexander VII., Clement IX., Clement X., Innocent XI., Alexander VIII., and Innocent XII. Their orthodoxy was powerfully supported by the Cardinals Bellarmine, Baronius, and Perron, with the Bishops Huetius, Bossuet, Fenelon, Richard Smith, and the divines Petavius, Tillemont, Pagi, Thomassin, Kellison, Cressy, &c. Nor were the canonized saints of this age fewer in number or less illustrious than those of the former, namely, St. Francis of Sales, St. Frances Chantal, St. Camillus, St. Fidelis, martyr, St. Vincent of Paul, &c. Finally, the church continued to be crowned with fresh converts, in Peru, Chili, Terra Firma, Canada, Louisiana, Mingrelia, Tartary, India, and many islands both of Africa and Asia. She had also the consolation of receiving into her communion the several patriarchs of Damascus, Aleppo, and Alexandria, and also the Nestorian Archbishops of Chaldæa, and Meliapore, with their respective clergy.

CENT. XVIII.

At length we have mounted up the apostolic tree to our own age. In it, heresy having sunk for the most part into Socinian indifference, and Jansenism into philosophic infidelity; this last waged as cruel a war against the Catholic Church, (and, O glorious mark of truth! against her *alone*,) as Decius and Dioclesian did heretofore; but this has only proved her internal strength of constitution, and the protection of the God of heaven. The pontiffs who stood the storms of this century, were Clement XI., Innocent XIII., Benedict XIII., Clement XII., Benedict XIV., Clement XIII., Clement XIV., Pius VI., as at the beginning of the present century, Pius VII. has done. Among other modern supporters and ornaments of the church, may be mentioned the Cardinals Thomasi and Quirini, the Bishops Languet, La Motte, Beaumont, Challoner, Hornyhold, Walms-

tinuation of the apostolical work, the conversion of nations ; which, as it was committed by Christ to the Catholic Church, so it has never been blessed by him with success in any hands but in hers. This exclusive miracle, in the order of grace, like those in the order of nature, which I treated of in a former letter, is itself a divine attestation in her behalf. Speaking of the conversion of nations, I must not fail, dear sir, to remind your society, that this our country has twice been reclaimed from paganism, and each time by the apostolic labor of missionaries, sent hither by the See of Rome. The first conversion took place in the second century, when Pope Eleutherius sent Fugatius and Duvianus for this purpose to the ancient Britons, or Welsh, under their king or governor, Lucius: as Bede and other historians relate. The second conversion was that of our immediate ancestors, the English Saxons and Angles, by St. Augustin and his companions, at the end of the sixth century, who were sent from Rome, on this apostolical errand, by Pope Gregory the Great. Lastly, you see in the present sketch, a series of unhappy children of the church, who, instead of *hearing* her doctrines, as it was their duty to do, have pretended to *reform* them ; and thus losing the vital influx of their parent stock, have withered and fallen off from it as dead branches.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

ley, Hay and Moylan. Among the writers are Calmet, Muratori, Bergier, Feller, Gother, Manning, Hawarden, and Alban Butler ; and among the personages distinguished by their piety, the *Good Dauphin*, his sister Louisa, the Carmelite nun, his heroical daughter Elizabeth, his other daughter Clotilde, whose beatification is now in progress, as are those of Bishop Lignori, and Paul of the Cross, founder of the Passionists ; as also FF. Surenne, Nolhac, and L'Enfant, with their fellow-martyrs, and the Venerable Labre, &c. Nor has the apostolical work of converting infidels been neglected by the Catholic Church in the midst of such persecutions. In the early part of this century, numberless souls were gained by Catholic preachers in the kingdoms of Madura, Cochin-China, Tonquin, and in the empire of China, including the peninsula of Corea. At the same time numerous savages were civilized and baptized among the Hurons, Miamis, Illinois, and other tribes of North America. But the most glorious conquest, because the most difficult and most complete, was that gained by the Jesuits in the interior of South America over the wild savages of Paraguay, Uruguay, and Parana, together with the wild Canisians, Moxos, and Chiquites, who, after shedding the blood of some hundreds of their first preachers, at length opened their hearts to the mild and sweet truths of the gospel, and became models of piety and morality, nor less so of industry, civil order, and polity.

LETTER XXIX.—TO JAMES BROWN ESQ.

ON THE APOSTOLICITY OF THE CATHOLIC
MINISTRY.

DEAR SIR—

IN viewing *the apostolical tree*, you are to consider it as representing an uninterrupted succession of pontiffs and prelates, who derive, not barely their *doctrine*, but also, and in a special manner, their *ministry*, namely their *holy orders*, and the *right* or *jurisdiction* to exercise those orders, in a right line from the apostles of Jesus Christ. In fact, the Catholic Church, in all past ages, has not been more jealous of the sacred deposit of *orthodox doctrine*, than of the equally sacred deposits of *legitimate ordination*, by bishops who themselves had been rightly ordained and consecrated, and of *valid jurisdiction* or *divine mission*, by which she authorizes her ministers to exercise their respective functions in such and such places, with respect to such and such persons, and under such and such conditions, as she, by the depositaries of this jurisdiction, is pleased to ordain. Thus, my dear sir, every Catholic pastor is authorized and enabled to address his flock as follows:—*The word of God which I announce to you, and the holy sacraments which I dispense to you, I am QUALIFIED to announce and dispense by such a Catholic bishop who was consecrated by such another Catholic bishop, and so on, in a series which reaches to the apostles themselves: and I am AUTHORIZED to preach and minister to you by such a prelate, who received authority for this purpose, from the successor of St. Peter in the apostolic See of Rome.* Heretofore, during a considerable time, the learned and conscientious divines of the Church of England held the same principles, on both these points, that Catholics have ever held, and were no less firm in maintaining the *divine right* of episcopacy and the ministry than we are. This appears from the works of one who was, perhaps, the most profound and accurate amongst them, the celebrated Hooker. He proves, at great length, that the ecclesiastical ministry is a divine function, instituted by God, and deriving its authority from God, “in a very different manner from that of princes and magistrates:” that it is “a wretched blindness not to admire so great a power as that which the clergy are endowed with, or to suppose that any but God can bestow it;” that “it consists in a power over the *mystical body* of Christ, by the *remission of sins*, and over his *natural body* in the *sacrament*, which antiquity doth call *the making of Christ’s body.*”^{*} He distinguishes between the power of orders and the

* Ecclesiast. Politic. B. v. Art. 77.

authority of *mission* or *jurisdiction*, on both which points he is supported by the canons and laws of the Establishment. Not to speak of prior laws, the act of uniformity* provides that no minister shall hold any living, or officiate in any church, who has not received episcopal ordination. It also requires that he shall be approved and *licensed* for his particular place and *function*. This is also clear from the form of induction of a clerk into any cure.† In virtue of this system, when episcopacy was re-established in Scotland, in the year 1662, four Presbyterian ministers, having been appointed by the king to that office, the English bishops refused to consecrate them, unless they consented to be previously ordained deacons and priests; thus renouncing their former ministerial character, and acknowledging that they had hitherto been mere laymen.‡ In like manner, on the accession of King William, who was a Dutch Calvinist, to the throne, when a commission of ten bishops and twenty divines was appointed to modify the articles and liturgy of the Established Church, for the purpose of forming a coalition with the dissenters, it appeared that the most lax among them, such as Tillotson and Burnet, together with Chief Baron Hales, and other lay lords, required that the dissenting ministers should, at least, be *conditionally ordained*,§ as being, thus far, mere laymen. In a word, it is well known to be the practice of the Established Church, at the present day, to ordain all dissenting Protestant ministers of every description, who go over to her; whereas, she never attempts to re-ordain an apostate Catholic priest who offers himself to her service, but is satisfied with his taking the oaths prescribed by law.|| This doctrine of the Establishment, evidently *unchurches* (as Dr. Heylin expresses it) all other Protestant communions, as it is an established prin-

* Stat. 13 and 14 Car. II., c. 4.

† "Curam et regimen animarum parochianorum tibi committimus."

‡ Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. ii. p. 887. It appears from the same history that four other Scotch ministers, who had formerly permitted themselves to be consecrated bishops, were, on that account, excommunicated and degraded by the kirk. Records, N. cxiii.

§ Life of Tillotson, by D. Birch, pp. 42, 176.

|| Notwithstanding these proofs of the doctrine and practice of the Established Church, a great proportion of her modern divines consent, at the present day, to sacrifice all her pretensions to divine authority and uninterrupted succession. It has been shown in *The Letters to a Prebendary*, that in the principles of the celebrated Dr. Balguy, a priest or bishop can as well be made by the town-crier, if commissioned by the civil power, as by the metropolitan. To this system, Dr. Sturges, Dr. Hey, Dr. Paley, Dr. Tomline, and a crowd of other learned theologians subscribe their names. Even the Bishop of Lincoln, in maintaining episcopacy to be an apostolical institution, denies it to be binding on Christians to adopt it; which, in fact, is to reduce it to a mere civil and optional practice. Elem. Vol. ii. Art. 23.

eiple, that, *no ministry, no church* ;* and with equal evidence, it *unchristians* them also ; since this church unanimously resolved, in 1575, that baptism cannot be performed by any person but a lawful minister.†

But dismissing these uncertain and wavering opinions, we know what little account all other Protestants, except those of England, have made of apostolical succession and Episcopal ordination. Luther's principles on these points are clear from his famous *bull against the FALSELY CALLED order of bishops*,‡ where he says : "Give ear now, you bishops, or rather you visors of the devil : Dr. Luther will read you a bull and a reform, which will not sound sweet in your ears." Dr. Luther's bull and reform is this : "Whoever spend their labor, persons, and fortunes, to lay waste your episcopacies, and to extinguish the government of bishops—they are the beloved of God, true Christians, and opposers of the devil's ordinances. On the other hand, whoever support the government of bishops, and willingly obey them—they are the devil's ministers," &c. True it is, that afterwards, namely, in 1542, this arch-reformer, to gratify his chief patron, the Elector of Saxony, took upon himself to consecrate his bottle-companion, Amsdorf, Bishop of Naumburgh :§ but then it is notorious from the whole of his conduct, that Luther set himself above all law, and derided all consistency and decency. Nearly the same may be said of another later reformer, John Wesley, who, professing himself to be a *presbyter of the Church of England*, pretended to ordain Messrs. Whatcoat, Vesey, &c. *priests*, and to consecrate Dr. Coke, *a bishop* !|| With equal inconsistency the elders of Hernhuth, in Moravia, profess to consecrate bishops for England and other kingdoms. On the other hand, how averse the Calvinists and other dissenters are, to the very *name*, as well as the *office of bishops*, all modern histories, especially those of England and Scotland, demonstrate. But, in short, by whatever name, whether of bishops, priests, deacons, or pastors, these ministers respectively call themselves, it is undeniable, that they are all *self-appointed*, or, at most, they derive their claim from other men, who themselves were *self-appointed*, fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen hundred years subsequent to the time of the apostles.

The chief question which remains to be discussed, concerns

* "Ubi nullus est sacerdos nulla est ecclesia." St. Jerom, &c.

† Elem. of Theol. Vol. ii. p. 471.

‡ Adversus falso Normin. Tom. ii. Jen. A. D. 1525.

§ Sleidan, Comment. L. 14.

|| Dr. Whitehead's Life of Charles and John Wesley. It appears that Charles was horribly scandalized at this step of his brother John, and that a lasting schism among the Wesleyan Methodists was the consequence of it.

the ministry of the Church of England ; namely, whether the first Protestant bishops appointed by Queen Elizabeth, when the Catholic bishops were turned out of their sees, did or did not receive valid consecration from some other bishop, who himself was validly consecrated ? The discussion of this question has filled many volumes, the result of which is, that the orders are, to say the least, exceedingly doubtful. For, first, it is certain that the doctrine of the fathers of this church was very loose, as to the necessity of consecration and ordination. Its chief founder, Cranmer, solemnly subscribed his name to the position, that princes and governors, no less than bishops, can make priests, and that no consecration is appointed by Scripture to make a bishop or priest.* In like manner, Barlow, on the validity of whose consecration that of Matthew Parker and of all succeeding Anglican bishops chiefly rests, preached openly that the king's appointment, without any *orders* or *ordination* whatsoever, suffices to make a bishop.† This doctrine seems to have been broached by him, to meet the objection that he himself had never been consecrated : in fact, the record of such a transaction has been hunted for in vain, during these 200 years. Secondly; it is evident from the books of controversy still extant, that the Catholic doctors, Harding, Bristow, Stapleton, and Cardinal Allen, who had been fellow-students, and intimately acquainted with the first Protestant bishops, under Elizabeth, and particularly with Jewel, Bishop of Sarum, and Horne, Bishop of Winton, constantly reproached them, in the most pointed terms, that they never had been consecrated at all ; and that they in their voluminous replies, never accepted of the challenge or refuted the charge, otherwise than by ridiculing the *Catholic* consecration. Thirdly, it appears that after an interval of fifty years from the beginning of the controversy, namely in the year 1613, when Mason, chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, published a work, referring to an alleged register at Lambeth, of Archbishop Parker's consecration by Barlow, assisted by Coverdale and others, the learned Catholics universally exclaimed that the register was a forgery, *unheard of till that date* ; and asserted among other arguments, that, admitting it to be true, it was of no avail, as the pretended consecrator of Parker, though he had sat in several sees, had not himself been consecrated for any of them.‡

* Burnet's Hist. of Reform. Records, B. iii. N. 21. See also his Rec Part ii. N. 2, by which it appears that Cranmer and the other complying prelates, on the death of Henry VIII., took out fresh commissions from Edward VI., to govern their dioceses, *durante bene placito*, like mere civil officers.

|| Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii., p. 135.

‡ Richardson in his notes on Goodwin's Commentary is forced to confess as follows : " Dies consecrationis ejus (Barlow) nondum apparet." P. 642.

These, however, are not the only exceptions which Catholic divines have taken to the ministerial orders of the Church of England. They have argued, in particular, against the *form* of them, as theologians term it. In fact, according to the ordinal of Edward VI., restored by Elizabeth, priests were ordained by the power of *forgiving sins*,* without any power of *offering up sacrifice*, in which the essence of the *sacerdotium* or *priesthood* consists; and, according to the same ordinal, bishops were consecrated without the communication of any fresh power whatsoever, or even the mention of episcopacy, by a *form* which might be used to a child, when confirmed or baptized.† This was agreeable to the maxims of the principal author of that ordinal, Cranmer, who solemnly decided that “bishops and priests were not two things, but one and the same office.”‡ On this subject our controvertists urge, not only the authority of all the Latin and Greek ordinals, but also the confession of the above-mentioned Protestant divine, Mason, who says, with evident truth, “Not every form of words will serve for this stitution, (conveying orders,) but such as are significant of the power conveyed by the order.”§ In short, these objections were so powerfully urged by our divines, Dr. Champney, J. Lewgar, S. T. B.,|| and others, that almost immediately after the last named had published his work called *Erastus Senior*, in 1662, containing them; the convocation, being assembled, *altered the form* of ordaining priests and consecrating bishops in order to obviate these objections.¶ But admitting that these alterations are sufficient to obviate *all* the objections of our divines to the ordinal, which they are not, they came above a hundred years too late for their intended purpose; so that if

* “Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained: and be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of his holy sacraments.”—Bishop Sparrow’s Collection, p. 158.

† “Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is in thee by the imposition of hands.”—Ibid. p. 164.

‡ Burnet’s Hist. of Reform. vol. i. Record, B. iii. n. 21, quest. 10.

§ Ibid. B. ii. c. 16.

|| Lewgar was the friend of Chillingworth, and by him converted to the Catholic faith, which, however, he refused to abandon when the latter relapsed into latitudinarianism.

¶ The form of ordaining a priest was thus altered: “Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands: Whose sins thou shalt forgive, they are forgiven,” &c.—The form of consecrating a bishop was thus enlarged: “Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: and remember, that thou stir up the grace of God, which is in thee.”

the priests and bishops of Edward's and Elizabeth's reigns were invalidly ordained and consecrated, so must those of Charles the Second's reign, and their successors, have been also.

However long I have dwelt on this subject, it is not yet exhausted. The case is here is the same necessity of an apostolical succession of *mission*, or authority to execute the functions of holy orders, as of the holy orders themselves. This *mission*, or authority, was imparted by Christ to his apostles, when he said to them: "As the Father hath sent me, I also send you," John xx. 21; and of this St. Paul also speaks, where he says of the apostles: "How can they preach, unless they are sent?" Rom. x. 15. I believe, sir, that no regular Protestant church, or society, admits its ministers to have, by their ordination or appointment, unlimited authority in every place and congregation. Certain it is, from the ordinal and articles of the Established Church, that she confines the jurisdiction of her ministers to "the congregation to which they shall be appointed."* Conformably to this, Dr. Berkley teaches, that "a defect in the *mission* of the ministry, invalidates the sacraments, affects the purity of public worship, and therefore deserves to be investigated by every sincere Christian."† To this Archdeacon Daubeny adds, that "regular mission only subsists in the churches which have preserved apostolical succession."—I moreover believe, that in all Protestant societies the ministers are persuaded, that the authority by which they preach and perform their functions is, in some manner or other, *divine*. But, on this head, I must observe to you, dear sir, and your society, that there are only two ways, by which divine mission or authority can be communicated; the one *ordinary*, the other *extraordinary*. The former takes place, when this authority is transmitted in regular succession from those who originally received it from God; the other, when the Almighty interposes, in an extraordinary manner, and immediately commissions certain individuals to make known his will to men. The latter mode evidently requires indisputable miracles to attest it: and accordingly, Moses and our Saviour Christ, who were sent in this manner, constantly appealed to the prodigies they wrought in proof of their divine mission. Hence even Luther, when Muncer, Storck, and their followers, the Anabaptists, spread their errors and devastations through lower Germany, counselled the magistrates to put these questions to them, (not reflecting that the questions were as applicable to himself as to Muncer and Storck,) "Who *conferred*

* Article 23. Form of ordaining priests and deacons.

† Ser. n. at Consecr. of Bishop Horne

upon you the office of preaching? And who *commissioned you* to preach? If they answer *God*: then let the magistrates say: *Prove this to us* by some evident miracle: for so God makes known his will, when he changes the institutions which he had before established.”* Should this advice of the first reformer to the magistrates be followed in this age and country, what swarms of sermonizers and expounders of the Bible would be reduced to silence! For, on one hand, it is notorious, that they are *self-appointed* prophets, who *run without being sent*; or, if they pretend to a *commission*, that they derive it from other men, who themselves had received none, and who did not so much as claim any, by regular succession from the apostles. Such was Luther himself; such also were Zuinglius, Calvin, Muncer, Menno, John Knox, George Fox, Zinzendorf, Wesley, Whitfield, and Swedenborg. None of these preachers, as I have signified, so much as pretended to have received their mission from Christ in the *ordinary way*, by uninterrupted succession from the apostles. On the other hand, they were so far from undertaking to work real miracles, by way of proving that they had received *an extraordinary mission from God*, that, as Erasmus reproached them, they could not so much as cure a lame horse, in proof of their divine legation.

Should your friend, the Rev. Mr. Clark, see this letter, he will doubtless exclaim, that, whatever may be the case with dissenters, the Church of England, at least, has received her mission and authority, together with her orders, by regular succession from the apostles, through the Catholic bishops, in the ordinary way.—In fact, this is plainly asserted by the Bishop of Lincoln.†—But take notice, dear sir, that though we were to admit of an apostolical succession of orders in the Established Church, we never could admit of an apostolical succession of *mission, jurisdiction*, or right to exercise those orders in that church: nor can its clergy, with any consistency, lay the least claim to it. For, first, if the Catholic Church, that is to say, its “laity and clergy, all sects and degrees, were drowned in abominable idolatry, most detested of God and damnable to man, for the space of eight hundred years,” as the homilies affirm,‡ how could she retain this divine mission and jurisdiction all this time, and all this time employ them in commissioning her clergy to preach up this “abominable idolatry?” Again, was it possible for the Catholic Church to give jurisdiction and authority, to Archbishop Parker, for example, and the Bishops Jewel and Horne, to preach against herself? Did ever any in-

* Sleidan. De Stat. Relig. l. v.

† Elem. of Theol. vol. ii. p. 400.

‡ Against the Perils of Idolatry, p. iii.

surgents against an established government, except the regicides in the grand rebellion, claim authority from that very government to fight against it, and destroy it? In a word, we perfectly well know, from history, that the first English Protestants did not profess, any more than foreign Protestants, to derive any mission or authority whatsoever from the apostles, through the existing Catholic Church. Those of Henry's reign preached and ministered in defiance of all authority, ecclesiastica. and civil.* Their successors in the reign of Edward and Elizabeth claimed their whole right and mission to preach and to minister, from the civil power only.† This latter point is demonstratively evident from the act and the oath of supremacy, and from the homage of the archbishops and bishops to the said Elizabeth; in which the prelate elect "acknowledges and confesses, that he holds his bishopric, as well *in spirituals* as in temporals, from her alone and the crown royal." The same thing is clear from a series of royal ordinances respecting the clergy, in matters purely spiritual, such as the *pronouncing on doctrine*, the *prohibition of prophesying*; the *inhibition of all preaching*, the *giving and suspending of spiritual faculties*, &c. Now, though I sincerely and cheerfully ascribe to my sovereign all the *temporal and civil power*, jurisdiction, rights, and authority, which the constitution and laws ascribe to him, I cannot believe that Christ appointed any temporal prince to *feed his mystical flock*, or any part of it, or to exercise *the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven* at his discretion. It was foretold by Bishop Fisher in Parliament, that the royal ecclesiastical supremacy, if once acknowledged, might pass to a child or a woman‡, as, in fact, it soon did to each of them. It was afterwards transferred, with the crown itself, to a foreign Calvinist, and might have been settled, by a lay assembly, on a Mahometan. All, however, that is necessary for me here to remark is, that the acknowledgment of a royal ecclesiastical supremacy "in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes,"§ (as when the question is, who shall preach, baptize, &c., and who shall not; what is sound doctrine, and what is not,) is decidedly a renunciation of Christ's commission given to his apostles, and preserved by their successors in the Catholic Apostolic Church.—Hence it clearly

* Collier's Hist. vol. ii. p. 81.

† In the reign of James I., Archbishop Abbot having incurred suspension by the canon law, for accidentally shooting a man, a royal commission was issued to restore him. On another occasion, he was suspended by the king himself, for refusing to license a book. In Elizabeth's reign, the bishops approved of *prophesying*, as it was called; the queen disapproved of it, and she obliged them to condemn it.

‡ See his Life by Dr. Bailey; also Dodd's Eccles. Hist. vol. i.

§ Oath of Supremacy, Homage of Bishops, &c.

appears; that there is, and can be, no *apostolical* succession of ministry in the Established Church, more than in the other congregations or societies of Protestants. All their preaching and ministering, in their several degrees, is performed by *mere human authority*.* On the other hand, not a sermon is preached, nor a child baptized, nor a penitent absolved, nor a priest ordained, nor a bishop consecrated, throughout the whole extent of the Catholic Church, without the minister of such function being able to show his authority from Christ for what he does, in the commission of Christ to his apostles: "All power in heaven and on earth is given to me: go therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them," &c., Matt. xxviii. 19; and without his being able to prove his claim to that commission of Christ, by producing the table of his uninterrupted succession from the apostles.—I will not detain you by entering into a comparison, in a religious point of view, between a ministry which officiates by *divine authority*, and others which act by *mere human authority*; but shall conclude this subject by putting it to the good sense and candor of your society, whether, from all that has been said, it is not as evident, which among the different communions is **THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH** we profess to believe in, as which is **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH**?

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XXX.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

DEAR SIR—

I FIND that your visiter, the Rev. Mr. Clark, had not left you at the latter end of last week; since it appears, by a letter which I have received from him, that he had seen my two last letters, addressed to you at New Cottage. He is much displeased with their contents, which I am not surprised at; and he uses some harsh expressions against them and their author, of which I do not complain, as he was not a party to the agreement entered into at the beginning of our correspondence, by the tenor of which I was left at full liberty to follow up my arguments to whatever lengths they might conduct me, without incurring the displeasure of any person of the society on that ac-

* It is curious to see in Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, and in the 37th Article, the disclaimer of her "*actually ministering the word and the sacraments.*" The question was not about this, but about the *jurisdiction* or *mission* of the ministry.

count. I shall pass over the passages in the letter which seem to have been dictated by too warm a feeling, and shall confine my answer to those which contain something like argument against what I have advanced.

The reverend gentleman, then, objects against the claim of our pontiffs to the apostolic succession; that in different ages this succession has been interrupted by the contentions of rival popes; and that the lives of many of them have been so criminal, that, according to my own argument, as he says, it is incredible that such pontiffs should have been able to preserve and convey the commission and authority given by Christ to his apostles. I grant, sir, that, from the various commotions and accidents to which all sublunary things are subject, there have been several vacancies or interregnums in the papacy; but none of them have been of such a lengthened duration as to prevent a moral continuation of the popedom, or to hinder the execution of the important offices annexed to it. I grant, also, that there have been rival popes and unhappy schisms in the church, particularly one great schism, at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century; still the true pope was always clearly discernible at the times we are speaking of, and in the end was acknowledged even by his opponents. Lastly, I grant that a few of the popes, perhaps a tenth part of the whole number, swerving from the example of the rest, have, by their *personal vices*, disgraced their holy station: but even these popes always fulfilled their *public duties* to the church, by maintaining the *apostolical doctrine*, moral as well as speculative, the *apostolical orders*, and the *apostolical mission*; so that their misconduct chiefly injured their own souls, and did not essentially affect the church. But if what the homilies affirm were true, that the whole church had been "drowned in idolatry for eight hundred years," she must have taught and commissioned all those whom she ordained, to teach this horrible apostacy; which she never could have done, and at the same time have retained Christ's commission and authority to teach all nations the Gospel. This demonstrates the inconsistency of those clergymen of the Establishment, who accuse the Catholic Church of apostacy and idolatry, and at the same time boast of having received, *through her*, a spiritual jurisdiction and ministry from Jesus Christ.

Your visiter next expatiates, in triumphant strains, on the exploded fable of Pope Joan; for *exploded* it certainly may be termed, when such men as the Calvinist minister Blondel, and the infidel Bayle, have abandoned and refuted it. But the circumstances of the fable themselves sufficiently refute it. According to these, in the middle of the ninth century, an *English*

woman, born at Mentz in Germany,* studied philosophy at Athens, (where there was no school of philosophy in the ninth century more than there is now,) and taught divinity at Rome. It is pretended that, being elected pope, on the death of Leo IV., in 855, she was *delivered of a child*, as she was walking in a *solemn procession* near the Coliseum, and *died* on the spot; and, moreover, that a *statue of her* was there erected in memory of the *disgraceful event!* There have been great debates among the learned, concerning the first author of this absurd tale, and concerning the interpolations in the copies of the first chronicles which mention it.† At all events, it was never heard of for more than two hundred years after the period at which it is said to have taken place. And, in the mean time, we are assured, from the genuine works of *contemporary writers* and distinguished prelates, some of whom then resided at Rome, such as Anastasius the Librarian, Luitprand, Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, Photius of Constantinople, Lupus Ferrar, &c., that Benedict III. was canonically elected pope in the said year 855, only three days after the death of Leo IV., which evidently leaves no interval for the pontificate of the fabulous Joan.

From the warfare of attack, my reverend antagonist passes to that of defence, as he terms it. In this he heavily complains of my not having done justice to the Protestants, particularly in the article of *foreign missions*. On this head, he enumerates the different societies, existing in this country, for carrying them on, and the large sums of money which they annually raise for this purpose. The societies, I learn from him, are the following: 1st, The society for promoting Christian knowledge, called the Bartlett's-Buildings Society: which, though strictly of the Establishment, employs missionaries in India to the number of six, all Germans, and it should seem, all *Lutherans*. 2dly, There is the Society for propagating Christianity in the English colonies; but I hear nothing of its doings. 3dly, There is another for the conversion of negro slaves, of which I can only say, ditto. 4thly, There is another for sending missionaries to Africa and the East, concerning which we are equally left in the dark. 5thly, There is the London Missionary Society, which sent out the ship *Duff*, with certain preachers and their wives, to Otaheite, Tongabattoo, and the Marquesas, and published a journal of the voyage, by which it appears that they are strict Calvinists and Independents. 6thly, the Edinburgh Missionary Society fraternizes with the last mentioned. 7thly, There is an Arminian Missionary Society, under Dr. Coke, the

* Ita Pseudo Martinus Polonus, &c.

† See Breviarum Historico—Chronologico—criticum Pontiff. Roman. studio R. F. Pagi, tom. ii. p. 72.

head of the Wesleyan Methodists. 8thly, There is a Moravian Missionary Society, which appears more active than any of the others, particularly at the Cape, and in Greenland and Surinam. To these, your visiter says, must be added, the Hibernian Society for diffusing Christian knowledge in Ireland; as also, and still more particularly, the Bible Society, with all its numerous ramifications. Of this last-named he *speaks glorious things*, foretelling that it will, in its progress, purify the world from infidelity and wickedness.

In answer to what has been stated, I have to mention several marked differences between the Protestant and the Catholic missionaries. The former preach various discordant religions; for what religions can be more opposite than the Calvinistic and the Arminian? And how indignant would a churchman feel, if I were to charge him with the impiety and obscenity of Zinzendorf and his Moravians? The very preachers of the same sect, on board of the *Duff*, had not agreed upon the creed they were to teach, when they were within a few days sail of *Otaheite*.* Whereas the Catholic missionaries, whether Italians, French, Portuguese, or Spaniards, taught and planted precisely the same religion in the opposite extremities of the globe. Secondly, the envoys of those societies had no commission or authority to preach, but what they derived from the men and women who contributed money to pay for their voyages and accommodations. *I have not sent these prophets*, says the Lord, *yet they ran; I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesied*, Jer. xxiii. 21. On the other hand, the apostolical men, who, in ancient and in modern times, have converted the nations of the earth, all derived their mission and authority from the centre of the Apostolic Tree, the See of Peter. Thirdly, I cannot but remark the striking difference between the Protestant and the Catholic missionaries, with respect to their qualifications and method of proceeding. The former were, for the most part, mechanics and laymen of the lowest order, without any learning infused or acquired, beyond what they could pick up from the English translation of the Bible; they were frequently encumbered with wives and children, and armed with muskets and bayonets, to kill those whom they could not convert.† Whereas

* "By the middle of January, the committee of eight (among the thirty missionaries) had nearly finished *the articles of faith*. Two of the number dissented, but gave in."—*Journal of the Duff*.

† The 18 preachers who remained at *Otaheite*, "took up arms *by way of precaution*."—*Ibid*. It appears from subsequent accounts, that the preachers made use of their arms, to protect their wives from the men whom they came to convert. Of the nine preachers destined for *Tongabato*, six were for carrying fire-arms on shore, and three against it.

the Catholic missionaries have always been priests, or ascetics, trained to literature and religious exercises, men of continency and self-denial, who had no other defence than their breviary and crucifix, no other weapon than *the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God*. Ephes. vi. 17. Fourthly, I do not find any portion of that lively faith, and that heroic constancy, in braving poverty, torments, and death for the gospel, among the few Protestant converts, or even among their preachers, which have so frequently illustrated the different Catholic missions. Indeed I have not heard of a single martyr of any kind, in Asia, Africa, or America, who can be considered as the fruit of the above-named societies, or of any Protestant mission whatever. On the other hand, few are the countries in which the Christian religion has been planted by Catholic priests, without being watered by some of their own blood and of that of their converts. To say nothing of the martyrs of a late date in the Catholic missions of Turkey, Abyssinia, Siam, Tonquin, Cochinchina, &c., there has been an almost continual persecution of the Catholics in the empire of China, for about a hundred years past, which, besides confessors of the faith, who have endured various tortures, has produced a very great number of martyrs, native Chinese as well as Europeans, laity as well as priests and bishops.* Within these two years,† the wonderful apostle of the great peninsula of Corea, to the east of China, James Ly, with as many as 100 of his converts, has suffered death for the faith. In the islands of Japan, the anti-Christian persecution, excited by the envy and avarice of the Dutch, raged with a fury unexampled in the annals of pagan Rome. It began with the crucifixion of twenty-six martyrs, most of them missionaries. It then proceeded to other more horrible martyrdoms, and it concluded with putting to death as many as eleven hundred thousand Christians.‡ Nor were those numerous and splendid victories of the gospel in the provinces of South America achieved without torrents of Catholic blood. Many of the first preachers were slaughtered by the savages to whom they announced the gospel, and not unfrequently devoured by them, as was the case with the first Bishop of Brazil.—In the last place, the Protestant missions have never been attended with any great suc-

* Hist. de l'Eglise, par Berault Bercastel, tom. 22, 23. Butler's Lives of the Saints, Feb. 5. Mém. Ecclés. pour le 18me Siècle.

† Namely, in 1801. While this work was in the press, we received an account of the martyrdom of Mgr. Dufresse, Bishop of Tabraca, and Vicar Apostolic of Sutchuen, in China, who was beheaded there Sept. 14, 1815, and of F. J. de Prior, missionary in Chiensi, who, after various torments, was strangled, Feb. 13, 1816.

‡ Berault Bercastel says two millions, tom. 20.

cess. Those heretofore carried on by the Dutch, French, and American Calvinists, seem to have been more levelled at the destruction of the Catholic missions than at the conversion of the pagans.* In later times, the zealous Wesley went on a mission to convert the savages of Georgia, but returned without making one proselyte. His companion Whitfield afterwards went to the same country on the same errand, but returned without any greater success. Of the missionaries who went out in the Duff, those who were left at the Friendly Islands and the Marquesas, abandoned their posts in despair, as did eleven of the eighteen left at Otaheite. The remaining seven had not, in the course of six years, baptized a single islander. In the mean time, the depravity of the natives in killing their infants and other abominations, increased so fast, as to threaten their total extinction. In the Bengal government, extending over from 30 to 40 millions of people, with all its influence and encouragement, not more than eighty converts have been made by the Protestant missionaries in seven years, and those were almost all Chandalas, or outcasts from the Hindoo religion, who were glad to get a pittance for their support ; † “for the perseverance of several of whom,” their instructors say, “they tremble.” ‡—How different a scene do the Catholic missions present ! To say nothing of ancient Christendom, all the kingdoms and states of which were reclaimed from paganism, and converted to Christianity by Catholic preachers, and not one of them by preachers of any other description ; what extensive and populous islands, provinces, and states, in the east and in the west, were wholly, or in a great part, reclaimed from idolatry, soon after Luther’s revolt, by Catholic missionaries ! But

* It is generally known, and not denied by Mosheim himself, that the extermination of the flourishing missions in Japan is to be ascribed to the Dutch. When they became masters of the Portuguese settlements in India, they endeavored, by persecution as well as by other means, to make the Christian natives abandon the Catholic religion, to which St. Xaverius and his companions had converted them. The Calvinist preachers having failed in their attempt to proselyte the Brazilians, it happened that one of their party, James Sourie, took a merchant vessel at sea with 40 Jesuit missionaries, under F. Azevedo, on board of it, bound to Brazil ; when, in hatred of them and their destination, he put them all to death. The year following, F. Diaz with 11 companions, bound on the same mission, and falling into the hands of the Calvinists, met with the same fate. Incredible pains were taken by the ministers of New England to induce the Hurons, Iroquois, and other converted savages, to abandon the Catholic religion, when the latter answered them. “You never preached the word to us while we were pagans ; and now that we are Christians you try to deprive us of it.”

† Extract of a Speech of C. Marsh, Esq., in a committee of the H. of C., July 1, 1815. See also Major Waring’s Remarks on Oxford Sermons.

‡ Transact. of Prot. Miss. quoted in Edinb. Review, April, 1808.

to come still nearer to our own time: F. Bouchet, alone, in the course of his twelve years' labors in Madura, instructed and baptized 20,000 Indians, while F. Britto, within fifteen months only, converted and regenerated 8,000, when he sealed his mission with his blood. By the latest returns which I have seen, from the eastern missionaries to the directors of the French *Missions Etrangères*, it appears that in the western district of Tonquin, during the five years preceding the beginning of this century, 4,101 adults and 26,915 children were received into the church by baptism, and that in the lower part of Cochin-China 900 grown persons had been baptized in the course of two years, besides vast numbers of children. The empire of China contains six bishops and some hundreds of Catholic priests. In a single province of it, Sutchuen, during the year 1796, 1,500 adults were baptized, and 2,527 catechumens were received for instruction. By letters of a later date from the above-mentioned martyr, Dufresse, Bishop of Tabraca, and Vicar Apostolic of Sutchuen, it appears, that during the year 1810, in spite of a severe persecution, 965 adults were baptized; and that during 1814, though the persecution increased, 829, without reckoning infants, received baptism. Bishop Lamote, Vicar Apostolic of Fokien, testifies that, in his district, during the year 1810, 10,384 infants and 1,677 grown persons were baptized, and 2,674 catechumens admitted.—From this short specimen, I trust, dear sir, it will appear manifest to you, on which Christian society God bestows his grace to execute the work of the apostles, as well as to preserve their *doctrine*, their *orders*, and their *mission*.

As to the wonderful effects which your visiter expects in the conversion of the pagan world, from the *Bible Society*, and the three score and three translations into foreign tongues of the English translation of the Bible, I beg leave to ask him, who is to vouch to the Tartars, Turks, and idolaters, that the testaments and Bibles which the society is pouring in upon them, were inspired by the Creator? Who is to answer for these translations, made by officers, merchants, and merchants' clerks, being accurate and faithful? Who is to teach these barbarians to read, and, after that, to make any thing like a connected sense of the mysterious volumes? Does Mr. C. really think that an inhabitant of Otaheite, when he is enabled to read the Bible, will extract the sense of the 39 Articles, or of any other Christian system whatever from it? In short, has the Bible Society, or any of the other Protestant societies, converted a single pagan or Mahometan by the bare text of Scripture? When such a convert can be produced, it will be time enough for me to propose to him those further gravelling questions,

which result from my observations on the sacred text in a former letter to you. In the mean time, let your visiter rest assured that the Catholic Church will proceed in the old and successful manner, by which she has converted all the Christian people on the face of the earth; the same which Christ delivered to his apostles and their successors: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Mark, xvi. 15. On the other hand, how illusory the gentleman's hopes are, that the depravity of this age and country will be reformed by the efforts of the Bible Society, has been victoriously proved by the Rev. Dr. Hook, who, with other clear-sighted churchmen, evidently sees that the grand principle of Protestantism, strictly reduced to practice, would undermine their establishment. One of his brethren, the Rev. Mr. Gisborne, had publicly boasted that, in proportion to the opposition which the Bible Society had met with, its annual income had increased, till it reached near a £100,000 in a year. Dr. Hook, in return, showed by lists of the convictions of criminals during the first seven years of the society's existence, that the wickedness of the country, instead of being diminished, had almost been doubled!* Since that period up to the present year, it has increased three-fold, and four-fold, compared with its state before the society began.

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAVE now, dear sir, completed the second task which I undertook, and therefore proceed to sum up my evidence. Having then proved in my twelve former letters, the rough copies of which I have preserved, that the two alleged rules of faith, that of *private inspiration*, and that of *private interpretation of Scripture*, are equally fallacious, and that there is no certain way of arriving at the truth of divine revelation, but by *hearing that church* which Christ *built on a rock*, and promised to *abide*

* List of capital convictions in London and Middlesex in the following years, from Dr. Hook's charge and the London Chronicle :

In the year	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817
Convictions	728	863	884	872	998	1012	1027	2299	2592	3177

It appears, by a return made to the House of Commons, in obedience to their order, June 5, in the year 1818, that the number of criminals committed for trial, and of those sentenced to death, during the last thirteen years, nearly corresponding with those of the Bible Society's progress, has been about tripled, namely :

Committed for Trial.
 In 1805..... 1,605
 In 1817..... 13,932.

Sentenced to Death.
 In 1805..... 350.
 In 1817..... 1,302.

with for ever, I engaged, in this my second series of letters, to demonstrate which, among the different societies of Christians, is the church that Christ founded and still protects. For this purpose I have had recourse to the principal *characters* or *marks of Christ's church*, as they are pointed out in Scripture, and formally acknowledged by Protestants of nearly all descriptions, no less than by Catholics, in their articles, and in those creeds which form part of their private prayers and public liturgy, namely, *unity, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity*. In fact, this is what every one acknowledges who says, in the Apostles' Creed, *I believe in the holy Catholic Church*; and in the Nicene Creed,* *I believe one Catholic Apostolic Church*. Treating of the first mark of the true church, I proved from natural reason, Scripture, and tradition, that *unity* is essential to her; I then showed that there is no union or principle of union among the different sects of Protestants, except their common *protestation* against their mother church; and that the Church of England, in particular, is *divided against herself* in such a manner, that one of its most learned prelates has declared himself *afraid to say what is its doctrine*. On the other hand, I have shown that the Catholic Church, spread as she is over the whole earth, is one and the same in her *doctrine*, in her *liturgy*, and in her *government*; and, though I detest religious persecution, I have, in defiance of ridicule and clamor, vindicated her unchangeable doctrine, and the plain dictate of reason as to the indispensable obligation of believing what God teaches; in other words, of a right faith. I have even proved that her adherence to this tenet is a proof both of the *truth* and the *charity* of the Catholic Church. On the subject of *holiness*, I have made it clear, that the pretended Reformation everywhere originated in the pernicious doctrine of *salvation by faith alone, without good works*, and that the Catholic Church has ever taught the necessity of them both; likewise that she possesses many peculiar *means of sanctity*, to which modern sects do not make a pretension; likewise that she has, in every age, produced the genuine *fruits of sanctity*; while the fruits of Protestantism have been quite of an *opposite nature*: finally, that *God himself has borne witness to the sanctity of the Catholic Church*, by undeniable *miracles*, with which he has illustrated her in every age.—It did not require much pains to prove that the Catholic Church possesses, exclusively, the name of CATHOLIC; and not much more to demonstrate that she alone has the *qualities* signified by that name. That the Catholic Church is also APOSTOLICAL, by descending in a right line from the apostles of Christ, is as evident as that

* See the Communion Service in Common Prayer.

she is Catholic. However, to illustrate this matter, I have sketched out a genealogical, or, as I call it, *the apostolical tree*, which, with the help of a note subjoined, shows the uninterrupted succession of the Catholic Church in her chief pontiffs, and other illustrious prelates, doctors, and renowned saints, from the apostles of Christ, during eighteen centuries, to the present period, together with the continuation in her of the apostolical work of converting nations and people. It shows also a series of unhappy heretics and schismatics, of different times and countries, who, refusing to hear her inspired voice and to obey her divine authority, have been separated from her communion and have withered away, like branches cut off from a vine, which are fit for no human use. Ezek. xv.—Finally, I have shown the necessity of an uninterrupted succession from the apostles, of *holy orders* and *divine mission*, to constitute an apostolical church; and have proved that these, or at least the latter of them, can only be found in the holy Catholic Church.—Having demonstrated all this in the foregoing letters, I am justified, dear sir, in affirming that the *motives of credibility*, in favor of the Christian religion in general, are not one whit more clear and certain, than those in favor of the Catholic religion in particular. But without inquiring into the *degree of evidence* attending the latter motives, it is enough for my present purpose that they are *sufficiently evident* to influence the conduct of dispassionate and reasonable persons, who are acquainted with them, and who are really in earnest to save their souls. Now, in proof that these motives are, at least, so far clear, I may again appeal to the conduct of Catholics on a death-bed, who, in that awful situation, never wish to die in any religion but their own. I may also appeal to the conduct of many Protestants in the same situation, who seek to reconcile themselves to the Catholic Church. Let us, one and all, my dear sir, as far as in our power, adopt those sentiments in every respect now, which we shall entertain when the transitory scene of this world is closing to our sight, and during the countless ages of eternity.—O the length, the breadth, and the depth of the abyss of ETERNITY! “No security,” says a holy man, “can be so great where eternity is at stake.”*

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

* “Nulla satis magna securitas ubi periclitatur eternitas.”

THE
END OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY.

PART III.

“It is a shame to charge men with what they are not guilty of, in order to make the breach wider, already too wide.”—*Dr. Montague, Bishop of Norwich. Invoc. of Saints*, p. 60.

“Let them not lead people by the nose to believe they can prove their supposition, that the Pope is Antichrist, and the Papists idolaters, when they cannot.”—*Dr. Herbert Thorndyke, Prebendary of Westminster. Just Weights and Measures*, p. 11

“The object of their (the Catholics’) adoration of the blessed sacrament is the only true and eternal God, hypostatically joined with his holy humanity, which humanity they believe actually present under the veil of the sacramental signs; and if they thought him not present, they are so far from worshipping the bread in this case, that themselves profess it to be idolatry to do so.”
Dr. Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down. Liberty of Prophesying, chap. xx.

ON RECTIFYING MISTAKES CONCERNING THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH.

LETTER XXXI.

FROM JAMES BROWN, ESQ., TO THE RT. REV. JOHN MILNER.

INTRODUCTION.

REVEREND SIR—

THE whole of your letters have again been read over in our society, and they have produced important, though diversified effects on the minds of its several members. For my own part, I am free to own that, as your former letters convinced me of the truth of your rule of faith, namely, the entire word of God, and of the right of the true church to expound it in all questions concerning its meaning; so your subsequent letters have satisfied me, that the characters or marks of the true church, as they are laid down in our common creeds, are clearly visible in the Roman Catholic Church, and not in the collection of Protestant churches, nor in any one of them. This impression was, at first, so strong upon my mind, that I could have answered you nearly in the words of King Agrippa to St. Paul:

Almost thou persuadest me to become a Catholic. Acts, xxvi. 28. The same appears to be the sentiments of several of my friends: but when, on comparing our notes together, we considered the heavy charges, particularly of superstition and idolatry, brought against your church by our eminent divines, and especially by the Bishop of London, (Dr. Porteus,) and never, that we have heard of, refuted or denied, we cannot but tread back the steps we have taken towards you, or rather stand still, where we are in suspense, till we hear what answer you will make to them. I speak of those contained in the bishop's well-known treatise, called *A brief Confutation of the Errors of the Church of Rome*. With respect to certain other members of our society, I am sorry to be obliged to say, that, on this particular subject, I mean the arguments in favor of your religion, they do not manifest the candor and good sense which are natural to them, and which they show on every other subject. They pronounce, with confidence and vehemence, that Dr. Porteus's charges are all true, and that you cannot make any rational answer to them; at the same time that several of these gentlemen, to my knowledge, are very little acquainted with the substance of them. In short, they are apt to load your religion, and the professors of it, with epithets and imputations too gross and injurious for me to repeat, convinced as I am of their falsehood. I shall not be surprised to hear that some of these imputations have been transmitted to you by the persons in question, as I have declined making my letters the vehicle of them; it is a justice, however, which I owe them to assure you, reverend sir, that it is only since they have understood the inference of your arguments to be such, as to imply an obligation on them of renouncing their own respective religions, and embracing yours, that they may have been so unreasonable and violent. Till this period, they appeared to be nearly as liberal and charitable with respect to your communion as to any other.

I am, rev. sir, &c.

JAMES BROWN.

LETTER XXXII.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

ON THE CHARGES AGAINST THE CATHOLIC
CHURCH.

DEAR SIR—

I SHOULD be guilty of deception, were I to disguise the satisfaction I derived from your and your friends' near approach to the *house of unity and peace*, as St. Cyprian calls the Catholic

Church : for such I must judge your situation to be, from the tenor of your last letter : by which it seems to me, that your entire reconciliation with this church depends on my refuting Bishop Porteus's objections against it. And yet, dear sir, if I were to insist on the strict rules of reasoning, I might take occasion of complaining of you, from the very concessions which afford me so much pleasure. In fact, if you admit that the church of God, is, by his appointment, *the interpreter of the entire word of God*, you ought to pay attention to *her* doctrine on every point of it, and not to the suggestions of Dr. Porteus, or your own fancy, in opposition to it. Again, if you are convinced that the *one holy, Catholic and Apostolical Church* is the *true church of God*, you ought to be persuaded that it is utterly *impossible* that she should inculcate idolatry, superstition, or any other wickedness, and, of course, that those who believe her to be thus guilty, are, and must be, in a fatal error. I have proved from *reason, tradition, and Holy Scripture*, that, as individual Christians cannot of themselves judge with certainty of matters of faith, God has, therefore, provided them with an unerring guide, in his holy church ; and hence, that Catholics, as Tertullian and St. Vincent of Lerins emphatically pronounce, cannot strictly and consistently be required, by those who are not Catholics, to vindicate the particular tenets of their belief either from Scripture or any other authority : it being sufficient for them to show that they hold the doctrine of the true church, which all Christians are bound to hear. Nevertheless, as it is my duty, after the example of the apostle, to *become all things to all men*, 1 Cor. ix. 22, and as we Catholics are conscious of being able to meet our opponents on their own ground, as well as on ours, I am willing, dear sir, for your satisfaction, and that of your friends, to enter on a brief discussion of the leading points of controversy, which are agitated between the Catholics and the Protestants, particularly those of the Church of England. I must, however, previously stipulate with you for the following conditions, which I trust you will find perfectly reasonable.

1st. I require that Catholics should be permitted to *lay down their own principles* of belief and practice ; and, of course, to distinguish between their *articles of faith*, in which they must all agree, and mere *scholastic opinions*, of which every individual may judge for himself ; as, likewise, between the *authorized liturgy and discipline of the church* and the *unauthorized devotions and practices of particular persons*. I insist upon this preliminary, because it is the constant practice of your controversialists to dress up a hideous figure, composed of their own misrepresentations, or else of those undefined opinions and un-

authorized practices, which they call *Poperly*; and then to amuse their readers or hearers with exposing the deformity of it, and pulling it to pieces. And I have the greater right to insist upon this preliminary, because our creeds and professions of faith, the acts of our councils and our approved expositions and catechisms, containing the principles of our belief and practice, from which no real Catholic, in any part of the world, can ever depart, are before the public, and upon constant sale among booksellers.

2dly. It being a notorious fact that certain individual Christians, or bodies of Christians, have departed from the faith and communion of the church of all nations, under pretence that they had authority for so doing; it is necessary that their alleged authority should be express and incontrovertible. Thus, for example, if texts of Scripture are brought for this purpose, it is evidently necessary that such texts should be *clear* in themselves, and *not contrasted* by any other texts seemingly of an opposite meaning. In like manner, when any doctrine or practice appears to be undeniably sanctioned by a father of the church, for example, of the third or the fourth century, without an appearance of contradiction from any other father, or ecclesiastical writer, it is unreasonable to affirm that he or his contemporaries were the authors of it, as Protestant divines are in the habit of affirming. On the contrary, it is natural to suppose that such father has taken up this, with the other points of his religion, from his predecessors, who received them from the apostles. This is the sentiment of that bright luminary St. Augustin, who says: "Whatever is found to be held by the universal church, and not to have had its beginning in bishops and councils, must be esteemed a tradition from those by whom the church itself was founded."*

You judged right in supposing that I have received some letters, containing virulent and gross invectives against the Catholic religion, from certain members of your society; these do not surprise or hurt me, as the writers of them have probably not yet had an opportunity of knowing much more of this religion, than what they could collect from fifth of November sermons, and others of the same tendency; or from circulated pamphlets expressly calculated to inflame the population against it and its professors. But what truly surprises and afflicts me is, that so many other personages in a more elevated rank of life, whose education and studies enable them to form a more just idea of the religious and moral principles of their ancestors, benefactors, and founders; in short, of their acknow

* Lib. ii. De Bapt.

ledged fathers and saints, should combine to load these fathers and saints with calumnies and misrepresentations, which they must know to be utterly false. But, a bad cause must be supported by bad means. They are unfortunately implicated in a revolt against the true church; and not having the courage and self-denial to acknowledge their error, and return to her communion, they endeavor to justify their conduct, by interposing a black and hideous mask before the fair countenance of this their true mother, Christ's spotless spouse. This is so far true, that when, as it often happens, a Protestant is, by dint of argument, forced out of his errors and prejudices against the true religion, if he be pressed to embrace it, and want grace to do it, he is sure to fly back to those very calumnies and misrepresentations, which he had before renounced. The fact is, he must fight with these, or yield himself unarmed to his Catholic opponent.

That you and your friends may not think me, dear sir, to have complained without just cause of the publications and sermons of the respectable characters I have alluded to, I must inform you that I have now lying before me a volume called *Good Advice to the Pulpits*, consisting of the foulest and most malignant falsehoods, against the Catholic religion and its professors, which tongue or pen can express, or the most envenomed heart conceive. It was collected from the sermons and treatises of prelates and dignitaries, by that able and faithful writer, the Rev. John Gother, soon after the gall of calumnious ink had been mixed up with the blood of slaughtered Catholics; a score of whom were executed as traitors, for a pretended plot to murder their friend and proselyte Charles II.; for a plot, which was hatched by men, who themselves were soon after convicted of a real *assassination plot* against the king. At that time, the Parliaments were so blinded, as repeatedly to vote the reality of the plot in question. Hence it is easy to judge with what sort of language the pulpits would resound against the poor devoted Catholics at that period. But without quoting from former records, I need only refer to a few of the publications of the present day, to justify my complaint.—To begin with some of the numberless slanders contained in the *No Popery* tract of the Bishop of London, Dr. Porteus: He charges Catholics with "senseless idolatry, to the infinite scandal of religion:" with trying "to make the ignorant think that indulgences deliver the dead from hell; and that by means of zeal for holy church, the worst man may be secured from future misery:"* and the Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Halifax, charges Catholics with

* Confutation, pp. 39, 53, 55, edit. 1796.

“antichristian idolatry, the worship of demons, and idol mediators.” He, moreover, maintains it to be the doctrine of the Church of Rome, that “pardon for every sin, whether committed or designed, may be purchased for money.”* The Bishop of Durham, Dr. Shute Barrington, accuses them of “idolatry, blasphemy, and sacrilege.”† The Bishop of Llandaff, Dr. Watson, impeaches the Catholic priests, martyrologists, and monks, without exception, of the “hypocrisy of liars;”‡ and he lays it down, as the moral doctrine of Catholics, that “humility, temperance, justice, the love of God and man, are not laws for all Christians, but only counsels of perfection.”§ He elsewhere says: “That the popish religion is the Christian religion, is a false position.”|| He has, moreover, adopted and republished the sentiments of some of his other mitred brethren to the same purpose. One of these asserts that, “instead of worshipping God through Christ, they (the Catholics) have substituted the doctrine of demons.” “They have contrived numberless ways to make a holy life needless, and to assure the most abandoned of salvation, without repentance, provided they will sufficiently pay the priest for absolution.” “They have consecrated murders,” &c.¶ “The Papists stick fast in filthy mire—by the affection they bear to other lusts, which their errors are fitted to gratify.” “It is impossible that any sincere person should give an implicit assent to many of their doctrines: but, whoever can practise upon them, can be nothing better than a most shameful debauched and immoral wretch.”** Another prelate, of later promotion, gives a comprehensive idea of Catholics, where he calls them “Enemies of all law, human and divine.”†† If such be the tone of the episcopal bench, it would be vain to expect more moderation from the candidates for it. but I must contract my quotations in order to proceed to more important matter. One of these, who, while he was content with an inferior dignity, acted and preached as the friend of Catholics; since he has arrived at the verge of the highest, proclaims “Popery to be idolatry and antichristianism:” maintaining, as does also the Bishop of Durham, that it is “the parent of Atheism, and of that antichristian persecution” (in France) of which it was *exclusively* the victim.‡‡ Another dig- nitary of the same cathedral, taking up Dr. Sparke’s calumny,

* Warburton’s Lectures, pp. 191, 335, 358, 347.

† Charge, p. 11.

‡ Letter II. to Gibbon.

§ Bishop Watson’s Tracts, vol. i.

|| Ibid. vol. v. Contents.

¶ Benson’s Tracts, vol. v. pp. 272, 273, 282.

** Bishop Fowler, vol. vi. pp. 386, 387.

†† Dr. Sparke, Bishop of Ely, *Concio ad Synod.* 1807.

‡‡ Discourses of Dr. Rennel, Dean of Winchester, p. 140, &c.

seriously declares that the Catholics are *Antinomians*,* which is the distinctive character of the Jumpers, and other rank Calvinists. Finally, the celebrated city preacher, C. De Coetigog, among similar graces of oratory, pronounces, that "Popery is calculated only for the meridian of hell. To say the best of it that can be said, Popery is a most horrid compound of idolatry, superstition, and blasphemy."† "The exercise of Christian virtues is not at all necessary in its members; nay, there are many heinous crimes, which are reckoned virtues among them, such as perjury and murder, when committed against heretics."‡—And is such then, dear sir, the real character of the great body of Christians throughout the world. Is such a true picture of our Saxon and English ancestors? Were such the clergy, from whom these modern preachers and writers derive their liturgy, their ritual, their honors, and benefices, and from whom they boast of deriving their orders and mission also? But, after all, do these preachers and writers themselves seriously believe such to be the true character of their Catholic countrymen, and the primitive religion?—No, sir, they do not seriously believe it:§ but being unfortunately engaged, as I said before,

* Charge of Dr. Hooke, archdeacon, &c. p. 5, &c.

† Seasonable Caution against the Abominations of the Church of Rome, Pref. p. 5.

‡ Ibid. p. 14.

§ This may be exemplified by the conduct of Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury. Few writers had misrepresented the Catholic religion more foully than he had done in his controversial works; even in his commentary on the catechism, he accuses it of *heresy, schism, and idolatry*; but, having entered into a correspondence with Dr. Dupin, for the purpose of uniting their respective churches, he assures the Catholic divine, in his last letter to him, as follows: "In dogmatibus, prout a te candidè proponuntur, non admodum dissentimus: in regimine ecclesiastico minus: in fundamentalibus, sive doctrinam, sive disciplinam spectemus, vix omnino." Append. to Mosheim's Hist. vol. vi. p. 121.—The present writer has been informed, on good authority, that one of the bishops, whose calumnies are here quoted, when he found himself on his death-bed, refused the proffered ministry of the primate, and expressed a great wish to die a Catholic. When urged to satisfy his conscience, he exclaimed: *What then will become of my lady and my children!* Certain it is, that very many Protestants, who had been the most violent in their language and conduct against the Catholic Church, as for example, John, Elector of Saxony; Margaret, Queen of Navarre; Cromwell, Lord Essex, Dudley, Earl of Northumberland, King Charles II., the late Lords Montague, Nugent, Dunboyne, Dunsany, &c., did actually reconcile themselves to the Catholic Church in that situation. The writer may add, that another of the calumniators here quoted, being desirous of stifling the suspicion of his having written an anonymous No Popery publication, when first he took part in that cause, privately addressed himself to the writer in these terms: *How can you suspect me of writing against your religion, when you so well know my attachment to it!* In fact, this modern Luther, among other similar concessions, has said thus to the writer; *I sucked in a love for the Catholic religion with my mother's milk.*

in an hereditary revolt against the church, which shines forth conspicuous, with every feature of truth in her countenance, and wanting the rare grace of acknowledging their error, at the expense of temporal advantages, they have no other defence for themselves but clamor and calumny, no resource for shrouding those beauteous features of the church, but by placing before them the hideous mask of misrepresentation !

Before I close this letter, I cannot help expressing an earnest wish, that it were in my power to suggest three most important considerations to all and every one of the theological calumniators in question. I pass over their injustice and cruelty towards us ; though this bears some resemblance with the barbarity of Nero towards our predecessors, the first Christians of Rome, who disguised them in the skins of wild beasts, and then hunted them to death with dogs ; but Christ has warned us as follows : “ It is enough for the disciple to be as his master ; if they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household ? ” In fact, we know that those our above-mentioned predecessors were charged with worshipping the head of an ass, of killing and eating children, &c.

The first observation which I am desirous of making to these controvertists is, that their charges and invectives against Catholics never unsettle the faith of a single individual amongst us ; much less do they cause any Catholic to quit our communion. This we are sure of, because, after all the pains and expenses of the Protestant societies to distribute Dr. Porteus's *Confutation of Popery*, and other tracts, in the houses and cottages of Catholics, not one of the latter ever comes to us, their pastors, to be furnished with an answer to the accusations contained in them. The truth is, they previously know, from their catechisms, the falsehood of them. Sometimes, no doubt, a dissolute youth, “ from libertinism of principle and practice,” as one of the above-mentioned lords loudly proclaimed of himself, on his death-bed ; and sometimes an ambitious or avaricious nobleman or gentleman, to get honor or wealth ; finally, sometimes a profligate priest, to get a wife, or a living, forsakes our communion ;—but, I may challenge Dr. Porteus to produce a single proselyte from Popery throughout the dioceses of Chester and London, who has been gained by his book against it ; and I may say the same, with respect to the Bishop of Durham's *no popery* charges throughout the dioceses of Sarum and Durham.

A second point of still greater importance for the consideration of these distinguished preachers and writers is, that their flagrant misrepresentation of the Catholic religion, is constantly an occasion of the conversion of several of their own most upright members to it. Such Christians, when they fall into company

with Catholics, or get hold of their books, cannot fail of inquiring whether they are really those monsters of idolatry, irreligion, and immorality, which their divines have represented them to be; when, discovering how much they have been deceived in these respects by misrepresentation; and, in short, viewing now the fair face of the Catholic Church, instead of the hideous mask which had been placed before it, they seldom fail to become enamored of it, and, in case religion is their chief concern, to become our very best Catholics.

The most important point, however, of all others for the consideration of these learned theologues, is the following: "We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ," to be examined on our observance of that commandment among the rest, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." Supposing then these their clamorous charges against their Catholic neighbors, of idolatry, blasphemy, perfidy, and thirst of blood, should then appear, as they most certainly will appear, to be calumnies of the worst sort; what will it avail their authors, that these have answered the temporary purpose of preventing the emancipation of Catholics; and of rousing the popular hatred and fury against them? Alas! what will it avail them?—I am, dear sir, yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XXXIII.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

ON THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

DEAR SIR—

THE first, and most heavy charge, which Protestants bring against Catholics, is that of idolatry. They say, that the Catholic Church has been guilty of this crime, and of apostacy, by sanctioning the invocation of saints, and the worship of images and pictures: and that on this account they have been obliged to abandon her communion, in obedience to "the voice from heaven, saying,—Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." Rev. xviii. 4. Nevertheless it is certain, dear sir, that Protestantism was not founded on this ground, either in Germany or England; for Luther warmly defended the Catholic doctrine in both the aforesaid particulars; and our English reformers, particularly King Edward's uncle, the Duke of Somerset, only took up this pretext of idolatry, as the most popular, in order to revolutionize the ancient religion; a measure they were actively carrying on, from motives of avarice and ambition. The same reason, namely, a persuasion that this charge of idolatry is best calcu-

lated to inflame the ignorant against the Catholic Church, and to furnish a pretext for deserting her, has caused Protestant controvertists to keep up the outcry against her ever since, and to vie with each other in the foulness of their misrepresentation of her doctrine in this particular.

To speak first of the invocation of saints: Archbishop Wake, (who afterwards, as we have seen, acknowledged to Dr. Dupin, that there was *no fundamental difference* between his doctrine and that of Catholics,) in his popular Commentary on the Church Catechism, maintains, that "The Church of Rome has other gods beside the Lord."* Another prelate, whose work has been lately republished by the Bishop of Llandaff, pronounces of Catholics, that, "Instead of worshipping Christ, they have substituted the doctrine of *demons*."† In the same blasphemous terms, Mede, and a hundred other Protestant controvertists, speak of our communion of saints. The Bishop of London, among other such calumnies, charges us with "bringing back the heathen multitude of deities into Christianity;" that we "recommend ourselves to some favorite saint, not by a religious life, but by flattering addresses and costly presents, and often depend much more on his intercession, than on our blessed Saviour's;" and that "being secure of the favor of these courtiers of heaven, we pay but little regard to the King of it."‡ Such is the misrepresentation of the doctrine and practice of Catholics on this point, which the first ecclesiastical characters in the nation publish; because, in fact, their cause has not a leg to stand on, if you take away misrepresentation.

Let us now hear what is the genuine doctrine of the Catholic Church on this article, as solemnly defined by the pope, and near 300 prelates of different nations, at the Council of Trent, in the face of the whole world; it is simply this, that "the saints, reigning with Christ, *offer up their prayers to God for men*; that it is *good and useful* suppliantly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their *prayers*, help, and assistance, to obtain favors from God, *through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord*, who is *alone our Redeemer and Saviour*."§ Hence the Catechism of the Council of Trent, published in virtue of its decree,|| by order of Pope Pius V., teaches that "God and the saints are not to be prayed to in the same manner; for we pray to God that *he himself would give us good things, and deliver us from evil things*; but we beg of the saints, because they are pleasing to God, that they *would be our advocates, and obtain from God*

* Sect. 2, 3.

† Bishop Watson's Theol. Tracts, vol. v. p. 272.

‡ Brief Confut. pp. 23, 25.

§ Concil. Trid. Sess. 25, de Invoc.

|| Sess. 24, de Ref. c. 7

what we stand in need of.”* Our first English catechism for the instruction of children says: “We are to honor saints and angels as God’s special friends and servants; but not with the honor which belongs to God.” Finally, *The Papist Misrepresented and Represented*, a work of great authority among Catholics, first published by our eminent divine, Gother, and republished by our venerable Bishop Challoner, pronounces the following anathema against that idolatrous phantom of Catholicity, which Protestant controvertists have held up for the identical Catholic Church: “Cursed is he that believes the saints in heaven to be his redeemers, that prays to them as such, or that gives God’s honor to them, or to any creature whatsoever. Amen.”—“Cursed is every goddess-worshipper, that believes the blessed Virgin Mary to be any more than a creature; that worships her, or puts his trust in her more than in God; that believes her above her Son, or that she can in any thing command him. Amen.”†

You see, dear sir, how widely different the doctrine of Catholics, as defined by our church, and really held by us, is from the caricature of it held up by interested preachers and controvertists, to scare and inflame an ignorant multitude. So far from making gods and goddesses of the saints, we firmly hold it to be an article of faith, that, as they have no virtue or excellence, but what has been gratuitously bestowed upon them by God, for the sake of his incarnate Son, Jesus Christ, so they can procure no benefit for us but by means of their prayers to the *Giver of all good gifts*, through their and our common Saviour Jesus Christ. In short, they do nothing for us poor mortals, in heaven, but what they did while they were here on earth, and what all good Christians are bound to do for each other; namely, to help us by their prayers. The only difference is, that as the saints in heaven are free from every stain of sin and imperfection, and are confirmed in grace and glory, so their prayers are far more efficacious for obtaining what they ask for, than are the prayers of us imperfect and sinful mortals. Our Protestant brethren will not deny that St. Paul was in the practice of soliciting the prayers of the churches to which he addressed his epistles, Rom. xv. 30, &c.; that the Almighty himself commanded the friends of Job to obtain his prayers for the pardon of their sins, Job xlii. 8:—and, moreover that they themselves are accustomed to pray publicly for one another. Now these concessions, together with the authorized exposition of our doctrine, laid down above, are abundantly sufficient to refute most of the remaining objections of Protestants against

* Pars. IV. Quis orandus.

† Pap. Mi-rep. Abridg. p. 78

it. In vain, for example, does Dr. Porteus quote the text of St. Paul, 1 Tim. ii, 5, *There is one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus* : for we grant that Christ alone is the *mediator of salvation*. But if he argues from thence, that there is no other *mediator of intercession*, he would condemn the conduct of St. Paul, of Job's friends, and of his own church. In vain does he take advantage of the ambiguous meaning of the word *worship* in Matt. iv. 10 ; because, if the question be about a *divine adoration*, we restrain this as strictly to God as he can do ; but if it be about merely *honoring the saints*, we cannot censure that, without censuring other passages of Scripture,* and condemning the bishop himself, who expressly says ; "The saints in heaven we love and honor.† In vain does he quote Rev. xix. 10, where the angel refused to let St. John prostrate himself, and adore him ; because, if the mere act itself, independently of the evangelist's mistaking him for the Deity, was forbidden, then the three angels, who permitted Abraham to *bow himself to the ground before them*, were guilty of a crime, Gen. xviii. 2, as was that other angel, before whom *Joshua fell on his face and worshipped*. Jos. v. 14.

The charge of *idolatry* against Catholics, for merely honoring those *whom God honors*, and for desiring them to pray to God for us, is too extravagant to be any longer published by Protestants of learning and character ; accordingly the Bishop of Durham is content with accusing us of *blasphemy*, on the latter part of the charge. What he says is this : "It is blasphemy, to ascribe to angels and saints, by praying to them, the divine attribute of universal presence."‡ To say nothing of his lordship's new invented blasphemy, I should be glad to ask him, how it follows, from my praying to an angel or a saint in any place, where I may be, that I necessarily believe the angel or saint to be in that place ? Was Elisha really in Syria when he saw the ambush prepared there for the king of Israel ? 2 Kings vi. 9. Again : we know that "There is joy before the

* The word *worship*, in this place, is used for *supreme divine homage*, as appears by the original Greek : whereas in St. Luke, xiv. 10, the English translators make use of it for the *lowest degree of respect*. *Thou shalt have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee*. The latter is the proper meaning of the word *worship* ; as appears by the marriage service—*With my body I thee worship* ; and by the designation of the lowest order of magistrates, his Worship, Mr. Alderman N. Nevertheless, as the word may be differently interpreted, Catholics abstain from applying it to persons or things inferior to God : making use of the words *honor* and *veneration* in their regard ; words which, so applied, even Bishop Porteus approves in us. Thus it appears, that the heinous charge of *idolatry* brought against Catholics for their respect towards the saints, is grounded on nothing but the mistaken meaning of a word. † P. 23. ‡ Charge 1810, p. 12.

angels of God over one sinner that repenteth," Luke xv. 10. Now, is it by visual rays, or undulating sounds, that these blessed spirits in heaven know what passes in the hearts of men upon earth? How does his lordship know, that one part of the saint's felicity may not consist in contemplating the wonderful ways of God's providence with all his creatures here on earth? But, without recurring to this supposition, it is sufficient, for dissipating the Bishop's uncharitable phantom of *blasphemy*, and Calvin's profane jest about the lengths of the saints' ears, that God is able to reveal to them the prayers of Christians who address them here on earth.—In case I had the same opportunity of conversing with this prelate, which I once enjoyed, I should not fail to make the following observation to him: My lord, you publicly maintain, that the act of praying to saints, ascribes to them the divine attribute of *universal presence*; and this you call blasphemy. Now it appears, by the articles and injunctions of your church, that you believe in the existence and efficacy of "sorceries, enchantments, and witchcraft invented by the devil, to procure his counsel or help,"* wherever the conjuror or witch may chance to be; do you, therefore, ascribe the divine attribute of *universal presence* to the devil? You must assert this, or you must withdraw your charge of blasphemy against the Catholics, for praying to the saints.

That it is lawful and profitable to invoke the prayers of the angels, is plain from Jacob's asking and obtaining the angel's blessing, with whom he had mystically wrestled, Gen. xxxii. 26, and from his invoking his own angel to bless Joseph's sons, Gen. xlvii. 16. The same is also sufficiently plain with respect to the saints, from the Book of Revelations; where the four and twenty elders in heaven are said to have "golden vials full of odors, which are the prayers of the saints." Rev. v. 8. The church, however, derived her doctrine, on this and other points, immediately from the apostles, before any part of the New Testament was written. The tradition was so ancient and universal, that all those eastern churches, which broke off from the central church of Rome, a great many ages before Protestantism was heard of, perfectly agree with us in honoring and invoking the angels and saints. I have said that the patriarch of Protestantism, Martin Luther, did not find any thing idolatrous in the doctrine or practice of the church with respect to the saints. So far from this, he exclaims: "Who can deny that God works great miracles at the tombs of the saints? I, therefore, with the whole Catholic Church, hold that the saints

* Injunctions, A. D. 1559. Bishop Sparrow's Collection, p. 89. Article, *ibid.* p. 180.

are to be honored and invocated by us.”* In the same spirit he recommends this devotion to dying persons: “Let no one omit to call upon the Blessed Virgin and the angels and saints, that they may intercede with God for them at the instant.”† I may add that several of the brightest lights of the established church, such as Archbishop Sheldon and the Bishops Blandford,‡ Gunning,§ Montague, &c., have altogether abandoned the charge of idolatry against Catholics on this head. The last mentioned of them says, “I own that Christ is not wronged in his mediation. It is no impiety to say, as they (the Catholics) do, *Holy Mary, pray for me; Holy Peter, pray for me;*”|| whilst the candid Prebendary of Westminster warns his brethren, “not to lead people by the nose, to believe they can prove papists to be idolaters, when they cannot.”¶

In conclusion, dear sir, you will observe, that the Council of Trent barely teaches that it is *good and profitable* to invoke the prayers of the saints; hence our divines infer, that there is no positive law of the church, incumbent on all her children to pray to the saints.** Nevertheless, what member of the Catholic Church militant will fail to communicate with his brethren of the church triumphant? What Catholic, believing in the *communion of saints*, and that “the saints reigning with Christ pray for us, and that it is good and profitable for us to invoke their prayers,” will forego this advantage? How sublime and consoling! how animating is the doctrine and practice of true Catholics, compared with the opinions of Protestants! We hold daily and hourly converse, to our unspeakable comfort and advantage with the angelic choirs, with the venerable patriarchs and prophets of ancient times, with the heroes of Christianity, the blessed apostles and martyrs, and with the bright ornaments of it in later ages, the Bernards, the Xaviers, the Teresas, and the Saleses. They are all members of the Catholic Church!—Why should not you partake of this advantage? Your soul, you complain, dear sir, is in trouble; you lament that your prayers to God are not heard:—continue to pray to him with all the fervor of your soul; but why not engage his friends and courtiers to add the weight of their prayers to your own? Perhaps his Divine Majesty may hear the prayers of the Jobs when he will not listen to those of an Eliphaz, a Bildad, or a Zophar. Job. xlii. You believe, no doubt, that you have a guardian angel, appointed by God to protect you, conformably to what

* In Purg. quoramd. Artic. Tom. i. Germet. Ep. ad Georg. Spalat.

† Luth. Prep. ad Mort. † See Duchess of York's Testimony, in Brunswick's 50 Reasons.

‡ Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 437

§ Treat. Invoc. of Saints, p. 118. ¶ Thorndike's Just. Weights, p. 10

** Petavius, Suarez, Wallenburg, Muratori, Nat. Alex.

Christ said of the children presented to him: "Their angels do always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven." Matt. xviii. 10.—Address yourself to this blessed spirit with gratitude, veneration, and confidence. You believe also, that among the saints of God, there is one of supereminent purity and sanctity, pronounced by an archangel to be not only gracious, but "full of grace;" the chosen instrument of God in the incarnation of his Son, and the intercessor with this her Son, in obtaining his first miracle, that of turning water into wine, at a time when his "time" for appearing in the world by miracles was not yet come. John, iii. 4. "It is impossible," as one of the fathers says, "to love the Son, without loving the mother:"—beg then of her, with affection and confidence, to intercede with Jesus, as the poor Canaanites did, to change the tears of your distress into the wine of gladness, by affording you the light and grace you so much want. You cannot refuse to join with me in the angelic salutation: "Hail full of grace, our Lord is with thee;"* nor in the subsequent address of the inspired Elizabeth: "Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb," Luke, i. 42. Cast aside, then, I beseech you, dear sir, prejudices which are not only groundless but also hurtful, and devoutly conclude with me, in the words of the whole Catholic Church upon earth: *Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners, now and at the hour of our death. Amen.*—I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XXXIV.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

ON RELIGIOUS MEMORIALS.

DEAR SIR—

If the Catholic Church has been so grievously injured by the misrepresentations of her doctrine respecting prayers to the saints, she has been still more grievously injured by the prevailing calumnies against the respect which she pays to the memorials of Christ and his saints; namely, to crucifixes, relics, pious pictures, and images. This has been misrepresented, from almost the first eruption of Protestantism,† as rank idolatry, and as jus-

* Luke i. 28. The Catholic version is here used as more conformable to the Greek, as well as the Vulgate, than the Protestant, which renders the passage, *Hail thou who art highly favored.*

† Martin Luther, with all his hatred of the Catholic Church, found no idolatry in her doctrine respecting crosses and images: on the contrary, he warmly defended it against Carlostadius and his associates, who had destroyed those in the churches of Wittenberg.—Epist. ad. Gasp. Guttal. In the title-pages of his volumes, published by Melancthon, Luther is exhibited on

tifying the necessity of a reformation. To countenance such misrepresentation in our own country in particular, avaricious courtiers and grandees seized on the costly shrines, statues, and other ornaments of all the churches and chapels, and authorized the demolition or defacing of all other religious memorials, of whatever nature or materials, not only in places of worship, but also in market-places, and even in private houses. In support of the same pious fraud, the Holy Scriptures were corrupted in their different versions and editions,* till religious Protestants themselves became disgusted with them,† and loudly called for a new translation. This was accordingly made, at the beginning of the first James' reign. In short, every passage in the Bible, and every argument which common sense suggests against idolatry, was applied to the decent respect which Catholics show to the memorials of Christianity.

The misrepresentation in question still continues to be the chosen topic of Protestant controvertists, for inflaming the minds of the ignorant against their Catholic brethren. Accordingly, there is hardly a lisping infant, who has not been taught that *the Romanists pray to images*; nor is there a secluded peasant who has not been made to believe, that the *Papists worship wooden gods*. The Book of Homilies repeatedly affirms, that our *images* of Christ and his saints are *idols*; that we “pray and ask of *them* what it belongs to God alone to give;” and that “images have been and be worshipped, and so, idolatry committed to them by infinite multitudes, to the great offence of God's

his knees before a crucifix. Queen Elizabeth persisted for many years in retaining a crucifix on the altar of her chapel, till some of her Puritan courtiers engaged Patch, the fool, to break it: “no wiser man,” says Dr. Heylin, (*Hist. of Reform.* p. 124,) “daring to undertake such a service.” James I. thus reproached the Scotch bishops, when they objected to his placing pictures and statues in his chapel at Edinburgh: “You can endure lions and dragons, (*the supporters of the royal arms,*) and devils, (Queen Elizabeth's griffins,) to be figured in your churches, but will not allow the like place to patriarchs and apostles.” *Spotswood's History*, p. 530.

* See in the present English Bible, Colos. iii. 5, *Covetousness, which is idolatry*: this in the Bibles of 1562, 1577, and 1579, stood thus: *Covetousness, which is the worshipping of images*. In like manner, where we read, *a covetous man who is an idolater*: in the former editions we read, *a covetous man which is a worshipper of idols*. Instead of, *What agreement hath the temple of God with idols?* 2 Cor. vi. 16, it used to stand: *How agreeth the temple of God with images?* Instead of, *Little children, keep yourselves from idols*, 1 John v. 21, it stood during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth: *Babes, keep yourselves from images*. There were several other manifest corruptions in this as well as in other points in the ancient Protestant Bibles; some of which remain in the present version.

† See the account of what passed on this subject, at the Conference of Hampton Court, in Fuller and Collier's Church Histories, and in Neal's History of the Puritans.

majestie, and danger of infinite soules ; that idolatrie can not possibly be separated from images set up in churches, and that God's horrible wrath and our most dreadful danger cannot be avoided without the destruction and utter abolition of all such images and idols out of the church and temple of God.* Archbishop Secker teaches, that "the Church of Rome has other gods besides the Lord;" and that, "there never was greater idolatry among heathens in the business of image-worshipping than in the Church of Rome."† Bishop Porteus, though he does not charge us with idolatry by name, yet intimates the same thing, where he applies to us one of the strongest passages of Scripture against idol-worship: "They that make them are like unto them ; and so is every one that trusteth in them. O Israel, trust thou in the Lord." Psalm cxiii.

Let us now hear what the Catholic Church herself has solemnly pronounced on the present subject, in her General Council of Trent. She says: "The images of Christ, of the Virgin-mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be kept and retained, particularly in the churches, and due honor and veneration is to be paid them: *not that we believe there is any divinity or power in them*, for which we respect them, or that any thing is to be asked of them, or that trust is to be placed in them, as the heathens of old trusted in their idols."‡ In conformity with this doctrine of our church, the following question and answer are seen in our first catechism, for the instruction of children: "Question: May we pray to relics or images? Answer: No ; by no means, for they have no life or sense to hear or help us." Finally, that work of the able Catholic writers, Gother and Challoner, which I quoted above, *The Papist Misrepresented and Represented*, contains the following anathema, in which I am confident every Catholic existing will readily join: "Cursed is he that commits idolatry ; that prays to images or relics, or worships them for God. Amen."

Dr. Porteus is very positive, that there is no scriptural warrant for retaining and venerating these exterior memorials ; and he maintains that no other memorial ought to be admitted than the Lord's supper. Does he remember the ark of the covenant,

* Against the Peril of Idol. p. iii.—This admonition was quickly carried into effect throughout England. All statues, bas-relievos, and crosses, were demolished in all the churches, and all pictures were defaced ; while they continued to hold their places, as they do still, in the Protestant churches of Germany. At length common sense regained its rights, even in this country. Accordingly we see the cross exalted at the top of its principal church, (St. Paul's,) which is also ornamented all round with the statues of saints ; most of the cathedrals and collegiate churches now contain pictures and some of them, as for example, Westminster Abbey, carved images.

† Comment on Ch. Catech. sect. 24.

‡ Sess. xxv.

made by the command of God, together with the punishment of those who profaned it, and the blessings bestowed on those who revered it? And what was the ark of the covenant after all? A chest of settim wood, containing the tables of the law and two golden pots of manna; the whole being covered over by two carved images of cherubim; in short, it was a memorial of God's mercy and bounty to his people. But, says the bishop, "The Roman Catholics make images of Christ and of his saints after their own fancy: before these images, and even that of the cross, they kneel down and prostrate themselves; to these they lift up their eyes, and in that posture they pray."* Supposing all this to be true; has the bishop never read, that when the Israelites were smitten at Ai, "Joshua fell to the earth upon his face, before the ark of the Lord, until the even-tide, he and the elders of Israel; and Joshua said, Alas, O Lord God," &c. Jos. vii. 6. Does not he himself oblige those who frequent the above-mentioned memorial, to kneel and prostrate themselves before it, at which time it is to be supposed they lift up their eyes to the sacrament and say their prayers? Does he not require of his people, that "when the name of JESUS is pronounced in any lesson, &c., due reverence be made of all with lowliness of courtesie?"† And does he consider, as well-founded, the outcry of idolatry against the Established Church, on this and the preceding point, raised by the dissenters? Again, is not his lordship in the habit of kneeling to his majesty, and of bowing, with the other peers, to an empty chair when it is placed at his throne? Does he not often reverently kiss the material substance of printed paper and leather, I mean the Bible, because it *relates to*, and *represents* the sacred word of God? When the Bishop of London shall have well considered these several matters, methinks he will better understand, than he seems to do at present, the nature of *relative* honor; by which an *inferior* respect may be paid to the *sign*, for the sake of the *thing signified*, and he will neither directly nor indirectly charge the Catholics with idolatry on account of *indifferent* ceremonies, which take their nature from the *intention* of those who use them. During the dispute about pious images, which took place in the eighth century, St. Stephen, of Auxence, having endeavored, in vain, to make his persecutor, the Emperor Copronimus, conceive the nature of relative honor and dishonor in this matter, threw a piece of money, bearing the emperor's figure, on the ground, and treated it with the utmost indignity; when the latter soon proved, by his treatment of the saint, that the affront regarded *himself*, rather than the piece of metal.‡

* Confut. p. 27. † Injunctions, A. D. 1559, n. 52. Canons, 1603, n. 18

‡ Fleury's Hist. Ecc. L. xliii. n. 41.

The bishop objects, that the Catholics "make pictures of God the Father under the likeness of a venerable old man." Certain painters, indeed, have represented him so, as, in fact, he was pleased to appear so to some of the prophets, Isa. vi. 1—Dan. vii. 9; but the Council of Trent says nothing concerning that representation; which, after all, is not so common as that of a triangle among Protestants, to represent the Trinity. Thus much, however, is most certain, that if any Christian were obstinately to maintain, that the Divine nature resembles the human form, he would be condemned as an anthropomorphite heretic. The bishop moreover signifies, what most other Protestant controvertists express more coarsely, that, to screen our *idolatry*, we have suppressed the second commandment of the Decalogue, and to make up the deficiency, we have split the tenth commandment into two. My answer is, that I apprehend many of these disputants are ignorant enough to believe, that the division of the commandments, in their Common Prayer Book, was copied, if not from the identical tables of Moses, at least from his original text of the Pentateuch: but the bishop, as a man of learning, must know, that in the original Hebrew, and in the several copies and versions of it, during some thousands of years, there was no mark of separation between one commandment and another; so that we have no rules to be guided by, in making the distinction, but the sense of the context, and the authority of the most approved fathers;* both which we follow. In the mean time, it is a gross calumny to pretend, that we suppress any part of the Decalogue; for the whole of it appears in all our Bibles, and in all our most approved catechisms.† To be brief: the words, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven thing*, are either a prohibition of *all* images, and, of course, those round the bishop's own cathedral, that of St. Paul; of those likewise that are seen upon all existing coins, which I am sure he will not agree to; or else it is a mere prohibition of images made to receive divine worship, in which we perfectly agree with him. You will observe, dear sir, that, among religious memorials, I intend to include *relics*; meaning things which have, some way, appertained to, and been *left* by, personages of eminent sanctity. Indeed, the ancient fathers generally call them by that name. Surely Dr. Porteus will not say, that there is no warrant in Scripture for honoring these, when he recollects, that "From the body of St. Paul, were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs and aprons, and the diseases departed from them," Acts, xix. 12; and that, "When

* St. August. Quæst. in Exod. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6. Hieron. Ps. xxxii.

† Catech. Roman ad Paroch. The folio Catech. of Montpelier. Douay Catech. Abridgment of Christian Doctrine.

the dead man was let down and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived and stood upon his feet." 2 Kings, xiii. 21.

But to make an end of the present discussion; nothing but the pressing want of a strong pretext for breaking communion with the ancient church, could have put the revolters upon so extravagant an attempt, as that of confounding the inferior and relative honor which Catholics pay to the memorials of Christ and his saints, (an honor which they themselves pay to the Bible-book, to the name of JESUS, and even to the king's throne,) with the idolatry of the Israelites to their golden calf, Exod. xxxii. 4, and of the ancient heathens to their idols, which they believed to be inhabited by their gods. In a word, the end for which pious pictures and images are made and retained by Catholics, is the same for which pictures and images are made and retained by mankind in general, to put us in mind of the persons and things they represent.—They are not primarily intended for the purpose of being venerated; nevertheless, as they bear a certain relation with holy persons and things, by representing them, they become entitled to a *relative or secondary* veneration, in the manner already explained. I must not forget one important use of pious pictures, mentioned by the holy fathers, namely, that they help to instruct the ignorant.* Still, it is a point agreed upon among Catholic doctors and divines, that the memorials of religion form no essential part of it.† Hence if you should become a Catholic, as I pray God you may, I shall never ask you if you have a pious picture or relic, or so much as a crucifix, in your possession: but then, I trust, after the declarations I have made, that you will not account me an idolater, should you see such things in my oratory or study, or should you observe how tenacious I am of my crucifix, in particular. Your faith and devotion may not stand in need of such memorials; but mine, alas! do. I am too apt to forget what my Saviour has done and suffered for me; but the sight of his representation often brings this to my memory, and affects my best sentiments. Hence I would rather part with most of the books in my library, than with the figure of my crucified Lord.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

* St. Gregory calls pictures, *Idiotarum libri*. Epist. L. ix. 9.

† The learned Petavius says, "We must lay it down as a principle that images are to be reckoned among the *adiaphora*, which do not belong to the substance of religion, and which the church may retain or take away, as she best judges." L. xv. de Incar. Hence Dr. Hawarden, of images, p. 353, teaches, with Delphinus, that, if in any place there is danger of real idolatry or superstition from pictures, they ought to be removed by the pastor; as St. Epiphanius destroyed a certain pious picture, and Ezechias destroyed the brazen serpent.

LETTER XXXV.—TO THE REV. ROBERT CLAYTON, M A

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

REVEREND SIR—

I LEARN by a letter from our worthy friend, Mr. Brown, as well as by your own, that I am to consider you, and not him, as the person charged to make the objections which are to be made on the part of the Church of England against my theological positions and arguments in future. I congratulate the society of New Cottage on the acquisition of so valuable a member as Mr. Clayton, and I think myself fortunate in having to contend with an opponent so clear-headed and candid, as his letter shows him to be.

You admit, that according to my explanation, which is no other than that of our divines, our catechisms, and our councils in general, we are not guilty of idolatry in the honor we pay to saints and their memorials, and that the dispute between your church and mine upon these points, is a dispute about words rather than about things: as Bishop Bossuet observes, and as several candid Protestants, before you, have confessed. You and Bishop Porteus agree with us, that “the saints are to be loved and honored:” on the other hand, we agree with you, that it would be idolatrous to pay them *divine worship*, or to *pray to their memorials* in any shape whatever. Hence, the only question remaining between us is concerning the *utility* of desiring the prayers of the saints; for you say, it is useless, because you think that they cannot hear us, and that, therefore, the practice is superstitious: whereas I have vindicated the practice itself, and have shown that the utility of it no way depends on the circumstance of the blessed spirits immediately hearing the addresses made to them.

Still you complain that I have not answered *all* the bishop’s objections against the doctrine and practices in question. My reply is, that I have answered the chief of them: and whereas they are, for the most part, of ancient date, and have been again and again solidly refuted by our divines, I shall send to New Cottage, together with this letter, a work of one of them, who, for depth of learning and strength of argument, has not been surpassed since the time of Bellarmin.* There, reverend sir, you will find all that you inquire after, and you will discover, in particular, that the *worship of the angels*, which St. Paul condemns in his Epistle to the Colossians, chap. ii. 18, means, that

* The True Church of Christ, by Edward Hawarden, D.D. S.T.P. The author was engaged in successful contests with Dr. Clark, Bishop Bull, Mr. Leslie, and other eminent Protestant divines.

of the fallen or *wicked angels*, whom Christ *despoiled*, ver. 15, and which was paid to them by Simon the Magician, and his followers, as the makers of the world. As to the doctrine of Bellarmin concerning images, it is plain that his lordship never consulted the author himself, but only his misrepresenter, Vitranga: otherwise he would have gathered from the whole of this strict theologian's distinctions, that he teaches precisely the contrary to that which he is represented to teach.*

You next observe that I have said nothing concerning the extravagant forms of prayer, to the Blessed Virgin and other saints, which Dr. Porteus has collected from Catholic prayer-books, and which, you think, prove that we attribute an absolute and unbounded power to those heavenly citizens. I am aware, reverend sir, that his lordship, as well as another bishop,† who is all sweetness of temper, except when Popery is mentioned in his hearing, and indeed a crowd of other Protestant writers, has employed himself in making such collections, but from what sources, for the greater part, I am ignorant. If I were to charge his faith, or the faith of his church, with all the conclusions that could logically be drawn from different forms of prayer, to be met with in the books of her most distinguished prelates and divines, or from the Scriptures themselves, I fancy the bishop would strongly protest against that mode of reasoning. If, for example, an anthropomorphite were to address him: You say, my lord, in your creed, that Christ "ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God," therefore it is plain you believe, with me, that God has a human shape; or if a Calvinist were to say to him: You pray to God that he "would not lead you into temptation," therefore you acknowledge that it is God who tempts you to commit sin: in either of these cases the bishop would insist upon explaining the texts here quoted; he would argue on the nature of figures of speech, especially in the language of poetry and devotion; and would maintain, that the belief of his church is not to be collected from these, but from her defined articles. Make but the same allowance to Catholics, and all this phantom of verbal idolatry will dissolve into air.

Lastly, you remind me of the bishop's assertion, that "neither images nor pictures were allowed in churches for the first hundred years." To this assertion you add your own opinion, that during that same period, no prayers were addressed by Christians to the saints. A fit of oblivion must have overtaken Dr. Porteus, when he wrote what you have quoted from him, as he

* See De Imag. L. ii. c. 24.

† The Bishop of Hereford, Dr. Huntingford, who has squeezed a large quantity of this irrelevant matter into his Examination of the Catholic Petition

could not be ignorant, that it was not till the conversion of Constantine, in the fourth century, that the Christians were generally allowed to build churches for their worship, having been obliged, during the ages of persecution, to practise it in subterraneous catacombs, or other obscure recesses. We learn, however, from Tertullian, that it was usual, in his time, to represent our Saviour, in the character of *the good Shepherd*, on the chalices used at the assemblies of the Christians:* and we are informed by Eusebius, the father of church-history, and the friend of Constantine, that he himself had seen a miraculous image of our Saviour in brass, which had been erected by the woman who was cured by touching the hem of his garment; and also different pictures of him, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, which had been preserved since their time.† The historian Zozomen adds, concerning that statue, that it was mutilated during the reign of Julian the Apostate, and that the Christians, nevertheless, collected the pieces of it, and placed it in their church.‡ St. Gregory of Nyssa, who flourished in the fourth century, preaching on the martyrdom of St. Theodore, describes his relics as being present in the church and his sufferings as being painted on the walls, together with an image of Christ, as if surveying them.§ It is needless to carry the history of pious figures and paintings down to the end of the sixth century, at which time St. Augustin and his companions, coming to preach the Gospel to our pagan ancestors, “carried a silver cross before them as a banner, and a painted picture of our Saviour Christ.”|| The above-mentioned Tertullian testifies, that at every movement and in every employment, the primitive Christians used to sign their foreheads with the sign of the cross;¶ and Eusebius and St. Chrysostom fill whole pages of their works with testimonies of their veneration in which the figure of the cross was anciently held; the latter expressly says, that the cross was placed on the altars** of the churches. The whole history of the martyrs, from St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp, the disciples of the apostles, whose relics, after their execution, were carried away by the Christians, as “more valuable than gold and precious stones,”†† down to the latest martyr, incontestibly proves the veneration which the church has ever entertained for these sacred objects. With respect to your own opinion, reverend sir, as to the earliest date of prayers to the saints, I may refer you to the writings of St. Irenæus the disciple of St.

* Lib. de Pudicitia, c. 10.

† Hist. l. vii. c. 18.

§ Orat. in Theod.

¶ Deo. Coron. Milit. c. 3.

†† Euseb. Hist. l. iv. c. 15.

‡ His. Eccles. l. v. c. 21.

|| Bede's Eccles. Hist. l. i. c. 25.

** In Orat. Quod. Christus sit Deus.

Acta Sincer. apud Ruinart.

Polycarp, who introduces the Blessed Virgin praying for Eve; * to the apology of his contemporary St. Justin the martyr, who says: "We venerate and worship the angelic host, and the spirits of the prophets, teaching others as we ourselves have been taught; † and to the light of the fourth century, St. Basil, who expressly refers these practices to the apostles, where he says: "I invoke the apostles, prophets, and martyrs to pray for me, that God may be merciful to me, and forgive me my sins. I honor and reverence their images, since these things have been ordained *by tradition from the apostles, and are practised in all our churches.*" ‡ You will agree with me, that I need not bring down lower than the fourth age of the church, her devotion to the saints.—I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XXXVI.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ.,

ON TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

DEAR SIR—

It is the remark of the prince of modern controvertists, Bishop Bossuet, that whereas in most other subjects of dispute between Catholics and Protestants, the difference is less than it seems to be, in this of the holy eucharist or Lord's supper, it is greater than it appears. § The cause of this is, that our opponents misrepresent our doctrine concerning the veneration of saints, pious images, indulgences, purgatory, and other articles, in order to strengthen their arguments against us: whereas their language approaches nearer to our doctrine than their sentiments do on the subject of the eucharist, because our *doctrine* is so strictly conformable to the *words of Holy Scripture*. This is a disingenuous artifice; but I have to describe two others of a still more fatal tendency; first, with respect to the present welfare of the Catholics, who are the subjects of them, and secondly, with respect to the future welfare of the Protestants, who deliberately make use of them.

The first of these disingenuous practices consists in misrepresenting Catholics as *worshippers of bread and wine* in the sacrament, and therefore as *idolaters*, at the same time that our adversaries are perfectly aware that we firmly believe, as an article of faith, that *there is no bread and wine*, but Christ alone, true God, as well as man, present in it. Supposing, for a moment, that we are mistaken in this belief, the worst we could be

* Contra Hæres. l. v. c. 19.

† Apol. 2. prope Init.

‡ Epist. 205, T. iii. edit. Par. s.

§ Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church, Sect. XVI.

charged with is an error, in supposing Christ to be where he is not; and nothing but uncharitable calumny, or gross inattention, could accuse us of the heinous crime of idolatry. To illustrate this argument, let me suppose, that being charged with a loyal address to the sovereign, you presented it, by mistake, to one of his courtiers, or even to an inanimate figure of him, which, for some reason or other, had been dressed up in royal robes, and placed on the throne; would your heart reproach you, or would any sensible person reproach you, with the guilt of treason in this case? Were the people who thought in their hearts that John the Baptist was the Christ, Luke iii. 15, and who probably worshipped him as such, idolaters, in consequence of their error? The falsehood, as well as the uncharitableness, of this calumny is too gross to escape the observation of any informed and reflecting man; yet, in order to keep alive their prejudices against us, it is upheld and vociferated to the ignorant crowd, by Bishop Porteus* and the Protestant preachers and writers in general; while it is perpetuated by the Legislature, for the purpose of defeating our civil claims!† It is not however true, that all Protestant divines have laid this heavy charge at the door of Catholics, for worshipping Christ in the sacrament; as all those eminent prelates in the reigns of Charles I. and II. must be excepted, who generally acquitted us of the charge of idolatry, and more especially the learned Gunning, Bishop of Ely, who reprobated the above signified *declaration*, when it was brought into the house of lords, protesting that his conscience would not permit him to make it.‡ The candid Thorn-dyke, Prebendary of Westminster, argues thus on the present subject: "Will any papist acknowledge that he honors the elements of the eucharist for God? Will common sense charge him with honoring that in the sacrament which he does not believe to be there?"§ The celebrated Bishop of Down, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, reasons with equal fairness, where he says, "the object of their (the Catholics') adoration in the sacrament is the only true and eternal God, hypostatically united with his holy humanity, which humanity they believe actually present under the veil of the sacrament. And if they thought him not

* He charges Catholics with "senseless idolatry," and with "worshipping the creature instead of the Creator." Confut. P. ii. c. 1.

† The *declaration against popery*, by which Catholics were excluded from the houses of Parliament, was voted by them during that time of national frenzy and disgrace, when they equally voted the reality of the pretended popish plot, which cost the Catholics a torrent of innocent blood, and which was hatched by the unprincipled Shaftesbury, with the help of Dr. Tongue and the infamous Oates, to prevent the succession of James II. to the crown. See Echar'd's Hist. North's Exam.

‡ Burnet's Hist. Own Times.

§ Just Weights and Measures, c. 19.

present, they are so far from worshipping the bread, that they profess it idolatry to do so. This is demonstration that the soul has nothing in it that is idolatrical; the will has nothing in it, but what is a great enemy to idolatry.”*

The other instance of disingenuity and injustice on the part of Protestant divines and statesmen, consists in their overlooking the main subject in debate, namely, *whether Christ is or is not really and personally present* in the sacrament; and in the mean time directing all the force of their declamation and ridicule, and all the severity of the law to a point of inferior, or at least secondary consideration; namely, to *the mode* in which he is considered by one particular party *as being present*. It is well known that Catholics believe, that when Christ took the bread and gave it to his apostles, saying, THIS IS MY BODY, he changed the *bread* into his *body*, which change is called *transubstantiation*. On the other hand, “the Lutherans, after their master, hold that *the bread and the real body of Christ are united, and both truly present* in the sacrament, as iron and fire are united in a red-hot bar.”†—This sort of presence, which would be not less miraculous and incomprehensible than transubstantiation, is called *consubstantiation*; while the Calvinists and Church of England men in general (though many of the brightest luminaries of the latter have approached to the Catholic doctrine) maintain that Christ is barely present in *figure*, and received only *by faith*. Now all the alleged absurdities, in a manner, and all the pretended impiety and idolatry, which are attributed to *transubstantiation*, equally attach to *consubstantiation* and to the *real presence* professed by those eminent divines of the Established Church. Nevertheless, what controversial preacher or writer ever attacks the latter opinions? What law excludes Lutherans from Parliament, or even from the throne? So far from this, a chapel royal has been founded and is maintained in the palace itself, for the propagation of their consubstantiation and the participation of the real presence! In short, you may say with Luther, *the bread is the body of Christ*, or with Osiander, *the bread is one and the same person with Christ*, or with Bishop Cosin, that “Christ is present really and substantially by an incomprehensible mystery,”‡ or with Dr. Balguy, that there is no mystery at all, but a mere “federal rite, barely signifying the receiver’s acceptance of the benefit of redemption.”§ In short, you may say any thing you please con-

* Liberty of Propheying, Sect. 20.

† De Capt. Babil. Osiander, whose sister Cranmer married, taught *impation*, or an hypostatical and personal union of the bread with Christ’s body, in consequence of which a person might truly say, *This bread is Christ’s body*.

‡ Hist. of Transub. p. 44.

§ Charge vii.

cerning the eucharist without obloquy or inconvenience to yourself, except what the words of Christ, *this is my body*, so clearly imply, namely, that *he changes the bread into his body*. In fact, as the Bishop of Meaux observes, “the declarations of Christ operate what they express; when he speaks, nature obeys, and he does what he says: thus he cured the ruler’s son, by saying to him, *Thy son liveth*; and the crooked woman, by saying, *Thou art loosed from thy infirmity*.* The prelate adds, for our further observation, that Christ did not say, *My body is here; this contains my body*: but, *this is my body; this is my blood*. Hence Zuinglius, Calvin, Beza, and the defenders of the figurative sense in general, all, except the Protestants of England, have expressly confessed, that admitting the real presence, the Catholic doctrine is far more conformable to Scripture than the Lutheran. I shall finish this letter with remarking, that as transubstantiation, according to Bishop Cosin, was the first of Christ’s miracles, in changing water into wine; so it may be said to have been his last, during his mortal course, by changing bread and wine into his sacred body and blood.

I am, dear sir, yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XXXVII.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ.

ON THE REAL PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE
BLESSED SACRAMENT.

DEAR SIR—

It is clear, from what I have stated in my last letter to you, that the first and main question to be settled between Catholics and Church Protestants is, concerning *the real or figurative presence* of Christ in the sacrament. This being determined, it will be time enough, and, in my opinion, it will not require a long time, to conclude upon the *manner of his presence*, namely, whether by consubstantiation or transubstantiation. To consider the authorized exposition or catechism of the Established Church, it might appear certain that she herself holds *the real presence*, since she declares that, “The body and blood of Christ are *verily* and *indeed* taken and received by the faithful in the ‘Lord’s supper.’” To this declaration I alluded, in the first place, where I complained of Protestants *disguising their real tenets*, by adopting language of a different meaning from their own sentiments, and conformable to the sentiments of Catholic ..

* Variat. T. ii. p. 34

in consequence of such being the language of the sacred text. In fact, it is certain and confessed that she does *not*, after all, believe the real body and blood to be in the supper, but mere bread and wine, as the same catechism declares. This involves an evident contradiction; it is saying, *you receive that in the sacrament, which does not exist in the sacrament* :* it is like the speech of a debtor, who should say to his creditor, *I hereby verily and indeed pay you the money I owe you; but I have not verily and indeed the money wherewith to pay you.*

Nothing proves more clearly the fallacy of the Calvinists and other dissenters, as likewise of the established churchmen in general, who profess to make the Scripture, in its plain and literal sense, the sole rule of their faith, than their denial of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, which is so manifestly and emphatically expressed therein. He explained and promised this divine mystery near the time of the Passover, (John, vi. 4,) previous to his institution of it. He then multiplied five loaves and two fishes, so as to afford a superabundant meal to five thousand men, besides women and children, (Matt. xiv. 21,) which was an evident sign of the future multiplication of his own person on the several altars of the world; after which, he took occasion to speak of this mystery, by saying: "I am the living bread, which came down from heaven. If any man eat

* Dryden, in his *Hind and Panther*, ridicules this inconsistency as follows:

"The literal sense is hard to flesh and blood;
But nonsense never could be understood."

Even Dr. Hey calls this "an unsteadiness of language and a seeming inconsistency." Lect. vol. iv. p. 338.

N. B. It is curious to trace, in the Liturgy of the Established Church, her variations on this most important point of Christ's presence in the sacrament. The first Communion Service, drawn up by Cranmer, Ridley, and other Protestant bishops and divines, and published in 1548, clearly expresses the real presence, and that "the whole body of Christ is received under each particle of the sacrament." Burnet, p. ii. B. 1.

Afterwards, when the Calvinist party prevailed, the 29th of the 42 Articles of religion, drawn up by the same prelates, and published in 1552, expressly *denies* the real presence, and the very possibility of Christ's being in the eucharist, since he has ascended up to heaven. Ten years afterwards, Elizabeth being on the throne, who patronized the real presence, (see Heylin, p. 124,) when the 42 Articles were reduced to 39, this declaration, against the real and corporeal presence of Christ, was left out of the Common Prayer Book, for the purpose of comprehending those persons who believed in it, as was also the whole of the former rubric, which explained that, "by kneeling at the sacrament no adoration was intended to any corporeal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood." Burnet, P. ii. p. 392. So the Liturgy stood for just one hundred years, when in 1662, during the reign of Charles II., among other alterations of the Liturgy which then took place, the old rubric against the real presence and the adoration of the sacrament was again restored as it stands at present!

of this bread, he shall live for ever : and the bread that I will give, is my flesh, for the life of the world." John, vi. 51. The sacred text goes on to inform us of the perplexity of the Jews, from their understanding Christ's words in their plain and natural sense, which he, so far from removing by a different explanation, confirms by expressing that sense in other terms still more emphatical. "The Jews therefore strove amongst themselves, saying, How can this man give us his flesh to eat? Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.—For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." Verses 52, 53, 55. Nor was it the multitude alone who took offence at this mystery of a *real* and *corporeal* reception of Christ's person, so energetically and repeatedly expressed by him, but also several of his own beloved disciples, whom certainly he would not have permitted to desert him to their own destruction, if he could have removed their difficulty by barely telling them, that they were only to receive him *by faith*, and to take bread and wine in *remembrance* of him. Yet this merciful Saviour permitted them to go their way, and contented himself with asking the apostles, if they would also leave him? They were as incapable of comprehending the mystery as the others were; but they were assured that Christ is ever to be credited upon his word, and accordingly they made that generous act of faith, which every true Christian will also make, who seriously and devoutly considers the sacred text before us. "Many, therefore, of his disciples, when they had heard this, said, This is a hard saying : who can hear it?—From that time many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him. Then Jesus said to the twelve, Will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered him, Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." Verses 60, 66, 67, 68, 69.

The apostles, thus instructed by Christ's express and repeated declaration, as to the nature of this sacrament, when he promised it to them, were prepared for the sublime simplicity of his words in the instituting it. For, *whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take ye and eat : THIS IS MY BODY. And taking the chalice, he gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this ; FOR THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH SHALL BE SHED FOR MANY UNTO THE REMISSION OF SINS.* Matt. xxvi. 26, 27, 28. This account of St. Matthew is repeated by St. Mark, xiv. 22, 23, 24, and nearly word for word by St. Luke, xxii. 19, 20, and by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 25, who adds : "Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink the chalice of the Lord

unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord—and eateth and drinketh judgment (the Protestant Bible says, damnation) to himself.” 1 Cor. xi. 27, 29. To the native evidence of these texts I shall add but two words. First, supposing it possible that Jesus Christ had deceived the Jews of Capharnaum, and even his disciples and his very apostles, in the solemn asseverations which he, six times over, repeated of his real and corporeal presence in the sacrament, when he promised to institute it, can any one believe that he would continue the deception on his dear apostles, in the very act of instituting it, and when he was on the point of leaving them? In short, when he was bequeathing them the legacy of his love? In the next place, what propriety is there in St. Paul’s heavy denunciations of profaning Christ’s person, and of damnation, on the part of unworthy communicants, if they partook of it only by *faith* and in *figure*? For, after all, the paschal lamb, which the people of God had, by his command, every year eaten, since their deliverance out of Egypt, and which the apostles themselves eat, before they received the blessed eucharist, was, as a mere figure and an incitement to faith, far more striking than eating and drinking bread and wine are. Hence the guilt of profaning the paschal lamb, and the numerous other figures of Christ, would not be less heinous than profaning the sacrament, if he were not really there.

I should write a huge folio volume, were I to transcribe all the authorities in proof of the real presence and transubstantiation which may be collected from the ancient fathers, councils, and historians, anterior to the origin of these doctrines, assigned by the Bishops of London* and Lincoln. The latter, who speaks more precisely on the subject, says: “The idea of Christ’s bodily presence in the eucharist was first started in the beginning of the eighth century. In the twelfth century, the actual change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, by the consecration of the priest, was pronounced to be a gospel truth. The first writer who maintained it, was Paschasius Radbert. It is said to have been brought into England by Lanfranc.”† What will the learned men of Europe, who are versed in ecclesiastical literature, think of the state of this science in England, should they hear that such positions as these have been published by one of its most celebrated prelates? I have assigned the cause why I must content myself with *a few* of the numberless documents which present themselves to me in refutation of such bold assertions. St. Ignatius, then, an apostolical bishop of the first century, describing certain contemporary

* Page 38.

† Elm. of Theol. vol. ii. p. 380.

heretics, says: "They do not admit of eucharists and oblations, because they do not believe the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who suffered for our sins."* I pass over the testimonies, to the same effect, of St. Justin Martyr,† St. Irenæus,‡ St. Cyprian,§ and other fathers of the second and third centuries, but will quote the following words from Origen, because the prelate appeals to his authority in another passage, which is nothing at all to the purpose. He says, then, "Manna was formerly given as a figure; but now, the flesh and blood of the Son of God is specifically given, and is real food."|| I must omit the clear and beautiful testimonies for the Catholic doctrine, which St. Hilary, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, St. Jerom, St. Augustin, and a number of other illustrious doctors of the fourth and fifth ages, furnish; but I cannot pass over those of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and St. Ambrose of Milan, because these, occurring in catechetical discourses or expositions of the Christian doctrine to their young neophytes, must evidently be understood in the most plain and literal sense they can bear. The former says: "Since Christ himself affirms thus of the bread, *This is my body*, who is so daring as to doubt of it? And since he affirms, *This is my blood*, who will deny that it is his blood? At Cana of Galilee, he, by an act of his will, turned water into wine, which resembles blood; and is he not then to be credited when he changes wine into blood? Therefore, full of certainty, let us receive *the body and blood of Christ*; for, under the form of bread, is given to thee his body, and, under the form of wine, his blood."¶ St. Ambrose thus argues with his spiritual children: "Perhaps you will say, Why do you tell me that I receive the body of Christ, when I see quite another thing? We have this point, therefore, to prove. How many examples do we produce to show you, that this is not what nature made it, but what the benediction has consecrated it; and that the benediction is of greater force than nature, because, by the benediction, nature itself is changed! Moses cast his rod on the ground, and it became a serpent; he caught hold of the serpent's tail, and it recovered the nature of a rod. The rivers of Egypt, &c.—Thou hast read of the creation of the world: if Christ, by his word, was able to make something out of nothing, shall he not be thought able to change one thing into another?"** But I have quoted enough from the ancient fathers to refute the rash assertions of the two modern bishops.

True it is, that Paschasius Radbert, an abbot of the ninth century, writing a treatise on the eucharist, for the instruction

* Ep. ad Smyrn.

† Apolog. to Emp. Antonin.

‡ L. v. c. 11.

§ Ep. 54 ad Cornel.

|| Hom. 7, in Levit.

¶ Catech. Mystagog. 4

** De his qui Myst. Init. c. 9

of his novices, maintains the real corporeal presence of Christ in it; but so far from teaching a novelty, he professes to say nothing but what all the world believes and professes.*—The truth of this appears when Berengarius, in the eleventh century, among other errors, denied the real presence; for then the whole church rose up against him; he was attacked by a whole host of eminent writers, and among others by our Archbishop Lanfranc; all of whom, in their respective works, appeal to the belief of all nations; and Berengarius was condemned in no less than eleven councils. I have elsewhere shown the absolute impossibility, that the Christians of all the nations in the world should be persuaded into a belief that the sacrament, which they were in the habit of receiving, was *the living Christ*, if they had before held it to be nothing but an inanimate *memorial* of him: even though, by another impossibility, all the clergy of the nations were to combine together for effecting this. On the other hand, it is incontestible, and has been carried to the highest degree of moral evidence,† that all the Christians of all the nations of the world, Greeks as well as Latins, Africans as well as Europeans, except Protestants and a handful of Vau-
dois peasants, have, in all ages, believed and still believe in the real presence and transubstantiation.

I am now, dear sir, about to produce evidence of a different nature, I mean Protestant evidence, for the main point under consideration, the real presence. My first witness is no other than the father of the pretended Reformation, Martin Luther himself. He tells us how very desirous he was, and how much he labored in his mind to overthrow this doctrine, because, says he, (observe his motive,) “I clearly saw how much I should thereby injure Popery: but I found myself caught, without any way of escaping; for the text of the gospel was too plain for this purpose.”‡ Hence he continued, till his death, to condemn those Protestants who denied the corporeal presence; employing for this purpose, sometimes the shafts of his coarse ridicule,§ and sometimes the thunder of his vehement declamation

* “Quod totus orbis credit et confitetur.” See *Perpetuité de la Foi*.

† See in particular the last-named victorious work, which has proved the conversion of many Protestants, and among the rest that of a distinguished churchman now living.

‡ *Epist. ad. argenten*, tom. 4, fol. 502, Ed. Witten.

§ In one place, he says, that “The devil seems to have mocked those, to whom he has suggested a heresy so ridiculous and contrary to Scripture as that of the Zuinglians,” who explained away the words of the institution in a figurative sense. He elsewhere compares these glosses with the following translation of the first words of Scripture: *In principio Deus creavit cælum et terram*:—*In the beginning the cuckoo eat the sparrow and his feathers.* *Defens. Verb. Dom.*

and anathemas.* To speak now of former eminent bishops and divines of the Establishment in this country; it is evident from their works, that many of them believed firmly in the real presence, such as the Bishops Andrews, Bilson, Morton, Leud, Montague, Sheldon, Gunning, Forbes, Bramhall, and Cosin, to whom I shall add the justly esteemed Hooker; the testimonies of whom, for the real presence, are as explicit as Catholics themselves can wish them to be. I will transcribe in the margin a few words from each of the three last-named authors.† The near, or rather close approach, of these and other eminent Protestant divines, to the constant doctrine of the Catholic Church, on this principal subject of modern controversy, is evidently to be ascribed to the perspicuity and force of the declaration of Holy Scripture concerning it. As to the holy fathers, they received this, with her other doctrines, from the apostles, independently of Scripture: for, before even St. Matthew's gospel was promulgated, the sacrifice of the mass was celebrated, and the body and blood of Christ distributed to the faithful throughout a great part of the known world.

In finishing this letter, I must make an important remark on the object or end of the institution of the blessed sacrament. This, our divine Master tells us, was to communicate a new and special grace, or *life*, as he calls it, to us his disciples of the new law. "The bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world. As the living Father has sent me, and I live by

* On one occasion he calls those who deny the real and corporeal presence, "A damned sect, lying heretics, bread-breakers, wine-drinkers, and soul-destroyers." In Parv. Catech. On other occasions he says, "They are indevilized and superdevilized." Finally he devotes them to everlasting flames, and builds his own hopes of finding mercy at the tribunal of Christ on his having, with all his soul, condemned Carlostad, Zuinglius, and other believers in the symbolical presence.

† Bishop Bramhall writes thus: "No genuine son of the Church (of England) did ever deny a true, real presence.—Christ said, *This is my body*, and what he said we steadfastly believe. He said neither CON nor SUB nor TRANS: therefore we place these among the opinions of schools, not among articles of faith." Answer to Militaire, p. 74.—Bishop Cosin is not less explicit in favor of the Catholic doctrine. He says, "It is a monstrous error to deny that Christ is to be adored in the eucharist. We confess the necessity of a supernatural and heavenly change, and that the signs cannot become sacraments but by the infinite power of God. If any one make a bare figure of the sacrament, we ought not to suffer him in our churches." Hist. of Transub. Lastly, the profound Hooker expresses himself thus: "I wish men would give themselves more to meditate, with silence, on what we have in the sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner *how*. Since we all agree that Christ, by the sacrament, doth really and truly perform in us his promise, why do we so vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions, whether by consubstantiation or else by transubstantiation?" Eccles. Polit. B. v. 67.

the Father, so he that eateth me, the same shall also live by me. This is the bread that came down from heaven : not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead ; he that eateth this bread shall live for ever." John vi. 52, 58, 59. He explains, in the same passage, the particular nature of this spiritual life, and shows in what it consists, namely, in an intimate union with him ; where he says, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him." Ver. 57. Now the servants of God, from the beginning of the world, had striking figures and memorials of the promised Messiah, the participation of which, by faith and devotion, was, in a limited degree, beneficial to their souls. Such were the tree of life, the various sacrifices of the patriarchs, and those of the Mosaic law ; but more particularly the paschal lamb, the loaves of proposition, and the manna of which Christ here speaks : still, these signs, in their very institution, were so many promises, on the part of God, that he would bestow upon his people the thing signified by them ; even his *incarnate Son*, who is at once our victim and our food, and who gives spiritual life to the worthy communicants, not in a limited measure, but indefinitely, according to each one's preparation. The same tender love which made him shroud the rays of his Divinity, and *take upon himself the form of a servant, and the likeness of man*, in his incarnation ; which made him become as a *worm and not a man, the reproach of men and the outcast of the people*, in his immolation on Mount Calvary, has caused him to descend a step lower, and to conceal his human nature also, under the veils of our ordinary nourishment, that thus we may be able to salute him with our mouths, and lodge him in our breasts, in order that we may thus, each one of us, *abide in him, and he abide in us*, for the life of our souls. No wonder that Protestants, who are strangers to these heavenly truths, and who are still immersed in the clouds of types and figures ; not pretending to any thing more in their sacrament, than what the Jews possessed in their ordinances, should be comparatively so indifferent, as to the preparation for receiving it, and, indeed, as to the reception of it at all ! No wonder that many of them, and amongst the rest, Anthony Ulric, Duke of Brunswick,* should have reconciled themselves to the Catholic Church, chiefly for the benefit of exchanging the figure for the substance ; the bare memorial of Christ, for his adorable body and blood.—I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

* Lettres d'un Docteur Allemand, par Scheffmacker, vol. i. p. 393.

LETTER XXXVIII.—TO THE REV. ROBERT CLAYTON, M. A.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

REVEREND SIR—

THOUGH I had not received the letter with which you have honored me, it was my intention to write to Mr. Brown, by way of answering Bishop Porteus's objections against the Catholic doctrine of the blessed eucharist. As you, reverend sir, have in some manner adopted those objections, I address my answer to you.

You begin with the bishop's arguments from Scripture, and say, that the same Divine Personage who says, *Take, eat, this is my body*, elsewhere calls himself *a door*, and *a vine*: hence you argue, that as the two latter terms are metaphorical, so the first is also. I grant that Christ makes use of metaphors, when he calls himself a door and a vine; but then he explains that they are metaphors, by saying, "I am the door of the sheep: by me if any man enter he shall be saved." John, x. 9. And again, "I am the vine, you the branches; he that abideth in me, and I in him, beareth much fruit; for without me you can do nothing." John, xv. 5. But, in the institution of the sacrament, though he was then making his last will, and bequeathing that legacy to his children, which, in his promise of it, he had assured them should be *meat indeed and drink indeed*, not a word falls from him to signify that his legacy is not to be understood in the plain sense of the terms he makes use of. Hence those incredulous Christians who insist on allegorizing the texts in question, (professing at the same time to make the *plain, natural sense of Scripture their only rule of faith*,) may allegorize every other part of Holy Writ as ridiculously as Luther had translated the first words of Genesis, and thus gain no certain knowledge from any part of it.

His lordship adds, that the apostles did not understand this institution literally, as they asked no questions, nor expressed any surprise concerning it. True, they did not, but then they had been present on a former occasion, at a scene in which the Jews, and even many of the disciples, expressed great surprise at the annunciation of this mystery, and asked, *How can this man give us his flesh to eat?* On that occasion, we know that Christ tried the faith of his apostles as to this mystery, when they generously answered, *Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.*

You may quote, after Dr. Porteus, Christ's answer to the murmur of the Jews on this subject. "Doth this offend you? If then you shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was

before? It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life." John, vi. 63, 64. To this I answer, that if there were an apparent contradiction between this passage and those others in the same chapter, in which Christ so expressly affirms, that his *flesh* IS MEAT INDEED, and his *blood* DRINK INDEED, it would only prove more clearly the necessity of inquiring into the doctrine of the Catholic Church concerning them. But there is no such appearance of contradiction: on the contrary, our controvertists draw an argument from the first part of this passage in favor of the real presence.* The utmost that can be deduced from the remaining part is, that Christ's inanimate flesh, manducated, like that of animals, according to the gross idea of the Jews, would not confer the spiritual life which he speaks of, though some of the fathers understand these words, not of the body and blood of Christ, but of our unenlightened natural reason, in contradistinction to inspired faith; in which sense Christ says to St. Peter, "Blessed art thou, because flesh and blood has not revealed this to thee, but my Father who is in heaven." Matt. xvi. 17. You add from St. Luke, that Christ says in the very institution, "Do this in memory of me." Luke, xxii. 19. I answer, that neither here is there any contradiction; for the eucharist is both a memorial of Christ and the real presence of Christ. When a person stands visibly before us, we have no need of any sign to call him to our memory; but if he were present, in such a manner to be *concealed* from all our senses, we might, without a memorial of him, as easily forget him, as if he were at a great distance from us. These words of Christ, then, which we always repeat at the consecration, and the very sight of the sacramental species, serve for this purpose.

The objection, however, which you, reverend sir, and Bishop Porteus, chiefly insist upon, is the testimony of our senses. You both say, the bread and wine are seen, and touched, and tasted in our sacrament, the same as in yours. "If we cannot believe our senses," the bishop says, "we can believe nothing." This was a good popular topic for Archbishop Tillotson, from whom it is borrowed, to flourish upon in the pulpit; but it will not stand the test of Christian theology—it would undermine the incarnation itself. With equal reason the Jews said of Christ, "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary?" Matt. xiii. 55. Hence they concluded he was not what he proclaimed himself to be, the Son of God. In like manner Joshua thought he saw a man, (Joshua, v. 13,) and Jacob that he touched one, (Gen. xxxii. 24,) and Abraham that

* Verité de la Relig. Cat. prouvée par l'Ecriture, par M. Des Mahi. p. 163.

he eat with three men, (Gen. xviii. 8,) when, in all these instances, there were no real men, but unbodied spirits present, the different senses of those patriarchs misleading them. Again, were not the *eyes of the disciples, going to Emmaus, held so that they should not know Jesus?* Luke, xxiv. 16. Did not the same thing happen to Mary Magdalen and the apostles? John, xx. 15. But, independently of Scripture, philosophy and experience show that there is no essential connection between our sensations and the objects which occasion them, and that, in fact, each of our senses frequently deceive us. How unreasonable then is it, as well as impious, to oppose their fallible testimony to God's infallible word!*

But the bishop, as you remind me, undertakes to show that there are absurdities and contradictions in the doctrine of *transubstantiation*—he ought to have said of the *real presence*—for every one of his alleged contradictions is equally found in the Lutheran *consubstantiation*, in the belief of which our gracious queen was educated, and in the corporeal presence, held by so many English bishops. He accordingly asks, how Christ's body can be contracted into the space of a host? How it can be at the right hand of his Father in heaven, and upon our altars at the same time, &c.? I answer, first, with an ancient father, that if we insist on using this HOW of the Jews, with respect to the mysteries revealed in Scripture, we must renounce our faith in it?† Secondly, I answer, that we do not know what constitutes the essence of matter and of space. I say, thirdly, that Christ *transfigured* his body on Mount Thabor, (Mark, ix. 1,) bestowing on it many properties of a spirit, before his passion; and that after he had ascended up to heaven, he appeared to St. Paul on the road to Damascus, (Acts, ix. 17,) and *stood by him* in the castle of Jerusalem. Acts, xxiii. 11. Lastly, I answer, that God fills all space, and is whole and entire in every particle of matter; likewise, that my own soul is in my right hand and in my left, whole and entire; that the bread and wine, which I eat and drink, are transubstantiated into my own flesh and blood; that this body of mine, which some years ago was of a small size, has now increased to its present bulk; that soon it will turn into dust, or perhaps be devoured by ani-

* For example, we think we see the setting sun in a line with our eyes; but philosophy demonstrates that a large portion of the terraqueous globe is interposed between them, and that the sun is considerably below the horizon. As we trust more to our feeling than any other sense, let any person cause his neighbor to shut his eyes, and then crossing the two first fingers of either hand, make him rub a pea, or any other round substance between them, he will then protest that he feels *two* such objects.

† Cyril. Alex. l. 4, in Joan.

mals or cannibals, and thus become part of their substance ; and that, nevertheless, God will restore it entire at the last day. Whoever will enter into these considerations, instead of employing the Jewish HOW, will be disposed, with St. Augustin, to "admit that God can do much more than we can understand," and to cry out with the apostles, respecting this mystery, *Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.*

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XXXIX.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ.

COMMUNION UNDER ONE KIND.

DEAR SIR—

I TRUST you have not forgotten what I demonstrated in the first part of our correspondence, that the Catholic Church was formed and instructed in its divine doctrine and rites, and especially in its sacraments and sacrifice, before any part of the New Testament was published, and whole centuries before the entire New Testament was collected and pronounced by her to be authentic and inspired. Indeed, Protestants are forced to have recourse to the *tradition of the church* for determining a great number of points, which are left doubtful by the Sacred Text, particularly with respect to the two sacraments which they acknowledge. From the doctrine and practice of the church alone they learn that, although Christ, our pattern, was baptized in a river, (Mark, i. 9,) and the Ethiopian eunuch was led by St. Philip *into the water*, (Acts, viii. 38,) for the same purpose, the application of it, by infusion or aspersion, is valid ; and that, although Christ says, *He that BELIEVETH and is baptized shall be saved*, (Mark, xvi. 16,) infants are susceptible of the benefits of baptism, who are incapable of making an act of faith. In like manner respecting the eucharist, it is from the doctrine and practice of the church alone Protestants learn, that, though Christ communicated the apostles, at an evening supper, after they had feasted on a lamb, and their feet had been washed, a ceremony which he appears to enjoin on that occasion with the utmost strictness, (John, xiii. 8, 15,) none of these rites are essential to that ordinance, or necessary to be practised at present. With what pretension to consistency, then, can they reject her doctrine and practice in the remaining particulars of this mysterious institution ? A clear exposition of the institution itself, and of the doctrine and discipline of the church, concerning the controversy in question, will afford the best answer to the objections raised against the latter.

It is true that our blessed Saviour instituted the holy eucharist, under two kinds; but it must be observed, that he then made it a *sacrifice* as well as a *sacrament*, and that he ordained *priests*, namely his twelve apostles, (for none else but they were present on the occasion,) to consecrate this sacrament, and offer this sacrifice. Now, for the latter purpose, namely, a *sacrifice*, it was requisite that the victim should be really present, and, at least, mystically immolated; which was then, and is still performed in the mass, by the symbolical disunion, or separate consecration of the body and the blood. It was requisite, also, for the completion of the *sacrifice*, that the priests, who had immolated the victim, by mystically separating its body and its blood, should consummate it in both these kinds. Hence it is seen, that the command of Christ, on which our opponents lay so much stress, *drink ye all of this*, regards the apostles, as *priests*, and not the laity, as communicants.* True it is, that when Christ promised this sacrament to the faithful in general, he promised, in express terms, both his body and his blood, John vi.: but this does not imply that they must, therefore, receive them under the different appearances of bread and wine. For, as the Council of Trent teaches, he who said: "Unless you shall eat of the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you," has likewise said, "If any one shall eat of this bread, he shall live forever." And he who has said "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting," has also said, "The bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world." And lastly, he who has said, "He who eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him," has nevertheless said, "He who eateth this bread shall live for ever."†

The truth is, dear sir, after all the reproaches of the Bishop of Durham, concerning our alleged sacrilege, *in suppressing half a sacrament*, and the general complaint of Protestants, of our *robbing the laity of the cup* of salvation,‡ that the precious body and blood, being *equally* and *entirely* present; under each species, is *equally* and *entirely* given to the faithful, whichever they receive; whereas the Calvinists and Anglicans do not so

* The acute apologist of the Quakers has observed, how inconclusively Protestants argue from the words of the institution. He says, "I would gladly know how from the words they can be certainly resolved that these words (*Do this*) must be understood of the clergy: Take, bless, and break this bread, and give it to others; but to the laity only: Take and eat, but do not bless," &c.—Barclay's Apology, Prop. xiii. p. 7. † Sess xxi. c. 1.

‡ Conformably to the above doctrine, neither our priests nor our bishops receive under more than one kind, when they do not offer up the holy sacrifice.

much as pretend *to communicate either the real body or the blood*, but present mere types or memorials of them. I do not deny, that in their mere figurative system, there may be some reason for receiving the liquid as well as the solid substance, since the former may appear to represent more aptly the blood, and the latter, the body; but to us, Catholics, who possess the *reality* of them both, their species or outward appearance is no more than a matter of changeable discipline.

It is the sentiment of the great lights of the church, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, St. Jerome, &c., and seems clear from the text, that when Christ, on the day of his resurrection, *took bread, and blessed and brake, and gave it* to Cleophas and the other disciple, whose guest he was at Emmaus, on his doing which *their eyes were opened, and they knew him, and he vanished out of their sight,*" Luke xxiv. 30, 31, he administered the holy communion to them under the form of bread alone. In like manner, it is written of the baptized converts of Jerusalem, that, *they were persevering in the doctrine of the apostles, and in the communication of the BREAKING OF BREAD, and in prayer,* Acts ii. 42; and of the religious meeting at Troas; *on the first day of the week, when we were assembled to BREAK BREAD,* Acts xx. 7; without any mention of the other species. These passages plainly signify that the apostles were accustomed, sometimes, at least, to give the sacrament under one kind alone, though Bishop Porteus has not the candor to confess it. Another more important passage for communion under either kind, he entirely overlooks, where the apostle says. "Whosoever shall eat this bread, OR drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord."* True it is, that in the English Bible, the text is here corrupted, the conjunctive AND being put for the disjunc-

* Πίω, or *drink*, 1 Cor. xi. 27. The Rev. Mr. Grier, who has attempted to vindicate the purity of the English Protestant Bible, has nothing else to say for this alteration of St. Paul's epistle, than that in what they falsely call "the parallel text of Luke and Matthew," the conjunctive *and* occurs! Grier's Answer to Ward's Errata, p. 13.—I may here notice the horrid and notorious misrepresentation of the Catholic doctrine concerning the eucharist, of which two living dignitaries are guilty in their publications. The Bishop of Lincoln says, "Papists contend that the *mere receiving* of the Lord's supper merits the remission of sin *ex opere operato*, as it were mechanically, whatever may be the character or disposition of the communicants." Elem. of Theol. vol. ii. p. 491. Dr. Hey repeats the charge in nearly the same words. Lectures, vol. iv. p. 355. What Catholic will not lift up his hands in amazement at the grossness of this calumny, knowing, as he does, from his catechism and all his books, what purity of soul, and how much greater preparation, is required for the reception of our sacrament, than Protestants require for receiving theirs? See Concil. Trid. Ses. xiii. c. 7. Cat. Rom. Douay Catech., &c.

tive OR, contrary to the original Greek, as well as to the Latin Vulgate, to the version of Beza, &c.; but as his lordship could not be ignorant of this corruption, and the importance of the genuine text, it is inexcusable in him to have passed it over unnoticed.

The whole series of ecclesiastical history proves, that the Catholic Church, from the time of the apostles down to the present, ever firmly believing that the whole body, blood, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ, equally subsist under each of the species or appearances of bread and wine, regarded it as a mere matter of discipline, which of them was to be received in the holy sacrament. It appears from Tertullian, in the second century,* from St. Dennis of Alexandria,† and St. Cyprian,‡ in the third; from St. Basil§ and St. Chrysostom, in the fourth, &c.|| that the blessed sacrament, under the form of bread, was preserved in the oratories and houses of the primitive Christians, for private communion, and for the viaticum in danger of death. There are instances, also, of its being carried on the breast, at sea, in the orarium or neckcloth.¶ On the other hand, as it was the custom to give the blessed sacrament to baptized children, it was administered to those who were quite infants, by a drop out of the chalice.** On the same principle, it being discovered, in the fifth century, that certain Manichæan heretics, who had come to Rome from Africa, objected to the sacramental cup, from an erroneous and wicked opinion, Pope Leo ordered them to be excluded from the communion entirely;†† and Pope Gelasius required all his flock to receive under both kinds.‡‡ It appears that, in the twelfth century, only the officiating priest and infants received under the form of wine; which discipline was confirmed at the beginning of the fifteenth century by the council of Constance,§§ on account of the profanations, and other evils, resulting from the general

* Ad Uxor. l. ii. † Apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 44. ‡ De Lapsis.

§ Epist. ad Cæsar. || Apud Soz. l. viii. c. 5.

¶ St. Ambrose, in obit. Frat.—It appears, also, that St. Birinus, the apostle of the West Saxons, brought the blessed sacrament with him into this island in an Orarium. Gul. Malm. Vit. Pontif. Florent. Wigorn, Higden, &c.

** St. Cypr. de Laps.

†† Sermo. iv. de Quadrag.

‡‡ Decret. Corperimus Dist. iii.

§§ Dr. Porteus, Dr. Coomber, Kemnitius, &c. accuse this council of decreeing, that "*notwithstanding*" (for so they express it) "our Saviour ministered in both kinds, one only shall, in future, be administered to the laity:" as if the council opposed its authority to that of Christ; whereas it barely defines, that *some circumstances of the institution* (namely, that it took place *after supper*, that the apostles received *without being fasting*, and that *both species were consecrated*) are not-obligatory on all Christians. See Can. xxi.

reception of it in that form. Soon after this, the more orderly sect of the Hussites, namely the Calixtins, professing their obedience to the church in other respects, and petitioning the Council of Basil to be indulged in the use of the chalice; this was granted them.* In like manner, Pope Pius IV., at the request of the Emperor Ferdinand, authorized several bishops of Germany to allow the use of the cup to those persons of their respective dioceses, who desired it.† The French kings, since the reign of Philip, have had the privilege of receiving, under both kinds, at their coronation and at their death.‡ The officiating deacon and subdeacon of St. Dennis, and all the monks of the order of Cluni, who serve the altar, enjoy the same.§

From the above statement, Bishop Porteus will learn, if not that the manner of receiving the sacrament under one or the other kind, or under both kinds, is a mere matter of variable discipline, at least that the doctrine and the practice of the Catholic Church are consistent with each other. I am now going to produce evidence of another kind, which, after all his, and the Bishop of Durham's anathemas against us, on account of this doctrine and discipline, will demonstrate, that, conformably with the declarations of the three principal denominations of Protestants, either the point at issue is a *mere matter of discipline*, or else, that they are utterly *inconsistent with themselves*.

To begin with Luther: he reproaches his disciple Carlostad, who in his absence had introduced some new religious changes at Wittenberg, with having "placed Christianity in things of no account, such as '*communicating under both kinds*,'" &c.|| On another occasion he writes: "If a council did ordain or permit *both kinds*, in spite of the council, we would take but *one*, or take neither, or curse those who should take both."¶ Secondly, the Calvinists of France, in their synod at Poitiers, in 1560, decreed thus: "The *bread* of our Lord's supper ought to be administered to those who *cannot drink wine*, on their making a protestation that they do not refrain from contempt."** Lastly, by separate acts of that Parliament, and that king who established the Protestant religion in England, and, by name, communion in both kinds, it is provided that the latter should only be *commonly so delivered and ministered*; and an exception is made in case "*necessity did otherwise require*."††—Now, I need not observe, that, if the use of the cup were *by the appointment*

* Sess. ii. † Mem. Granv. t. xiii. Odorhainal. ‡ Annal. Pagi.

§ Nat. Alex. t. i. p. 430. || Epist. ad Gasp. Gustol.

¶ Form. Miss. t. ii. pp. 384, 386. ** On the Lord's supper, c. iii. p. 7.

†† Burnet's Hist. of Reform. Part ii. p. 41. Heylin's Hist. of Reform. p. 58. For the proclamation, see Bishop Sparrow's Collection, p. 17.

of Christ, an *essential* part of the sacrament, no necessity can ever be pleaded in bar of that appointment; and men might as well pretend to celebrate the eucharist without bread as without wine,* or to confer the sacrament of baptism without water. The dilemma is inevitable. Either the ministration of the sacrament, under one or under both kinds is a matter of changeable discipline, or each of the three principal denominations of Protestants has contradicted itself. I should be glad to know which part of the alternative his lordship may choose.

I am, yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XL.—TO JAMES BROWN, ESQ., &c.

ON THE SACRIFICE OF THE NEW LAW.

DEAR SIR—

THE Bishop of London leads me next to the consideration of the sacrifice of the new law, commonly called THE MASS, on which, however, he is brief, and evidently embarrassed. As I have already touched upon this subject, in treating of the means of sanctification in the Catholic Church, I shall be as brief upon it here as I possibly can.

A sacrifice is an offering up, and immolation of, a living animal, or other sensible thing, to God, in testimony that he is the master of life and death, the Lord of us and all things. It is evidently a more expressive act of the creature's homage to his Creator, as well as one more impressive on the mind of the creature itself, than mere prayer is; and, therefore, it was revealed by God to the patriarchs, at the beginning of the world, and afterwards more strictly enjoined by him to his chosen people, in the revelation of his written law to Moses, as the most acceptable and efficacious worship that could be offered up to his Divine Majesty. The tradition of this primitive ordinance, and the notion of its advantageousness, have been so universal, that it has been practised, in one form or other, in every age, from the time of our first parents down to the present, and by every people, whether civilized or barbarous, except modern Protestants. For when the nations of the earth *changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of corruptible man, and of birds and four-footed beasts*, Rom. i. 23, they

* The writer has heard of *British made wine* being frequently used by church ministers in their sacrament for *real wine*. The missionaries who were sent to Otaheite, used the *bread fruit* for *real bread*, on the like occasion. See Voyage of the ship Duff.

continued the right of sacrifice, and transferred it to those unworthy objects of their idolatry. From the whole of this, I infer, that it would have been truly surprising, if under the most perfect dispensation of God's benefits to men; the new law, he had left them destitute of sacrifice. But he has not so left them; on the contrary, the prophecy of Malachy is evidently verified in the Catholic Church, spread as it is over the surface of the earth: "From the rising of the sun, even to the going down thereof, my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place there is SACRIFICE; and there is offered to my name a clean oblation." Mal. i. 11. If Protestants say: we have the sacrifice of Christ's death; I answer, so had the servants of God under the law of nature, and the written law; "for it is impossible that with the blood of oxen and goats sin should be taken away." Nevertheless, they had perpetual sacrifices of animals to represent the death of Christ, and to apply the fruits of it to their souls. In the same manner Catholics have Christ himself really present, and mystically offered on their altars daily, for the same ends, but in a far more efficacious manner, and, of course, "a true propitiatory sacrifice." That Christ is truly present in the blessed eucharist, I have proved by many arguments; that a mystical immolation of him takes place in the holy mass, by the separate consecration of the bread and of the wine, which strikingly represents the separation of his blood from his body, I have likewise shown. Finally, I have shown you, that the officiating priest performs these mysteries by command of Christ, and in memory of what he did at the last supper, and what he endured on Mount Calvary: DO THIS IN MEMORY OF ME. Nothing, then, is wanting in the holy mass to constitute it the true and propitiatory sacrifice of the new law; a sacrifice which as much surpasses, in dignity and efficacy, the sacrifices of the old law, as the chief priest and victim of it, the incarnate Son of God, surpasses, in these respects, the sons of Aaron, and the animals which they sacrificed. No wonder then that, as the fathers of the church have, from the earliest times, borne testimony to the reality of this sacrifice,* they

* St. Justin, who appears to have been, in his youth, contemporary with St. John the Evangelist, says, "Christ instituted a sacrifice in bread and wine, which Christians offer up in every place," quoting Malachy, i. 19. Dialog. cum Tryphon. St. Irenæus, whose master, Polycarp, was a disciple of that evangelist, says, that "Christ, in consecrating bread and wine, has instituted the sacrifice of the new law, which the church received from the apostles, according to the prophecy of Malachy." L. iv. 32. St. Cyrian calls the eucharist "a true and full sacrifice;" and says, that "as Melchisedech offered bread and wine, so Christ offered the same, namely, his body and blood." Epist. 63. St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin; St. Ambrose, &c., are equally clear and expressive on this point. The last-mentioned calls this sacrifice by the name of *missa*, so do St. Leo, St. Gregory, our Venerable Bede, &c.

should speak in such lofty terms of its awfulness and efficacy : no wonder that the church of God should retain and revere it, as the most sacred, and the very essential part of her sacred liturgy :—and I will add, no wonder that Satan should have persuaded Martin Luther to attempt to abrogate this worship, as that which is most of all offensive to him.*

The main arguments of the Bishops of London and Lincoln, and of Dr. Hey, with other Protestant controvertists, against the sacrifice of the new law, are drawn from St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, where, comparing the sacrifice of our Saviour with the sacrifice of the Mosaic law, the apostle says, "That Christ being become a high priest of the good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is, not of this creation : neither by the blood of goats or of calves, but by his own blood, entered once into the Holies, having obtained eternal redemption." Heb. ix. 11, 12. "Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the Holies every year," v. 25. Again, St. Paul says, "Every priest standeth indeed, daily ministering, and often offering the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins : but this man offering one sacrifice for sins, sitteth at the right hand of God," chap. x. 11, 12.—Such are the texts, at full length, which modern Protestants urge so confidently against the sacrifice of the new law, but in which neither the ancient fathers, nor any other description of Christians, but themselves, can see any argument against it. In fact, if these passages be read in their context, it will appear that the apostle is barely proving to the Hebrews, (whose lofty ideas and strong tenaciousness of their ancient rites, appear from different parts of the Acts of the Apostles,) how infinitely superior the sacrifice of Christ is to those of the Mosaic law ; particularly from the circumstance, which he repeats, in different forms, namely, that there was a necessity of their sacrifices being *often repeated*, which, after all, *could not*, of themselves, and independently of the one they prefigured, *take away sin* ; whereas the latter, namely, Christ's death on the cross, *obliterated at once* the sins of those who availed themselves of it. Such is the argument of St. Paul to the Jews, respecting their sacrifices, which in no sort militates against the sacrifice of the mass ; this being the same sacrifice with that of the cross, as to the *victim* that is

* Luther, in his Book de Unct. et Miss. Priv. tom. vii. fol. 228, gives an account of the motive which induced him to suppress the sacrifice of the mass among his followers.—He says that the Devil appeared to him at midnight, and, in a long conference with him, the whole of which he relates, convinced him that the worship of the mass is idolatry. See Letters to a Prebendary, Let. v.

offered and as to the *priest* who offers it, differing in nothing but the manner of offering;* in the one there being a real, and in the other a mystical, effusion of the victim's blood.† So far from invalidating the Catholic doctrine on this point, the apostle confirms it in this very epistle; where, quoting and repeating the sublime psalm of the royal prophet concerning the Messiah: *Thou art a priest for ever* ACCORDING TO THE ORDER OF MELCHISEDECH, Ps. cix. alias cx.: he enlarges on the dignity of this sacerdotal patriarch, to whom Aaron himself, the high priest of the old law, paid tribute, as to his superior, through his ancestor Abraham. Heb. v.—vii. Now in what did this *Order of Melchisedech* consist? In what, I ask, did this sacrifice differ from those which Abraham himself, and the other patriarchs, as well as Aaron and his sons, offered? Let us consult the sacred text, as to what it says concerning this royal priest, when he came to meet Abraham, on his return from victory: “Melchisedech, the king of Salem, bringing forth BREAD AND WINE, for he was the priest of the Most High God; blessed him.” Gen. xiv. 18. It was then in offering up a *sacrifice of bread and wine*,‡ instead of slaughtered animals, that Melchisedech's sacrifice differed from the generality of those in the old law, and that he prefigured the sacrifice which Christ was to institute in the new law, from the same elements. No other sense but this can be elicited from the Scripture as to this matter; and, accordingly, the holy fathers unanimously adhere to this meaning.§

In finishing this letter, I cannot help, dear sir, making two or three short but important observations. The first regards the deception practised on the unlearned by the above-named bishops, Dr. Hey, and most other Protestant controvertists, in talking on every occasion of the *Popish mass*, and representing the tenets of the real presence, transubstantiation, and a subsisting true propiatory sacrifice, as peculiar to *Catholics*; whereas, if they are persons of any learning, they must know that these are, and ever have been held, by all the Christians in the world, except the comparatively few who inhabit the northern parts of Europe. I speak of the Melchite or common Greeks of Turkey, the Armenians, the Muscovites, the Nestorians, the Eutychians, or Jacobites, the Christians of St. Thomas in India, the Copts and Ethiopians in Africa, all of whom maintain each of those arti-

* Concil. Trid. Sess. xxii. cap. 2.

† Cat. ad. Paroc. P. ii. p. 81.

‡ The sacrifice of Cain, Gen. iv. 3, and that ordered in Levit. ii. 1, of flour, oil, and incense, prove that inanimate things were sometimes of old offered in sacrifice.

§ St. Cypr. Ep. 63 St. Aug. on Ps. xxxiii. St. Chrys. Hom. 35. St. Hierom, Ep. 126, &c.

cles, and almost every other on which Protestants differ from Catholics, with as much firmness as we ourselves do. Now as these sects have been totally separated from the Catholic Church, some of them eight hundred, and some fourteen hundred years, it is impossible they should have derived any recent doctrines or practices from her; and, divided as they ever have been among themselves, they cannot have combined to adopt them. On the other hand, since the rise of Protestantism, attempts have been repeatedly made to draw some or other of them to the novel creed, but all in vain. Melancthon translated the Augsburg Confession of Faith into Greek, and sent it to Joseph, Patriarch of Constantinople, hoping he would adopt it; whereas the patriarch did not so much as acknowledge the receipt of the present.* Fourteen years later, Crusius, Professor of Tubigen, made a similar attempt on Jeremy, the successor of Joseph, who wrote back, requesting him to write no more on the subject, at the same time making the most explicit declaration of his belief in the seven sacraments, the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, &c.†—In the middle of the seventeenth century, fresh overtures being made to the Greeks by the Calvinists of Holland, the most convincing evidence of the orthodox belief of all the above-mentioned communions, on the articles in question, were furnished by them: the original of which was deposited in the French king's library at Paris.‡ I have to remark, in the second place, on the inconsistencies of the Church of England, respecting this point: she has *priests*,§ but *no sacrifice!* she has *altars*,|| but *no victim!* she has an *essential consecration* of the sacramental elements,¶ *without any the least effect upon them!* Not to dive deeper into this chaos, I would gladly ask Bishop Porteus; what hinders a deacon, or even a layman, from consecrating the sacramental bread and wine, *as validly* as a priest or a bishop can do, agreeably to his system of consecration? There is evidently no obstacle at all, except such as the mutable law of the land interposes. In the last place, I think it right to quote some of the absurd and irreligious invectives of the renowned Dr. Hey against the holy mass, because they show the extreme ignorance of our religion which generally prevails among the most learned Protestants who write

† Sheffmac. tom. ii. p. 7.

† Ibid.

‡ Perpetuit. de la Foi. § See the Rubrics of the Communion Service.

|| See ditto, in Sparrow's Collec. p. 20.

¶ "If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent, before all have communicated, the priest is to consecrate more." Rubrics.

N. B. Bishop Warburton and Bishop Cleaver earnestly contend, that the eucharist is *a feast upon a sacrifice*; but as, in their dread of Popery, they admit no change, nor even the reality of a victim, their feast is proved to be an imaginary banquet on an ideal viand.

against it. The doctor first describes the mass as "blasphemous, in dragging down Christ from heaven," according to his expression; 2dly, as "pernicious in giving men an easy way," as he pretends, "of evading all their moral and religious duties;" 3dly, "as promoting infidelity;" in conformity with which latter assertion, he maintains, that "most Romanists of letters and science are infidels." He next proceeds seriously to *advise* Catholics to abandon this part of their sacred liturgy, namely, the adorable sacrifice of the new law; and he then concludes his theological farce with the following ridiculous threats against this sacrifice: "If the Romanists will not listen to our brotherly exhortations, let them *fear our threats*. The rage of *paying for masses* will not last for ever; as *men improve (by the French revolution)* it will continue to grow weaker: as philosophy (*that of Atheism*) rises, masses will *sink in price*, and superstition pine away."* I wish I had an opportunity of telling the learned professor, that I should have expected, from the failure of Patriarch Luther, counselled and assisted as he was by Satan himself, in his attempts to abolish the holy mass, he would have been more cautious in dealing prophetic threats against it! In fact, he has lived to see this divine worship *publicly* restored in every part of Christendom where it was proscribed, when he vented his menaces; for as to the *private celebration of mass*, this was never intermitted, not even in the depth of the gloomiest dungeons, and where no pay could be had by the Catholic priesthood. What other religious worship, I ask, could have triumphed over such a persecution? The same will be the case in the latter days, when *the man of sin shall have indignation against the covenant of the sanctuary—and shall take away the continual sacrifice*, Dan. xi. 30, 34; for even then, the *mystical woman who is clothed with the sun, and has the moon under her feet—shall fly into the wilderness*, Rev. xii. 1, 6, and perform the divine mysteries of a God incarnate in caverns and catacombs, as she did in early times; till that happy day, when her heavenly Spouse, casting aside those sacramental veils under which his love now shrouds him, shall shine *forth in the glory of God the Father, the Judge of the living and the dead*.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

* Dr. Hey's Theol. Lectures, vol. iv. p. 385. The professor tells us in a note, that this lecture was delivered in the year 1792, the hey-day of that antichristian and anti-social philosophy, which attempted, through an ocean of blood, to subvert every altar and every throne.

LETTER XLI.—TO THE REV. ROBERT CLAYTON, M.A.
ON ABSOLUTION FROM SIN.

REVEREND SIR—

I PERCEIVE that, in selecting objections against the church, although you chiefly follow Bishop Porteus, who mixes, in the same chapter, the heterogeneous subjects of the mass and the forgiveness of sins, you adopt some others from the Tracts of Bishop Watson, and even from writers of such little repute as the Rev. C. De Coetlogan. This preacher, in venting the horrid calumnies which a great proportion of other Protestant preachers and controvertists of different sects, equally with himself, instil into the minds of their ignorant hearers and readers, expresses himself as follows: "In the Church of Rome, you may purchase not only pardon for sins already committed, but for those that shall be committed; so that any one may promise himself impunity, upon paying the rate that is set upon any sin he hath a mind to commit.—And so truly is Popery the mother of abominations, that if any one hath wherewithal to pay, he may not only be indulged in his present transgressions, but may even be *permitted to transgress in future.*"* And are these shameless calumniators real Christians, who believe in a judgment to come? And do they expect to make us Catholics renounce our religion, by representing it to us as the very reverse of what we know it to be?—It is true, Bishop Porteus, in his attack upon the Catholic doctrine of absolution and justification, does not go the lengths of the pulpit declaimer above quoted, and of the other controvertists alluded to; still he is guilty of

* Abominations of the Church of Rome, p. 13. The preacher goes on to state the sums of money for which, he says, Catholics believe they may commit the most atrocious crimes: "For incest, &c., five sixpences; for debauching a virgin, six sixpences; for perjury, ditto; for him who kills his father, mother, &c., one crown and five groats!"—This curious account is borrowed from the *Taxa Cancellariæ Romanæ*, a book which has been frequently published, though with great variations both as to the crimes and the prices, by the Protestants of Germany and France, and as frequently condemned by the See of Rome. It is proper that Mr. Clayton and his friend should know, that the pope's court of chancery has no more to do, nor pretends to have any more to do, with the *forgiveness of sins*, than his majesty's court of chancery does. In case there ever was the least real groundwork for this vile book, which I cannot find there was, the money paid into the papal chancery could be nothing else but the *fees of office*, on restoring certain culprits to the *certain privileges* which they had forfeited by their crimes. When the proceedings in Doctors' Commons, in a case of incest, are suspended, (as I have known them suspended during the whole life of one of the accused parties,) fees of office are always required; but would it not be a vile calumny to say, that leave to commit incest may be purchased in England for certain sums of money?

much gross misrepresentation of it. As his language on the subject is confused, if not contradictory, I will briefly state what the Catholic Church has ever believed, and has solemnly defined in her last general council, concerning it.

The Council of Trent teaches, that "All men lost their innocence, and became defiled, and *children of wrath*, in the prevarication of Adam;"—that, "not only the Gentiles were unable by the force of nature, but that even the Jews were unable, by the law of Moses, to rise, notwithstanding free-will was not extinct in them, however weakened and depraved;"*—that, "The heavenly Father of mercy and God of all consolation sent his Son, Jesus Christ, to men, in order to redeem both Jews and Gentiles;"†—that, "Though he died for all, yet all do not receive the benefit of his death; but only those to whom the merit of his passion is communicated;"‡—that, for this purpose, "Since the preaching of the Gospel, baptism, or the desire of it, is necessary;"§—that, "The beginning of justification, in adult persons, (those who are come to the use of reason,) is to be derived from God's preventing grace, through Jesus Christ, by which, without any merits of their own, they are called; so that they who, by their sins, were averse from God, are, by his exciting and assisting grace, prepared to convert themselves to their justification, by freely consenting to, and co-operating with his grace;"||—that, "Being excited and assisted by divine grace, and receiving faith from hearing, they are freely moved towards God, believing the things which have been divinely revealed and promised—they are excited to hope that God will be merciful to them for Christ's sake, and they begin to love him, as the fountain of all justice; and therefore are moved to a certain hatred and detestation of sins;"—lastly, "They resolve, on receiving baptism, to begin a new life, and keep God's commandments."¶—Such is the doctrine of the church concerning the justification of the adult in baptism. With respect to the pardon of sins committed after baptism, the church teaches that, "The penance of a Christian, after his fall, is very different from that of baptism, and that it consists not only in refraining from sins, and sincerely detesting them; that is, in a *contrite and humble heart*; but also in a sacramental *confession* of them, in desire at least, and at a proper time; and the priestly *absolution*. Likewise in *satisfaction*; by fasting, alms, prayers, and other pious exercises of a spiritual life; not indeed for the *eternal punishment*, which, together with the crime, is remitted in the sacrament, or the desire of the sacrament, but *for the tem.*

* Sess. vi. cap. i.

§ Cap. iv.

† Cap. ii.

|| Cap. v.

‡ Cap. iii.

¶ Cap. vi.

poral punishment, which the Scripture teaches is not always and wholly remitted, as in baptism.* Such is, and always was, the doctrine of the Catholic Church, which thus ascribes the whole glory of man's justification, both in its beginning and its progress, to God, through Jesus Christ; in opposition to Pelagians and *modern* Lutherans, who attribute the beginning of conversion to the human creature. On the other hand, this doctrine leaves man in possession of his free-will, for co-operating in this great work; and thereby rejects the pernicious tenet of the Calvinists, who deny free-will, and ascribe even our sins to God. In short, the Catholic Church equally condemns the enthusiasm of the Methodist, who fancies himself justified, in some unexpected instant, without faith, hope, charity, or contrition; and the presumption of the unconverted sinner, who supposes that exterior good works and the reception of the sacrament will avail him, without any degree of the above-mentioned divine virtues. Such, I say, is the Catholic doctrine, in spite of all the calumnies of the Rev. C. De Coetlogan and Bishop Porteus.— This prelate is chiefly bent on disproving the necessity of sacramental confession, and on depriving the sacerdotal absolution of all efficacy whatsoever. Accordingly, he maintains, that when Christ *breathed upon his apostles, and said to them; Receive ye the Holy Ghost, WHOSE SINS YOU SHALL FORGIVE, THEY ARE FORGIVEN TO THEM; AND WHOSE SINS YOU SHALL RETAIN, THEY ARE RETAINED*, John xx. 22, 23, he did not give them any real power to remit sins, but only “a power of declaring who were truly penitent, and of inflicting miraculous punishment on sinners; as likewise of preaching the word of God,” &c.† And is this, I appeal to you, reverend sir, following the plain natural sense of the written word? But, instead of arguing the case myself, I will produce an authority against the bishop's vague and arbitrary gloss on this decisive passage, which I think he cannot object to or withstand; it is no other than that of the renowned Protestant champion, Chillingworth. Treating of this text, he says: “Can any man be so unreasonable as to imagine, that when our Saviour, in so solemn a manner, having first breathed upon his disciples, thereby conveying and insinuating the Holy Ghost into their hearts, renewed unto them, or rather confirmed that glorious commission, &c., whereby he delegated to them an authority of binding and loosing sins upon earth, &c., can any one think, I say, so unworthily of our Saviour, as to esteem these words of his for no better than compliment? Therefore, in obedience to his gracious will, and as I am warranted and enjoined

* John, xx. 22, 23.

† P 45.

oy my holy mother, the Church of England, I beseech you, that by your practice and use, you will not suffer that commission, which Christ hath given to his ministers, to be a vain form of words, without any sense under them. When you find yourselves charged and oppressed, &c., have recourse to your spiritual physician, and freely disclose the nature and malignancy of your disease, &c. And come not to him, only with such mind as you would go to a learned man, as one that can speak comfortable things to you: but as to one that 'hath authority delegated to him from God himself, to absolve and acquit you of your sins.'”*

Having quoted this great Protestant authority, against the prelate's cavils concerning sacerdotal absolution, I shall produce one or two more of the same sort, and then return to the more direct proofs of the doctrine under consideration. The Lutherans, then, who are the elder branch of the Reformation, in their Confession of Faith, and Apology for that Confession, expressly teach, that absolution is no less a sacrament than baptism and the Lord's supper; that *particular absolution* is to be retained in confession; that to reject it is the error of the Novatian heretics; and that, by the power of the keys, Matt. xvi. 19, *sins are remitted*, not only in the sight of the church, but also *in the sight of God*.† Luther himself, in his catechism, requires that the penitent in confession should expressly declare, that he believes the “forgiveness of the priest to be the forgiveness of God.”‡ What can Bishop Porteus and other modern Protestants say to all this, except that Luther and his disciples were infected with Popery? Let us then proceed to inquire into the doctrine of the church itself, of which he is one of the most distinguished heads. In *The Order of the Communion*, composed by Cranmer, and published by Edward VI. the parson, vicar, or curate is to proclaim this among other things: “If there be any of you whose conscience is troubled and grieved at any thing, lacking comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned priest, and confess and open his sin and grief secretly, &c., and, that of us, as a minister of God and of the church, he may receive comfort and absolution.§ Conformably with this admonition, it is ordained in the *Common Prayer Book*, that when the minister visits any sick person, the “latter should be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feels his conscience troubled with any weighty matter; after which confession, the priest shall absolve

* Serm. vii. Religion of Prot. pp. 408, 409.

† Confess. Augs. Art. xi. xii. xiii. Apol.

‡ In Catech. Parv. See also Luther's Table Talk, c. xviii. on Auricular Confession.

§ Bishop Sparrow's Collect. p. 20.

him, if he humbly and heartily desire it, after this sort: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy, forgive thee thine offences; and by his authority committed to me, I ABSOLVE THEE FROM ALL THY SINS, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen."* I may add, that soon after James I. became, at the same time, the member and the head of the English church, he desired his prelates to inform him in the conference at Hampton Court, what authority this church claimed in the article of absolution from sin? when Archbishop Whitgift began to entertain him with an account of the general confession and absolution in the communion service, with which the king not being satisfied, Bancroft, at that time Bishop of London, fell on his knees, and said, "It becomes us to deal plainly with your majesty; there is also in the book, a more particular and personal absolution in the Visitation of the Sick. Not only the Confession of Augusta, (Augsburg,) Bohemia and Saxony, retain and allow it, but also Mr. Calvin doth approve both such a general and such a private confession and absolution." To this the king answered, "I exceedingly well approve it, being an apostolical and godly ordinance, given in the name of Christ, to one that desireth it, upon the clearing of his conscience."†

I have signified that there are other passages of Scripture besides that quoted above from John xx. in proof of the authority exercised by the Catholic Church, in the forgiveness of sins; such as Matt. xvi. 19, where Christ gives the keys of the kingdom of heaven to Peter; and chap. xviii. 18, where he declares to all his apostles: "Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." But here also, Bishop Porteus and modern Protestants distort the plain meaning of Scripture, and say, that no other power is expressed by these words, than those of inflicting miraculous punishments, and of preaching the word of God!—Admitting, however, it were possible to affix so foreign a meaning to these texts, I

* Order for the Visitation of the Sick. N. B. To encourage the secret confession of sins, the Church of England has made a canon, requiring her ministers not to reveal the same. See *Canones Eccles. A. D. 1693*, n. 113.

† Fuller's *Ch. Hist. B. x. p. 9*. See the defence of Bancroft's successor in the See of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, who endeavored to enforce auricular confession, in Heylin's *Life of Laud*, P. ii. p. 415. It appears from this writer, that Laud was confessor to the Duke of Buckingham, and from Burnet, that Bishop Morley was Confessor to the Duchess of York, when a Protestant. History of his own Times.

would gladly ask the bishop, why, after ordaining the priests of his church by this very form of words, he afterwards, by a separate form, commissions them to preach the word, and to minister?* “No one,” exclaims the bishop, “but God, can forgive sins.” True; but as he has annexed the forgiveness of sins committed before baptism, to the reception of this sacrament with the requisite dispositions: “Do penance,” said St. Peter to the Jews, “and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins,” Acts ii. 38; so he is pleased to forgive sins committed after baptism, by means of contrition, confession, satisfaction, and the priest’s absolution.

Against the obligation of confessing sins, which is so evidently sanctioned in Scripture, “Many that believed, came and confessed, and declared their deeds,” Acts xix. 18; and so expressly commanded therein, “Confess your sins one to another,” James v. 16; the bishop contends, that, “It is not knowing a person’s sins, that can qualify the priest to give him absolution, but knowing he hath repented of them.”† In refutation of this objection, I do not ask: Why, then, does the English church move the dying man to confess his sins? but I say, that the priest, being vested by Christ with a judicial power to bind or to loose, to forgive or to retain sins, cannot exercise that power, without taking cognizance of the cause on which he is to pronounce, and without judging in particular of the dispositions of the sinner, especially as to his sorrow for his sins, and resolution to refrain from them in future. Now this knowledge can only be gained from the penitent’s own confession. From this may be gathered, whether his offences are those of frailty or of malice, whether they are accidental or habitual; in which latter case, they are ordinarily to be retained, till his amendment gives proof of his real repentance. Confession is also necessary, to enable the minister of the sacrament to decide, whether a public reparation for the crimes committed, be or be not requisite; and whether there is, or is not restitution to be made to the neighbor who has been injured in person, property, or reputation. Accordingly, it is well known that such restitutions are frequently made by those who make use of sacramental confession, and very seldom by those who do not use it. I say nothing of the incalculable advantage it is to the sinner, in the business of his conversion, to have a confidential and experienced pastor, to withdraw the veils behind which self-love is apt to conceal his favorite passions and worse crimes, and to expose to him the enormity of his guilt, of which before he had perhaps but an imperfect notion; and to prescribe to him

* See the Form of Ordaining Priests.

† P. 46

the proper remedies for his entire spiritual cure.—After all, it is for the Holy Catholic Church, with whom the word of God and the sacraments were deposited, by her divine Spouse, Jesus Christ, to explain the sense of the former, and the constituents of the latter; and this church has uniformly taught, that confession, and the priest's absolution, where they can be had, are required for the pardon of the penitent sinner, as well as contrition, and a firm purpose of amendment. But, to believe the bishop, our church does not require contrition at all, for the justification of the sinner, though she has declared it to be one of the necessary parts of sacramental penance, nor "any dislike to sin or love to God."* I will make no further answer to this shameful calumny, than by referring you and your friends to my above citations from the Council of Trent. In these, you have seen that she requires "a hatred and detestation of sin," that is, "*a contrite and humble heart, which God never despises;*" and, moreover, an incipient love of God, as the fountain of all justice."

Finally, his lordship has the confidence to maintain, that "The primitive church did not hold confession and absolution of this kind to be necessary," and that "Private confession was never thought of as a command of God, for 900 years after Christ, nor determined to be such till after 1200."† The few following quotations from ancient fathers and councils, will convince our Salopian friends, what sort of trust they are to place in this prelate's assertions on theological subjects. Tertullian, who lived in the age next to that of the apostles, and is the earliest Latin writer whose works we possess, writes thus: "If you withdraw from confession, think of hell-fire, which confession extinguishes."‡ Origen, who wrote soon after him, inculcates the necessity of confessing our most secret sins, even those of thought,§ and advises the sinner "to look carefully about him in choosing the person to whom he is to confess his sins."|| St. Basil, in the fourth century, wrote thus: "It is necessary to disclose our sins to those to whom the dispensation of the divine mysteries is committed."¶ St. Paulinus, the disciple of St. Ambrose, relates, that this holy doctor used to "weep over the penitents whose confessions he heard, but never disclosed their sins to any but to God alone."** The great St. Augustin writes, "Our merciful God wills us to confess in this world, that we may not be confounded in the other;"†† and elsewhere he says, "Let no one say to himself, I do penance to God in private. Is it then

* P. 47.

§ Hom. 3 in Levit.

** In Vit. Ambros.

+ Ibid.

|| Hom. 2 in Ps. xxxvii.

†† Hom. 20.

† Lib. de Pœnit.

¶ Rule 229.

in vain that Christ has said, 'Whatsoever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven?' Is it in vain that the keys have been given to the church?"* I could produce a long list of other passages to the same effect, from fathers and doctors, and also from councils of the church, anterior to the periods he has assigned to the commencement and confirmation of the doctrine in question; but I will have recourse to a shorter, and perhaps a more convincing proof, that this doctrine could not have been introduced into the church, at any period whatsoever subsequent to that of Christ and his apostles. My argument is this: it is impossible it should have been at any time introduced, if it was not from the first necessary. The pride of the human heart would at all times have revolted at the imposition of such a humiliation, as that of confessing all its most secret sins, if Christians had not previously believed that this rite is of divine institution, and even necessary for the pardon of them. Supposing, however, that the clergy, at some period, had fascinated the laity, kings and emperors, as well as peasants, to submit to this yoke; it will still remain to be accounted for, how they took it up themselves; for monks, and priests, and bishops, and the pope himself, must equally confess their sins, with the meanest of the people. And if even this could be explained, it would still be necessary to show, how the numerous organized churches of the Nestorians and Eutychians spread over Asia and Africa, from Bagdad to Axium, all of whom broke from the communion of the Catholic Church in the fifth century, took up the notion of penance being a sacrament, and that confession and absolution are essential parts of it, as they all believe at the present day. With respect to the main body of the Greek Christians, they separated from the Latins much about the period which our prelate has set down for the rise of this doctrine; but though they reproached the Latin Christians with shaving their beards, singing Allelujah at wrong seasons, and other such like minutiae, they never accused them of any error respecting private confession or sacerdotal absolution. To support the bishop's assertions on this and many other points, it will be necessary to suppose, as I have said before, that a hundred million of Greek and Latin Christians lost their senses on some one and the same day or night!

In finishing this letter, I take leave, reverend sir, to advert to the case of some of your respectable society, who, to my knowledge, are convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, but are deterred from embracing it, by the dread of that sacrament of which I have been treating. Their pitiable case is by no

* Hom. 49.

means singular; we continually find persons, who are not only desirous of reconciling themselves to their true mother, the Catholic Church, but also of laying *the sins of their youth, and their ignorances*, Ps. xxiv., alias xxv. 7, at the feet of some one or other of her faithful ministers, convinced that thereby they would procure ease to their afflicted souls; yet have not the courage to do this. Let the persons alluded to humbly and fervently pray to *the Giver of all good gifts* for his strengthening grace, and let them be persuaded of the truth of what an unexceptionable witness says, who had experienced, while he was a Catholic, the interior joy he describes; where, persuading the penitent to go to his confessor, "not as to one that can speak comfortable and quieting words to him, but as to one that hath authority delegated to him from God himself, to absolve and acquit him of his sins," he goes on; "If you shall do this, assure your souls, that the understanding of man is not able to conceive that transport, and excess of joy and comfort, which shall accrue to that man's heart, who is persuaded he hath been made partaker of this blessing."* On the other hand, if such persons are convinced, as I am satisfied they are, that Christ's words to his apostles, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall remit, they are remitted," mean what they express, they must know, that confession is necessary to buy off overwhelming confusion, as the fathers I have quoted signify, at the great day of manifestation, and, with this, never-ending punishment.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XLII.—TO THE REV. ROBERT CLAYTON.

ON INDULGENCES.

REVEREND SIR—

I TRUST you will pardon me if I do not send a special answer to the objections you have stated against my last letter to you, because you will find the substance of them answered in this and my next letter, concerning indulgences and purgatory. Bishop Porteus reverses the proper order of these subjects, by treating first of the latter: indeed his ideas are much confused, and his knowledge very imperfect concerning them both. This prelate describes an indulgence to be, in the belief of Catholics, (without, however, giving any authority whatever for his description,) "a transfer of the overplus of the saint's goodness joined with the merits of Christ, &c., by the pope, as head of

* Chillingworth, Sermor vii p 409.

the church, towards the remission of their sins, who fulfil, in their life-time, certain conditions appointed by him, or whose friends will fulfil them, after their death."* He speaks of it as "a method of making poor wretches believe, that wickedness here may become consistent with happiness hereafter—that repentance is explained away or overlooked among other things joined with it, as saying so many prayers, and paying so much money."† Some of the bishop's friends have published much the same description of indulgences, but in more perspicuous language. One of them, in his attempt to show that each pope, in succession, has been the *Man of Sin*, or Antichrist, says, "Besides their own personal vices, by their indulgences, pardons, and dispensations, which they claim a power from Christ of granting, and which they have sold in so infamous a manner, they have encouraged all manner of vile and wicked practices. They have contrived numberless methods of making a holy life useless, and to assure the most abandoned of salvation, provided they will sufficiently pay the priests for absolution."‡ With the same disregard of charity and truth, another eminent divine speaks of the matter thus: "The Papists have taken a notable course to secure men from the fear of hell, that of penances and indulgences.—To those, who will pay the price, absolutions are to be had for the most abominable and not to be named villainies, and license also for not a few wickednesses."§ In treating of a subject, the most intricate of itself among the common topics of controversy, and which has been so much confused and perplexed by the misrepresentations of our opponents, it will be necessary, for giving you, reverend sir, and my other Salopian friends, a clear and just idea of the matter, that I should advance, step by step, in my explanation of it. In this manner I propose showing you, first, what an indulgence is not, and next, what it really is.

I. An indulgence, then, never was conceived by any Catholic to be a leave to commit a sin of any kind, as De Coetlogan, Bishop Fowler, and others, charge them with believing. The first principles of natural religion must convince every rational being, that God himself cannot give leave to commit sin. The idea of such a license takes away that of his sanctity, and of course, that of his very being. II. No Catholic ever believed it to be a pardon for future sins, as Mrs. Hannah More, and a greater part of other Protestant writers, represent the matter.

* Confut. p. 53.

† P. 54. Benson on the Man of Sin, repub. by Bishop Watson, Tracts vol. v. p. 273.

‡ Bishop Fowler's Design of Christianity, Tracts, vol. vi. p. 382.

§ Benson on the Man of Sin. Collect.

This lady describes the Catholics as “procuring indemnity for future gratifications by temporary abstractions and indulgences, purchased at the court of Rome.”* Some of her fraternity, indeed, have blasphemously written, “Believers ought not to mourn for sin, because it was pardoned before it was committed:”† but every Catholic knows, that Christ himself could not pardon sin before it was committed, because this would imply, that he forgave the sinner without repentance. III. An indulgence, according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, is not, and does not include, the pardon of any sin at all, little or great, past, present, or to come, or the eternal punishment due to it, as all Protestants suppose. Hence if the pardon of sin is mentioned in any indulgence, this means nothing more than the remission of the *temporary punishments* annexed to such sin. IV. We do not believe an indulgence to imply any exemption from repentance, as Bishop Porteus slanders us; for this is always enjoyed or implied in the grant of it, and is indispensably necessary for the effect of every grace:‡ nor from the works of penance, or other good works; because our church teaches, that the “life of a Christian ought to be a perpetual penance,”§ and that to *enter into life*, we must *keep God’s commandments*,|| and must *abound in every good work*.¶ Whether an obligation of all this can be reconciled with the articles of being “justified by faith only,”** and that “works done before grace partake of the nature of sin,”†† I do not here inquire. V. It is inconsistent with our doctrine of *inherent justification*,‡‡ to believe, as the same prelate charges us, that the effect of an indulgence is to transfer “the overplus of the goodness,” or justification of the saints, by the ministry of the pope, to us Catholics on earth. Such an absurdity may be more easily reconciled with the system of Luther and other Protestants concerning *imputed justification*; which, being like a “clean, neat cloak, thrown over a filthy leper,”§§ may be conceived transferable from one person to another. Lastly, whereas the Council of Trent calls indulgences

* *Strictures on Female Education*, vol. ii. p. 239.

† *Eaton’s Honeycomb of Salvation*. See also Sir Richard Hill’s *Letters*.

‡ *Concil. Trid. Sess. vi. 4. c. 13, &c.* § *Sess. xiv. De Extr. Unc.*

|| *Sess. vi. can. 19.*

¶ *Sess. vi. cap. 16.—N. B.* There are eight indulgences granted to the Catholics of England, at the chief festivals in every year; the conditions of which are, confession *with sincere repentance*, the holy communion, alms to the poor, (without distinction of their religion,) prayers for the church and strayed souls, the peace of Christendom, and the blessing of God on this nation; finally, a disposition to hear the word of God, and to assist the sick. See *Laity’s Directory*, the *Garden of the Soul*, and other Catholic books of prayer.

** *Art. XI. of 39 Art.*

†† *Art. XIII*

‡‡ *Trid. Sess. vi. can. 11.*

§§ *Beanus de Justif.*

heavenly treasures,* we hold that it would be a sacrilegious crime in any person whomsoever, to be concerned in buying or selling them. I am far, however, reverend sir, from denying that indulgences have ever been sold :†—alas, what is so sacred that the avarice of man has not put up for sale!—Christ himself was sold, and that by an apostle, for thirty pieces of silver. I do not retort upon you the advertisements I frequently see in the newspapers, about buying and selling benefices, with the cure of souls annexed to them, in your church; but this I contend for, that the Catholic Church, so far from sanctioning this detestable simony, has used her utmost pains, particularly in the General Councils of Lateran, Lyons, Vienne, and Trent, to prevent it.

To explain, now, in a clear and regular manner, what an indulgence is: I suppose, first, that no one will deny that a sovereign prince, in showing mercy to a capital convict, may either grant him a remission of all punishment, or may leave him subject to some lighter punishment; of course he will allow that the Almighty may act in either of these ways, with respect to sinners. . II. I equally suppose that no person who is versed in the Bible will deny, that many instances occur there of God's remitting the essential guilt of sin, and the eternal punishment due to it, and yet leaving a temporary punishment to be endured by the penitent sinner. Thus, for example, the sentence of spiritual death and everlasting torments was remitted to our first father, upon his repentance, but not that of corporal death. Thus, also, when God reversed his severe sentence against the idolatrous Israelites, he added, "Nevertheless, in the day, when I visit, I will visit their sin upon them." Exod. xxxii. 34. Thus, again, when the inspired Nathan said to the model of penitents, David, "The Lord hath put away thy sin," he added, "Nevertheless, the child that is born unto thee shall die." 2 Kings, alias Sam., xii. 14. Finally, when David's *heart smote him, after he had numbered the people*, the Lord, in pardoning him, offered him by his prophet, Gad, the choice of three temporal punishments, war, famine, or pestilence. Ibid. xxiv. III. The Catholic Church teaches that the same is still the common course of God's mercy and wisdom, in the forgiveness of sins committed after baptism, since she has formally condemned the proposition, that "every penitent sinner who, after the grace of justification, obtains the remission of his *guilt* and *eternal* pun-

* Sess. xxi. c. 9.

† The bishop tells us that he is in possession of an indulgence, lately granted at Rome for a small sum of money; but he does not say who granted it. In like manner he may buy forged bank notes and counterfeit coin in London, very cheap, if he pleases.

ishment, obtains also the remission of all *temporal* punishment.* The essential guilt and eternal punishment of sin, she declares, can only be expiated by the precious merits of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ; but a certain temporal punishment God reserves for the penitent himself to endure, "lest the easiness of his pardon should make him careless about falling back into sin."† Hence *satisfaction* for this temporal punishment has been instituted by Christ, as a part of the sacrament of penance; and hence "a Christian life," as the council has said above, "ought to be a penitential life." This council, at the same time, declares, that this very satisfaction for temporal punishment is *only efficacious through Jesus Christ*.‡ Nevertheless, as the promise of Christ to the apostles, to St. Peter in particular, and to the successors of the apostles, is unlimited: "WHATSOEVER you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven," Matt. xviii. 18—xvi. 19; hence the church believes and teaches, that her jurisdiction extends to this very satisfaction, so as to be able to remit it wholly or partially, in certain circumstances, by what is called an *INDULGENCE*.§ St. Paul exercised this power in behalf of the incestuous Corinthian, on his conversion, and at the prayers of the faithful, 2 Cor. ii. 10: and the church has claimed and exercised the same power ever since the time of the apostles down to the present.|| IV. Still this power, like that of absolution, is not arbitrary; there must be a just cause for the exercise of it; namely, the greater good of the penitent, or of the faithful, or of christendom in general: and there must be a certain proportion between the punishment remitted and the good work performed.¶ Hence, no one can ever be sure that he has gained the entire benefit of an indulgence, though he has performed all the conditions appointed for this end; ** and hence, of course, the pastors of the church will have to answer for it, if they take upon themselves to grant indulgences for unworthy or insufficient purposes. V. Lastly, it is the received doctrine of the church, that an indulgence, when truly gained, is not barely a relaxation of the canonical penance enjoined by the church, but also an actual remission by God himself, of the whole or part of the temporal punishment due to it in his sight. The contrary opinion, though held by some theologians, has been condemned by Leo X. †† and Pius VI.: ‡‡ and, indeed, without the effect here mentioned, indulgences would not be *heavenly treasures*, and the use of them

* Conc. Trid. Sess. vi. can. 30. † Sess. vi. cap. 7, 14. Sess. xiv. cap. 8.

‡ Ibid.

§ Trid. Sess. xxv. De Indulg.

|| Tertul. in Lib. ad Martyr. e. i. St. Cypr. l. 3. Epist. Concil. i. Nic. Ancy. &c.

¶ Bellarm. Lib. i. De Indulg. c. 12.

** Ibid.

†† Art. 19, inter. Art. Damn. Lutheri.

‡‡ Const. *Auctor Fid.*

would not *be beneficial*, but rather *pernicious* to Christians—contrary to two declarations of the last general council, as Bellarmine well argues.*

The above explanation of an indulgence, conformably to the doctrine of theologians, the decrees of popes, and the definitions of councils, ought to silence the objections, and suppress the sarcasms of Protestants on this head: but if it be not sufficient for such purpose, I would gladly argue a few points with them concerning their own indulgences. Methinks, reverend sir, I see you start at the mention of this, and hear you ask, what Protestants hold the doctrine of indulgences? I answer you, all the leading sects of them, with which I am acquainted. To begin with the Church of England. One of the first articles I meet with in its canons, regards *indulgences*, and the use that is to be made of the *money paid for them*.† In the synod of 1640, a canon was made which authorized the employment of commutation-money, namely, of such sums as were paid for indulgences from ecclesiastical penances, not only in charitable, but also in *public uses*.‡ At this period the established clergy were devoting all the money they could any way procure to the war which Charles I. was preparing, in defence of the church and state, against the Presbyterians of Scotland and England; so that, in fact, the money then raised by indulgences was employed in a real crusade. It has been before stated, that the second offspring of Protestantism, the Anabaptists, claimed an indulgence from God himself, in quality of his chosen ones, to despoil the impious, that is, all the rest of mankind, of their property; while the genuine Calvinists, of all times, have ever maintained, that Christ has set them free from the observance of every law, of God as well as of man. Agreeably to this tenet, Sir Richard

* L. i. c. 7, Prop. 4.

† “Ne qua fiat posthac solemniss penitentia commutatio nisi rationibus, gravioribusque de causis, &c. Deinde quod multa illa pecuniaria vel in relevam pauperum, vel in alios pios usus erogetur.” Articuli pro Clero, A. D. 1584, Sparrow, p. 194. The next article is, “De moderandis quibusdam indulgentiis pro celebratione matrimonii,” &c., p. 195. These indulgences were renewed under the same titles, in the synod held in London in 1597 Sparrow, pp. 248, 252.

‡ “That no chancellor, commissary, or official, shall have power to commute any penance, in whole or in part; but either together with the bishop, &c., that he shall give a full and just account of such commutations to the bishop, who shall see that all such moneys shall be disposed of for charitable and public uses, according to law—saving always to ecclesiastical officers their *due and accustomed fees*.” Canon 14. Sparrow, p. 368. In the remonstrance of grievances, presented by a committee of the Irish Parliament to Charles I., one of them was, that “several bishops received great sums of money *for commutation of penance*, (that is, for indulgences,) which they converted to their own use.” Commons’ Jour. quoted by Curry, vol. i. p. 169.

Hill says: "It is a most pernicious error of the schoolmen to distinguish sins according to *the fact*, and not according to the person."* With respect to Patriarch Luther, it is notorious that he was in the habit of granting indulgences, of various kinds, to himself and his disciples. Thus, for example, he dispensed with himself and Catharine Boren, from their vows of a religious life, and particularly that of celibacy, and even preached up adultery in his public sermons.† In like manner he published bulls, authorizing the robbery of bishops and bishopricks, and the murder of popes and cardinals. But the most celebrated of his indulgences is that which, in conjunction with Bucer and Melancthon, he granted to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, to marry a second wife, his former being living, in consideration, for so it is stated, of his protection of Protestantism.‡ But if any credit is due to this same Bucer, who, for his learning, was invited by Cranmer and the Duke of Somerset into England, and made the Divinity Professor of Cambridge, the whole business of the pretended Reformation was an indulgence for libertinism. His words are these: "The greater part of the people seem only to have embraced the gospel, in order to shake off the yoke of discipline and the obligation of fasting, penance, &c., which lay upon them in Popery, and to live at their pleasure, enjoying their lusts and lawless appetites without control. Hence they lent a willing ear to the doctrine, that we are saved by faith alone, and not by good works, having no relish for them."§

I am yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XLIII.—TO THE REV. ROBERT CLAYTON, M. A.

ON PURGATORY, AND PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

REVEREND SIR—

IN the natural order of our controversies, this is the proper place to treat of purgatory and prayers for the dead. On this subject, Bishop Porteus begins with saying, "There is no Scripture proof of the existence of purgatory; heaven and hell we read of perpetually in the Bible; but purgatory we never meet with; though surely, if there be such a place, Christ and his apostles would not have concealed it from us."|| I might ex-

* Fletcher's Checks, vol. iii.

† "Si nolit Domina, veniat ancilla," &c. Serm. de Matrim. t. v.

‡ This infamous indulgence, with the deeds belonging to it, was published from the original by permission of a descendant of the landgrave, and republished by Bossuet. Variat. book vi.

§ Bucer, De Regn. Christ. l. i. c. 4.

|| Confut. p. 48.

pose the inconclusiveness of this argument by the following parallel one: The Scripture nowhere commands us to keep the first day of the week holy; we perpetually read of sanctifying the Sabbath or Saturday, but never meet with the Sunday as a day of obligation; though, if there be such an obligation, Christ and his apostles would not have concealed it from us! I might likewise answer, with the bishop of Lincoln, that the inspired epistles, (and I may add the gospels also,) "are not to be considered as regular treatises upon the Christian religion."* But I meet the objection in front, by saying, first, that the apostles did teach their converts the doctrine of purgatory, among their other doctrines; as St. Chrysostom testifies, and the tradition of the church proves; secondly, that the same is demonstratively evinced from both the Old and New Testament.

To begin with the Old Testament: I claim a right of considering the two first books of Machabees, as an integral part of them, because the Catholic Church so considers them, † from whose tradition, and not from that of the Jews, as St. Augustin signifies, ‡ our sacred canon is to be formed. Now in the second of these books, it is related that the pious general, Judas Machabeus, sent 12,000 drachmas to Jerusalem, for sacrifices, to be offered for his soldiers, slain in battle; after which narration, the inspired writer concludes thus; "It is therefore a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins."—2 Mach. xii. 46. I need not point out the inseparable connection there is between the practice of praying for the dead, and the belief of an intermediate state of souls; since it is evidently needless to pray for the saints in heaven, and useless to pray for the reprobate in hell. But even Protestants, who do not receive the Books of Machabees as canonical Scripture, venerate them as authentic and holy records; as such, then, they bear conclusive testimony of the belief of God's people, on this head, 150 years before Christ. That the Jews were in the habit of practising some religious rites for the relief of the departed, at the beginning of Christianity, is clear from St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, where he mentions them, without any censure of them; § and that this people continue to pray for their deceased brethren, at the present time, may be learned from any living Jew.

To come now to the New Testament: What place, I ask, must that be, which our Saviour calls "Abraham's bosom," where the soul of Lazarus reposed, Luke, xvi. 22, among the

* Elem. of Theol. vol. i. p. 277.

† Concil. Cart. iii. St. Cyp. St. Aug.

Innoc. I. Gelas, &c.

‡ Lib. 18. De. Civ. Dei.

§ "Else what shall they do who are-baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not all? Why are they then baptized for them?" 1 Cor. x. 29.

other just souls, till he by his sacred passion paid their ransom? Not heaven, otherwise Dives would have addressed himself to God, instead of Abraham; but evidently a middle state, as St. Augustin teaches.* Again, of what place is it that St. Peter speaks, where he says, "Christ died for our sins, being put to death in the flesh, but enlivened in the spirit; in which also coming, he preached to those spirits that were in prison?" 1 Pet. iii. 19. It is evidently the same which is mentioned in the Apostles' Creed: *He descended into hell*—not the hell of the damned, to suffer their torments, as the blasphemer, Calvin, asserts,† but the prison above-mentioned, or Abraham's bosom; in short, a middle state. It is of this prison, according to the holy fathers,‡ our blessed Master speaks, where he says: "I tell thee, thou shalt not depart thence till thou hast paid the very last mite." Luke, xii. 59.—Lastly, what other sense can that passage of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians bear, than that which the holy fathers affix to it,§ where the apostle says, "The day of the Lord shall be revealed by fire, and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's works abide, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work be burnt, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire." 1 Cor. iii. 13, 15. The prelate's diversified attempts to explain away these scriptural proofs of purgatory, are really too feeble and inconsistent to merit being even mentioned. I might here add, as a further proof, the denunciation of Christ concerning *blasphemy against the Holy Ghost*, namely, that this sin "shall not be forgiven, either in this world or in the world to come," Mat. xii. 32; which words clearly imply that some sins are forgiven in the world to come, as the ancient fathers show;|| but I hasten to the proofs of this doctrine from tradition, on which head the prelate is so ill advised as to challenge Catholics.

II. Bishop Porteus then advances, that "purgatory, in the present popish sense, was not heard of for 400 years after Christ, nor universally received for 1000 years, nor almost in any other church than that of Rome to this day."¶ Here are no less than three egregious falsities, which I proceed to show; after stating what his lordship seems not to know, namely, that all which is necessary to be believed on this subject by Catholics, is contain-

* De Civit. Dei, l. xv. c. 20.

† Inst. l. ii. c. 16.

‡ Tertul. St. Cypr. Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, &c.

§ Origen, Hom. 14 in Levit. &c. St. Ambrose, in Ps. 118. St. Jerom, 1 2, contra Jovin. St. Aug. in Ps. 37, where he prays thus: "Purify me, O Lord, in this life, that I may not need the chastening fire of those *who will be saved, yet so as by fire.*"

|| St. Aug. De Civit. Dei, l. 21, c. 24. St. Greg. l. 4. Dialog. Bed. in cap. 3. Marc.

¶ P. 50.

ed in the following brief declaration of the Council of Trent: "There is a purgatory, and the souls detained there are helped by the prayers of the faithful, and particularly by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar."* St. Chrysostom, the light of the eastern church, flourished within 300 years of the age of the apostles, and must be admitted as an unexceptionable witness of their doctrine and practice. Now he writes as follows: "It was not without good reason ORDAINED BY THE APOSTLES, that mention should be made of the dead in the tremendous mysteries, because they knew well that these would receive great benefit from it."† Tertullian, who lived in the age next to that of the apostles, speaking of a pious widow, says: "She prays for the soul of her husband, and begs refreshment‡ for him." Similar testimonies of St. Cyprian, in the following age, are numerous. I shall satisfy myself with quoting one of them; where describing the difference between some souls, which are immediately admitted into heaven, and others, which are detained in purgatory, he says, "It is one thing to be waiting for pardon; another to attain to glory: One thing to be sent to prison, not to go from thence till the last farthing is paid; another to receive immediately the reward of faith and virtue: One thing to suffer lengthened torments for sin, and to be chastised and purified for a long time in that fire; another to have cleansed away all sin by suffering,"§ namely, by martyrdom. It would take up too much time to quote authorities on this subject from St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Eusebius, St. Epiphanius, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, St. Augustin, and several other ancient fathers and writers, who demonstrate, that the doctrine of the church was the same that it is now, not only within a thousand, but also within 400 years from the time of Christ, with respect both to prayers for the dead, and an intermediate state, which we call purgatory. How express is the authority of the last-named father, in particular, where he says and repeats: "Through the prayers and sacrifices of the church and alms-deeds, God deals more mercifully with the departed than their sins deserve!"|| How affecting is this saint's account of the death of his mother, St. Monica, when she entreated him to remember her soul at the altar, and when, after her decease, he performed this duty, in order, as he declares, "to obtain the pardon of her sins!"¶ As to the doctrine of the oriental churches, which the bishop signifies is conformable to that of his own, I affirm, as a fact which has been demonstrated,** that there is not of them which agrees

* Sess. xxv. De. Purg.

† L. De Monogam. c. 10.

‡ Serm. 172. Enchirid. cap. 109, 110.

** See Confession of the different Oriental churches in the Perpetuité, &c

† In cap. i. Philip. Hom. 3.

§ S. Cypr. l. 4. ep. 2.

¶ Confess. l. ix. c. 13.

with it, nor one of them which does not agree with the Catholic Church, in the only two points defined by her, namely, as to there being a middle state, which we call purgatory, and as to the souls detained in it being helped by the prayers of the living faithful. True it is, they do not generally believe, that these souls are punished by a *material fire*; but neither does our church require a belief of this opinion; and, accordingly, she made a union with the Greeks in the Council of Florence, on their barely confessing and subscribing the aforesaid two articles.

III. I should do an injury, reverend sir, to my cause, were I to pass over the concessions of eminent Protestant prelates, and other writers, on the matter in debate. On some occasions Luther admits of purgatory, as an article founded on Scripture.* Melancthon confesses that the ancients prayed for the dead, and says that the Lutherans do not find fault with it.† Calvin intimates, that the souls of all the just are detained in Abraham's bosom till the day of judgment.‡ In the first Liturgy of the Church of England, which was drawn up by Cranmer and Ridley, and declared by Act of Parliament to have been framed by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, there is an express prayer for the departed, that "God would grant them mercy and everlasting peace."§ It can be shown that the following bishops of your church believed that the dead ought to be prayed for: Andrews, Usher, Montague, Taylor, Forbes, Sheldon, Barrow of St. Asaph's, and Blandford.|| To these I may add the religious Dr. Johnson, whose published Meditations prove, that he constantly prayed for his deceased wife. But what need is there of more words on the subject, when it is clear that modern Protestants, in shutting up the Catholic purgatory for imperfect just souls, have opened another general one for them, and all the wicked of every sort whatsoever! It is well known that the disciples of Calvin, at Geneva, and, perhaps, everywhere else, instead of adhering to his doctrine, in condemning mortals to eternal torments, without any fault on their part, now hold that the most confirmed in guilt and the finally impenitent shall, in the end, be saved:¶ thus establishing, as Fletcher of Madeley observes, "a general purgatory."** A late celebrated theological, as well as philosophical writer of our own country, Dr. Priestley, being on his death-bed, called for Simpson's work on the duration of future punishment, which he recommended in

* Assertiones, Art. 37. Disp. Leipsic.

† Apolog. Conf. Aug.

‡ Inst. l. iii. c. 5. § See the form in Collier's Ecc. Hist. vol. ii. p. 257.

|| Collier's Hist.—N. B. The present Bishop of Exeter, in a sermon just published, prays for the soul of our Princess Charlotte, "as far as this is lawful and profitable."

¶ Encyclo. Art. Geneva.

** Checks to Antinom. vol 4.

These terms: "It contains my sentiments; we shall all meet finally: we only require different degrees of discipline, suited to our different tempers, to prepare us for final happiness."* Here again is a general Protestant purgatory: and why should Satan and his crew be denied the benefit of it? But to confine myself to eminent divines of the Established Church. One of its celebrated preachers, who, of course, "never mentions hell to ears polite," expresses his wish, "to banish the subject of everlasting punishment from all pulpits, as containing a doctrine, at once improper, and uncertain;"† which sentiment is applauded by another eminent divine, who reviews that sermon in the *British Critic*.‡ Another modern divine censures "the threat of eternal perdition as a cause of infidelity."§ The renowned Dr. Paley, (but here we are getting into quite novel systems of theology, which will force a smile from its old students, notwithstanding the awfulness of the subject,) Dr. Paley, I say, so far softens the punishment of the infernal regions, as to suppose that, "There may be very little to choose between the condition of some who are in hell, and others who are in heaven!"|| In the same liberal spirit the Cambridge Professor of Divinity teaches, that "God's wrath and damnation are more terrible in the sound than in the sense!¶ and that *being* damned does not imply any fixed degree of evil."** In another part of his Lectures, he expresses his hope, and quotes Dr. Hartley, as expressing the same. "that all men will be ultimately happy, when punishment has done its work in reforming principles and conduct."†† If this sentiment be not sufficiently explicit in favor of purgatory, take the following from a passage in which he is directly lecturing on the subject. "With regard to the doctrine of purgatory, though it may not be founded either in reason or in Scripture, it is not unnatural. Who can bear the thought of dwelling in everlasting torments?—Yet who can say that a God, everlastingly just, will not inflict them? The mind of man seeks for some resource: it finds one only; in conceiving that some temporary punishment, after death, may purify the soul from its moral pollutions, and make it at least acceptable, even to a Deity infinitely pure."‡‡

IV. Bishop Porteus intimates, that the doctrine of a middle state of souls was borrowed from pagan fable and philosophy.

* See *Edinb. Review*, Oct. 1806. † *Sermons* by the Rev. W. Gilpin, Preb. of Sarum. ‡ *British Critic*, Jan. 1802. § *Rev. Mr. Polwhele's Let. to Dr. Hawker*. || *Moral and Polit. Philos.* ¶ *Lect.* vol. iii. p. 154.

** *Lect.* vol. iii. p. 154.

†† *Vol.* ii. p. 390. It is to be observed that the doctrine of the final salvation of the wicked is expressly condemned in the 42d Article of the Church of England. A. D. 1552. ‡‡ *Vol.* iv. p. 112.

In answer to this, I say, that if Plato,* Virgil, and other heathens, ancient and modern, as likewise Mahomet and his disciples, together with the Protestant writers quoted above, have embraced this doctrine, it only shows how conformable it is to the dictates of natural religion. I have proved, by various arguments, that a temporary punishment generally remains due to sin, after the guilt and eternal punishment due to it have been remitted. Again, we know from Scripture, that even *the just man falls seven times*, Prov. xxiv. 17, and that *men must give an account of every idle word that they speak*. Matt. xii. 36. On the other hand, we are conscious that there is not an instant of our life, in which this may not suddenly terminate, without the possibility of our calling upon God for mercy. What, then, I ask, will become of souls which are surprised in either of those predicaments? We are sure, from Scripture and reason, that nothing defiled shall enter heaven, Rev. xxi. 27; will then our just and merciful Judge make no distinction in guiltiness, as Bishop Fowler and other rigid Protestants maintain?† Will he condemn to the same eternal punishment the poor child who has died under the guilt of a lie of excuse, and the abandoned wretch who has died in the act of murdering his father? To say that he will, is so monstrous a doctrine in itself, and so contrary to Scripture, which declares that God *will render to every man according to his deeds*, Rom. ii. 6, that it seems to be universally exploded.‡ The evident consequence of this is, that there are some venial or pardonable sins, for the expiation of which, as well as for the temporary punishment due to other sins, a place of temporary punishment is provided in the next life; where, however, the souls detained may be relieved by the prayers, alms, and sacrifices of the faithful here on earth. O! how consoling are the belief and practice of Catholics in this matter, compared with those of Protestants! The latter show their regard for their departed friends in costly pomp and feathered pageantry; while their burial service is a cold disconsolate ceremony; and as to any further communication with the deceased, when the grave closes on their remains, they do not so much as imagine any. On the other hand, we Catholics know, that death itself cannot dissolve the communion of saints, which subsists in our church, nor prevent an intercourse of kind, and often beneficial offices, between us and our departed friends. Oftentimes we can help them more effectually, in the other world, by our prayers, our sacrifices, our alms-deeds, than we could in this by any temporary benefits we could bestow

* Plato in Georgia, Virgil's *Æneid*, l. 6, the Koran.

† Calvin, l. iii. c. 12. Fowler in Watson's Tracts, vol. vi. p. 382.

‡ See Dr. Hey, vol. iii. pp. 384, 451, 453.

upon them. Hence we are instructed to celebrate the obsequies of the dead by all such good works; and, accordingly, our funeral service consists of psalms and prayers, offered up for their repose and eternal felicity. These acts of devotion pious Catholics perform for the deceased, who were near and dear to them, and indeed for the dead in general, every day, but particularly on the respective anniversaries of the deceased. Such benefits, we are assured, will be paid with rich interest, by those souls, when they attain to that bliss, to which we shall have contributed; and if they should not be in a condition to help us, the God of mercy, at least, will abundantly reward our charity. On the other hand, what a comfort and support must it be to our minds, when our turn comes to descend into the grave, to reflect that we shall continue to live in the constant thoughts and daily devotions of our Catholic relatives and friends!

I am, yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER

LETTER XLIV.—TO THE REV. ROBERT CLAYTON, M.A.

EXTREME UNCTION.

REVEREND SIR—

THE Council of Trent terms the sacrament of extreme unction the consummation of penance; and, therefore, as Bishop Porteus makes this the subject of a charge against our church, here is the proper place for me to answer it. His lordship writes a long chapter upon it, because his business is to gloss over the clear testimony which the apostle St. James bears to the reality of this sacrament; in return, I shall write a short letter, in refutation of his chapter, because I have little more to do than to cite that testimony, as it stands in the New Testament. It is as follows: "Is any man sick among you, let him bring in the priests of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil, in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick man; and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him." James, v. 14, 15. Here we see all that is requisite, according to the English Protestant Catechism, to constitute a sacrament;* for there "is an outward visible sign," namely, the anointing with oil; there "is an inward spiritual grace given unto us," namely, the saving of the sick, and the forgiveness of his sins. Lastly, there is "the ordination of Christ, as the means by which the same is received:" unless the bishop chooses to allege

* In the Book of Common Prayer.

that the holy apostle fabricated a sacrament, or means of grace, without any authority for this purpose from his heavenly Master. What then does his lordship say, in opposition to this divine warrant for our sacrament? He says, that the anointing of the sick by elders, or old men, was the appointed method of miraculously curing them in primitive times: which would imply, that no Christian died in those times, except when either oil or old men were not to be met with! He adds, that the forgiveness of the sick man's sins means the cures of his corporal diseases!* And after all this, he boasts of building his religion on mere Scripture, in its plain, un glossed meaning.† In reading this, I own I cannot help revolving in my mind, the above quoted profane parody of Luther, on the first words of Scripture, in which he ridicules the distortion of it by many Protestants of his time.‡ With the same confidence, his lordship adds, "Our laying aside a ceremony (the anointing) which has long been useless, &c., can be no loss, while every thing that is truly valuable in St. James's direction, is preserved in our office for visiting the sick."§ Exactly in this manner our friends the Quakers undertake to prove, that in laying aside the ceremony of washing catechumens with water, they "have preserved every thing that is truly valuable in the sacrament of baptism!"|| But where shall we find an end of the inconsistencies and impieties of deluded Christians, who refuse to hear that church which Christ has appointed to explain to them the truths of religion?

There is not more truth in the prelate's assertion, that there is no mention of anointing with oil, among the primitive Christians, except in miraculous cures, during the first 600 years; for the celebrated Origen, who was born in the age next to that of the apostles, after speaking of an humble confession of sins, as a means of obtaining their pardon, adds to it, the anointing with oil, prescribed by St. James.¶ St. Chrysostom, who lived in the fourth century, speaking of the power of priests, in remitting sin, says, "they exert it when they are called in to perform the rite mentioned by St. James," &c.** The testimony of Pope Innocent I., in the same age, is so express as to the warrant for this sacrament, the matter, the minister, and the subjects of it; †† that though the bishop alluded to the testimony, he does not choose to grapple with it, or even to quote it.‡‡ I pass over the irrefragable authorities of St. Cyril of Alexandria, Victor of Antioch, St. Gregory the Great, and our venerable

* Confut. p. 59.

† P. 69.

‡ In principio Deus creavit cœlum et terram: "In the beginning the cuckoo devoured the sparrow and its feathers." § Confut. p. 61.

|| Barclay's Apology, Prop. 12. ¶ Hom. ii. in Levit. ** De Sacerd. l. iii.

†† Epist. ad Decent. Eugub.

‡‡ Confut. p. 61.

Bede, in order once more to recur to that short but convincing proof, which I have already adduced on other contested points, that the Catholic Church has not invented those sacraments and doctrines in latter ages, which Protestants assert were unknown in the primitive ages. Let it then be remembered, that the Nestorians broke off from the communion of the church in 431, and the Eutychians in 451; that these rival sects exist, in numerous congregations, throughout the East, at the present day; and that they, as well as the Greeks, Armenians, &c., maintain, in belief and practice, extreme unction, as one of the seven sacraments. Nothing can so satisfactorily vindicate our church from the charge of imposition or innovation, in the particulars mentioned, as these facts do. How much more consistently has the impious friar, Martin Luther, acted, in denying at once the authority of St. James's epistle, and condemning it as a "chaffy composition, and unworthy an apostle,"* than Bishop Porteus and his confederates do, who attempt to explain away the clear proofs of extreme unction contained in that epistle! In the mean time, in spite of every insult offered to the divine institutions, and every uncharitable reflection cast on themselves or their religious practices, pious Catholics will continue to receive, in the time of man's greatest need, that inestimable consolation and grace, which this and the other helps of their church, were provided by our Saviour Jesus Christ to impart.—I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XLV.—TO THE REV. ROBERT CLAYTON, M. A.

WHETHER THE POPE BE ANTICHRIST.

REVEREND SIR—

THERE remains but one more question of doctrine to be discussed between me and your favorite controvertist, Bishop Porteus, which is concerning the character and power of the pope; and this he compresses into a narrow compass, among a variety of miscellaneous matters, in the latter part of his book. However, as it is a doctrine of first-rate importance, against which I make no doubt but several of your Salopian society have been early and bitterly prejudiced, I propose to treat it at some length, and in a regular way. To do this, I must begin with the inquiry, whether the pope be really and truly, "The Man of Sin, and the Son of Perdition," described by St. Paul, 2 Thess. ii. 1, 10; in short, "The Antichrist spoken of by St.

* "Straminosa." Prefat. in Ep. Jac. Jenæ de Captiv. Babyl.

John," 1 John ii. 18, and called by him, "A beast with seven heads and ten horns," Rev. xiii. 1, whose see or church is "the great harlot, the mother of the fornications and abominations of the earth." Ibid. xvii. 5. I shudder to repeat these blasphemies, and I blush to hear them uttered by my fellow-Christians, and countrymen, who derive their liturgy, their ministry, their Christianity and civilization, from the pope and the Church of Rome; but they have been too generally taught by the learned, and believed by the ignorant, for me to pass them by in silence on this occasion. One of Bishop Porteus's colleagues, Bishop Halifax, speaks of this doctrine concerning the pope and Rome, as long being "the common symbol of Protestantism."* Certain it is, that the author of it, the outrageous Martin Luther, may be said to have established Protestantism upon this principle. He had at first submitted his religious controversies to the decision of the pope, protesting to him thus: "Whether you give life or death, approve or reprove, as you may judge best, I will hearken to your voice, as to that of Christ himself;"† but no sooner did Pope Leo condemn his doctrine, than he published his book "Against the execrable bull of Antichrist,"‡ as he qualified it. In like manner, Melancthon, Bullinger, and many others of Luther's followers, publicly maintained, "that the pope is Antichrist," as did afterwards Calvin, Beza, and the writers of that party in general.—This party considered this doctrine so essential, as to vote it *an article of faith*, in their synod of Gap, held in 1603.§ The writers in defence of this impious tenet in our island, are as numerous as those of the whole continent put together, John Fox, Whitaker, Fulke, Willet, Sir Isaac Newton, Mede, Lowman, Towson, Bicheno, Kett, &c., with the bishops, Fowler, Warburton, Newton, Halifax, Hurd, Watson, and others, too numerous to be here mentioned. One of these writers, whose work has just appeared, has collected from the Scriptures a new, and quite whimsical system, concerning Antichrist. Hitherto, Protestant expositors have been content to apply the character and attributes of Antichrist, to a *succession* of Roman pontiffs; but the Rev. H. Kett professes to have discovered, that the said Antichrist is, at the same time, every pope who has filled the See of Rome, since the year 756, to the number of 160, together with the whole of what he calls "the Mahometan power," from a period more remote by a century and a half, and the whole.

* Sermons by Bishop Halifax, preached at the lecture founded by the late Bishop Warburton, to prove the apostacy of Papal Rome, p. 27.

† Epist. ad Leon X., A. D. 1518.

‡ Tom. ii.

§ Bossuet's Variat. P. ii. B. 13.

infidelity, which he traces to a still more ancient origin than even Mahometanism.*

That the first pope, St. Peter, on whom Christ declared that he built his church, Matt. xvi. 18, was not Antichrist, I trust I need not prove; nor, indeed, his third successor in the popedom, St. Clement; since St. Paul testifies of him, that *his name is written in the book of life*, Phil. iv. 3. In like manner there is no need of my demonstrating, that the See of Rome was not the harlot of Revelations, when St. Paul certified of its members, that their *faith was spoken of throughout the whole world*, Rom. i. 8. At what particular period, then, I now ask, as I asked Mr. Brown, in one of my former letters, did the grand apostacy take place, by which the head pastor of the church of Christ became his declared enemy; in short, the antichrist, and by which the church, whose faith had been divinely authenticated, became *the great harlot, full of the names of blasphemy*? This revolution, had it really taken place, would have been the greatest, and the most remarkable, that ever happened since the deluge. Hence, we might expect that the witnesses, who profess to bear testimony to its reality, would agree as to the time of its taking place. Let us now observe how far this is the fact. The Lutheran Braunbom, who writes the most copiously, and the most confidently of this event, tells us, that the popish Antichrist was born in the year of Christ, 86, that he grew to his full size in 376, that he was at his greatest strength in 636, that he began to decline in 1086, that he would die in 1640, and that the world would end in 1711.† Sebastian Francus affirms, that Antichrist appeared immediately after the apostles, and caused the external church, with its faith and sacraments, to disappear.‡ The Protestant Church of Transylvania published, that Antichrist first appeared A. D. 200.§ Napper declared that his coming was about 313, and that Pope Silvester was the man.|| Melancthon says, that Pope Zozimus, in 420, was the first Antichrist;¶ while Beza transfers this character to the great and good St. Leo, A. D. 440.** Fleming fixes on the year 606 as the year of this great event; Bishop Newton on the year 727; but all agree, says the Rev. Henry Kett, "that the antichristian power was fully established in 757, or 758."†† Notwithstanding this confident assertion, Cranmer's brother-in-

* History of the Interpreter of Prophecy, by H. Kett, B. D. This writer's attempt to transform the great supporters of the pope, St. Jerom, Pope Gregory I., St. Bernard, &c., into witnesses that the pope is Antichrist, because they condemn certain acts as antichristian, is truly ridiculous.

† Bayle's Dict. Braunbom.

‡ De Avegand Stat. Eccles.

§ De Abolend Christ per Antichris. || Upon the Revel.

¶ In locis prostromo edit.

** In Confess. General.

†† Vol. ii. p. 58

law, Bullinger, had, long before, assigned the year 763 as the era of this grand revolution,* and Junius had put it off to 1073. Musculus could not discover Antichrist in the church till about 1200, Fox not till 1300,† and Martin Luther, as we have seen, not till his doctrine was condemned by Pope Leo in 1520.—Such are the inconsistencies and contradictions of those learned Protestants, who profess to see so clearly the verification of the prophecies concerning Antichrist in the Roman pontiffs. I say, *contradictions*, because those among them, who pronounce Pope Gregory, or Leo the Great, or Pope Silvester, to have been Antichrist, must contradict those others, who admit them to have been, respectively, Christian pastors and saints. Now what credit do men of sense give to an account of any sort, the vouchers for which contradict each other? Certainly none at all.

Nor are the predictions of these egregious interpreters, concerning the death of Antichrist, and the destruction of Popery, more consistent with one another, than their accounts of the birth and progress of them both. We have seen above, that Braunbom prognosticated that the death of the papal Antichrist would take place in the year 1640. John Fox foretold it would happen in 1666. The incomparable Joseph Mede, as the Bishop of Halifax calls him,‡ by a particular calculation of his own invention, undertook to demonstrate that the papacy would be finally destroyed in 1653.§ The Calvinist minister, Jurieu, who had adopted this system, fearing that the event would not verify it, found a pretext to lengthen the term, first to 1690, and afterwards to 1710. But he lived to witness a disappointment at each of these periods.|| Alix, another Huguenot preacher, predicted that the fatal catastrophe would certainly take place in 1716.¶ Whiston, who pretended to find out the longitude, pretended also to discover that the popedom would terminate in 1714; finding himself mistaken, he guessed a second time, and fixed on the year 1735.** At length, Mr. Kett, from the success of his *Antichrist of Infidelity* against his *Antichrist of Popery*, about twenty years ago, (for he feels no difficulty in *dividing Satan against himself*, Matt. xii. 6,) foretold that the long wished for event was at the eve of being accomplished;†† and Mr. Daubeny having witnessed Pope Pius VI. in chains, and Rome possessed by French Atheists, with several other preachers, sounds the trumpet of victory, and exclaims, all is accomplished.‡‡ In like manner, G. S. Faber, in his two sermons, before the University of Oxford, in 1799, boasts that “the im-

* In Apoc.

† In Eandem.

‡ P. 286.

§ Bayle's Dict.

|| Ibid

¶ Ibid

** Essay on Revel.

†† Vol. ii. chap. 1.

‡‡ The fall of Papal Rome.

mense Gothic structure of Popery, built on superstition and buttressed with tortures, has crumbled to dust." Empty triumphs of the enemies of the church! They ought to have learned from her lengthened history, that she never proves the truth of Christ's promises so evidently as when she seems sinking under the waves of persecution: and that the chair of Peter never shines so gloriously as when it is filled by a dying martyr, like Pius VI., or a captive confessor, like Pius VII.; however triumphant, for a time, their persecutors may appear!

But these dealers in prophecy undertake to demonstrate from the characters of Antichrist, as pointed out by St. Paul and St. John, that this succession of popes is the very man in question. Accordingly, the Bishop of Llandaff says: "I have known the infidelity of more than one young man happily removed, by showing him the characters of Popery delineated by St. Paul, in his prophecy concerning *the man of sin*, (2 Thess. ii.,) and in that concerning the apostacy of the latter times, 1 Tim. iv. 1."* In proof of this point, he republishes the dissenter Benson's dissertation on *the man of sin*.† I purpose, therefore, making a few remarks on the leading points of this adoptive child of his lordship, as also upon some of the Rev. Mr. Kett's illustrations of them. First, then, we all know that the *revelation of the man of sin* will be accompanied with a *revolt* or *falling off*, in other words, with a great apostacy; but it is a question to be discussed between me and Bishop Watson, whether this character of *apostacy* is more applicable to the Catholic Church, or to that class of religionists who adopt his opinions? To decide this point, let me ask, what are the first principal articles of the three creeds professed by his church as well as by ours, that of the apostles, that of Nice, and that of St. Athanasius, as likewise of his Articles, his Liturgy, and his Canons? Incontestibly those which profess a belief in the blessed Trinity, and the incarnation of the consubstantial Son of the Eternal Father. Now it is notorious, that every Catholic throughout the world holds these the fundamental articles of Christianity as firmly now as St. Athanasius himself did fifteen hundred years ago; but what says his lordship, with numberless other Protestant Christians of this country, on these heads? Let the preface to this collection be consulted,‡ in which, if he does not *openly deny* the Trinity, he excuses the Unitarians, who deny it, on the ground that they are "afraid of becoming idolaters by worshipping Jesus Christ."§ Let his charges be examined: in one of which he says to his clergy, that "he does not think it *safe* to tell them what the

* Bishop Watson's Collect. p. 7.

† Vol. I, Pref. p. 15, &c.

† Ibid. p. 268.

§ P. 17.

Christian doctrines are ;” * no, not so much as the unity and trinity of God. In another, charge, however, the bishop assumes more courage, and informs his clergy, that “ Protestantism consists in believing what each one pleases, and in professing what he believes.” How much should I rejoice to have this question of *apostacy*, between the Bishop of Llandaff and me, decided by Luther, Calvin, Beza, Cranmer, Ridley, and James I., were it not for the proofs which history affords me, that, not content with excluding him from the class of Christians, they would assuredly burn him at the stake as an apostate. The second character of Antichrist, set down by St. Paul, is, that he “ opposeth and is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped ; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God.” 2 Thess. ii. 4. This character Mr. Benson and Bishop Watson think applicable to the pope, who, they say, claims the attributes and homage due to the Deity. I leave you, reverend sir, and your friends, to judge of the truth of this character, when I inform you that the pope has his confessor, like other Catholics, to whom he confesses his sins in private ; and that every day, in saying mass, he bows before the altar, and in the presence of the people confesses that he has “ sinned in thought, word, and deed,” begging them to pray to God for him ; and that afterwards, in the most solemn part of it, he professes “ his hopes of forgiveness, not through his own merits, but through the bounty and grace of Jesus Christ our Lord.” † The third mark of Antichrist is, that his *coming is according to the working of Satan, and in all power, and signs, and lying wonders.* 2 Thess. ii. 9. From this passage of Holy Writ, it appears that Antichrist, whenever he does come, will work false, illusive prodigies, as the magicians of Pharaoh did. But, from the divine promises, it is evident that the disciples of Christ would continue to work *true* miracles, such as he himself wrought ; and from the testimony of the holy fathers, and all ecclesiastical writers, it is incontestible, that certain servants of God have been enabled by him to work them, from time to time, ever since this his promise. This I have elsewhere demonstrated ; as, likewise, that the fact is denied by Protestants, not for want of evidence, as to its truth, but because this is necessary for the defence of their system. ‡ Still it is false that the Catholic Church ever claimed *a power of working miracles in the order of nature*, as her opponents pretend. All that we say is, that God is pleased, from time to time, to illustrate the true church with real miracles, and thereby to show that she belongs to him.

* Bishop Watson's Charge, 1795. † Canon of the Mass. ‡ Part ii. Let. xxiii.

The latest dealer in prophecies, who boasts that his books have been revised by the Bishop of Lincoln,* by way of showing the conformity between antichristian Popery and the *beast that did great signs, so that he made fire to come down from heaven unto the earth, in the sight of men*, (Rev. xiii. 13,) says of the former: "Even fire is pretended to come down from heaven, as in the case of *St. Anthony's fire*."† I am almost ashamed to refute so illiterate a cavil. True it is, that the hospital monks of St. Anthony were heretofore famous for curing the erysipelas with a peculiar ointment, on which account that disease acquired the name of *St. Anthony's fire*;‡ but neither these monks, nor any other Catholics, were used to invoke that inflammation, or any other burning whatsoever, from heaven, or elsewhere. I beg that you and your friends will suspend your opinion of the fourth alleged resemblance between Antichrist and the pope, that of persecuting the saints, till I have leisure to treat that subject in greater detail than I can at present. I shall take no notice at all of this writer's chronological calculations, nor of the anagrams and chronograms, by which many Protestant expounders have endeavored to extract the mysterious number of 666 from the name or title of certain popes, further than to observe, that ingenious Catholics have extracted the same number from the name of *Martinus Lutherus*, and even from that of David Chrytheus, who was the most celebrated inventor of those riddles.

Such are the grounds on which certain refractory children in modern ages, have ventured to call their true mother a *prostitute*, and the common father of Christians, the author of their own conversion from Paganism, *the man of sin*, and the very *Antichrist*. But they do not really believe what they declare; their object being only to inflame the ignorant multitude. I have sufficient reason to think this, when I hear a Luther threatening to unsay all that he had said against the pope, a Melancthon lamenting that Protestants had renounced him, a Beza negotiating to return to him, and a late Warburton lecturer lamenting, on his death-bed, that he could not do the same, without impoverishing his wife and children.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

* Interpret. of Prophecy, by H. Kett, LL. B. Pref.

† Kett, vol. ii. p. 22.

‡ Paquotius, In Molanum De Sacr. mag

LETTER XLVI.—TO THE REV. ROBERT CLAYTON, M. A.

ON THE POPE'S SUPREMACY.

REVEREND SIR—

THIS acknowledges the honor of three different letters from you, which I have not till now been able to notice. The objections, contained in the two former, are either answered, or will, with the help of God, be answered by me. The chief purport of your last, is to assure me, that the absurd and impious tenet, of the pope being Antichrist, never was a part of your faith, nor even your opinion; but that having read over Dr. Barrow's *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*, as well as what Bishop Porteus has published upon it, you cannot be but of Archbishop Tillotson's mind, who published the above-named treatise; namely, that "The pope's supremacy is not only an indefensible, but also an impudent cause; that there is not one tolerable argument for it, and that there are a thousand invincible reasons against it."* Your liberality, reverend sir, on the former point, justifies the idea I had formed of you; with respect to the second, whether the pope's claim of supremacy, or Tillotson's assertion concerning it, is *impudent*, I shall leave you to determine, when you shall have perused the present letter. But as this, like other subjects of our controversy, has been enveloped in a cloud of misrepresentation, I must begin with dissipating this cloud, and with clearly stating what the faith of the Catholic Church is concerning the matter in question.

It is not then the faith of this church, that the pope has any civil or temporal supremacy, by virtue of which he can depose princes, or give or take away the property of other persons out of his own domain: for even the incarnate Son of God, from whom he derives the supremacy which he possesses, did not claim, nere upon earth, any right of the above-mentioned kind; on the contrary, he positively declared, that his *kingdom is not of this world!* Hence, the Catholics of both our islands have, without impeachment even from Rome, denied upon oath, that "the pope has any civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm."† But, as it is undeniable that different popes, in former ages, have pronounced sentence of deposition against certain contemporary princes, and as great numbers of theologians have held, (though not as a matter of faith,) that they had a right to do so; it seems proper, by way of mitigating the odium which Dr. Porteus and other Protestants raise against them on this head, to state the grounds on which

* Tillotson's Preface to Barrow's *Treatise*.

† 31 Geo. III. c. 32.

the pontiffs acted, and the divines reasoned, in this business Heretofore the kingdoms, principalities, and states, composing the Latin Church, when they were all of the same religion, formed, as it were, one Christian republic, of which the pope was the accredited head. Now, as mankind have been sensible at all times that the duty of civil allegiance and submission cannot extend beyond a certain point, and that they ought not to surrender their property, lives, and morality, to be sported with by a Nero or a Heliogabalus; instead of deciding the nice point for themselves, when resistance becomes lawful, they thought it right to be guided by their chief pastor. The kings and princes themselves acknowledged this right in the pope, and frequently applied to him to make use of his indirect temporal power, as appears in numberless instances.* In latter ages, however, since Christendom has been disturbed by a variety of religions, the power of the pontiff has been generally withdrawn. Princes make war upon each other at their pleasure, and subjects rebel against their princes as their passions dictate,† to the great detri-

* See in Mat. Paris, A. D. 1195, the appeal of our king, Richard I., to Pope Celestin III. against the Duke of Austria, for having detained him prisoner at Trivallis, and the pope's sentence of excommunication against the duke for refusing to do him justice.

† In every country in which Protestantism was preached, sedition and rebellion, with the total or partial deposition of the lawful sovereign, ensued, not without the active concurrence of the preachers themselves. Luther formed a league of princes and states in Germany against the emperor, which desolated the empire for more than a century. His disciples, Muncer and Storck, taking advantage of the pretended *evangelical liberty* which he taught, at the head of 40,000 Anabaptists, claimed the empire and possession of the world, in quality of the *meek ones*, and enforced their demand with fire and sword, dispossessing princes and lawful owners, &c. Zuinglius lighted up a similar flame throughout Switzerland, at Geneva, &c., and died fighting, sword in hand, for the Reformation, which he preached. The United States embraced Protestantism, and renounced their sovereign, Philip, at the same time. The Calvinists of France, in conformity with the doctrine of their master, namely, that "Princes deprived themselves of their power when they resist God, and that it is better to spit in their faces than obey them," Dan. vi. 22, as soon as they found themselves strong enough, rose in arms against their sovereigns, and dispossessed them of half their dominions. Knox, Goodman, Buchanan, and the other preachers of Presbyterianism in Scotland, having taught the people that "Princes may be deposed by their subjects, if they be tyrants against God and his truth," and that "It is blasphemy to say that kings are to be obeyed, good or bad," disposed them for the perpetration of those riots and violences, including the murder of Cardinal Beaton, and the deposition and captivity of their lawful sovereign, by which Protestantism was established in that country. With respect to England, no sooner was the son of Henry dead, than a Protestant usurper, Lady Jane, was set up, in prejudice of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, and supported by Craumer, Ridley, Latimer, Sandys, Poynet, and every reformer of any note, because she was a Protestant. Finally, it was upon the principles of the Reformation, especially that of each man's explaining the Scripture for himself,

ment of both parties, as may be gathered from what Sir Edward Sandys, an early and zealous Protestant, writes: "The pope was the common father, adviser, and conductor of Christians, to reconcile their enmities, and decide their differences."* I have to observe, secondly, that the question here is not about the personal qualities or conduct of any particular pope, or of the popes in general: at the same time, it is proper to state, that in a list of 253 popes who have successively filled the chair of St. Peter, only a small comparative number of them have disgraced it, while a great proportion of them have done honor to it by their virtues and conduct. On this head, I must again quote Addison, who says: "The pope is generally a man of learning and virtue, mature in years and experience, who has seldom any vanity or pleasure to gratify at his people's expense, and is neither encumbered with wife and children, or mistresses."†

In the third place, I must remind you, and my other friends, that I have nothing here to do with the doctrine of the pope's individual infallibility, (when pronouncing *ex cathedra*, as the term is, he addresses the whole church, and delivers the faith of it upon some contested article,)‡ nor would you, in case you were to become a Catholic, be required to believe in any doctrines except such as are held by the whole Catholic Church, with the pope at its head. But without entering into this, or any other scholastic question, I shall content myself with observing, that it is impossible for any man of candor and learning not to concur with a celebrated Protestant author, namely, Causabon, who writes thus: "No one who is the least versed in ecclesiastical history can doubt, that God made use of the holy see, during many ages, to preserve the doctrines of faith!"§

At length we arrive at the question itself, which is, whether the Bishop of Rome, who, by pre-eminence, is called *Papa*,

and hatred of Popery, that the grand rebellion was begun and carried on, till the king was beheaded and the constitution destroyed. Has, then, the cause of humanity, or that of peace and order, been benefited by the change in question?

* Survey of Europe, p. 202.

† Remarks on Italy, p. 112.

‡ The following is a specimen of Barrow's and Tillotson's chicanery, in their *Treatise of the Supremacy*. Bellarmin, in working up an argument on the pope's infallibility, says, *hypothetically*, by way of proving the falsehood of his opponent's doctrine, that "this doctrine would oblige the church to believe *vices to be good, and virtues to be bad*, in case the pope were to err in teaching this" Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. iv. c. 5. Hence these writers take occasion to affirm, that Bellarmin *positively teaches* that "if the pope should err, by enjoining vices or forbidding virtues, the church would be bound to believe vices to be good, and virtues evil!" P. 203. This shameful misrepresentation has been taken up by most subsequent Protestant controvertists.

§ Exercit. xv. ad Annal. Baron

(*Pope, or Father of the Faithful*;) is, or is not, entitled to a superior rank and jurisdiction above other bishops of the Christian church, so as to be its *spiritual head* here upon earth, and his see *the centre of Catholic unity*? All Catholics necessarily hold the affirmative of this question; while the above-mentioned tergiversating primate denies that there is a tolerable argument in its favor.* Let us begin with consulting the New Testament, in order to see whether or not the first Pope or Bishop of Rome, St. Peter, was any way superior to the other apostles. St. Matthew, in numbering up the apostles, expressly says of him, *THE FIRST, Simon, who is called Peter*, Matt. x. 2. In like manner, the other evangelists, while they class the other apostles differently, still give the first place to Peter.† In fact, as Bossuet observes,‡ “St. Peter was the first to confess his faith in Christ;§ the first to whom Christ appeared after his resurrection;|| the *first* to preach the belief of this to the people;¶ the *first* to convert the Jews,** and the first to receive the Gentiles.”†† Again, I would ask, is there no distinction implied in St. Peter’s being called upon by Christ to declare, three several times, that he *loved* him, and even that he *loved him more* than his fellow-apostles, and in his being each time charged to *feed Christ’s lambs*, and, at length, to *feed his sheep also*, whom the lambs are used to follow?‡‡ What else is here signified, but that this apostle was to act the part of a shepherd, not only with respect to the flock in general, but also with respect to the pastors themselves? The same is plainly signified, by our Lord’s prayer for the faith of this apostle *in particular*, and the charge that he subsequently gave him: “Simon, Simon, behold Satan has desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren.” Luke, xxii. 32. Is there no mysterious meaning in the circumstance, marked by the evangelist, of Christ’s *entering into Simon’s ship* in preference to that of James and John, in order to *teach the people out of it*; and in the subsequent miraculous *draught of fishes*, together with

* Tillotson’s father was an Anabaptist, and he himself was professedly a Puritan preacher till the restoration; so that there is reason to doubt whether he ever received either episcopal ordination or baptism. His successor, Secker, was also a dissenter, and his baptism has been called in question. The former, with Bishop Burnet, was called upon to attend Lord Russell at his execution, when they absolutely insisted, as a point necessary for salvation, on his disclaiming the lawfulness of resistance, in any case whatever. Presently after, the revolution happening, they themselves declared for Russell’s principles.

† Mark, iii. 16. Luke, vi. 14. Acts, i. 13. † Orat. ad Cler.

§ Matt. xvi. 16. || Luke, xxiv. 34. ¶ Acts, ii. 14. ** Ibid. 37—41.

†† Ibid. x. 47. †† John, xxi. 15.

our Lord's prophetic declaration to Simon: *Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men?* Luke, v. 3, 10. But the strongest proof of St. Peter's superior dignity and jurisdiction consists in that explicit and energetical declaration of our Saviour to him in the quarters of Cesarea Philippi, upon his making that glorious confession of our Lord's divinity: *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.* Our Lord had mysteriously changed his name at his first interview with him, when Jesus, looking upon him, said, "Thou art Simon, the son of Jona; thou shalt be called Cephas, which is interpreted Peter," John, i. 42; and on the present occasion he explains the mystery, where he says, "Blessed art thou, Simon, Bar-Jona: because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father, who is in heaven* and I say to thee, thou art Peter," (a rock,) "and UPON THIS ROCK I WILL BUILD MY CHURCH, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven," Matt. xvi. 17, 18, 19. Where now, I ask, is the sincere Christian, and especially the Christian who professes to make the Scripture the sole rule of his faith, who, with these passages of the inspired text before his eyes, will venture, at the risk of his soul, to deny that any special dignity or charge was conferred upon St. Peter in preference to the other apostles? I trust no such Christian is to be found in your society. Now, as it is a point agreed upon, at least in your church and mine, that bishops, in general, succeed to the rank and functions of the apostles; so, by the same rule, the successor of St. Peter, in the See of Rome, succeeds to his primacy and jurisdiction. This cannot be questioned by any serious Christian, who reflects that, when our Saviour gave his orders about *feeding his flock*, and made his declaration about building his church, he was not establishing an order of things, to last during the few years that St. Peter had to live, but one that was to last as long as he should have a flock and a church on earth, that is, to the end of time—conformably with his promise to the apostles and their successors, in the concluding words of St. Matthew: *Behold, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.* Matt. xxviii. 20.

That St. Peter, (after governing, for a time, the Patriarchate of Antioch, the capital of the East, and thence sending his disciple, Mark, to establish that of Africa at Alexandria,) finally fixed his own see at Rome, the capital of the world; that his successors there have each of them exercised the power of supreme pastor, and have been acknowledged as such by all Christians, except by notorious heretics and schismatics, from

the apostolic age down to the present, the writings of the fathers, doctors, and historians of the church unanimously testify. St. Paul, having been converted, and raised to the apostleship in a miraculous manner, thought it necessary *to go up to Jerusalem to see Peter*, where he *abode with him fifteen days*, Galat. i. 18. St. Ignatius, who was a disciple of the apostles, and next successor, after Evodius, of St. Peter in the See of Antioch, addresses his most celebrated epistle to the church, which, he says, "PRESIDES in the country of the Romans."* About the same time, dissensions taking place in the Church of Corinth, the case was referred to the Church of Rome, to which the holy Pope Clement, *whose name is written in the book of life*, Philipp. iv. 3, returned an apostolical answer of exhortation and instruction.† In the second century, St. Irenæus, who had been instructed by St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John the Evangelist, referring to the tradition of the apostles, preserved in the Church of Rome, calls it "the greatest, most ancient, and most universally known, as having been founded by St. Peter and St. Paul; to which," he says, "every church is bound to conform, by reason of its superior authority."‡ Tertullian, a priest of the Roman Church, who flourished near the same time, calls St. Peter "the rock of the church," and says, that "the church was built upon him."§ Speaking of the Bishop of Rome, he terms him, in different places, "the blessed pope, the high priest, the apostolic prelate," &c. I must add, that at this early period, Pope Victor exerted his superior authority, by threatening the bishops of Asia with excommunication, for their irregularity in celebrating Easter, and the other moveable feasts; from which rigorous measure he was deterred, chiefly by St. Irenæus.|| In the third century, we hear Origen¶ and St. Cyprian repeatedly affirming, that the church was "founded on Peter," that he "fixed his chair at Rome," that this is, "the mother church," and "root of Catholicity."*** The latter expresses great indignation, that certain African schismatics should dare to approach "the See of Peter, the head church and source of ecclesiastical unity."†† It is true, this father afterwards had a dispute with Pope Stephen, about rebaptizing converts from heresy; but this proves nothing more, than that he did not think the pope's authority superior to general tradition, which, through mistake, he supposed to be on his side. To what degree, however, he did admit this authority, appears

* Προκάθηται, Epist. Ignat. Cotelero.

† Coteler.

‡ "Ad hanc ecclesiam convenire, necesse est omnem ecclesiam." Contra Hæres. l. iii. c. 3.

§ Prescrip. l. i. c. 22, De Monogam.

|| Euseb. His. Eccles. l. v. c. 24.

¶ Hom. 5 in Exord. Hom. 17 in Luc.

*** Ep. ad Cornel Ep. ad Anton. De Unit, &c. †† Ep. ad Cornel 55.

by his advising the same pope to depose Marcian, a schismatical Bishop of Gaul, and to appoint another bishop in his place.* At the beginning of the fourth century, we have the learned Greek historian Eusebius, explaining in clear terms the ground of the Roman pontiff's claim to superior authority, which he derives from St. Peter;† we have also the great champion of orthodoxy, and the patriarch of the second see in the world, St. Athanasius, appealing to the Bishop of Rome, which see he terms "the mother and the head of all other churches."‡ In fact, the pope reversed the sentence of deposition, pronounced by the saint's enemies, and restored him to his patriarchal chair.§

Soon after this, the Council of Sardica confirmed the Bishop of Rome in his right of receiving appeals from all the churches in the world.|| Even the pagan historian, Ammianus, about the same time bears testimony to the superior authority of the Roman pontiff.¶ In the same century, St. Basil, St. Hilary, St. Epiphanius, St. Ambrose, and other fathers and doctors, teach the same thing. Let it suffice to say, that the first named of these, scruples not to advise that the pope should send visiters to the eastern churches, to correct the disorders which the Arians had caused in them; ** and that the last mentioned represents communion with the Bishop of Rome, as communion with the Catholic Church.†† I must add, that the great St. Chrysostom having been soon after unjustly deposed from his see in the eastern metropolis, was restored to it by the authority of Pope Innocent; that Pope Leo termed his church "the head of the world," because its spiritual power, as he alleged, extended further than the temporal power of Rome had ever extended.‡‡ Finally, the learned St. Jerom, being distracted with the disputes among three parties, which divided the Church of Antioch, to which church he was then subject, wrote for directions, on this head, to Pope Damasus, as follows: "I, who am but a sheep, apply to my shepherd for succor. I am united in communion with your holiness; that is to say, with the chair of Peter. I know that church is built upon that *rock*. He who eats the paschal lamb out of that house is profane. Whoever is not in Noah's ark will perish by the deluge. I know

* Ep. 29. † Euseb. Chron. An. 44. ‡ Epist. ad Marc.

§ Socrat. Hist. l. ii. c. 2. Zozom. || Can. 3. ¶ Rerum Gest. l. xv.

** Epist. 52. †† Orat. in Obiit Satyr.

‡‡ Serm. de Nat. Apos. This sentiment, another father of the church, in the following century, St. Prosper, expressed in these lines:—

"Sedes Roma Petri, quæ, *pastoralis honoris*
Facta caput mundo, quidquid non possidet armis,
Religione tenet."

nothing of Vitalis, I reject Meletius, I am ignorant of Paulinus he who does not gather with thee, scatters," &c.* It were useless, after this, to cite the numerous testimonies to the pope's supremacy, which St. Augustin, and all the fathers, doctors, and church historians, and all the general councils bear, down to the present time. However, as the authority of our apostle, Pope Gregory the Great, is claimed by most Protestant divines on their side, and is alluded to by Bishop Porteus,† merely for having censured the pride of John, Patriarch of Constantinople, in assuming to himself the title of *œcumenical* or *universal bishop*; it is proper to show, that this pope, like all the others who went before him, and came after him, did claim and exercise the power of supreme pastor, throughout the church. Speaking of this very attempt of John, he says: "The care of the whole church was committed to Peter, and yet he is not called the universal apostle."‡ With respect to the See of Constantinople, he says: "Who doubts but it is subject to the apostolical see?" and again, "When bishops commit a fault, I know not what bishop is not subject to it," (*the See of Rome.*)§ As no pope was ever more vigilant in discharging the duties of his exalted station, than St. Gregory, so none of them, perhaps, exercised more numerous or widely extended acts of the supremacy, than he did. It is sufficient to cite here his directions to St. Augustin of Canterbury, whom he had sent into this island for the conversion of our Saxon ancestors, and who had consulted him, by letter, how he was to act with respect to the French bishops, and the bishops of this island, namely, the British prelates in Wales, and the Pictish and Scotch in the northern parts? To this question Pope Gregory returns an answer in the following words: "We give you no jurisdiction over the bishops of Gaul, because, from ancient times, my predecessors have conferred the *pallium* (the ensign of legatine authority) on the Bishop of Arles, whom we ought not to deprive of the authority he has received. But we commit all the bishops of Britain to your care, that the ignorant among them may be instructed, the weak strengthened, and the perverse corrected by your authority."|| After this, is it possible to believe, that Bishop Porteus and his fellow-writers ever read Venerable Bede's History of the English Nation? But if they could ever succeed in proving, that Christ had not built his church upon St. Peter and his successors, and had not given to them the keys of the kingdom of heaven; it would still remain for them to prove that he had founded any part of it on Henry VIII., Ed.

* Ep. ad Damas.

† P. 78.

‡ Ep. Greg. l. v. 20.

§ L. ix. 59

|| His. Bed. l. i. c. 27. Resp. 9. Spelm. Council, p. 98.

ward VI. and their successors, or that he had given the mystical keys to Elizabeth and her successors. I have shown, in a former letter, that these sovereigns exercised a more despotic power over all the ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs of this realm, than any pope ever did, even in the city of Rome; and that the changes in religion, which took place in their reigns, were effected by them and their agents, not by the bishops or any clergy whatever; and yet no one will pretend to show from Scripture, tradition, or reason, that these princes had received any greater power from Christ, over the doctrine and discipline of his church, than he conferred upon Tiberius, Pilate, or Herod, or than he has given, at the present day, to the great Turk or the Lama of Thibet, in their respective dominions.

Before I close this letter, I think it right to state the sentiments of a few eminent Protestants, respecting the pope's supremacy. I have already mentioned that Luther acknowledged it, and submissively bowed to it, during the three first years of his dogmatizing about justification; and till his doctrine was condemned at Rome. In like manner, our Henry VIII. asserted it, and wrote a book in defence of it; in reward of which the pope conferred upon him and his successors the new title of *Defender of the Faith*. Such was his doctrine; till, becoming amorous of his queen's maid of honor, Ann Bullein, and finding the pope conscientiously inflexible, in refusing to grant him a divorce from the former, and to sanction an adulterous connection with the latter, he set himself up as *supreme head of the Church of England*, and maintained his claim by the arguments of halts, knives, and axes. James I. in his first speech in Parliament, termed Rome "the mother church," and in his writings allowed the pope to be "the Patriarch of the West." The late Archbishop Wake, after all his bitter writings against the pope and the Catholic Church, coming to discuss the terms of a proposed union between this church and that of England, expressed himself willing to allow a certain superiority to the Roman pontiff.* Bishop Bramhall had expressed the same sentiment,† sensible, as he was, that no peace or order could subsist in the Christian church, any more than in a political state, without a supreme authority. Of the truth of this maxim, two others, among the greatest men whom Protestantism has to boast of, the Lutheran Melancthon, and the Calvinist Hugo Grotius, were deeply persuaded. The former had written to prove the pope to be Antichrist; but seeing the animosities, the divisions, the errors, and the impieties of the pretended reform-

* "Suo gaudeat qualicumque Primatu. See Maclaine's Third Appendix to Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. v.

† Answer to Militiere.

ers, with whom he was connected, and the utter impossibility of putting a stop to these evils, without returning to the ancient system, he wrote to Francis I. of France: "We acknowledge, in the first place, that ecclesiastical government is a thing holy and salutary; namely, that there should be certain bishops to govern the pastors of several churches, and that **THE ROMAN PONTIFF** should be above all the bishops. For the church stands in need of governors, to examine and ordain those who are called to the ministry, and to watch over their doctrine; so that, if there were no bishops, they ought to be created."* The latter great man, Grotius, was learned, wise, and always consistent. In proof of this he wrote as follows, to the minister, Rivet: "All who are acquainted with Grotius, know how earnestly he has wished to see Christians united together in one body. This he once thought might have been accomplished by a union among Protestants; but, afterwards, he saw that this is impossible. Because, not to mention the aversion of Calvinists to every sort of union, Protestants are not bound by any ecclesiastical government, so that they can neither be united at present, nor prevented from splitting into fresh divisions. Therefore Grotius now is fully convinced, as many others are also, that Protestants never can be united among themselves, unless they join those who adhere to the Roman See; without which there never can be any general church government. Hence, he wishes that the revolt and the causes of it may be removed; among which causes, the primacy of the Bishop of Rome was not one, as Melancthon confessed, who also thought that primacy necessary to restore union."

I am, yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XLVII.—TO JAMES BROWN, JUN., ESQ.,

ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE LITURGY, AND ON
READING THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

DEAR SIR—

I AGREE with your worthy father, that the departure of the Rev. Mr. Clayton to a foreign country, is a loss to your Salopian Society in more respects than one; and as it is his wish that I should address the few remaining letters I have to write, in an-

* D'Argentre, Collect. Jud. t. i. p. 2.—Bercastle and Feller relate, that Melancthon's mother, who was a Catholic, having consulted him about her religion, he persuaded her to continue in it.

swer to Bishop Porteus's book, to you, sir, who, it seems, agree with him in the main, but not altogether, on religious subjects, I shall do so for your own satisfaction and that of your friends, who are still pleased to hear me upon them. Indeed the remaining controversies between that prelate and myself are of light moment, compared with those I have been treating of, as they consist chiefly of disciplinary matters, subject to the control of the church, or of particular facts, misrepresented by his lordship.

The first of these points of changeable discipline, which the bishop mentions, or rather declaims upon throughout a whole chapter, is the use of the Latin tongue in the public liturgy of the Latin Church. It is natural enough that the Church of England, which is of modern date, and confined to its own domain, should adopt its own language, in its public worship; and, for a similar reason, it is proper that the Great Western or Latin Church, which was established by the apostles, when the Latin tongue was the vulgar tongue of Europe, and which still is the common language of educated persons in every part of it, should retain this language in her public service. When the bishop complains of "our worship being performed in *an unknown tongue*," and of our "wicked and cruel cunning, in *keeping people in darkness*," by this means, under pretext that "they reverence what they do not understand," he must be conscious of the irreligious calumnies he is uttering; knowing, as he does, that Latin is, perhaps, still the most general language of Christianity,* and that where it is not commonly understood, it is *not the church which introduced a foreign language* among the people, but it is the *people who have forgotten their ancient language*. So far removed is the Catholic Church from "the wicked and cruel cunning of keeping people in ignorance," by retaining her original apostolical languages, the Latin and the Greek; that she strictly commands her pastors everywhere, "to inculcate the word of God, and the lessons of salvation, to the people in their vulgar tongue, every Sunday and Festival throughout the year,"† and to "explain to them the nature and meaning of her divine worship as frequently as possible."‡ In like manner, we are so far from imagining, that the less our people understand of our liturgy, the more they reverence it, that we are quite sure of precisely the contrary; particularly with respect to our principal liturgy, the adorable sacrifice of the Mass.

* The Latin language is vernacular in Hungary and the neighboring countries; it is taught in all the Catholic settlements of the universe: and it approaches so near to the Italian, Spanish, and French, as to be understood, in a general kind of way, by those who use these languages.

† Concil. Trid. Sess. xxiv. c. 7.

‡ Idem. Sess. xxi. c. 8.

True it is, that a part of this is performed by the priest in silence; because, being a sacred action, as well as a form of words, some of the prayers which the priest says, would not be proper or rational in the mouths of the people.—Thus, the high priest of old went *alone* into the tabernacle, to make the atonement;* and thus Zachary offered incense in the temple *by himself*; while the multitude prayed without.† But this is no detriment to the faithful, as they have translations of the liturgy, and other books in their hands, by means of which or of their own devotion, they can join with the priest in every part of the solemn worship; as the Jewish people united with their priests, in the sacrifices above-mentioned.

But we are referred by his lordship to 1 Cor. xiv., in order “to see what St. Paul would have judged of the Romanists’ practice, in retaining the Latin liturgy;” which, after all, he himself and St. Peter established where it now prevails. I answer, that there is not a word in that chapter which mentions or alludes to the public liturgy, which at Corinth was, as it is still, performed in the old Greek; the whole of it regarding an imprudent and ostentatious use of the gift of tongues in speaking all kinds of languages; which gift many of the faithful possessed at the time, in common with the apostles. The very reason, alleged by St. Paul, for prohibiting extempore prayers and exhortations, which no one understood, namely, that *all things should be done decently and according to order*, is the principal motive of the Catholic Church for retaining, in her worship, the original languages employed by the apostles. She is, as I before remarked, a *universal church*, spread over the face of the globe, and composed “of all nations, and tribes, and tongues,” Rev. vii. 9, and these tongues constantly changing; so, that instead of the uniformity of worship, as well as of faith, which is so necessary for that *decency and order*, there would be nothing but confusion, disputes, and changes in every part of her liturgy, if it were performed in so many different languages and dialects; with the constant danger of some alteration or other in the essential forms, which would vitiate the very sacrament and sacrifice. The advantage of an ancient language, for religious worship, over a modern one, in this and other respects, is acknowledged by the Cambridge Professor of Divinity, Dr. Hey. He says, that such a one “is fixed and venerable, free from vulgarity, and even more perspicuous.”‡ But to return to Bishop Porteus’s appeal to the judgment of St. Paul, concerning “the Romanists’ practice, in retaining the language with the substance of their primitive liturgy,” I leave you, dear sir, and

* Levit. xvi. 17.

† Luke i. 10.

‡ Lectures, vol. iv. p. 191

your friends, to pronounce upon it, after I shall have stated the following facts: 1st, that St. Paul himself wrote an epistle, which forms part of the liturgy of all Christian churches, to these very *Romanists*, in the *Greek language*, though they themselves made use of the Latin:* 2dly, that the Jews, after they had exchanged their original Hebrew for the Chaldaic tongue, during the Babylonish captivity, continued to perform their liturgy in the former language, though the vulgar did not understand it:† and that our Saviour Christ, as well as his apostles, and other devout friends, attended this service in the temple, and the Synagogue, without ever censuring it: 3dly, that the Greek churches, in general, no less than the Latin Church, retain their original pure Greek tongue in their liturgy, though the common people have forgotten it, and adopted different barbarous dialects instead of it:‡ 4thly, that Patriarch Luther maintained, against Carlostad, that the language of public worship was a matter of indifference. Hence, his disciples professed, in their Augsburg Confession, to retain the Latin language in certain parts of their service. Lastly, that when the Establishment endeavored, under Elizabeth, and afterwards under Charles I. to force their liturgy upon the Irish Catholics, it was not thought necessary to translate it into Irish, but it was constantly read in English, of which the natives did not understand a word: thus “furnishing the papists with an excellent argument against themselves,” as Dr. Heylin observes.§

The bishop has next a long letter on what he calls *the prohibition of the Scriptures*, by the Romanists; in which he confuses and disguises the subjects he treats of, to beguile and inflame ignorant readers. I have treated this matter, at some length, in a former letter, and therefore shall be brief in what I write upon it in this: but what I do write shall be explicit and clear. It is a wicked calumny then, that the Catholic Church undervalues the Holy Scriptures, or prohibits the use of them. On the contrary, it is she that has religiously preserved them, as the inspired word of God, and his invaluable gift to man, during these eighteen centuries: it is she alone that can and does vouch for their *authenticity*, their *purity*, and their *inspiration*. But then, she knows that there is an *unwritten word of God*, called tradition, as well as a *written word*, the Scriptures; that the former is the *evidence for the authority* of the latter, and that when nations had been *converted*, and churches formed by the *unwritten word*, the authority of this was nowise *abrogated*

* St. Jerom, Epist. 123.

† Walton's Polyglot Proleg. Hey, &c.

‡ Mosheim, by Maclaine, vol. ii. p. 575.

§ Ward has successfully ridiculed this attempt in his *England's Reformation*, Canto II.

by the inspired epistles and gospels, which the apostles and evangelists occasionally sent to such nations or churches. In short, both these words together form the Catholic rule of faith. On the other hand, the church, consisting, according to its more general division, of two distinct classes, the *pastors* and their *flocks*, the *preachers* and their *hearers*; each has his particular duties in the point under consideration, as well as in other respects. The pastors are bound to study the rule of faith in both its parts, with unwearied application, to be enabled to acquit themselves of the *first of all their duties*, that of *preaching the gospel* to their people.* Hence St. Ambrose calls the sacred Scripture *the Sacerdotal Book*, and the Council of Cologne orders that it should “never be out of the hands of ecclesiastics.” In fact, the Catholic clergy must, and do employ no small portion of their time, every day, in reading different portions of Holy Writ. But no such obligation is generally incumbent on the flock, that is, on the laity; it is sufficient for them to hear the word of God from those whom God has appointed to announce and to explain it to them, whether by sermons, or catechisms, or other good books, or in the tribunal of penance. Thus, it is not the bounden duty of all good subjects to read and study the laws of their country: it is sufficient for them to hear and to submit to the decisions of the judges, and other legal officers, pronouncing upon them; and, by the same rule, the latter would be inexcusable if they did not make the law and constitution their constant study, in order to decide right. Still, however, the Catholic Church never did prohibit the reading of the Scriptures to the laity: she only required, by way of preparation for this most difficult and important study, that they should have received so much education as would enable them to read the sacred books in their original languages, or in that ancient and venerable Latin version, the fidelity of which she guarantees to them; or in case they were desirous of reading it in a modern tongue, that they should be furnished with some attestation of their piety and docility, in order to prevent their turning his salutary food of souls into a deadly poison, as, it is universally confessed, so many thousands constantly have done. At present, however, the chief pastors have everywhere relaxed these disciplinary rules; and vulgar translations of the whole Scripture are upon sale, and open to every one, in Italy itself, with the express approbation of the Roman pontiff. In these islands, we have an English version of the Bible in folio, in quarto, and in octavo forms, against which our opponents have no other objection to make, except that it is too literal, † that is,

* Trid. Sess. v. cap. 2. Gess. xxv. cap. 4.

† See the Bishop of Lincoln's Elements of Theol. vol. ii. p. 10.

too faithful —But Dr. Porteus professes not to admit of any restriction whatever, “on the reading of what heaven hath revealed, with respect to any part of mankind.” No doubt, *the revealed truths themselves* are to be made known as much as possible to all mankind; but it does not follow from hence, that all mankind are to read the Scriptures: there are passages in them, which, I am confident, his lordship would not wish his daughters to peruse; and which, in fact, were prohibited to the Jews till they had attained the age of thirty.* Again, as Lord Clarendon, Mr. Grey, Dr. Hey, &c., agree, that the misapplication of Scripture was the cause of the destruction of church and state, and of the murder of the king in the grand rebellion; and as he must be sensible, from his own observation, that the same cause exposed the nation to the same calamities in the Protestant riots of 1780, I am confident the bishop, as a Christian, no less than as a British subject, would have taken the Bible out of the hands of Hugh Peters, Oliver Cromwell, Lord George Gordon, and their respective crews, if this had been in his power. I will affirm the same, with respect to Count Emanuel Swedenborg, the founder of the modern sect of New Jerusalemites, who taught that no one had understood the Scriptures, till the sense of them was revealed to him; as also with respect to Joanna Southcote, foundress of a still more modern sect, and who, I believe, tormented the bishop himself with her rhapsodies, in order to persuade him that she was the woman of Genesis, destined to *crush the serpent’s head*, and the woman of the Revelations, *clothed with the sun, and crowned with twelve stars*. Nay, I greatly deceive myself if the prelate would not be glad to take away every hot-brained dissenter’s Bible, who employs it in persuading the people that the Church of England is a rag of Popery, and a spawn of the whore of Babylon. In short, whatever Dr. Porteus may choose to say of an unrestricted perusal and interpretation of the Scriptures, with respect to all sorts of persons, it is certain, that many of the wisest and most learned divines of his church have lamented this as one of her greatest misfortunes. I will quote the words of one of them. “Aristarchus of old, could hardly find seven wise men in all Greece; but amongst us, it is difficult to find the same number of ignorant persons. They are all doctors and divinely inspired. There is not a fanatic or a mountebank, from the lowest class of the people, who does not vent his dreams, for the word of God. The bottomless pit seems to be opened, and there come out of it locusts with stings; a swarm of sectaries and

* St. Jerom in Proem. to Ezech. St. Greg. Naz. de Moderand. Disp.

heretics, who have renewed all the heresies of former ages, and added to them numerous and monstrous errors of their own.*

Since the above was written, the *Bibliomania*, or rage for the letter of the Bible, has been carried, in this country, to the utmost possible length, by persons of almost every description, Christians and infidels; Trinitarians, who worship God in three persons, and Unitarians, who hold such worship to be idolatrous; Pædobaptists, who believe they become Christians by baptism; Anabaptists, who plunge such Christians into the water, as mere pagans; and Quakers, who ridicule all baptism, except that of their own imagination; Arminian Methodists, who believe themselves to have been justified without repentance, and Antinomian Methodists, who maintain that they shall be saved without keeping the laws either of God or man; Churchmen, who glory in having preserved the whole orders, and part of the missal and ritual of the Catholics; and the countless sects of dissenters, who join in condemning these things as antichristian Popery. All these have forgotten, for a long time, their characteristical tenets, and united in enforcing the *reading of the Bible* as the only thing necessary! The Bible societies are content that all these contending religionists should affix whatever meaning they please to the Bible, provided only they read the text of the Bible! Nay, they are satisfied if they can but get the Hindoo worshippers of Juggernaut, the Thibet adorers of the Grand Lama, and the Taboo cannibals of the Pacific Ocean, to do the same thing; vainly fancying that this lecture will reform the vicious, reclaim the erroneous, and convert the pagans. In the mean time, the experience of fourteen years proves, that theft, forgery, robbery, murder, suicide, and other crimes go on increasing with the most alarming rapidity; that every sect clings to its original errors, that not one pagan is converted to Christianity, nor one Irish Catholic persuaded to exchange his faith for a Bible book. When will these Bible enthusiasts comprehend what learned and wise Christians of every age have known and taught, *that the word of God consists not in the letter of Scripture, but in the meaning of it!* Hence it follows, that a Catholic child, who is grounded in his short but comprehensive *First Catechism*, so called, knows more of the revealed word of God, than a Methodist preacher does, who has read the whole Bible ten times over. The sentiment expressed above is not only that of St. Jerom† and other Catholic writers, but also of the learned Protestant bishop whom I have already quoted. He says, “The word of God does not consist in mere

* Walton's Polyglot Prolegom.

† Cap. I. ad Galat.

letters, but in the sense of it, which no one can better interpret than the true church, to which Christ committed this sacred deposit."*—I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XLVIII.—TO JAMES BROWN, JUN., ESQ.

ON VARIOUS MISREPRESENTATIONS.

DEAR SIR—

THE learned prelate, who is celebrated for having concentrated the five sermons of his patron, Archbishop Secker, and the more diffusive declamation of Primate Tillotson against Popery, having gone through his regular charges on this topic, tries, in the end, to overwhelm the Catholic cause, with an accumulation of petty, or, at least, secondary objections, in a chapter which he entitles, *Various Corruptions and Superstitions of the Church of Rome*. The first of these is, that Catholics "equal the apochryphal with the canonical books" of Scripture; to which I answer, that the same authority, namely, the authority of the Catholic Church, in the fifth century, which decided on the canonical character of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Revelations, and five other books of the New Testament, on the character of which, till that time, the fathers and ecclesiastical writers were not agreed, decided also on the canonicity of the books of Tobias, Judith, and five other books of the Old Testament, being those which the prelate alludes to as apochryphal. If the church of the fifth century deserves to be heard in one part of her testimony, she evidently deserves to be heard in the other part.—His second objection is, that "the Romish Church," as he calls the Catholic Church, has made "a modern addition of five new sacraments to the two appointed by Christ; making also the priest's intention necessary to the benefit of them." I have, in the course of these letters, vindicated the divine institution of these five sacraments, and have shown that they are acknowledged to be sacraments, no less than the other two, by the Nestorian and Eutychian heretics, &c., who separated from the church almost fourteen hundred years ago, and, in short, by all the Christian congregations of the world, except a comparatively few modern ones, called Protestants, in the north of Europe. Is it from ignorance, or wilful misrepresentation, that the Bishop of London charges "the Romish Church with the modern addition of five new sacraments?" With respect to the *intention of*

* Walton's Proleg.

the minister of a sacrament, I presume there is no sensible person who does not see the essential difference there is between an action that is *seriously performed*, and the *mimicking* or *mockery* of it by a comedian or buffoon. Luther, indeed, wrote that "the devil himself would perform a true sacrament, if he used the right matter and form;" but I trust that you, sir, and my other friends, will not subscribe to such an extravagance. I have also discussed the subjects of relics and miracles, which the prelate next brings forward, so that it is not necessary for me to say any thing more about them, than that the church, instead of "venerating fictitious relics, and inventing lying miracles," as he most calumniously accuses her of doing, is strict to an excess in examining the proofs of them both, as he would learn, if he took the pains to inquire. In short, there are but about two or three articles in his lordship's accumulated charges against his *mother church*, which seem to require a particular answer from me at present. One of these is the following: "if the same bad tendency is their (the Catholics) engaging such multitudes of people in vows of celibacy and useless retirement from the world, their obliging them to silly austerities and abstinences, of no real value, as matters of great merit." In the first place, the church never *engages* any person whomsoever in a vow of celibacy; on the contrary, she exerts her utmost power and severest censures to prevent this obligation from being contracted *rashly*, or under any *undue influence*.* True it is, she teaches that continency is a state of greater perfection than matrimony; but so does St. Paul,† and Christ himself,‡ in words too explicit and forcible to admit of controversy on the part of any sincere Christian. True it is, also, that having the choice of her sacred ministers, she selects those for the service of her altar, and for assisting the faithful in their spiritual wants, who voluntarily embrace this more perfect state;§ but so has the Establishment expressed her wish to do also, in that very act which allows her clergy to marry.|| In

* Concil. Trid. Sess. xxv. De Reg. cap. 15, 16, 17, 18.

† See the whole chapter vii. of 1 Cor.

‡ Matt. xix. 12.

§ The second Council of Carthage, Can. 3, and Epiphanius, Hær. 48, 59 trace the discipline of sacerdotal continence up to the apostles.

|| "Although it were not only better for the estimation of priests and other ministers to live chaste, sole, and separated from women, and the bond of marriage, but also they might thereby the better attend to the administration of the gospel; and it were to be wished that they would willingly endeavor themselves to a life of chastity," &c. 2 Ewd. vi. c. 21. See the injunction of Queen Elizabeth, against the admission of women into colleges, cathedrals, &c., in Strype's Life of Parker. See likewise a remarkable instance of her rudeness to that archbishop's wife. Ibid, and in Nicol's Progresses, A. D. 1561.

like manner, I need go no further than the Homily on Fasting, or the "Table of Vigils, Fasts, and Days of Abstinence, to be observed in the year," prefixed to *the Common Prayer-book*, to justify our doctrine and practice, which the bishop finds fault with, in the eyes of every consistent church Protestant. I believe the most severe austerities of our saints never surpassed those of Christ's precursor, whom he so much commended,* clothed as he was with hair-cloth, and fed with the locusts of the desert.

In a former letter to your society, I have replied to what the bishop here says concerning the deposing of kings by the Roman pontiff, and have established facts by which it appears, that more princes were actually dispossessed of the whole, or a large part, of their dominions by the pretended gospel liberty of the Reformation, within the first fifty years of this being proclaimed, than the popes had attempted to depose during the preceding fifteen hundred years of their supremacy. To this accusation another of a more alarming nature is tacked, that of our "annulling the most sacred promises and engagements, when made to the prejudice of the church." These are other words for the vile, hackneyed calumny of our *not keeping faith with heretics.*† In refutation of this, I might appeal to the doctrine of our theologians,‡ and to the oaths of the British Catholics; but I choose rather to appeal to historical facts, and to the practical lessons of the leading men by whom these have been conducted. I have mentioned that when the Catholic queen, Mary, came to the throne, a Protestant usurper, Lady Jane, was set up against her, and that the bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Poynt, Sandys, and every other Protestant of any note, broke their allegiance and engagements to her, for no other reason than because she was a Catholic, and the usurper a Protestant. On the other hand, when Mary was succeeded by her Protestant sister, Elizabeth, though the Catholics were then far more numerous and powerful than the Protestants, not a hand was raised, nor a seditious sermon preached against her. In the mean time, on the other side of the Tweed, where the new gossellers had deposed their sovereign, and usurped her power, their apostle, Knox, publicly preached, that "neither promise nor oath can oblige any man to obey, or give assistance to ty-

* Matt. xi. 9.

† In the Protestant Charter-school Catechism, which is taught by authority, the following question and answer occur, p. 9. "Q. How do Papists treat those whom they call heretics?" A. They hold that faith is not to be kept with heretics, and that the pope can absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance to their sovereigns."

‡ See in particular the Jesuit Becanus, *De Fide Hæreticis præstanda.*

rants against God ;”* to which lesson his colleague, Goodman, added : “ If governors fall from God, to the gallows with them.”† A third fellow-laborer in the same gospel cause, Buchanan, maintained, that “ princes may be deposed by their people, if they be tyrants against God and his truth, and that their subjects are free from their oaths and obedience.”‡ The same in substance were the maxims of Calvin, Beza, and the Huguenots of France, in general ; the temporal interest of their religion was the ruling principle of their morality. But, to return to our own country : the enemies of church and state having hunted down the Earl of Strafford, and procured him to be attainted of high treason, the king, Charles I., declared that he *could not, in conscience, concur to his death* ; when, the case being referred to the archbishops Usher and Williams, and three other Anglican bishops, they decided (in spite of his majesty’s conscience, and his oath to administer justice and mercy) that he might, *in conscience*, send this *innocent peer to the block*, which he did accordingly.§ I should like to ask Bishop Porteus, whether this decision of his predecessors was not *the dispensation of an oath*, and the *annulling of the most sacred of all obligations* ? In like manner most of the leading men of the nation, with most of the clergy, having sworn to the *solemn league and covenant*, for the more effectual extirpation of Popery, they were *dispensed with* from the keeping of it by an express clause in the Act of Uniformity.|| But whereas by a clause of the oath in the same act, all subjects of the realm, down to constables and school-masters, were obliged to swear, that “ It is not lawful, upon *any pretence whatsoever*, to take up arms against the king ;” this oath, in its turn, was universally dispensed with in the churches and in Parliament at the revolution. I have mentioned these few facts and maxims concerning Protestant dispensations of oaths and engagements, in case any of your society may object that some popes have been too free in pronouncing such dispensations. Should this have been the case, they alone, personally,

* In his book addressed to the nobles and people of Scotland.

† De Obedient.

‡ History of Scotland. The same was the express doctrine of the Geneva Bible, translated by Coverdale, Goodman, &c., in that city, and in common use among the English Protestants, till King James’s reign ; for in a note on verse 12 of 2d Matt. these translators expressly say, “ A promise ought not to be kept where God’s honor and *preaching of his truth* is injured.” Hist. Acct. of Eng. Translations, by A. Johnson, in Watson’s Collect. vol. iii. p. 93.

§ Collier’s Church History, vol. ii. p. 801. On the other hand, when several of the Parliament’s soldiers, who had been taken prisoners at Brentford, had sworn never again to bear arms against the king, they were “ absolved from that oath,” says Clarendon, “ by their divines.” Exam. of Neal’s Hist. by Grey, vol. iii. p. 10.

|| Statute 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 4.

and not the Catholic Church, were accountable for it, both to God and man.

I have often wondered, in a particular manner, at the confidence with which Bishop Porteus asserts and denies facts of ancient church-history, in opposition to the known truth. An instance of this occurs in the conclusion of the chapter before me, where he says:—"The primitive church did not attempt, for several hundred years, to make any doctrine necessary, which we do not: as the learned well know from their writings."* The falsehood of this position must strike you, on looking back to the authorities adduced by me from the ancient fathers and historians, in proof of the several points of controversy which I have maintained: but, to render it still more glaring, I will recur to the histories of AERIUS and VIGILANTIUS, two different heretics of the fourth century. Both St. Epiphanius† and St. Augustin‡ rank Aerius among the heresiarchs, or founders of heresy, and both give exactly the same account of his three characteristic errors; the first of which is avowed by all Protestants, namely, that "prayers and sacrifices are not to be offered up for the dead;" and the two others by most of them; namely, that "there is no obligation of observing the appointed days of fasting, and that priests ought not to be distinguished, in any respect, from bishops.§ So far were the primitive Christians from tolerating these heresies, that the supporters of them were denied the use of a place of worship, and were forced to perform it in forests and caverns.|| Vigilantius likewise condemned prayers for the dead, but he equally reprobated prayers to the saints, the honoring of their relics, and the celibacy of the clergy, together with vows of continence in general. Against these errors, which I need not tell you, Dr. Porteus now patronises, as Vigilantius formerly did, St. Jerom directs all the thunder of his eloquence, declaring them to be *sacrilegious*, and the author of them to be a *detestable heretic*.¶ The learned Fleury observes, that the impious novelties of this heretic made no proselytes, and, therefore, that there was no need of a council to condemn them.** Finally, to convince yourself, dear sir, how far the ancient fathers were from tolerating different communions or religious tenets in the Catholic Church, conformably to the prelate's monstrous system, of a Catholic Church, composed of all the discordant and disunited sects in Christendom, be pleased to consult again the passages which I have collected from the works of the former, in my

* P. 73.

† Hæres's 75.

‡ De Hæres. tom. vi. Ed. Frob.

§ Ibid. St. John Damascen and St. Isidore equally condemn these tenets as heretical.

|| Fleury's Hist. ad. An. 392.

¶ Epist. 1 and 2, adversus Vigilant.

** Ad. An. 405.

fourteenth letter to your society ; or, what is still more demonstrative, on this point, observe, in ecclesiastical history, how the Quarto-decimans, the Novatians,* the Donatists, and the Luciferians, though their respective errors are mere mole-hills, compared with the mountains which separate the Protestant communions from ours, were held forth as heretics by the fathers, and treated as such by the church, in her councils.—I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XLIX.—TO JAMES BROWN, JUN. ESQ

ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

DEAR SIR—

I PROMISED to treat the subject of religious persecution apart ; a subject of the utmost importance in itself, and which is spoken of by the Bishop of London in the following terms : “ They, the Romish Church, zealously maintain their claim of punishing whom they please to call heretics, with penalties, imprisonment, tortures, and death.” † Another writer, whom I have quoted above, says, that this church “ breathes the very spirit of cruelty and murder.” ‡ Indeed, most Protestant controvertists seem to vie with each other, in the vehemence and bitterness of the terms by which they endeavor to affix this most odious charge of cruelty and murder, on the Catholic Church. This is the favorite topic of preachers, to excite the hatred of their hearers against their fellow Christians ; this is the last resource of baffled hypocrites. *If you admit the Papists, they cry, to equal rights, these wretches must and will certainly murder you, as soon as they can : the fourth Lateran Council has established the principle, and the bloody Queen Mary has acted upon it.*

I. To proceed regularly in this matter, I begin with expressly denying the Bishop of London’s charge ; namely, that the Catholic Church “ maintains a claim of punishing heretics with penalties, imprisonment, tortures, and death ;” and I assert, on the contrary, that she *disclaims the power* of so doing. Pope Leo the Great, who flourished in the fourth century, writing about the Manichean heretics, who, as he asserted, laid all modesty aside, prohibiting the matrimonial connection, and subverting all law, human and divine,” says, that “ the ecclesias-

* St. Cyprian being consulted about the nature of Novatian’s errors, answered : “ There is no need of a strict inquiry *what errors* he teaches, while he *teaches out of the church.*” He elsewhere writes : “ The church being one, cannot be, at the same time, within and without. If she be with Novatian, she is not with (Pope) Cornelius ; if she be with Cornelius, Novatian is not in her.” Epist. 76, ad Mag.

† Confut. p. 71.

‡ De Coetlogan’s Seasonable Caution, p. 15.

tical lenity was content, even in this case, with the sacerdotal judgment; and avoided all sanguinary punishments,"* however the secular emperors might inflict them for reasons of state. In the same century, two Spanish bishops, Ithacius and Idacius, having interfered in the capital punishment of certain Priscillian heretics, both St. Ambrose and St. Martin refused to hold communion with them, even to gratify an emperor, whose clemency they were soliciting in behalf of certain clients. Long before their time, Tertullian had taught, that "*It does not belong to religion to force religion;*"† and a considerable time after, when St. Augustin and his companions, the envoys of Pope Gregory the Great, had converted our King Ethelbert to the Christian faith, they particularly inculcated to him, not to use forcible means to induce any of his subjects to follow his example.‡ But what need of more authorities on this head, since our canon law, as it stood in ancient times, and as it still stands, renders all those who have actively concurred to the death or mutilation of any human being, whether Catholic or heretic, Jew or pagan, or even in a just war, or by exercising the art of surgery, or by judicial proceedings, *irregular*; that is to say, such persons cannot be promoted to holy orders, or to exercise those orders, if they have actually received them. Nay, when an ecclesiastical judge or tribunal has, after due examination, pronounced that any person, accused of obstinate heresy, is actually guilty of it, he is required by the church, expressly, to declare in her name, that her power extends no further than such decision: and, in case the obstinate heretic is liable, by the laws of the state, to suffer death or mutilation, the judge is required to pray for his pardon. Even the Council of Constance, in condemning John Huss of heresy, declared that its power extended no further.§

II. But, whereas many heresies are subversive of the established governments, the public peace, and natural morality, it does not belong to the church to *prevent* princes and states from exercising their just authority in repressing and punishing them, when this is judged to be the case; nor would any clergyman incur irregularity by exhorting princes and magistrates to provide for those important objects, and the safety of the church itself, by repressing its disturbers; provided he did not concur to the death or mutilation of any particular disturber. Thus it appears that, though there have been persecuting laws in many Catholic states, the church itself, so far from *claiming*, actually *disclaims the power of persecuting*.

III. But Dr. Porteus signifies,|| that the church itself has

* Epist. ad Turib. † Ad Scapul. ‡ Bed. Ecc. His. l. i. c. 26

§ Sess xv. See Labbe's Concil. t. xii. p. 129. || Conf. p. 47.

claimed this power in the third canon of the Fourth Lateran Council, A. D. 1215, by the tenor of which, temporal lords and magistrates were required to exterminate all heretics from their respective territories, under pain of these being confiscated to their sovereign prince, if they were laymen, and to their several churches, in case they were clergymen. From this canon it has been, a hundred times over, argued against Catholics, of late years, not only that their church claims a right to *exterminate heretics*, but also requires those of her communion to aid and assist in this work of destruction, at all times, and in all places. But it must first be observed by those who were present at this council, and by *whose authority* these decrees of a temporal nature, were passed. There were then present, besides the pope and the bishops, either in person or by their ambassadors, the Greek and the Latin emperors; the kings of England, France, Hungary, the Sicilies, Arragon, Cyprus, and Jerusalem; and the representatives of a vast many other principalities and states; so that, in fact, this council was a congress of Christendom, temporal as well as spiritual. We must, in the next place, remark the *principal business* which drew them together. It was the *common cause of Christianity and human nature*; namely, the extirpation of the Manichean heresy; which taught, that there were two first principles, or deities: one of them, the creator of devils, of animal flesh, of wine, of the Old Testament, &c. The other, the author of good spirits, of the New Testament, &c.; that unnatural lusts were lawful, but not the propagation of the human species—that perjury was permitted to them, &c.* This detestable heresy, which had caused so much wickedness and bloodshed in the preceding centuries, broke out with fresh fury, in the twelfth century, throughout different parts of Europe, more particularly in the neighborhood of Albi, in Languedoc, where they were supported by the powerful Counts of Thoulouse, Cumminges, Foix, and other feudatory princes; as also, by numerous bodies of banditti, called Rotarii, whom they hired for this purpose. Thus strengthened, they set their sovereigns at defiance, carrying fire and sword through their dominions, murdering their subjects, particularly the clergy, burning the churches and monasteries; in short, waging open war with them, and, at the same time, with Christianity, morality, and human nature itself; casting the Bible into the jakes, profaning the altar-plate, and practising their detestable rites for the extinction of the human species.

* See the Protestant historian Mosheim's account of the shocking violation of decency, and other crimes, of which the Albigenses, Brethren of the Free Spirit, &c., were guilty in the 13th century. Vol. iii. p. 284.

It was to put an end to these horrors that the great Lateran Council was held in the year 1215, when the heresy itself was condemned by the proper authority of the church, and the lands of the feudatory lords, who protected it, were declared to be forfeited to the sovereign princes, of whom they were held, by an *authority derived from those sovereign princes*. The decree of the council regarded only the *prevailing heretics of that time*, who, "though wearing different faces," being indifferently called Albigenses, Cathari, Poplicolæ, Paterini, Bulgari, Bogomillii, Beguini, Beguardi, and Brethren of the Free Spirit, &c., were "all tied together by the tails," as the council expressed it, like Sampson's foxes, in the same band of Manicheanism.* Nor was this exterminating canon ever put in force, against any other heretics, except the Albigenses, nor even against them, except in the case of the above-named counts. It was never so much as published; or talked of, in these islands: so little have Protestants to fear from their Catholic fellow-subjects, by reason of the third canon of the Council of Lateran.†

IV. But they are chiefly the Smithfield fires of Queen Mary's reign, which furnish matter for the inexhaustible declamation of Protestant controvertists, and the unconquerable prejudices of the Protestant populace against the Catholic religion; as breathing "the very spirit of cruelty and murder," according to the expression of one of the above-quoted orators. Nevertheless, I have unanswerably demonstrated elsewhere‡ that, "if Queen Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of the tenets of her religion that she persecuted." I observed, that during almost two years of her reign, no Protestant was molested on account of his religion; that in the instructions which the pope sent her for her conduct on the throne, there is not a word to recommend persecution: nor is there in the synod, which the pope's legate, Cardinal Pole, held at that time, one word, as Burnet remarks, in favor of persecution. This representative of his holiness even opposed the persecution project, with all his influence, as did King Philip's chaplain also, who even preached against it, and defied the advocates of it to produce an authority from Scripture in its favor. In a word, we have the

* For a succinct, yet clear, account of Manicheanism, see Bossuet's *Variations*, Book xi.; also, for many additional circumstances relating to it, see *Letters to a Prebendary*, Letter IV.

† For an account of the rebellious and anti-social doctrine and practices of the Wickliffites and Hussites, see the last-quoted work, Letter IV.; also *History of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 298.

‡ *Letters to a Prebendary*, Letter IV., on Persecution; also *History of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 354, &c. See in the former, p. 149, &c., proofs of the infidelity of the famous martyrologist, John Fox, and of the great abatements which are to be made in his account of the Protestant sufferers.

arguments, made use of in the queen's council, by those advocates for persecution, Gardiner, Bonner, &c., by whose advice it was adopted; yet none of them pretended that the doctrine of the Catholic Church required such a measure. On the contrary, all their arguments are grounded on motives of state policy. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the first Protestants in this, as in other countries, were possessed of and actuated by a spirit of violence and rebellion. Lady Jane was set up, and supported in opposition to the daughters of King Henry, by all the chief men of the party, both churchmen and laymen, as I have already observed. Mary had hardly forgiven this rebellion, when a fresh one was raised against her by the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and all the leading Protestants. In the mean time, her life was attempted by some of them, and her death was publicly prayed for by others; while Knox and Goodman, on the other side of the Tweed, were publishing books *Against the monstrous Regimen of Women*, and exciting the people of this country, as well as their own, to *put their Jezebel to death*. Still, I grant, persecution was not the way to diminish either the number or the violence of the enthusiastic insurgents. With toleration and prudence on the part of the governors, the paroxysm of the governed would quickly have subsided.

V. Finally, whatever may be said of the intolerance of Mary, I trust that this charge will not be brought against the next Catholic sovereign, James II. I have elsewhere* shown, that, when Duke of York, he used his best endeavors to get the act *De Heretico Comburendo* repealed, and to afford an asylum to the Protestant exiles, who flocked to England from France, on the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and, in short, that when king, he lost his crown in the cause of toleration: *his Declaration of Liberty of Conscience* having been the determining cause of his deposition. But what need of words to disprove the odious calumny, that Catholics "breathe the spirit of cruelty and murder," and are obliged, by their religion, to be persecutors, when every one of our gentry who has made the tour of France, Italy, and Germany, has experienced the contrary, and has been as cordially received by the pope himself, in his metropolis of Rome, (where he is both prince and bishop,) in the character of an English Protestant, as if he were known to be the most zealous Catholic! Still, I fear, there are some individuals in your society, as there are many other Protestants of my acquaintance elsewhere, who cling fast to this charge against Catholics, of persecution, as the

* History of Winchester, vol. i. p. 436; Letters to a Prebendary, p. 376.

last resource for their own intolerance; and, it being true, that Catholics have, in some times and places, unsheathed the sword against the heterodox, these persons insist upon it, that it is an essential part of the Catholic religion to persecute. On the other hand, many Protestants, either from ignorance or policy, now-a-days, claim for themselves, exclusively, the credit of toleration. As an instance of this, the Bishop of Lincoln writes:—"I consider toleration as a mark of the true church, and as a principle recommended by the most eminent of our reformers and divines."* In these circumstances, I know but one argument to stop the mouths of such disputants; which is, to prove to them, that persecution has not only been more generally practised by Protestants than by Catholics, but also, that it has been more warmly defended and supported by the most eminent "reformers and divines" of *their* party, than by their opponents.

I. The learned Bergier defies Protestants to mention so much as a town, in which their predecessors, on becoming masters of it, tolerated a single Catholic.† Rousseau, who was educated a Protestant, says, that "the Reformation was intolerant from its cradle, and its authors universally persecutors."‡ Bayle, who was a Calvinist, has published much the same thing. Finally, the Huguenot minister, Jurieu, acknowledges that "Geneva, Switzerland, the Republics, the Electors, and Princes of the Empire, England, Scotland, Sweden, and Denmark, had all employed the power of the state to abolish Popery, and establish the Reformation.§ But to proceed to other more positive proofs of what has been said: the first father of Protestantism finding his new religion, which he had submitted to the pope, condemned by him, immediately sounded the trumpet of persecution and murder against the pontiff, and all his supporters, in the following terms:—"If we send thieves to the gallows, and robbers to the block, why do we not fall on those masters of perdition, the popes, cardinals, and bishops, with all our force, and not give over, till we have bathed our hands in their blood?"|| He elsewhere calls the pope, "a mad wolf, against whom every one ought to take arms, without waiting for an order from the magistrate." He adds, "If you fall before the beast has received its mortal wound, you will have but one thing to be sorry for, that you did not bury your dagger in its breast. All that defend him must be treated like a band of robbers, be they kings or be they Cæsars."¶ By

* Charge in 1812. † Trait. Hist. et Dogmat. ‡ Letters de la Mont.

§ Tab. Lett. quoted by Bossuet, Avereiss, p. 625. || Ad Silvest. Perier

¶ Thesus apud Sleid. A. D. 1545. Opera Luth. tom. I.

these and similar incentives, with which the works of Luther abound, he not only excited the Lutherans themselves to propagate their religion by fire and sword, against the emperor and other Catholic princes, but also gave occasion to all the sanguinary and frantic scenes which the Anabaptists exhibited, at the same time, through the lower parts of Germany. Coeval with these, was the civil war, which another arch-reformer, Zuinglius, lighted up in Switzerland, by way of propagating his peculiar system, and the persecution which he raised equally against the Catholics and the Anabaptists. Even the moderate Melancthon wrote a book in defence of religious persecution,* and the conciliatory Bucer, who became professor of divinity at Cambridge, not satisfied with the burning of the heretic, Servetus, preached that "his bowels ought to have been torn out, and his body chopped to pieces."†

II. But the great champion of persecution, every one knows, was the founder of the second great branch of Protestantism, John Calvin. Not content with burning Servetus, beheading Gruet, and persecuting other distinguished Protestants, Castallo, Bolsec, and Gentilis, (who, being apprehended in the neighboring Protestant canton of Berne, was put to death there,) he set up a consistorial inquisition at Geneva, for forcing every one to conform to his opinions, and required that the magistrates should punish whomsoever this consistory condemned. He was succeeded in his spirit, as well as in his office, by Beza, who wrote a folio work in defence of persecution.‡ In this he shows that Luther, Melancthon, Bullinger, Capito, no less than Calvin, had written works expressly in defence of this principle, which, accordingly, was firmly maintained by Calvin's followers, particularly in France. Bossuet refers to the public records of Nismes, Montpellier, and other places, in proof of the directions issued by the Calvinist consistories to their generals, for "forcing the Papists to embrace the Reformation by taxes, quartering of soldiers upon them, demolishing their houses, &c.; and he says, "the wells into which the Catholics were flung, and the instruments of torture which were used at the first-mentioned city to force them to attend the Protestant sermons, are things of public notoriety."§ In fact, who has not read of the infamous Baron Des Adrets, whose savage sport was, to torture and murder Catholics, in a Catholic kingdom. And who forced his son literally to wash his hands in their blood? Who has not heard of the inhuman Jane, Queen of Navarre, who

* Beza, De Hæret. puniend.

† Ger. Brandt, Hist. Abreg. Refor. Pais Bas, vol. i. p. 151.

‡ De Hæreticis puniendista Civili Magistratu, &c., a Theod. Beza

§ Variat. L. x, m, 52.

massacred priests and religious persons, by hundreds, merely on account of their sacred character? In short, Catholic France, throughout its extent, and during a great number of years, was a scene of desolation and slaughter, from the unrelenting persecution of its Huguenot subjects. Nor was the spectacle dissimilar in the Low Countries, when Calvinism got a footing in them. Their first synod, held in 1574, equally proscribed the Catholics and the Anabaptists, calling upon the magistrates to support their decrees,* which decrees were renewed in several subsequent synods. I have elsewhere quoted a late Protestant writer, who, on the authority of existing public records, describes the horrible torments with which Vandermerk and Sonoï, two generals of the Prince of Orange, put to death incredible numbers of Dutch Catholics.† Other writers furnish more ample details of the same kind.‡ But while the Calvinist ministers continued to stimulate their magistrates to redoubled severities against the Catholics, (for which purpose, among other means, they translated into Dutch, and published the above-mentioned work of Beza,) a new object of their persecution arose in the bosom of their own society: Arminius, Vossius, Episcopius, and some other divines, supported by the illustrious statesmen, Barneveldt and Grotius, declared against the more rigorous of Calvin's maxims. They would not admit, that God decrees men to be wicked, and then punishes them everlastingly for what they cannot help; nor that many persons are in his actual grace and favor, while they are immersed in the most enormous crimes. For denying this, Barneveldt was beheaded.§ Grotius was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and all the remonstrant clergy, as they were called, were banished from their families and their country, with circumstances of the greatest cruelty, at the requisition of the Synod of Dort. In speaking of Lutheranism, I have passed by many persecuting decrees and practices of its adherents against Calvinists and Zuinglians, and many more of Calvinists against Lutherans, while both parties agreed in showing no mercy to the Anabaptists. Before I quit the continent, I must mention the Lutheran kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, in both which, as Jurieu has signified above, the Catholic religion was extirpated, and Protestantism established, by means of rigorous persecuting laws, which denounced the punishment of death against the former. Professor Messenius; who wrote about the year 1600, mentions four Catholics who had recently been put to death in

* Brandt, vol. i. p. 227.

† Letters to a Prebend. p. 103.

‡ See the learned Estius's Hist. of the Martyrs of Gorcum; De Brandt, &c

§ Diodati, quoted by Brandt, says that the canons of Dort carried off the head of Barneveldt

Sweden, on account of their religion, and eight others who had been imprisoned and tortured on that account, of whom he himself was one.*

III. To pass over now to the northern part of our own island. The first reformers of Scotland, having deliberately murdered Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's,† and riotously destroyed the churches, monasteries, and every thing else, which they termed monuments of Popery, assembled in a tumultuous and illegal manner, and before even their own religion was established by law, they condemned the Catholics to capital punishment for the exercise of theirs: "such strangers," says Robertson, "were men, at that time, to the spirit of toleration, and the laws of humanity!"‡ Their chief apostle was John Knox, an apostate friar, who, in all his publications and sermons, maintained, that "it is not birth, but God's election, which confers a right to the throne and to magistracy;" that "no promise nor oath, made to an enemy of the truth, that is, to a Catholic, is binding;" and that "every such enemy, in a high station, is to be deposed."§ Not content with threatening to depose her, he told his queen, to her face, that the Protestants had a right to take the sword of justice into their hands, and to punish her, as Samuel slew Agag, and as Elias slew Jezabel's prophets.|| Conformably with this doctrine, he wrote into England, that "the nobility and people were bound in conscience, not only to withstand the proceedings of that Jezabel, Mary, whom they called queen, but also to put her to death, and all her priests with her."¶ His fellow-apostles, Goodman, Willox, Buchanan, Rough, Black, &c., constantly inculcated to the people the same seditious and persecuting doctrine; and the Presbyterian ministers, in general, earnestly pressed for the execution of their innocent queen, who was accused of a murder, perpetrated by their own Protestant leaders.** The same unrelenting intolerance was seen among the most moderate of their clergy, "when they were assembled by order of King James and his council to inquire, whether the Catholic Earls of Huntly, Errol, and their followers, on making a proper concession, might not be admitted into the church, and be exempt from further punishment?" These ministers then answered, that, "though the gates of mercy are always open for those who repent, yet, as these noblemen had been guilty of idolatry, (the Catholic religion,) a crime deserving death both by the laws of God and man, the civil

* Scandia Illustrat., quoted by Le Brun. Mess. Explic. t. iv. p. 140.

† Gilb. Stuart's Hist. of Ref. in Scotland, vol. i. p. 47, &c.

‡ Hist. of Scotland, An. 1560. § See Collier's Eccle. Hist. vol. ii. p. 442.

|| Stuart's Hist. vol. i. p. 59. ¶ Cited by Dr. Paterson, in his Jerus. and Babel.

** Stuart's Hist. vol. i. p. 255.

magistrates could not legally pardon them, and that, though the church should absolve them, it was his duty to inflict punishment upon them.”* But we need not be surprised at any severity of the Presbyterians against Catholics, when, among other penances, ordained by public authority, against their own members who should break the fast of Lent, *whipping in the church was one.*†

IV. The father of the church of England, under the authority of the Protector Seymour, Duke of Somerset, was confessedly Thomas Cranmer, whom Henry VIII. raised to the Archbishopric of Canterbury; of whom it is difficult to say, whether his obsequiousness to the passions of his successive masters, Henry, Seymour, and Dudley, or his barbarity to the sectaries who were in his power, was the more odious: there is this circumstance which distinguishes him from almost every other persecutor, that he actively promoted the capital punishment, not only of those who differed from him in religion, but also of those who agreed with him in it. It is admitted by his advocates,‡ that he was instrumental, during the reign of Henry, in bringing to the stake the Protestants, Lambert, Askew, Frith, and Allen, besides condemning a great many others to it, for denying the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, which he disbelieved himself;§ and it is equally certain, that during the reign of the child Edward, he continued to convict Arians and Anabaptists capitally, and to press for their execution. Two of these, Joan Knell and George Van Par, he got actually burnt, preventing the young King Edward from pardoning them, by telling him, that “princes, being God’s deputies, ought to punish impieties against him.”|| The two next most eminent fathers of the English church were, unquestionably, Bishop Ridley and Bishop Latimer, both of them noted persecutors, and persecutors of Protestants to the extremity of death, no less than of Anabaptists and other sectaries!¶

Upon the second establishment of the Protestant religion in England, when Elizabeth ascended the throne, it was again buttressed up here, as in every other country where it prevailed, by the most severe, persecuting laws. I have elsewhere shown, from authentic sources, that above two hundred Catholics were hanged, drawn, and quartered, during her reign, for the mere profession or exercise of the religion of their ancestors for almost one thousand years. Of this number, fifteen were condemned

* Robertson’s Hist. Ann. 1596.

† Stuart, vol. ii. p. 94.

‡ Fox, Acts and Monum. Fuller’s Church Hist. b. v.

§ See Letters to a Preb. p. 206. || Burnet’s Church Hist. P. ii. b. i.

¶ See the proofs of these facts collected from Fox, Burnet, Heylin, and Collier, in Letters to a Preb. Letter V.

for denying the queen's spiritual supremacy, one hundred and twenty-six for the exercise of their priestly functions, and the rest for being reconciled to the Catholic Church, for hearing mass, or aiding and abetting Catholic priests.* When to these sanguinary scenes are added those of many hundreds of other Catholics, who perished in dungeons, who were driven into exile, or who were stripped of their property, it will appear that the persecution of Elizabeth's reign was far more grievous than that of her sister Mary, especially when the proper deductions are made from the sufferers under the latter.† Nor was persecution confined to the Catholics; for when great numbers of foreign Anabaptists, and other sectaries, had fled into England, from the fires and gibbets of their Protestant brethren in Holland, they found their situation much worse here, as they complained, than it had been in their own country. To silence these complaints, the Bishop of London, Edwin Sandys, published a book in vindication of religious persecution.‡ In short, the protestant church and state concurred to their extirpation. An assembly of them, to the number of twenty-seven, having been seized upon in 1575, some of them were so intimidated as to recant their opinions, some were scourged, two of them, Pateron and Terwort, were burnt to death in Smithfield, and the rest banished.§ Besides these foreigners, the English dissenters were also grievously persecuted. Several of them, such as Thacker, Copping, Greenwood, Barrow, Penry, &c., were put to death, which rigors they ascribed principally to the bishops, particularly to Parker, Aylmer, Sandys, and Whitgift.|| The last-named they accused of being the chief author of the famous inquisitorial court, called the Star-Chamber, which court, in addition to all its other vexations and severities, employed the rack and torture, to extort confession.¶ The doctrines and practice of persecution in England did not end with the race of Tudor. James I., though he was reproached with being favorable to the Catholics, nevertheless signed warrants for twenty-five of them to be hanged and quartered, and sent one hundred and twenty-eight of them into banishment, barely on account of their religion, besides exacting a fine of twenty pounds per month from

* Certain opponents of mine have publicly objected to me, that these Catholics suffered for *high treason*. True: the laws of persecution declared so; but their only treason consisted in *their religion*. Thus the apostles, and other Christian martyrs, were traitors in the eye of the pagan law; and the chief priests declared, with respect to Christ himself, *we have a law, and according to that he ought to die*.

† See Letters to a Prebendary, pp. 149, 150.

‡ Ger. Brandt, Hist. Reform. Abreg. vol. i. p. 234.

§ Brandt, vol. i. p. 234. Hist. of Churches of Eng. and Scot. vol. ii. p. 199

|| Ibid

¶ Mosheim, vol. iv. p. 40.

those who did not attend the church service. Still he was repeatedly called upon by Parliament to put the penal laws in force with greater rigor; in order, say they, "to advance the glory of Almighty God, and the everlasting honor of your majesty;"* and he was warned by Archbishop Abbot, against tolerating Catholics, in the following terms: "Your majesty hath propounded a toleration of religion. By your act, you labor to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of Rome, the whore of Babylon;—and thereby draw down upon the kingdom and yourself, God's heavy wrath and indignation."† In the mean time the Puritans complained loudly of the persecution which they endured from the Court of High Commission, and particularly from Archbishop Bancroft, and the Bishops Neale of Litchfield, and King of London. They charged the former of these, with not only condemning Edward Wightman for his opinions, but also with getting the king's warrant for his execution, who was accordingly burnt at Litchfield; and the latter, with treating in the same way Bartholomew Legat, who was consumed in Smithfield.‡ The same unrelenting spirit of persecution, which had disgraced the addresses presented to James, prevailed in those of the Parliament, and of many bishops to his son Charles. One of these, signed by the renowned Archbishop Usher, and eleven other Irish bishops of the Establishment, declares, that "to give toleration to Papists, is to become accessory to superstition, idolatry, and the perdition of souls; and that, therefore, it is a *grievous sin*."§ At length the Presbyterians and Independents, getting the upper hand, had an opportunity of giving full scope to their characteristic intolerance. Their divines, being assembled at Sion College, condemned, as an error, the doctrine of toleration, "under the absurd term," as they expressed it, "of liberty of conscience."|| Conformably with this doctrine, they procured from their Parliament a number of persecuting acts, from those of fining up to those of capital punishment. The objects of them were not only Catholics, but also Church of England men, ¶ Quakers, Seekers, and Arians. In the mean time, they frequently appointed national fasts to *atone for their pretended guilt in being too toleran*.** Warrants for the execution of four English Catholics were extorted from the king, while he was in power, and near twenty others were publicly executed under the Parliament and the protector. This hypocritical tyrant afterwards invading Ire-

* Rushworth's Collect. vol. i. p. 141.

† Rushworth's Collect.

‡ Chandler's Introd. to Limbroche's Hist. of Inquis. p. 80. Neal's Hist of Purit. vol. ii.

§ Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 482. Neal's Hist. vol. ii. p. 469.

|| Hist. of Churches of Eng. and Scot. vol. iii. ¶ Ibid. ** Ibid. Neal's Hist

land, and being bent on exterminating the Catholic population there, persuaded his soldiers that they had a divine commission for this purpose, as the Israelites had to exterminate the Canaanites.* To make an end of the clergy, he put the same price upon a priest's as upon a wolf's head.† Those Puritans who, previously to the civil war, had sailed to North America to avoid persecution, set up a far more cruel one there, particularly against the Quakers, whipping them, cropping their ears, boring their tongues with a hot iron, and hanging them. We have the names of four of these sufferers, one of them a woman, who was executed at Boston.‡

V. During the whole of the war which the Puritans waged against the king and constitution, the Catholics behaved with unparalleled loyalty. It has been demonstrated,§ that three-fifths of the noblemen and gentlemen who lost their lives on the side of royalty, were Catholics, and that more than half of the landed property confiscated by the rebels, belonged to Catholics. Add to this, that they were chiefly instrumental in saving Charles II. after his defeat at Worcester: they had, consequently, reason to expect that the restoration of the king and constitution would have brought an alleviation, if not an end, of their sufferings. But the contrary proved to be the case: for then all parties seem to have combined to make them the common object of their persecuting spirit and fury. In proof of this, I need allege nothing more than that two different Parliaments *voted the reality of Oates's plot!* and that eighteen innocent and loyal Catholics, one of them a peer, suffered the death of traitors on account of it: to say nothing of seven other priests who, about that time, were hanged and quartered for the mere exercise of their priestly functions. Among the absurdities of that sanguinary plot, such as those of shooting the king with silver bullets, and invading the island with an army of pilgrims from Compostella, &c.,|| it was not the least to pretend that the Catholics wished to kill the king at all; that king whom they had heretofore saved in Staffordshire, and whom they well knew to be secretly devoted to their religion. But any pretext was good, which would serve the purposes of a persecuting faction. These purposes were to exclude Catholics, not only from the throne, but also from the smallest degree of political power, down to that of a constable; and to shut the doors of both houses of Parliament against them. The faction succeeded in its first design by the *Test Act*; and in its second by the act requiring *the Declaration against Popery*; both obtained at a period of national

* Anderson's Royal Geneal. quoted by Curry, vol. ii. p. 11.

† Ibid. p. 63.

‡ Neal's Hist. of Churches.

§ Lord Castlemain's Catholic Apology.

|| Echard's Hist.

delirium and fury. What the spirit of the clergy was, at that time, with respect to the oppressed Catholics, appeared at their solemn procession at Sir Edmunbury Godfrey's funeral,* and still appears in three folio volumes of invective and misrepresentation then published, under the title of *A Preservative against Popery*. On the other hand, such was the unchristian hatred of the dissenters against the Catholics, that they promoted the Test Act with all their power,† though no less injurious to themselves than to the Catholics; and on every occasion they refused a toleration which might extend to the latter.‡ There is no need of bringing down the history of persecution in this country to a later period than the revolution, at which time, as I observed before, a Catholic king was deposed, because he would not be a persecutor. Suffice it to say, that the number of penal laws against the professors of the ancient religion, and founders of the constitution of this country, continued to increase in every reign, till that of his present majesty, George III. In the course of this reign most of the old persecuting laws have been repealed; but the two last-mentioned, enacted in a moment of delirium, which Hume represents as our greatest national disgrace, I mean the impracticable *Test Act*, and the unintelligible *Declaration against Popery*, are rigidly adhered to, under two groundless pretexts.§ The first of these is, that they are *necessary for the support of the Established Church*; and yet it is undeniable, that this church had maintained its ground, and had flourished much more during the period which preceded these laws, than it has ever done since that event. The second pretext is, that the withholding of honors and emoluments *is not persecution*. On this point let a Protestant dignitary, of first-rate talents, be heard: "We agree, that persecution, merely for conscience's sake, is against the genius of the Gospel; and so is any law for depriving men of their natural and civil rights, which they claim as men. We are also ready to allow, that the smallest negative discouragements, for uniformity's sake, are so many persecutions. An incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge or a colonel, merely on point of conscience, is a negative discouragement, and, consequently, a real persecution," &c.|| In the present case, however, the persecution which Catholics suf-

* North's Exam. Echard. † Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. iv. Hist. of Churches, vol. iii. ‡ Ibid.

§ Since the venerable and illustrious author wrote this letter, namely, in the year 1829, the *test act* was partially repealed, and Catholics are now admissible to Parliament, and all civil offices of the state, with the exception of lord chancellor of England, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and high commissioner of Scotland, on taking an oath of abjuration and promising to observe certain conditions therein specified.—EDIT.

|| Dean Swift's works, vol. viii. p. 56.

fer from the disabilities in question, does not consist so much in their being deprived of those common privileges and advantages, as in their being *held out by the legislature as unworthy of them*, and thus being reduced to the condition of *an inferior caste* in their own country, the country of freedom: this they deeply feel, and cannot help feeling.

VI. But to return to my subject: I presume, that if the facts and reflections which I have stated in this letter, had occurred to the right reverend prelates mentioned at the beginning of it, they would have lowered, if not quite altered, their tone on the present subject. The Bishop of London would not have charged Catholics with claiming a right to punish those whom they call heretics, "with penalties, imprisonment, tortures, and death;" nor would the Bishop of Lincoln have laid down "toleration as a mark of the true church, and as a principle recommended by the most eminent reformers and (Protestant) divines." At all events, I promise myself that a due consideration of the points here suggested, will efface the remaining prejudices of certain persons of your society against the Catholic Church, on the score of her alleged "spirit of persecution, and of her supposed claim to punish the errors of the mind with fire and sword." They must have seen that she does not claim, but that, in her very general councils, she has disclaimed all power of this nature; and that, in pronouncing those to be obstinate heretics whom she finds to be such, she always pleads for mercy in their behalf, when they are liable to severe punishment from the secular power; a conduct which many eminent Protestant churchmen were far from imitating, in similar circumstances. They must have seen, moreover, that if persecuting laws have been made and acted upon by the princes and magistrates in many Catholic countries, the same conduct has been uniformly practised in every country, from the Alps to the arctic circle, in which Protestants, of any description, have acquired the power of so doing. But if, after all, the friends alluded to should not admit of any material difference on one side or the other in this matter, I will here point out to them two discriminating circumstances of such weight, as must, at once, decide the question about persecution in disfavor of Protestants.

In the first place, when Catholic states and princes have persecuted Protestants, it was done in favor of *an ancient religion*, which had been established in their country, perhaps, a thousand or fifteen hundred years, and which had long preserved the peace, order, and morality of their respective subjects; and when, at the same time, they clearly saw, that any attempt to alter this religion would, unavoidably, produce incalculable disorders, and sanguinary contests, among them. On the other

hand, Protestants, everywhere, persecuted in behalf of *new systems*, in opposition to the established laws of the church, and of the respective states. Not content with vindicating their own freedom of worship, they endeavored, in each country, by persecution, to force the professors of the old religion to abandon it, and adopt theirs; and they acted in the same way by their fellow Protestants, who had adopted opinions different from their own. In many countries, where Calvinism got ahead, as in Scotland, in Holland, at Geneva, and in France, it was by riotous mobs, which, under the direction of their pastors, rose in rebellion against their lawful princes, and, having secured their independence, proceeded to sanguinary extremities against the Catholics.

In the second place, if Catholic states and princes have enforced submission to their church by persecution, they were fully persuaded that there is *a divine authority in this church to decide in all controversies of religion*, and that those Christians who refuse to hear her voice, when she pronounces upon them, are obstinate heretics. But on what ground can Protestants persecute Christians of any description whatsoever? Their grand rule and fundamental charter is, that the *Scriptures were given by God for every man, to interpret them as he judges best*. If, therefore, when I hear Christ declaring, *Take ye and eat, this is my body*, I believe what he says, with what consistency can any Protestant require me, by pains and penalties, to swear that I do not believe it, and that to act conformably with this persuasion is idolatry? But religious persecution, which is everywhere odious, will not much longer find refuge in the most generous of nations: much less will the many victorious arguments which demonstrate the true church of Christ, our common mother, who reclaimed us all from the barbarous rites of paganism, be defeated by the calumnious outcry that she herself is a bloody Moloch, that requires human victims.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER L.—TO THE FRIENDLY SOCIETY OF NEW COTTAGE.

CONCLUSION.

MY FRIENDS AND BRETHREN IN CHRIST—

HAVING, at length, in the several letters addressed to your worthy president, Mr. Brown, and others of your society, completed the task which, eight months ago, you imposed upon me, I address this, my concluding letter, to you in common, as a slight review of the whole. I observed to you, that to succeed in any inquiry, it is necessary to know and to follow the right

method of making it. Hence, I entered upon the present important search after the truths of the Christian revelation, with a discussion of the rules or methods followed, for this purpose, by different classes of Christians. Having taken for granted the following maxims:—that *Christ has appointed some rule* or method of learning his revelation; that this rule must be an *unerring one*; and that it must be *adapted to the capacities and situations of mankind* in general: I proceeded to show, that a supposed *private spirit*, or particular inspiration, is not that rule; because this persuasion has led numberless fanatics, in every age since that of Christ, into the depths of error, folly, and wickedness of every kind. I proved, in the second place, that the *written word, or Scripture*, according to each one's conception of its meaning, is not that rule; because it is not adapted to the capacities and situations of the bulk of mankind—a great proportion of them not being able to read the Scripture, and much less to form a connected sense of a single chapter of it; and because innumerable Christians have, at all times, by following this presumptuous method, given into heresies, impieties, contradictions, and crimes, almost as numerous and flagrant as those of the above-mentioned fanatics. Finally, I demonstrated that there is a two-fold word of God—the *unwritten* and the *written*: that the former was appointed by Christ, and made use of by the apostles, for converting nations; and that it was not made void by the inspired epistles and gospels which some of the apostles and the evangelists addressed, for the most part, to particular churches or individuals: that the Catholic Church is the divinely-commissioned *guardian* and *interpreter* of the word of God in both its parts; and that, therefore, the method appointed by Christ for learning what he has taught on the various articles of his religion, is to HEAR THE CHURCH propounding them to us from the *whole* of his rule. This method, I have shown, continued to be pointed out by the fathers and doctors of the church in constant succession, and that it is the only one which is adapted to the circumstances of mankind in general; the only one which leads to the peace and unity of the Christian church; and the only one which affords tranquillity and security to individual Christians during life, and at the trying hour of their dissolution.

At this point, my labors might have ended; as the Catholic Church alone follows the right rule, and the right rule infallibly leads to the Catholic Church. But, since Bishop Porteus, and other Protestant controvertists, raise cavils, as to which is the true church; and whereas, this is a question that admits of a still more easy and more triumphant answer, than that concerning the right rule of faith, I have made it the subject of a second

series of letters, with which, I flatter myself, the greater part of you are acquainted. In fact, no inquiry is so easy, to an attentive and upright Christian, as that which leads to the discovery of the true church of Christ; because, on one hand, all Christians agree in their common creeds, concerning the *characters*, or *marks*, which she bears; and because, on the other hand, these marks are of an exterior and splendid kind, such as require no extensive learning or abilities, and little more than the use of our senses and common reason, to discern them. In short, among the numerous and jarring societies of Christians, (all pretending to have found out the truths of revelation,) to ascertain which is the true church of Christ, that infallibly possesses them, we have only to observe, which among them is distinctively, ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC, and APOSTOLICAL—and the discovery is made. In treating of these characters, or marks, I said it was obvious to every beholder, that there is no bond of union whatever among the different societies of Protestants; and that no articles, canons, oaths, or laws, have the force of confining the members of any one of them, as experience shows, to a uniformity of belief, or even profession, in a single kingdom or island, while the great Catholic Church, spread, as it is, over the face of the globe, and consisting as it does, *of all nations, and tribes, and peoples, and tongues*, is strictly united in the same *faith*, the same *sacraments*, and the same *church-government*; in short, that it demonstratively exhibits the first mark of the true church, *unity*. With respect to the second mark, *sanctity*, I showed that she alone teaches and enforces the *whole doctrine* of the Gospel; that she is the mother of all the saints, acknowledged as such by Protestants themselves; that she possesses many *means* of attaining to sanctity, which the latter disclaim; and that God himself attests the truth of this church, by the miracles with which, from time to time, he illustrates her exclusively. And, whereas many eminent Protestant writers have charged the Catholics with deception and forgery on this head, I have unanswerably retorted the charge upon themselves. No words were wanting to show, that the *Catholic Church* bears the glorious name of CATHOLIC, and very few to demonstrate, that she is *catholic* or *universal*, with respect both to place and time, and that she is also *apostolical*. The latter point, however, I exhibited in a more evident and sensible manner, by means of a sketch of *an apostolical tree*, a genealogical table of the church, which I sent you, showing the succession of her pontiffs, her most eminent bishops, doctors, and saints, as also, that of the most notorious heretics and schismatics, who have been lopped off from this tree, in every age, from that of the apostles down to the present. “No church,

but the Catholic, can exhibit any thing of this kind," as Tertulian reproached the seceders of his time. Under this head, you must have observed, in particular, the want of an apostolical succession of ministry, under which I showed that all the Protestant societies labor; and their want of success in attempting the work of the apostles, the conversion of pagan nations.

The third series of my letters has been employed in tearing off the hideous mask, with which calumny and misrepresentation had disfigured the fair face of Christ's true spouse, the Catholic Church. In this endeavor, I trust, I have been completely successful, and that there is not one of your society, who will any more reproach Catholics with being idolaters, on account of their respect for the memorials of Christ and his saints, or of their desiring the prayers of the latter; or on account of the adoration they pay to the divine Jesus, hidden under the sacramental veils. Nor will they hereafter accuse us of purchasing, or otherwise procuring leave to commit sin, or the previous pardon of sins, to be committed; or, in short, of perfidy, sedition, cruelty, or systematic wickedness of any kind. So far from this, I have reason to hope, that the view of the church herself, which I have exhibited to your society, instead of the caricature of her, which Dr. Porteus, and other bigoted controvertists, have held up to the public, has produced a desire in several of them to return to the communion of this original church; bearing, as she clearly does, all the marks of the true church; gifted, as she manifestly is, with so many peculiar helps for salvation; and possessing the only safe and practicable rule for ascertaining the truths of revelation. The consideration which, I understand, has struck some of them, in the most forcible manner, is that which I suggested from my own knowledge and experience, as well as from the observation of the eminent writers whom I have named: that *no Catholic, at the near approach of death, is ever found desirous of dying in any other religion, while numbers of Protestants, in that situation, seek to be reconciled to the Catholic Church.*

Some of your number have said, that though they are of opinion that the Catholic religion is the true one, yet they have not that *evidence* of the fact, which they think sufficient to justify a change in so important a point as that of religion. God forbid, that I should advise any person to embrace the Catholic religion, without having sufficient evidence of its truth; but I must remind the persons in question, that they have not a *metaphysical evidence*, nor a *mathematical certainty* of the truth of Christianity in general. In fact, they have only a high *moral evidence* and certainty of this truth: for with all the miracles and other arguments, by which Christ and his apostles proved

this divine system, it was still *a stumbling-block to the Jews and folly to the Gentiles*, 1 Cor. i. 23. In short, according to the observation of St. Augustin, there is light enough in it, to guide the sincere faithful, and obscurity enough to mislead perverse unbelievers; because, after all, faith is not merely a divine illustration of the understanding, but also, a divine, and yet voluntary motion of the will. Hence, if, in travelling through this darksome vale, as Locke, I think, observes, with respect to revelation in general, God is pleased to give us the light of the moon or of the stars, we are not to stand still on our journey, because he does not afford us the light of the sun. The same is to be said, with respect to the evidence in favor of the Catholic religion: it is moral evidence of the first quality; far superior to that on which we manage our temporal affairs, and guard our lives; and not, in the least, below that which exists for the truth of Christianity at large. At all events, it is wise to choose the *safer part*; and it would be madness to act otherwise, when eternity is at stake. The great advocates of Christianity, St. Augustin, Pascal, Abbadie, and others, argue thus, in recommending it to us, in preference to infidelity: now the same argument evidently holds good, for preferring the Catholic religion to every Protestant system. The most eminent Protestant divines, such as Luther, Melancthon, Hooker, Chillingworth; with the bishops, Laud, Taylor, Sheldon, Blandford, and the modern prelates, Marsh, and Porteus himself, all acknowledge, that *salvation may be found in the communion of the original Catholic Church*: but no divine of this church, consistently with her characteristical unity, and the constant doctrine of the holy fathers, and of the Scripture itself, as I have elsewhere demonstrated, can allow, that salvation is to be found out of this communion; except in the case of invincible ignorance.

It remains, my dear friends and brethren, for each of you to take his and her part; but, remember, that the part you severally take, is taken for ETERNITY! On this occasion, therefore, if ever you ought to do so, reflect and decide seriously and conscientiously, dismissing all worldly respects, of whatever kind, from your minds; for *what* exchange shall a man receive for his soul? * and what will the prejudiced opinion of your fellow-mortals avail you at that tribunal, where we are all so soon to appear! and in the vast abyss of eternity, in which we shall quickly be all engulfed! Will any of them plead your cause at the bar? Or will your punishment be more tolerable from their sharing in it? Finally, with all the fervor and sincerity

* Matt xvi. 20.

of your souls, beseech your future Judge, who is now your merciful Saviour, to bestow upon you that light to see your way, and that strength to follow it which he merited for you, when he hung for three hours, your agonizing victim, on the cross.

Adieu, my dear friends and brethren: we shall soon meet together at the tribunal I have mentioned; and be assured, that I look forward to that meeting with a perfect confidence, that you and I, and the Great Judge himself, shall all concur, in approbation of the advice I now give you.

I am, yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

Wolverhampton, May 29, 1802.

THE END.



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