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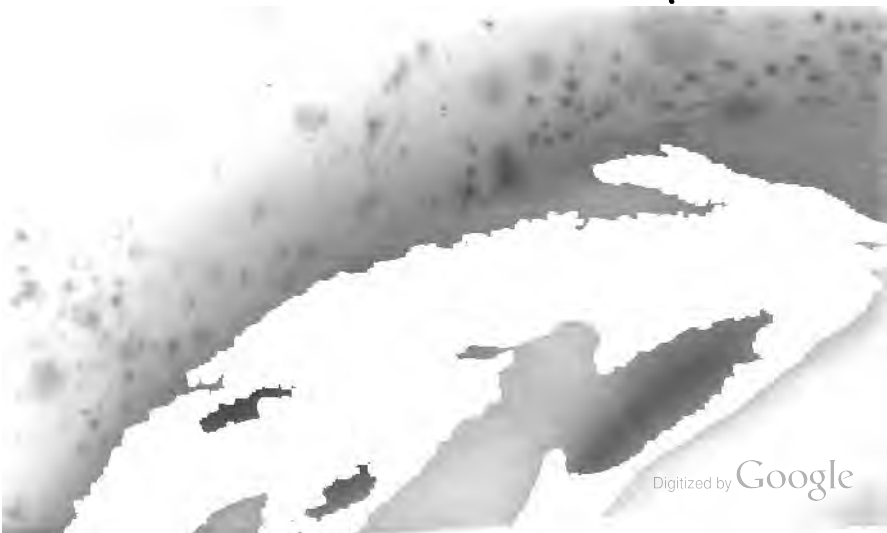
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**THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
A TRUE BRANCH
OF THE
HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH.**

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

A TRUE BRANCH

OF THE

HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH.

A REPLY TO THE REMARKS OF THE REV. EUGENE EGAN ON A
PAMPHLET ENTITLED, "THE CATHOLIC CHURCH,
OR THE ROMISH SCHISM, WHICH?"

BY

THE REV. LEICESTER DARWALL, M. A.

PERPETUAL CURATE OF CRIGGION.

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————— “ And now thou sendest foes,
Bred from thy womb, lost Church ! to mock the throes
Of thy free child, thou cruel-natured Rome ! ”

Rev. J. H. Newman (Lyra Apostolica).

"The Church of Rome full well knows that she has no means of convincing men by their reason—she has recourse to *Fraud, Falsehood, Forgery.*"—DR. WHITTAKER, *Letters to Dr. Wiseman*, p. 231.

It has been a matter of surprise with many that Dr. Kennedy made no reply to Mr. Egan's remarks upon his tract entitled "Rome or the Bible, Which?" But, whatever was the real cause of his silence, I can easily imagine what it may have been. I think it must have arisen from an acquaintance with Mr. Egan's style of controversy, and tone of mind, and modes of expression, and a knowledge that if he (Dr. K.) had replied to him, a discussion of an unpleasant description would probably have ensued. Should this have been the case, the prudence of Dr. Kennedy is much to be commended. Not that I find any fault with Mr. Egan for replying to the Doctor's tract. On the contrary, it was his duty—at any rate, it was to his credit—that he should stand up in defence of his religion. All I mean to say is, that there are two ways of doing the same thing, and different styles of composition, and it appears to me that Mr. E.'s is not a happy one. As for myself, not knowing his peculiar way so well, I ventured to print some animadversions on his tract, not professing to reply to the whole of it (and therefore he should not charge me with having left some points untouched) but merely noticing what appeared the chief misrepresentations. One principal subject indeed, the Holy Scriptures, I alluded to but slightly, thinking that as Dr. Kennedy had contrasted Rome with the Bible, he would probably vindicate the Word of God and the English version

of it, from the aspersions thrown upon it; and I therefore merely, in passing, stated my belief respecting the Canon of Scripture. Why Mr. E. expected me to answer the whole of his tract, I do not know; I gave him no reason for this supposition—indeed it so abounded with statements of one kind or another, that, as I observed at the time, to notice everything would require too long a treatise. He has however, replied to my pamphlet entitled “The Catholic Church, &c., or the Romish Schism, &c. Which?” in a tract entitled “The Church of Christ and the true Bible, &c., versus Modern Infidelity.” A copy of this has just been sent me, which, on perusal, caused me some perplexity as to the course I ought to adopt. The uncourteousness of style and offensive tone which pervades it inclined me to pass it by without notice. On the other hand, I could not but be aware, that if no reply were given, it would be immediately assumed that Mr. Egan had silenced me, that my cause was a bad one, and that no defence could be made by me. I have determined therefore to answer what in his placard he calls the “refutation” of my “calumnies against the Catholic Church,” and then to state the reasons why I must decline having anything more to do with such an opponent.

In commencement, let me remark upon the ridiculousness of the statement that I have “espoused the cause” and “appear in the cause” of Dr. Kennedy—(as if the ocean of his learning could be assisted by my little rivulet)—and also that I am supported by my “compeers”—whatever that may mean. I have indeed some “learned friends,” (as Mr. E. observes) but their learning afforded me no assistance in the pamphlet alluded to. I should not have been ashamed had it been otherwise; but, as it was, I learned nothing either from “itinerant *spouters*” (as Mr. E. calls them) or from my “learned friends,” or my “compeers.”

In addressing myself to Mr. Egan's tract, let me first show the weakness of the apology which he makes (p. 4) for confounding the notorious Henry Garnet with an obscure kinsman of his. Wade, he says, "gives in the same page, the Powder Plot, and the person and date alluded to, which is quite enough to misguide the reader." Now he does not say that Wade makes the same statement that he made, but *that the Powder Plot, and the person and date alluded to, are given on the same page.* Therefore, according to Mr. E., *they have no connexion with each other.* Garnet was hung for *refusing the oath of allegiance*, because he is mentioned on the same page with the *Gunpowder Plot*. I think it must be a "general," not to say a "curious reader," who would draw this inference.

I do not think there will be any use in saying more upon the Gunpowder Plot, as it does not seem likely that anything will convince Mr. E., and most others are already satisfied on the subject. Let him therefore still prefer, if he chooses, the unscrupulous assertions of Milner to the accuracy and candour of Dodd, and Lingard,* and Butler, and Tierney, (who adopts Butler's arguments); let him still regard the *actual confessions of the conspirators* to prove nothing; let him still look upon history as a "conspiracy against the truth," and therefore unworthy of being attended to.

* Since my former pamphlet was printed, I have looked into this learned writer's History of England, in order to see what was *his* opinion respecting the origin of the Gunpowder Plot. After speaking of the troubles to which the English Romanists were subject, he mentions Catesby's anxieties to afford them relief. He found there was no use in insurrection, as they were the weaker party; nor could they expect help from foreign princes, as the kings of France and Spain, and even the Pope, professed themselves friends of James. "At length," continues Dr. Lingard, "there *suggested itself to his mind*, [not suggested by Cecil] a plan which required not the help of foreigners, nor the co-operation of many associates, but a plan so atrocious in principle, and so sanguinary in execution, that it is difficult to conceive how it could be harboured in the mind of any human being—the plan of blowing up the parliament-house with gunpowder, and involving in one common destruction, the King, the Lords, and the Commons, all those who framed, with the chief of those who executed, the penal laws against the English Catholics." (vii. p. 41. Ed. 1849.)

In the same page Mr. Egan speaks of "Bishop Walmesley's learned work on the 'Revelation,' better known by the name of '*Pastorini*,'" and says that it "had been checked in every possible way by the government in Ireland." On this I beg to observe, that "*Pastorini*" was not the name of the *book*, but the assumed name of the *writer* ("General History of the Christian Church, chiefly deduced from the Apocalypse of St. John, by Sig. Pastorini." Dublin, 1812.) And I would further observe, that it is not surprising if it was checked by the government in Ireland, when it prophecies that in 1825 the cause of Protestantism should be subverted, and the reign of the locusts (the Protestants) should cease, and declares—"Upon the throne, therefore, of this beast (the heresy of Reformation) the vial is poured out; that is, upon the Kings and Governors of the Protestant states, as they are persons that sit vested with power upon the thrones of those heretical kingdoms."—p. 229. (See Bishop of Exeter's Letters to C. Butler, Esq., p. 321.) I say, when we consider the excitable nature of the Irish Romanists, and the natural facility with which they are led into rebellion against their Protestant rulers, it is not surprising if the Government should object to the publication of a book which would tend to excite the populace to acts of violence, and to lead them to bring about with their own hands the fulfilment of the prophecy.

I must venture to doubt the statement that Father Campian was "offered the Archbishoprick of Canterbury" on condition of his changing his religion. It is indeed stated that when in prison, *the lieutenant of the tower* endeavoured to bring him over "either by sweet words, great promises of promotions, or extreme torments." And he is reported to have said, that "no doubt her Majesty will prefer him to great livings," and that "if he would but yield to change his religion, he would secure him a £100 a-year," Now, in

the first place, there is no proof that he had any authority for making these promises, and, secondly, if he had, they would not be sufficient to authorize the statement, that Campian was "offered the Archbishoprick of Canterbury." (See Challoner's Memoirs, part 2, p. 19, 22.)

I have looked through Camden without finding the statement, (though I do not deny its existence) that "sham plots were *necessary* in the reign of Elizabeth." He says, indeed, that the Queen allowed Campian and his fellow-sufferers to be brought to trial, as the people were afraid of Popery; but he adds, that she complained many times that she was "driven of necessity" to punish Romanists "unless she would see the destruction of herself and her subjects, under colour of conscience and the Catholic religion." (Annals, B. 3, p. 11.)

I have no apology to offer for the cruelties exercised towards Mrs. Clitheroe (p. 5) during the persecution set on foot by the Earl of Huntingdon, but there are one or two inaccuracies in Mr. Egan's account, which might be pointed out. 1. Challoner, in opposition to Mr. E., says that she underwent her punishment in a "linen habit." 2. It does not appear that this took place "before the prison." These words do not occur in the account of her execution, and the plate which represents it certainly gives one the idea that she was executed *within* the prison. (Challoner, 2, p. 95.)

I do not think it necessary to say any more concerning Cobbett, as an ecclesiastical writer. People who are fond of coarse slander and misrepresentation, will probably admire his "History of the Reformation," and his "Legacy to Parsons."

We will now pass on to the case of Ann Askew. There are four statements here which require to be noticed:—1st, her character. 2nd, her disowning her husband. 3rd, her recantation. 4th, the author of her condemnation.

1. Mr. E. says "she was young, handsome, and wanton." Whether she was "young and handsome" I do not know, if she were, I do not see how it was anything to her discredit. But the levity of character which is imputed to her is wholly without foundation. This may be proved from the long account given of her in Fox, (where the history of her examinations, conversations and prayers occupies ten folio columns) and perhaps more satisfactorily from a passage given by Strype:—"A great papist of Wickham college, called Wadloe, a Cursitor of the Chancery, hot in his religion, and thinking not well of her life, got himself lodged hard by her at the next house....But the conclusion was, that when he came to speak evil of her, he gave her the praise to Sir Lionel Throgmorton, for *the devoutest and godliest woman that he ever knew*. For, said he, at midnight she begetteth to pray, and ceaseth not in many hours after, when I and others appyed our sleep, or to work." (Eccles. Mem. I. 598.) So much for the imputations cast upon her character.

2.—"having disowned her husband, John Kyme, and gone to live near the Court." With regard to this, Watkins states in his Dictionary, on the authority of Ballard, that she was married to "one Mr. Kyme, much against her inclination. On account of some harsh treatment from her husband, she went to the Court of Henry VIII. to *sue for a separation*, where she was greatly taken notice of by those ladies who were attached to the Reformation; in consequence of which she was arrested," &c. So much for her conduct to her husband, and her going to live near the Court.

3. "She had recanted twice." It was imputed to her that she had recanted *once*, but she distinctly denies it. At one of her first examinations, after being questioned respecting her faith, a paper was drawn up by her chief examiner, which she was desired to sign. This *she declined doing* without making the addition that she believed

“according to the teaching of Scripture and the Catholic Church.” It might be said that this addition nullified her signature. Such seemed the view of her examiner, as he was much incensed against her on that account. But in his register he entered her simple signature—*without the salvo*—as agreeing to the particulars, which she never did, *nor professed to do*. Hence, however, arose the report that she had recanted, which, as I have said, she *distinctly denied*. Yet Mr. E. says she recanted twice.

4. “She was condemned to death by Cranmer.” Here is indeed a wonderful discovery. By *Cranmer!* Why she was brought to the stake by means of *Gardiner* and her insidious examiner *Bonner!!* And although these were Bishops of the English Church, and through fear of the King’s anger (not having the courage of More and Fisher) were content to disown the Pope for a time; yet they were two of the most Romish-hearted prelates that ever existed (as appeared by their acts when Mary came to the throne,) and Ann Askew was punished for a denial of the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation. So that her case fully exemplifies the spirit of Rome, both in craft and cruelty, as existing in the members of the unreformed English Church. And this is all that I contended for. I would however add, that, whereas for some time after the Reformation, even Protestants were not free from a persecuting temper, this was to be attributed perhaps, in some degree, to a spirit of retaliation, but also to the length of time required to grow out of that persecuting temper which Rome had engendered.

I now go on to re-assert, notwithstanding Mr. Egan’s contradiction, (p. 7) that the Church of England is a Catholic Church, for she has the four marks exhibited by the Early Christians. (Acts ii. 42.) She continues in the “Apostles’ doctrine,” with which, as expressed in their writings, her teaching coincides; (2) she continues in their

“fellowship,” by possessing an unbroken succession of Bishops descending from them to the present time; (3) she has the “breaking of bread” in the holy Eucharist, which she duly celebrates and communicates to her people; and (4) she possesses a Liturgy and forms of “prayer” in which her members publicly unite.

I again, unmoved by Mr. Egan’s contradiction, assert that we have the “true Bible,” holding as Canonical what was so regarded in early and purer times, and rejecting *as such* the apocrypha, which Rome regards as of equal value; thus *adding* to the Canon. But on this subject and upon the English versions of the Scripture, it is my purpose to speak at some length in an Appendix.*

I also re-assert that our Church has “apostolical tradition.” Besides what is taught in Scripture by way of command, she maintains the usages of the Apostles and apostolic times, as e. g. infant baptism, confirmation, the change of the day of religious rest from Saturday to Sunday, the three-fold order of a sacred ministry, the laying on of apostolic hands in ordination, with prayer and fasting,—things which do not commend themselves to every man’s judgment as *commanded* in scripture—for in these things she views a practice as equivalent to a command. Then, she holds the three Catholic creeds, which show how the ancients understood the teaching of the apostles,—rejecting the *modern and schismatical creed* of Pope Pius, which embraces the anti-apostolic peculiarities of the Romish system. To which I may add that the Reformation was *professedly* built upon SCRIPTURE and ANTIQUITY. No one could have spoken more strongly than Cranmer. And similar was the belief of Ridley and Farrer and Jewel, indeed of all who represent the teaching of the Church of England from that time to the present. But, says Mr. E., Dr. Kennedy claims “but the Bible, and the Bible alone.”

* See Appendix, No. 1.

Without knowing what his individual opinion may be, I reply that, in one sense, no member of the Church of England claims anything else. The "Bible only" is the document of our faith, (See Art. 6) there is no other *source* of doctrine; we do not build upon arbitrary developments; we have no faith in the hopeless uncertainty of *mens'* traditions, which Rome makes equal with the word of God; our Church calls them, in her homely language—"puddles." Still, she does not teach that the Bible is to be interpreted according to every man's private judgment. This is an inconsistency she is not chargeable with. She does not say—"I give you with one hand the word of God; I do not pretend to determine what it teaches, but you must ask for divine grace to enable you to understand it, and that will be sufficient. And with the other hand I give you the prayer-book, in which you will find the three creeds of the Catholic Church; you will also find occasional services, articles, and forms of prayer, from which you will learn what is the true doctrine respecting the Trinity, the plan of man's redemption, the work of the Holy Spirit, the Sacraments, the Catholic Church, and the like." I say, the Church is not so inconsistent as to say—Here is the Bible; draw your own doctrine from it; and here is the Prayer-book, authoritatively teaching what the doctrines of Scripture are.

I cannot forbear quoting here the words of a learned writer, who certainly cannot be charged with having any leaning towards what is called Tractarianism—the Rev. G. S. Faber.

"Renouncing the self-sufficient licentiousness of that miscalled and misapprehended right of private judgment, which dogmatically pronounces upon the *meaning* of Scripture from a mere insulated *inspection* of Scripture, and which rapidly decides that such *must* be the sense of Scripture, because an individual *thinks* that such *is* the sense of

Scripture: renouncing this self-sufficient and strangely unsatisfactory licentiousness, the Church of England, with her usual sober and modest judiciousness, has always professed to build her code of doctrine, *authoritatively*, indeed, upon SCRIPTURE ALONE, but *hermeneutically* upon SCRIPTURE AS UNDERSTOOD AND EXPLAINED BY PRIMITIVE ANTIQUITY.

“ Herein she has judged well and wisely.

“ SCRIPTURE and ANTIQUITY are the two pillars upon which all rationally-established faith must ultimately repose.

“ If we reject SCRIPTURE, we reject the very basis of theological belief. If we reject ANTIQUITY, we reject all historical evidence of soundness of interpretation.

“ When in our inquiries after revealed truth the two are combined, we attain to MORAL CERTAINTY: and in matters which by their very nature admit not of mathematical proof, *moral certainty* is the highest point to which we can possibly attain.”—Faber on Election, p. 11, 13. (as quoted by *Dr. Hook* in his “ Call to Union,” p. 88.)

I next venture to re-assert that our Church teaches “ *Evangelical doctrine*,” i. e. the doctrine of the Gospel of Christ. Mr. E. denies this. But it is easy to deny a thing: the difficulty is to disprove it. This he has not attempted to do; he has not shown, nor attempted to show, what scriptural doctrine we omit, what anti-scriptural doctrine we hold. Till he does this, his mere denial will win but little way.

Mr. Egan next goes on to controvert my statement, that our Church has a “ *fixed creed*,” and asks me where it is. I reply—in the Prayer-book. As to his referring me to the charge of Bishop Watson, and a saying of the Archbishop of Canterbury, I would ask him, whether *he* feels bound by every opinion, public or private, of every Bishop of his Church; and if not (as he knows he is not) whether he can

expect *me* to be,—whether he thinks the Church is bound by every expression of an individual theologian, however high his station or great his learning.

As for his argument, that our Church has not a fixed creed, it is one which I think would have occurred to but few; and I find a difficulty in repressing my astonishment that a clergyman of his acuteness should make such a confusion between a creed and one who signs a creed. What! the *creed* not fixed, because *some dishonest men sign it in a non-natural sense!* I suppose he would say that the Apostles' Creed is not fixed, because an Arian signed it,—or the Nicene Creed not fixed, because a Semi-Arian evaded it. But let me call upon Mr. Egan, as one who would not say a thing unless he believed it, to state whether he really believes in his heart that the teaching of the Church of England can be made to include Socinianism and Deism, and who the Socinians and Deists are who have honestly professed her creed. Should he mention some unworthy members of the Church of England, I could remind him of examples in his own Church, in comparison of which, what he could adduce against us would be but as the dust of the balance. What shall we say of a Pope of Rome, Zosimus, who received Cœlestius, the Pelagian teacher, and agreed with him that “the belief of original sin was no article of the Catholic faith?”* What shall we say of another Pope, Liberius, who, to recover his see from which he was banished,† set his hand to the condemnation of the great Catholic champion Athanasius, signed an Arian creed,‡ and

* See Bower's Lives of the Popes, I. 385.

† “Recuperandæ amore sedis.” Petav. Rat. Temp. I. 228.

‡ The Roman Catholics labour hard to prove that this creed might be signed in a Catholic sense. (See A. Butler in his life of Athanasius, May 2.) Bower, however, states that “*Jerom* says in express terms, and in two places, that *Liberius* signed a heresy; *Hilarius*, that he approved of the *Arian* perfidy; and all the Ancients, that he apostatized from the faith. . . It is therefore manifest, beyond all dispute, that the confession of Faith, signed by *Liberius*, was not Catholic but *Arian*.”—Vol. I. p. 140.

openly communicated with Arians? What shall we say of another Pope, Honorius, who adopted the Monothelite heresy, and was anathematized by a general Council, and by a succeeding Pope, Leo II., who said of him that he "had not adorned the Apostolic Tradition, but had treacherously endeavoured to subvert the Catholic Faith?"* What shall we say of two rival Popes, a Benedict and a Gregory,† who were deposed by the Council of Pisa, as being "*Schismatics* and *Heretics*, and guilty of *Perjury*;" and were moreover *excommunicated*, together with all who should obey them, or lend them any assistance? Then again—What shall we say of the multitudes of Spanish Catholic priests who have been *Jews* in belief, while Christians in profession? or of the multitudes of French Catholic clergy, who in their hearts were nothing but *Infidels*? What shall we say of that avowed infidel, that (I may say) prince of blasphemers, whose favourite expression with regard to our Blessed Redeemer is too horrible to repeat? Yet Voltaire was a member, *a communicant*, of the Church of Rome; he preached in the church on theft,‡ and while one of the bitterest enemies of Christianity that the world has seen, professed his wish to live and die in the *Catholic* religion? And now, what are we to say of that Church, whose chief bishops, vicars of Christ, as they call them, and representatives of God upon earth, have been anathematized for heresy by succeeding Popes, one infallible by another infallible,§ whose clergy have assisted at the altar, and

* Baron. ad Ann. 683, p. 573, as quoted by Bower. Lives of the Popes, III. 135.

† Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. See Bower. VII. 121.

‡ Memoires pour serv. à l'hist. Eccl. pendant le xviii. siècle. Tom. ii. 535, as quoted by Mr. Palmer, in his Treatise on the Church. I. 345.

§ I am aware that here, as in many other points of the greatest importance, there is a difference of belief among Romanists. Many contend that the decision of the Pope *ex cathedra* is infallible; while others hold that he cannot *personally* be a heretic,—in other words, is personally infallible. There is an amusing chapter in Dens, (*Theologia Moralis*, II. 162, Ed. 1832.) endeavouring to prove this: the case of Honorius, however, calls forth all his ingenuity.

performed the offices of the Church, while in their hearts they laughed Christianity to scorn, believing Christ to be an impostor and Christianity a fable? What shall we say of a Church whose Popes have been heretics,—whose Priests, Jews and Infidels,—whose lay communicants, open blasphemers of Christ? Can that Church which can embrace Heresy and Judaism and Infidelity, be (as it professes to be) a Church “without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing?” Are these her fruits of faith, to be exhibited before the world, to persuade all men to come to her as their only refuge? Can this Church, according to Mr. Egan’s rule, have a fixed creed? If so, let me ask him in his own words—where is it?

I will not however take advantage of his argument: I will take another ground, not this, for showing that Rome has not a fixed creed. I have merely mentioned these facts to remind him that he should pull the beam out of his own eye, before he notices the mote in another’s. Mr. E.’s argument, as I said, does not prove that the Church has no fixed creed. She makes her laws for those she believes to be Christians and true of heart, not for impostors; and therefore, if an impostor strays within her fold, the fault is not hers, but the sin is his. And I maintain that the creed of the Church of England is fixed, as it is drawn from Holy Scripture, and agrees with the teaching of the Primitive Church as set forth in the four first General Councils, and the three Creeds, and, in greater detail, in her own Articles and Services; and therefore is not liable to undergo continual changes from some newly-discovered tradition or from some fanciful development.

I have, without doubt, heard of the Gorham controversy, and of the judgment of the Privy Council. But a decision of the Privy Council is not the voice of the Church of England; her doctrine can be settled only by Convocation. The judgment in question referred only to one particular

case, and merely decided that there was not sufficient cause shown why Mr. Gorham should be kept out of his living. The judges distinctly denied having any power to settle doctrine; they only ruled that certain selected expressions of Mr. Gorham might be made to bear such a meaning as not, *in their view*, to be absolutely contradictory to the sense of the formularies. The judgment has, however, in many cases, popularly and practically acted as if the Council had given a decision respecting the Church's doctrine, (which of course it could not do) and many persons have in consequence been much scandalized. With regard to the particular case of Mr. Gorham, the result is, in my opinion, much to be deplored; but, viewing the judgment in a general light, it is of no force whatever. As for myself, in a matter of doctrine, I should feel as much bound by the decision of the Privy Council as by the decision of a bench of Shropshire Magistrates, and no more.

Mr. E. has, I think, failed to show that the Church of England has no fixed creed. But has Rome a fixed creed? Can that be called fixed which is continually liable to change, or to undergo some new development? Has not her Rule of faith varied? Did she not at the Council of Trent decide (after a stormy contest) that Tradition was to be put on the same footing with the written word? And if the Rule of faith vary, can the faith itself remain certain? Again,—has not her Canon of Scripture varied? Did she not at Trent decide that a number of the apocryphal books were to be regarded as of equal authority with the canonical scripture,—in fact, were to *become* canonical, in the strict sense, though they were not so before? She did not indeed *then* insert all the apocryphal books in the canon; and Mr. Egan tells us that “the *really apocryphal books* of the Old Testament are, The Prayer of Manasses, the 3rd and 4th of Esdras, the 3rd and 4th of Maccabees, and the 151st Psalm.” Now I want to know (1) if the Canon of Scripture

varies, can the teaching be uniform?—in other words—can the “creed be fixed?” and (2) if Rome has adopted some apocryphal books into her Canon, what security is there that she should not, when in some developing humour, adopt the remainder? How can her members know when or where she will stop?

Again,—Cabassutius affirms (Notitia Concil. p. 174, 1776) that what is lawful to be believed at one time, may savour of heresy at another; and he instances the belief in Millenarian doctrines as *formerly* allowable, “quod *nunc* hæresim saperet.” Can this be a fixed creed,—to allow of belief in a doctrine at one time, while at another to declare that it savours of heresy? Again:—most people have heard of the great contest between the Franciscans and Dominicans regarding the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin; the latter maintaining that she was conceived in original sin, like other mortals,—the former, that she was conceived without taint of sin, like our Blessed Lord.* The dissensions, lying miracles, mutual abuse and slanderings, which arose from this cause were something dreadful; but, what is more to our point, each party charged the other with heresy. Nay, we learn from a bull of Sixtus IV. that some preachers

* The opinions of Rupert, the worthy Abbot of Duytz, seem to differ from both of these. He held that the Virgin, like the rest of Adam’s offspring, was conceived and born in sin, but that at the time she was overshadowed by the Holy Ghost, she was made perfectly free from all sin, that she might be a fit habitation for the Saviour. “Et tu quidem,” says he, addressing the Virgin, “veraciter dicere potueras: Eoec enim in iniquitatibus concepta sum et in peccatis concepit me mater mea. Cum enim esses de massa, quæ in Adam corrupta est, hæreditaria peccati originalis labe non carebas: sed ante faciem hujus amoris peccatum, nec illud, nec aliud stare potuit, ante faciem stare hujus ignis stipula omnis interiit, ut totum sanctum fieret habitaculum, in quo Deus totis novem mensibus habitaret.” (Ruperti Abbat. Tuitiens. Comment. in Cantica. Op. Tom. I. p. 1070.) Again in his commentary on St. Matthew I. v. 20. “Datum hoc,” i.e. the gift of the Holy Ghost, “beata Maria prima omnium mortalium accepit in ipsa hora conceptionis, dicente angelo: Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus altissimi umbrabit tibi, Ideoque et quod nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur filius Dei et revera, ut omnino sanctum esset, quod ex ea nasceretur, oportebat ipsam sanctificari, id est, emundari ab omni peccato, tam actuali quod majus erat, scilicet originali. (Ejusd. Tom. II. p. 8.)

not merely said, that they who believed that the maintainers of the doctrine that the Virgin Mary was conceived without original sin, were heretics or sinned mortally (*mortaliter peccare, vel esse hæreticos*)—but that they even committed grievous sin (*peccare graviter*) who *were present at the celebration of the Office of the Immaculate Conception,** or listened to the sermons of those who taught this doctrine. The Pope, in consequence of the great scandals which had arisen, proceeds to denounce heavy censures upon the disputants of either party, who should thus continue to revile each other, and charge each other with heresy, since the point in dispute was not decided by the Church. (See the Constitution at the end of the Council of Trent, p. 378-9, Paris, 1823.) But how much better that the question should be decided, rather than that such unseemly contests should be possible. It was however a question which the Church in those days *could not* decide; for, after much discussion, and the expression of different opinions, it was concluded that the doctrine should remain *undetermined*. Now, if the Church was afraid to commit itself to a decision on a question of doctrine, I would venture to ask,—Can it be an infallible Church? Assuredly not. How can a Church be infallible, which is either unable, or afraid, to give a decision respecting a doctrine,—a doctrine, which, from want of that decision, has led to all manner of evil-speaking, lying, and slandering for centuries?

It seems however that the doctrine in question has lately been, or is shortly about to be, settled. At least, the present Pope, in an Encyclical letter dated at Gaeta, 1849, addressed all the Bishops of the Roman Obedience, alludes

* The Council of Basle, in the 15th century, declared that this doctrine was "a pious opinion, agreeable to the worship of the Church, to the Catholic faith, and to right reason; and it was ordered that the festival of the Conception should be celebrated on the 8th of December." See Landon's *Manual of the Councils*, p. 73. This Council is not received by the Ultramontanes, on account of the decided manner in which it acted with regard to the Pope and his privileges.

to the desire there was in their Church for a decision of the Holy See in favour of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, requesting at the same time that they would inform him of the wishes of their people in the matter, and pray to God that He would enlighten him that he might be able "to take such a resolution as shall most contribute, as well to the glory of His Holy name, as to the praise of the blessed Virgin and the profit of the Church militant." What has been the result of this I do not know, except that a new Office on the subject has been substituted for the former one, and that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is now avowedly received in the Church of Rome.* Whether the decision of a general council is necessary to confirm it, or whether the Pope has power of himself to make a development, or discover a tradition, I am not aware;—possibly in these days, he has†; if so, we have another "variation" of Romanism.

Let us now turn to one or two other most important questions upon which varieties of belief have been exhibited among the members of the Church of Rome. And of these what can be so important as the doctrine of the Eucharist? In the Council of Trent it was debated whether in the Mass, there was only a commemoration of Christ's death, or an actual offering of His Body and Blood by the hands of the priest. Melchior Cornelio, a Portuguese, reasoned thus:—"When the Eucharist is carried to the sick, or is preserved for use, it is a sacrament; but when it is offered on the altar, it is a sacrifice." Others denied that the Eucharist, when

* Of this it will be proof enough to mention the following address from the "Holy Scapular of the Passion," lately published:—"O Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us who have recourse to thee."

† Dr. Cullen, Primate of the Irish Romanists, says the Immaculate Conception "is the received doctrine of all the Catholic world; and we hope that the Supreme Pontiff . . . will soon put the seal of Infallibility upon it, by declaring it a dogma of Catholic faith." (Quoted by Dr. Wordsworth in his Second Series of Occasional Sermons, 1851, p. 96.) See Appendix No. 2.

instituted by Christ, was a sacrifice, and maintained that if the Saviour really offered Himself in the Supper, His sacrifice on the cross was useless and of none effect. The Bishop of Paris said, that the sacrifice of Christ was begun in the Supper and perfected on the Cross, and he questioned whether those who thought otherwise should not be considered as heretics. Lainez, general of the Jesuits, was of the same opinion, and observed, that "if Christ did not offer Himself in the Supper, every priest, when he consecrates the Eucharist, does more than the Saviour Himself did in the institution of that sacrament; and that our Lord used the present tense,* saying, 'this is My Blood which *is shed* for you,' which could not be true, unless an actual sacrifice of Himself had then taken place." (Yet, I think even Lainez would be puzzled to show how Christ's Blood was already shed at that time, as his argument requires.) A third party wished the subject to be left open; and in effect, such was the result of their deliberations, for the decree stated that Christ offered Himself to the Father in the Supper, yet the expression "propitiatory sacrifice" was not used. (See Cramp's Text-book of Popery, 250—252, Ed. 1839, where references are given to Pallavicino, Sarpi, and Le Plat.) Concerning Transubstantiation again, there is anything but unanimity. It is stated that the Dominicans hold the common belief, that the substance of the bread and wine is changed into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ. The Franciscans on the other hand maintained that the substance of the elements remains unchanged, while the substance of the Lord's Body takes its place, both occupying the same space. This resembles the Lutheran belief. A third party differs from both, in believing that the bread neither changes

* Why then in the Rhemish version and in the Canon of the Mass is the future tense given? It is there translated "which *shall be shed*." Now, if the wine were *present* in the Cup, and the blood had *yet to be shed*, how could the wine be blood? Rome, in discarding the Greek for Jerome's Latin, has here herself refuted her doctrine of Transubstantiation.

(as the Dominicans,) nor remains (as the Franciscans,) but ceases to exist, either by annihilation, or resolution, &c. A fourth party believes that His Presence is only the operation of His substance. Then, again, I read that as to the properties of Christ's sacramental Body, one party holds that it possesses all the chief properties of matter, as quantity, visibility, motion, &c. Others again divest Christ's Body of these properties of matter: it has, they say, no parts, no length, no breadth, no thickness, it possesses no locality. A third party ascribes to the soul of Christ in the Sacrament all the principal powers of the mind, as life, sense, understanding, will, &c. A fourth party denies this, saying that our Lord's Body has no sensation, active or passive, that it has only a spiritual life.* So conflicting are the opinions—so varied the belief of the Romish divines, respecting this most important article of faith.

Nor does the Council of Trent seem quite consistent with itself; I should rather say, the Catechism seems to contradict the Council. For the former says, that in the Eucharist is contained the true Body of Christ, and whatever appertains to the true condition of a body, as bones and nerves. (Cat. Co. Trid. Cap. 31.) Now the *Council* says, that Christ is always in heaven according to His *natural* mode of existence, but is nevertheless *sacramentally* present with us, in his substance, i.e. in the Eucharist. Now here, His *natural* existence and *sacramental* presence are put in opposition to each other; and in the former, He is said *not* to be upon earth. Yet, surely bones and nerves (*omitted in the English translation of the Catechism*) belong more to a *natural* than a *sacramental* body. If so, the Council and the Catechism teach different doctrines, and we have a contradiction at the very fountain-head.

Then again, what shall we say about Communion in one

* Edgar's Variations of Popery, p. 348—351, where authorities are given in support of his statements.

kind? I shall be told it is a mere question of discipline. I think I can show that it is more;—to show what dissensions have arisen on account of it in the Roman Church, with the arguments on each side, would require a volume. Let me only refer to the disputes on this point at Basle, at Constance, and at Trent, which will show the want of unity of sentiment among Romish theologians. In the Council of Trent, a division took place with regard to granting the cup to the laity; when one hundred and sixty-six votes were thus divided—

For the Concession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29
Of like opinion, but wishing the execution of the decree to be left to the will of the Pope	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31
Opposed it altogether	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38
Referred the matter to the Pope	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
For the concession, as regarded the Bohemians and Hungarians, denying it to the rest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
For the postponement of the subject	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Undecided or neutral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11

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Let us pass on from this abstract of *unanimity* to the remarks of some of the disputants. Lainez spoke against the concession, proposing that those who asked for it should be treated as disobedient sons of the Church, and supporters of *heresy*. The Abbot of Preval ventured to say that the demand of the cup savoured of *heresy* and *mortal sin*. He indeed was reproved by the Cardinal of Mantua, who however proposed, that the clergy should teach “that communion in one kind is not only *not foreign to the divine command*, but *laudable and binding*, unless the Church otherwise determine; and that such as maintained the contrary sentiment should be *treated as heretics*.” Here we have three divines implying that the wish for the Cup more or less savoured of *heresy*. It is certain then, that *they* did not regard it as a mere question of *discipline*. And now what said the Council itself? Professing to follow the judgment and custom of the Church, it declared that the laity and

non-officiating clergy are not bound by any divine precept to receive the Eucharist in both kinds. (Sess. 21. p. 161. Ed. 1823.) As for the *judgment* of the Church, it is true enough that the Council of Constance had decided in 1415, in favour of Communion under one kind; with regard to the *custom* (consuetudo), that is another question. It is true, that before the Council of Constance, the practice had gradually been spreading over the Church, and therefore, if the Council meant *present practice*, they had that on their side also. But, if they meant *ancient custom*, that was point-blank against them. Cardinal Bona and Dens allow (indeed the former says that no one who has the slightest knowledge of Ecclesiastical matters "*vel levissima rerum ecclesiasticarum notitia*" can deny) that Communion, under both kinds was *the universal practice*, in the public celebration of the Eucharist, in the case of both clergy and laity, men and women, *until the 12th century*, when it began to grow into disuse.* Indeed, if any practice might claim apostolical tradition, surely this of complete communion might. Here then, we have modern Rome set in antagonism with the teaching, the *universal practice*, the tradition of *eleven centuries*. But this is not all. The Council proceeds to *pass an anathema on all who believe that communion under both kinds is of divine command*, or that all the faithful *ought thus to receive it*, or that the Church erred in granting the bread only to the laity and non-officiating clergy.

Now we have already seen, that Rome had discarded antiquity, universality, and consent—(the well-known Catholic test "*semper, ubique et ab omnibus*")—she now puts herself in

* From the liturgical work of the good Cardinal (for whom, notwithstanding his doctrinal errors, I cannot repress my high esteem and admiration) I quote the following verses of Rodulfus abbot of S. Trudo, who lived in the year 1110.

Hic et ibi cautela fiat, ne Presbyter ægris
 Aut sanis tribuat laicis de sanguine Christi,
 Nam fundi posset leviter; simplexque putaret,
 Quod non sub specie sit totus Jesus utraque.

Bona, Rer. Liturg. Lib. II. cap. 18.

opposition to a Pope of the 5th century, one whom she had canonized, (and whom she had good reason to canonize, inasmuch as he made a decree, discovering and declaring, in opposition to the Œcumenical Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon, that the Pope possessed the primacy by divine right as being successor of St. Peter*)—this Pope, *Saint* Gelasius, the author of the Sacramentary, the modern Church of Rome *contradicts*, I may say, *condemns*. For what said he:—"We find that some, having taken only a portion of the sacred Body,† abstain from the cup of the sacred Blood,"† [he alludes to the Manichees, who called wine the gall of the devil,] who, without doubt,....should either receive the sacraments entire, or should be entirely driven away from them (*aut integra sacramenta‡ percipiant, aut integris arceantur*); because a division of *one and the same mystery cannot take place WITHOUT GREAT SACRILEGE (sine GRANDI SACRILEGIO non potest provenire.)* Gelas. apud Gratianum *de consecr. dist. 2, Comperimus*, as quoted by Card. Bona, *Ber. Lit. II. xviii.*

I do not know whether this decree was brought forward at the Council of Trent; it was however at Basle, where an attempt was made, by a piece of Romish shuffling, to evade it by saying that it referred to *celebrating priests*. This however was false; it applied to all. It did not say there could be no *sacrifice* without both kinds; but it speaks of of the *recipients*, that they should receive either under *both* kinds, or under *neither*. There were, by the way, some curious arguments brought forward at that Council in support of communion under one kind. Let it suffice to quote two. One of them was, that our Lord taught his disciples—"ut

* Bower. *Lives of the Popes, II. 232, 233.*

† Let it not be thought from these expressions that Gelasius believed in Transubstantiation. His teaching on that subject will be brought forward in another place.

‡ We have here, as in the latter part of our 25th Article, the Lord's Supper called "Sacraments," in the plural number.

petent panem *nostrum quotidianum*, sine vino;”—that they should say—“give us *our daily bread*,” without mention of wine; the bread being the body of Christ. Therefore the bread was sufficient. In order to prove that the priests only should partake of the wine, Job xxxix. 30 is adduced:—“Her [the eagle’s] young ones also suck up blood.” Who, (said the Dean of Prague) are the young ones of the king of birds but the priests, to whom alone it is allowed to drink blood. (See Basnage’s *Observationes, &c. ad Canis. Lect. Ant. IV. 468.*) Here, we see, it is argued that the wine is to be partaken of by the *priests only* on the authority of Scripture, i. e. by divine command. Therefore it is not a mere matter of discipline. Besides which, we have three contradictions—(1) In the Council of Basle it was argued, that the *wine belonged to the clergy only, by divine precept*; (2) Gelasius says, the bread and wine *cannot be divided without great sacrilege*; (3) The Council of Trent says, that *whosoever believes this shall be excommunicated*.—O happy unity of Rome!

It is singular that the modern Romanists should contend so much for a practice formerly peculiar to those arch heretics, the Manichees; for it was their refusal of the Cup which led to the indignant remarks of Gelasius and of Leo the Great before him.*

I had intended to have brought forward the variations of belief respecting the wine, into which a portion of the consecrated Host† is put, whether (as some say) it

* See his 4th Serm. for Lent—I cannot give the page, as my Ed. (about 1476) has neither the pages nor the folios numbered.

† In the Life of Herebert, Archbishop of Cologne in the 10th century, written by the Abbot Rupert, miracles are related to have been wrought even by the water and the wine in which the Abbot had washed his hands or his fingers after Mass. It is true that Rupert ascribes these miracles to the sanctity of Herebert. Still it is observable that they were wrought *through the agency of the water and wine in which his hands or fingers had been washed*. Does it not seem from this, that they were supposed to have derived a holiness from the touch of the Host, which they communicated to the water and the wine? (Rupert. in *Vita S. Hereberti*, Capp. 18, 19. Op. II. 762.)

remains wine; or whether (with others) it becomes thereby converted into blood. Also, whether, when some consecrated wine is put to a quantity of common wine, the wine is *penetrated with the blood but not changed* (as Durandus); or whether the *whole wine becomes blood*—or whether the wine only *acquires a more noble nature*, and greater virtue. But for arguments on these points I can only refer to Basnage's "*Observationes*" before mentioned, p. 463, 464. Let me however just observe, that Mr. Egan must not charge me with wasting my reader's time on mere points of school-divinity.* It is no trifling matter to a Romanist whether the liquid in the Chalice is mere *wine* or the very material *Blood* which was shed on the cross by our adorable Redeemer.

* Perhaps the following argument may be included in this class. I subjoin it in order to show the perplexity which exists in *practical* as well as *doctrinal* matters,—how Romanists have expended their learning even on smoke, and how even a Pope has considered the question of chewing tobacco, although he could not come to a determination on the subject. I would venture to bespeak my reader's gravity, as the subject is serious. I quote from the Moral Theology of the learned Professor Dens. After mentioning the rule that the Eucharist should be partaken of fasting, he gives a chapter discussing the question, whether the taking of tobacco breaks the natural fast. This is divided into three heads—I. *De tabaco nasali*. II. *Fumigato*. III. *Et Masticato*.

1. Under the first head, he replies:—If the question be about *snuff*, it seems certain that the natural fast is not broken by that; because it neither is, nor is it taken as meat or drink; and although by chance a portion may be supposed to pass into the stomach, it is thought that that is done by means of respiration or saliva.

2. Some say that the fast is broken by *smoking*, because some portion of oil is always swallowed with the smoke; more however deny it, saying that all the smoke is usually emitted by the smoker, especially an experienced one—*à fumigante (præsertim experto)*—through the mouth and nostrils: and if any small portion were passed on, it would be done as before,—[i. e. by respiration or saliva.] If however that should be done in any great quantity, then, according to others, the fast is broken.

3. The difficulty as regards *chewing* is a greater one: in the mean while Pontas and Billuart maintain against Van Roy and others, that the fast is not broken by this means; because the more juicy particles of the tobacco are not intended to be swallowed, neither are they, in any great number, since the chewers thereof take especial care of this, on account of its acrid and unpleasant flavour; if, however, this latter should happen, the natural fast would be broken. Benedict XIV. hath not opened his mind on this question, but hath left it undecided (*in medio reliquit*.) Dens, V. 303, 304.

Now I would ask, have I said anything more likely to excite ridicule against Romish practices than this chapter of the "reverend and most learned" Peter Dens?

And he knows very well, that he dares not call these matters of small importance: it is a matter of the very highest importance, whether this substance is the "juice of the vine,"—or (what should be adored with divine worship) the very Blood of Christ. And on this vitally important matter Romanists are divided,—they have no "fixed creed."

We have now seen a few, and only a few, of the contradictions and variations exhibited in the teaching of Rome. We have seen that, by her own confession, the doctrine of Christ is not a fixed and certain thing;—that what may be allowed to be held as true at one time, may be branded with heresy at another;—We have seen that her rule of faith has varied; for while in early times she would doubtless receive as inspired, the canonical books only; she has in later times added to them the Apocrypha,—she has added *mens'* traditions to obscure the word of *God*; and, as if all these were not enough, development comes to help out any doctrine which neither scripture nor tradition teaches, so that her faith shifts as a quicksand,—yet still, with shameless and unblushing face, she proclaims (marvellous fact!) that she is unchangeable and infallible.—We have seen, that, although Scripture teaches that all were conceived and born in sin except our Blessed Lord (as is also our "fixed creed"), Rome, after having been well nigh rent asunder by the schisms of teachers of contradictory doctrines respecting the Blessed Virgin,—after nursing within her bosom a powerful party who maintained that St. Mary partook of Adam's nature, charging their opponents with heresy,—now at length is herself adopting this *heresy* into her "fixed (!) creed." We have seen that in her great article of faith, the Eucharist, the conflicting and contradictory opinions are endless, for they do not agree either as to the *nature of the Sacrifice*, or the *manner of Christ's presence*, or the *mode of participation*, or even as to the point whether, in certain cases, the liquid in the Chalice is the *Blood of our Adorable Redeemer*,

or only *bare wine*.—And, had I not dwelt already so long upon this point, it was my purpose to have shown, that with all her claim to infallibility, she herself knows not where that infallibility resides;—whether the *Pope* by himself is infallible, whether a *Council* by itself is infallible,—or whether *both* must be united to procure an infallible sentence,—(and if the *seat* of infallibility be doubtful, surely the thing itself must be a mere phantom; especially when there is the farther doubt which Councils are to be received, and which rejected.) I should have shown that her members are at a loss to know what honour to give to images, and whether to worship the Cross as a *creature* or as the *Creator* (for these are *doubtful* points in her “*fixed creed*,” and I may find occasion to refer to the question elsewhere.) I should have alluded to some of the horrible and blasphemous doctrines of the Jesuits, (from whose writings I had purposed to have given some extracts;—I intended to have spoken of the great prevalence of *Jansenism* in the French and German Churches in the last century, which *Rome had not power to check*, but for which I can now only refer to Mr. Palmer’s valuable Treatise on the Church,*—but let me hope that enough has been said to show that Romanists should look at home a little, before they charge us with wanting a “*fixed creed* :” let them clear up some of their hopeless uncertainties, let them put an end to the contradictory teaching and unseemly disputes prevailing among themselves;—and then,—*and not till then*—let them come and ask us whether *our* creed is fixed, and where it is.

In reply to my charge against the Church of Rome of having an “*interpolated Canon*,” and against the Communion of Romanists in this country of forming a “*Romish Schism*,” and “*having no succession*,” Mr. Egan’s argument (p. 7.) is more brief than convincing. All his vindication of his Church

* Vol. I. 318—344.

and Communion is summed up in the words ascribed by him to Gregory XVI :—"Every day we have something new to learn." But why did not Mr. E. try to prove that the Primitive Church regarded the Apocrypha as canonical? Why did he not show that the Roman Communion was the Catholic Church of England? Why did he not show that they had a succession from the Ancient English Church before the Reformation, and before the Conquest? Was it because he could not—or why? The mere saying that he had "every day something new to learn" (however true it may be) is no answer at all to my statements, and I fancy will convince no one. Having however no defence to make for himself, he tries to throw discredit upon our orders, and actually revives the Fable of the Nag's Head, which I alluded to in my former pamphlet (p. 40), but which I did not then give him credit for believing. I then said, that if he wished to cut away the ground from under our feet, his strongest argument would be to relate *and prove* the Story of the Nag's Head Consecration. And does he do this? No: he does not even give the history which I referred to. Of course I cannot tell *why*; unless it were that the very account when given fully would convey its own refutation. Let me then relate it for him. And as Champney is the great authority I will give his account of it, as printed by Dodd. (Ch. Hist. Vol. II. Append. No. XLII. Ed. 1839.) "I will here set down, how the whole action of the consecration of all the first bishops, made in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign (whereof Mr. Parker was one) passed, by the relation of such as were present thereat. At the Nag's-head, in Cheapside, by accorded appointment, met all those that were nominated to bishoprics, vacant either by death, as was that of Canterbury only, or by unjust deposition, as were all the rest." [Mr. Tierney, a Romanist, but a lover of truth, here observes:—"If the value of Champney's authority is to be decided by this assertion,"

i.e. that Canterbury was the only See then vacant by death, "I suspect that the story which he relates, will obtain but a small degree of credit. Instead of Canterbury being the "only" see vacant by death, it is known that Chichester, Hereford, Bangor, Salisbury, Rochester, Norwich, Gloucester, and Bristol [together with Oxford and the Isle of Man] were all in the same situation." Let us return to the *accurate and trustworthy* Champney.] "Thither came also the old Bishop of Llandaff [Kitchin] to make them bishops; who being known to doctor Bonner, Bishop of London, then prisoner, he sent unto the Bishop of Llandaff, forbidding him, under pain of excommunication, to exercise any such power, within his diocese, as to order those men; wherewith the old bishop being terrified, and otherwise also moved in his own conscience, refused to proceed in that action; alleging chiefly, for reason of his forbearance, his want of sight, as is before said: which excuse they interpreted to be but an evasion, [and] were much moved against the poor old man. And whereas hitherto they had used him with all courtesy and respect, they then turned their copy, reviling, and calling him doating fool, and the like; some of them saying 'this old fool thinketh we cannot be bishops, unless we be greased;' to the disgrace, as well of him, as of the Catholic manner of episcopal consecration. Being, notwithstanding, thus deceived of their expectation, and having no other means to come to their desire, they resolved to use Mr. Scory's help, who, having borne the name of bishop in king Edward's time, was thought to have sufficient power to fulfil that office; especially in such a strait necessity. He, having cast off, together with his religious habit (for he had been a religious man [i. e. a monk]), all scruple of conscience, willingly went about the matter, which he performed in this sort. Having the Bible in his hand, and they all kneeling before him, he laid it upon every one of their heads, or shoulders [all the same to Champney], saying, 'Take thou authority to preach

the word of God sincerely:’ and so they rose up bishops.” (Treatise of the Vocation of bishops, Doway 1616)—“*And so they rose up bishops ! !*” And Mr. E. professes that he believes this heap of absurd nonsense ! He professes that he believes that fifteen grave, learned, and reverend men, when appointed by the Queen (by a commission,* dated *December 6th, 1550*) to archbishoprics and bishoprics in the Church of England, when all the churches in the land were open to them,—when public notaries might be had to bear witness to their consecration,—when there was a solemn form especially provided for the occasion, should clandestinely resort to a tavern (!), and should there lay their hands on each others’ heads, or the bible on their shoulders (no matter which,) without any form, any service, any attesting witnesses ;—and this—let the reader observe—*on or before the 9th of September, i. e. three months before the commission was made out !* Can any man in his senses believe this ? Or if he does, must he not think these fifteen divines had just escaped from some lunatic asylum ? Can any man believe that a Commission was put in execution **THREE MONTHS BEFORE IT WAS ISSUED ?**—that there should be an order made out in *December* for the confirmation and consecration of bishops who had been consecrated in the *September* previous ? (What a pleasant study would History be, if it were not for those tiresome dates !) And then what *good* could this extraordinary consecration do ? What possible *motive* could lead to it ? What possible *advantage* could result from it ? And how would the Queen regard these *tavern* bishops ? In what light would Elizabeth, that lover of pomp and ceremony, and of order and decency, view these prelates ? Is it likely that she would admit them at Court ? Would she not rather scout them, and bid them begone to their tavern ? It so happened, that they were afterwards called “Parliament bishops,” because an act was passed

* Bramhall’s Works, Vol. III. p. 74, Ed. 1844.

legalizing the Ordinal of Edward VI. which was used at their consecration; but if this fable were true, they would have had a more opprobrious name still. No doubt, we should have then heard of Nag's Head bishops, of Cheapside bishops, and the like.

Again, if this clumsy story were true, how is it that we have so many variations? One writer substitutes Oglethorpe of Carlisle for Kitchin of Llandaff;—some say Barlow assisted Scory;—some say Scory consecrated the other bishops first, and was himself consecrated by them, or one of them, afterwards;—one author says that the consecration of the first bishops was there “attempted but not effected;”—another says that Parker, Grindal, Horn, Sandys, &c. were then consecrated;—another mentions the names of Jewel, Sandys, Horn, Grindal, &c. omitting Parker;—some say, all the fifteen were then consecrated;—others, only some of them. But it is a waste of time to heap together these contradictions. Let me refer to the work of Bishop Bramhall, above alluded to, where the question is thoroughly sifted.

And now, (if this also be not a waste of time,) let us look at some of the reasons to show that this story cannot be true. First, we have Heylin stating (as quoted by Dodd. II. cclxxv.) that “Charles Howard, son of William Lord Effingham, and afterwards Earl of Nottingham, happening to be one at the aforesaid dinner,” [i. e. when the Commissioners dined together after the confirmation of Parker's Election] “testified to the falsehood of this report; being alive in king James I.'s reign, when the story of the Nag's-head consecration began to be revived by certain writers of the Church of Rome.”

Then, as to the evidence in its favour;—Champney says he had it from Bluet, to whom it was related by Neal, who was sent by Bonner with the message to Kitchin, and who witnessed the proceedings. As for Bluet, and the rest of the prisoners in Wisbeach castle, they could say no more

than what they heard from Neal; if indeed they heard anything from Neal on the subject. Again, the Act of the 8th of Queen Elizabeth expressly declares that the bishops were consecrated according to the Ordinal of Edward VI; and it appears from the register (which will be spoken of presently,) that all the bishops said to have been consecrated at the Nag's Head by Scory, were consecrated at other times, and by other persons. And what is still more surprising, how could *Bonner* be ignorant of this matter, who, (as is said) set Neal on to observe it? Is it possible that Neal would return to him, and tell him all the particulars about the bible being laid upon the head "*or shoulders*" of the bishops elect, and how they were told to "take authority to preach the word of God sincerely,"—is it possible, I say, that Bonner should have been told this by an eye-witness, and deny that Horn, one of the number, was legally a bishop *because he was consecrated according to the Ordinal of Edward VI.*? Bonner maintained that this Ordinal was unauthorized, and *on that ground* raised objections against Horn *because he was consecrated according to it.* Is it possible that Bonner would have used this argument, if he had been told *by an eye-witness*, that Horn had had a mock consecration at the Nag's Head by having a Bible put upon his head or shoulders? NO: IT IS NOT POSSIBLE. This circumstance of itself would be enough to prove that Champney's story is a gross forgery.

But Mr. E. says it was "notorious to all the world," and was "all along talked of by the deprived bishops in the reign of Elizabeth." *Talked of* indeed! if so, how is it that they did not *write about it*? How is it that neither Stapleton, nor Harding, nor Harpsfield, nor Bristow, nor Allen, nor Reynolds, nor Parsons, nor *any one* of all the Roman Catholic writers, should so much as mention it for forty years ensuing; especially writing so much as they did upon the very subject of the validity of our Ordination? How is it

that Sanders, who professes, in his book on the English Schism (a work by no means free from untruths) to write the Ecclesiastical History of England to the 28th year of Queen Elizabeth, *has not one syllable of the Nag's Head Consecration!** Certes, this silence resulted from no tenderness of disposition, from no unwillingness to give pain to the feelings of Protestants. No: they had the *will* to stab the Church to the heart; but they wanted the *ability*. With all their hardihood, with all their readiness to say anything which might damage the cause of the Catholic Church in England, they yet—even if they had heard of the rumour (of which I can find no *proof*)—did not dare to avow such an atrocious, such a ridiculous falsehood.

We have yet three statements of Mr. E. to clear up before we come to the Register. (1) He says that Stow testified it by *word of mouth* though he durst not publish it, and therefore has omitted Parker's consecration altogether. This saying of Stow is given on Champney's authority. Now Mr. Tierney, a member of his own Communion, has shown us how little value *any* assertion of Champney's is, when he said that there was only one diocese vacant by death, the fact being that there were *eight or ten* so vacant. And when we find a man out in one falsehood, we feel a great want of confidence in his assertions afterwards. Besides, from Dodd, I do not find that we have any distinct authority. He says "there is a tradition among Catholics," concerning this statement, making no allusion to Champney.

Which then is the real authority for this statement, Champney, or "a tradition among Catholics," I must leave to others. For myself, I incline to the former, with Mr. E.; for, while "a tradition among Catholics" is sufficiently uncertain and unsatisfactory, we know that Champney had no scruples about the truth; he could as easily tell a lie about Stow, as about the vacant bishoprics. Therefore, as I said, I

* Dodd and Bramhall, ut supra.

agree with Mr. E. in thinking that Champney must have been the author of this apocryphal report concerning Stow. The fact of his omitting Parker's consecration proves nothing either way. And not being an ecclesiastical historian, his silence is the less remarkable. (2). "When Bancroft was pressed on this subject," (says Mr. E.) "his answer was, *I hope that in case of necessity, a Priest* (alluding to Scory) *may ordain Bishops*, and though Holliwood, in 1608, wrote this against him, he did not deny it." Probably not: nor does the present Bishop of London think it worth his while to publish a reply to every foolish falsehood which is circulated about him: he has enough to do, and so has many another one, without noticing or contradicting everything which is imputed to him. But does Mr. E. mean to imply from this saying ascribed to Bancroft, that he believed in the Nag's Head consecration, or that Scory was only a Priest? Whatever may be the origin of this idle rumour, it is certain that he could have believed neither one or the other. Of course he could not have believed the fable of the Nag's Head. And it is equally certain that he could not have disbelieved the valid and canonical consecration of Scory,—*he having been consecrated by Cranmer, Ridley, and Hodgkins*, as appears by Cranmer's Register, fol. 833. (Bramhall, III. 70, n.) Moreover his consecration was *regarded as valid by Bonner*, by his rehabilitation of him, (i.e. purgation from a state of irregularity) upon his putting away his wife; Bonner acting therein as Bishop of the diocese where Scory was at the time residing. (Bramhall, as above.) Scory therefore was a true Bishop; which it is as well to prove, since, though he took no part in the Nag's Head consecration, (which never took place) he did take a part in the actual consecration of Parker at Lambeth. (3). We come to the statement of Lord Audley respecting Bishop Morton. In 1657, a book was published at Rouen by some Jesuits, in which it was asserted, that upon the

presentation of some book to the House of Lords, stating that the Protestant Bishops ought not to sit in that house, as having had no consecration, Bishop Morton endeavoured to prove a succession from the old unreformed Bishops, (we have here yet another version) ‘who by imposition of hands ordained the first Protestant Bishops at the Nag’s Head in Cheapside, as was notorious to all the world.’ And this rests upon the authority of Lord Audley, who said he heard the speech. Upon which the Bishop published a declaration, in the course of which he says “I do hereby, in the presence of Almighty God, solemnly protest and declare to all the world, that what this author there affirms concerning me, is a most notorious untruth and gross slander: for, to the best of my knowledge and remembrance, no such book as he there mentions was ever presented to the Upper House in that or any other Parliament, that I ever sat in; and if there had, I could never have made such a speech as is there pretended, seeing I have ever spoken according to my thoughts, and always believed that fable of the Nag’s Head Consecration to have proceeded from the Father of Lies.” With respect to Lord Audley’s assertion he says—“I am very unwilling to believe any Peer of England should have so little sense of his conscience and honour, as either to swear, or so much as affirm, such a notorious untruth: and therefore for the justification of myself, and manifestation of the truth in this particular, I do freely and willingly appeal (as he directs me) to those many honourable persons, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal yet alive, who sat in the House of Peers in that Parliament, or to as many of them as this my Protestation shall come to, for a true certificate of what they know or believe concerning the matter. And I acknowledge it a great mercy and favour of God, that He hath reserved me thus long to clear the Church of England and myself of this most notorious slander, before He takes me to Himself. For I cannot imagine any reason

why this shameless writer might not have cast the same upon any of my reverend brethren as well as me, but only that I being the eldest, it was probable that I might be in my grave before this untruth could be taken notice of in the world.” After this solemn declaration and denial of Bishop Morton, can any one believe that he could have “appealed to the Nag’s Head Consecration, as ‘notorious to all the world’”? This however is not all. We have two declarations signed by twenty-one* Peers, including six bishops, who were present at the parliament when the speech was said to have been delivered, i. e. *about seventeen years previously* (for so long a time elapsed before the speech was produced,) and they affirmed that to the best of their knowledge and remembrance, no such book was presented, and therefore no such speech could have been made. And the bishops say, that if such a thing had taken place, “there was none among them so ignorant or negligent of his duty in defending the truth, but would have been both able and ready to have confuted so groundless a fable, as the pretended consecration of bishops at the Nag’s Head, out of the authentic and known registers of the Church still extant, mentioned and faithfully transcribed and published by Mr. Mason so long before.” To which may be added the testimony of the Clerk of the Parliament, that upon searching the records of the House, he found no entry either of any speech on the subject, or of the presentation of any such book. (Bramhall, III. 25—34.)

As for what Mr. Egan calls “Bramhall’s *shuffling*,” it was a well-intended attempt to explain Lord Audley’s statement so as to acquit him of an actual falsehood. I agree with Mr. E., in his opinion, that the attempt is not success-

* These were all then in London, who had sat in that Parliament. There were in all fifteen lay peers who signed the declaration; but the names of nine only are given sometimes, because they only had subscribed when the sheet was printed. The only other bishop remaining (*viz.* of Bangor) who was in that Parliament, was then in Wales. (See Bramhall.)

ful: Lord Audley *cannot* be cleared of making an untrue statement. At least, he deliberately affirms that he heard what no one else ever heard, and which the reputed speaker contradicts having said, in the most solemn manner. Lord Audley's Protestation may be seen in Dodd (Vol. II. p. cclxxx.)

Now for the Register. Mr. Egan's dread of being thought to believe in the genuineness of this document is rather amusing, and reminds one of the state of mind into which a gallant member of Parliament was thrown, on its being discovered that his name was affixed to the Monster petition in favour of the Charter. The argument against the genuineness of the Register recording the consecration of Archbishop Parker and other of the early reformed bishops, rests upon the fact of its not having been published till the year 1616, by Mason; from which they infer, that it was only lately called into existence, having being forged to serve a purpose. Now I shall show (1) that there was no need of quoting it, (2) that it *was* quoted before, and therefore must be in existence, and (3) I shall then give other arguments in favour of its genuineness.

1. The Romanists say—Why was not the Register produced before? We were taunting your bishops all through Elizabeth's reign with being no true bishops, not validly consecrated, and the like. True: but the objections were not, that *no ceremony* of consecration had taken place, or that there was no record of such a proceeding. On the contrary, they assumed that a consecration *had* taken place, (and why should the *mere record* be of so much consequence, if the *fact* were acknowledged?) but they argued that this consecration was invalid and worthless for these, among other reasons:—(1) that having renounced obedience to the See of Rome, the consecration was uncanonical, and they were deprived of spiritual jurisdiction; (2) that they did not regard ordination as a sacrament; and therefore, according to the doctrine of intention, they could confer only

what they intended to confer—a mere Church ceremony, which made them nothing more than laymen; (3) The Ordinal of Edward VI. which was used, was also deficient in matter and form,—there was no anointing with oil,—the words, too, were not definite; (4) no power of offering sacrifice was imparted; therefore there was no priesthood. And if not priests, what were they but laymen? (5) The Ordinal also had been put down by Act of Parliament, and not restored; therefore even in the eye of the State, the consecration was illegal; (6) moreover they affirmed that two of the consecrating bishops, Barlow and Scory,* were not themselves truly consecrated.

Now, to rebut objections of this nature, of what earthly use would it have been to produce a Register? Could they, by showing a record of the proceedings of their consecration, have refuted such arguments as the above? “You are no bishops,” said their adversaries, “you have cast off the Pope, and with him all spiritual jurisdiction; your Ordinal is good for nothing; it is invalid and deficient in all imaginable ways; you are mere laymen.” “Nay, we are true and canonical bishops; our Ordinal is valid and sufficient; see—here is a record of our consecration: what further proof could you wish?” What would such a reply have been but idle folly? To produce the Register as

* The proof of Scory's consecration has already been given, p. 83. In addition to what has been said of Barlow in my former pamphlet, I will quote the words of Dr. Lingard. Alluding to the non-appearance of his name in the register of the Church, he says:—“Still, the absence of proof is no proof of non-consecration. No man has ever discovered the consecration of Gardiner of Winchester; yet he was made bishop while on a mission abroad, and his consecration is involved in as much darkness as that of Barlow. When, therefore, we find Barlow during 10 years, the remainder of Henry's reign, constantly associated as a brother with the other consecrated bishops, discharging with them all the duties, both spiritual and secular, of a consecrated bishop, summoned equally with them to Parliament and Convocation, taking his seat among them according to his seniority, and voting on all subjects as one of them, it seems most unreasonable to suppose, without direct proof, that he had never received that sacred rite, without which, according to the laws both of Church and State, he could not have become a member of the Episcopal body.” (Hist. of England, VI. p. 672.)

an argument under those circumstances would have been ridiculous.

2. Having seen that the Register was then uncalled for, we will now see that it was, nevertheless, in existence.

(1.) It was referred to in an Act of Parliament passed in the 8th year of Queen Elizabeth, that Act, namely, which declared the consecration of Parker, &c., to be regular in the eye of the law. In this Act occurs the following passage:—

“It is, and may be very evident and apparent, that no cause of scruple, ambiguity, or doubt, can or may justly be objected against the said elections, confirmations or consecrations, or any other material thing meet to be used, or had, in or about the same; but that everything requisite and material for that purpose, hath been made and done as precisely, and with as great a care and diligence, or rather more, as ever the like was done, before her Majesty’s time, as *the records of her Majesty’s said father’s and brother’s time*, AND ALSO OF HER OWN TIME, will prove, plainly testify, and declare.”—(Dodd II. cccxiv). Now, what can be these

“records,” testifying and declaring that “everything requisite and material” had been done, so “precisely,” and with such “care and diligence,” but the document which gave an account of the proceedings—in other words—the Register? Let me ask also whether Champney’s Story of the Nag’s Head can stand a moment before this Act of Parliament?

(2.) In Archbishop Parker’s book, “*De antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*,” first printed in 1572, after having described the confirmation and consecration of Grindal, Sandys, Jewel, and Horn, the author adds in the margin—“*Hæ confirmationes et consecrationes in registris apparent.*”—“These confirmations and consecrations do appear in the Registers.”—(Bramhall III. 92.) They were in existence, therefore, in 1572, and consequently, were not forged in James I.’s time.

3. The *genuineness* of the Register is further confirmed

by its truth or *authenticity*. And one proof, among others, of its authenticity is the agreement with the civil records, which no man ever doubted of, with the ecclesiastical registers. The concurrence is so exact, that forgery is out of the question, unless it be asserted that *all* documents, even Acts of Parliament, are forged. This, however, would be contending for too much. All the records, as existing in the Rolls and elsewhere, as the *Congé d'Elire*, the confirmation of the election, and the consecration, are given by Bramhall (vol. III.); and if any one, *after reading and comparing them*, still believes in the Nag's Head fable, he must be a kind of natural curiosity.

Again, at the end of a copy of Mason's book, presented by him to Merton College, there is the following memorandum in his own hand:—"Whereas Mr. [Tho.] Fitzherbert hath lately sent a book from Rome against the reverend bishop of Ely (Dr. Lancelot Andrews), to which he hath annexed an appendix concerning the records and registers by me produced, desiring that some of their discreet Catholics might view, and consider whether they be true or counterfeit; know, therefore, that upon the twelfth of this present May, an. 1614, his Grace of Canterbury sent for Mr. [John] Colleton, the archpriest" (or rather the one who supplied the place during the vacancy), "[Tho.] Leak, a secular priest, as also one Jesuit, called [Tho.] Laithwaite, &c., and showed unto them the register, and other records of his predecessor, Matthew Parker, *which they perused over and over, and found that the said Parker was consecrated in Lambeth chapel, and not at the Nag's Head in Cheapside, by certain bishops that had been ejected in Queen Mary's reign*":—(Dodd II., p. cclxxxix).

Most of my readers will probably think that enough has been said on this subject. I must, however, at the risk of being thought tedious, give a summary of the narrative as related by the venerable and learned Dr. Lingard, since it

will show how this history is regarded by the respectable body of Romanists, and also because he brings forward one or two arguments against it, which have not been yet adduced.

“We are told, and that, too, on apparent authority, (Fuller ix. 62, Heylin p. 121), that from Bow Church the commissioners who had confirmed the election of Parker, proceeded to dinner at a neighbouring inn, the Nag’s Head, much frequented by the country clergy on their arrival in London. The fact, if it be a fact, may account for the origin of a story afterwards circulated, that, during the dinner, a messenger arrived from Bonner, forbidding Kitchen to exercise any diocesan authority in the bishopric of London, on which Scory [we have here yet another variation] jocularly leaving his seat, made the bishops elect kneel down, placed a Bible on the head of each, and bade them rise up consecrated bishops. How Kitchen and Scory happened to be present (for the records show that they never acted together), or what concern the bishops elect had with the confirmation of Parker (for *they* were confirmed not by the commissioners, but by Parker himself), is not stated. But the dinner appears to have given rise to some story, which at first was privately whispered, after some years became, by repetition, more consistent and more widely known, and acquired strength and credit in proportion as it receded from its origin, till in the beginning of the next century, it was boldly supported by writers, who maintained that the established hierarchy derived its existence from the mummery said to have been practised at the Nag’s Head by the jocular bishop Scory. It will not excite surprise, if such statements led to a long and acrimonious controversy.

To meet the Nag’s Head fable” [observe Lingard’s language all along, “story,” “mummery,” “fable,”] “appeal was made to the Archbishop’s Register. To this testimony of the Register, what could the champions of the Nag’s Head

story oppose? They had but one resource,—to deny its authenticity; to pronounce it a forgery. *But there was nothing to countenance such a supposition.* The most experienced eye could not discover in the entry itself, or the form of the characters, or the colour of the ink, the slightest vestige of imposture. Besides, if external confirmation were wanting, there was the archbishop's diary or journal, a parchment roll in which he had been accustomed to enter the principal events of his life, and in which, under the date of 17th of December, ann. 1559, is found:—'*Consecratus sum in Archiepiscopum Cantuarien. Heu! heu! Domine Deus, in quæ tempora servasti me!*' Another confirmation to which no objection can be reasonably opposed, occurs in the Zurich letters,* in which we find Sampson informing Peter Martyr on the 6th of January, 1560, that Dr. Parker had been consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury during the preceding month."—(Lingard's Hist. Engl. VI. p. 670-1).

So much for the Nag's Head fable. If any one, after reading the facts and arguments above given, is not satisfied of its falsehood and absurdity, all I can say is—I pity that man. Further attempt to convince him would be mere waste of time; as he must be either unable to understand a simple argument, or unwilling to admit a plain fact.

But it is time that we addressed ourselves to the consideration of the famous Sardioan Canon, and the various accompanying circumstances.

Mr. Egan says (p. 7) that I am "not correct as to the number of bishops assembled" [i.e. at Carthage]; and that "the whole story is a multitudinous misrepresentation."

* The following is the passage alluded to by Lingard:—"The consecration of some bishops has already taken place. I mention, as being known to you by name, Dr. Parker, [Archbishop] of Canterbury, Cox, [Bishop] of Ely, Grindal, of London, Sandys, of Worcester. ... Pilkington, [Bishop elect] of Winchester, Bentham, of Coventry, and your friend, Jewel, of Salisbury, will follow shortly."—Zurich Letters, p. 78. First Series. 2nd Ed. (Parker Society, 1846).

The authority for my statement was the following passage from Johnson (whose learning no one will dispute), in his notes on the Sardican Canons (Vade Mecum. II, 163) — “The African bishops were occasionally met in Synod at this very juncture, to the amount of 270,” &c.

Johnson, unfortunately, is not alive to defend himself, and what is his ground for this statement I know not. But, if I (following him) am wrong, Mr. Egan should have stated what he believed to be the correct number. I will, however, save him that trouble, and state that, while different numbers are given, the usual number, probably the correct one, is 217.

But how is my account “a multitudinous misrepresentation?”—Thus—“Let me ask him,” says Mr. E., “was Rome the Imperial city in 451? No. Constantinople was then the Imperial city.” I am aware that Constantine had transferred his court from Rome to Constantinople, and that the Empire was afterwards divided into two parts, known as the Eastern and Western Empire. Still, Rome was formerly the only capital, and then her bishop would have precedence of all others; and this precedence was not done away with by the division of the Empire. And the Council of Chalcedon in its 28th Canon, makes no allusion to the primacy of Rome as being a matter of divine right; but, after speaking of Constantinople as New Rome, (an expression which also occurs in the 3rd Canon of Constantinople, A.D. 381, where the Bishop of that city is *on that ground* declared to have the prerogative of honour next after the Bishop of Rome)—goes on to say, that “*the Fathers have with good reason granted [these] privileges to the throne of old Rome, on account of her being the Imperial city;*”—as the original has it—*διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην.*

Thus I am justified in my expression—that Rome had the precedence granted her “on account of her being the

Imperial city." After awhile, indeed, she made a development; and, being fearful that Constantinople would cast her into the shade, and take precedence of her in ecclesiastical as well as in civil matters, she discovered that her primacy was a matter of divine right, in regard of her bishop being the successor of St. Peter. In early times, however, this was not wanted, and therefore not developed. It was enough for her that she was the first city in the world, and therefore her bishop—in rank (but no more)—the first bishop in the world. I did not mean to say—*nor have I said*, that this privilege was *conferred* in 451; it was allowed by the Council which then met to have been *previously in existence*, having been "*conferred by the Fathers on account of her being the Imperial city.*" These are the words of the Council of Chalcedon. If Mr. E. does not admit them,—if he rejects the very words of the Council, it is useless to argue with him.*

Let us now pass on to his second objection:—"The decrees of the Council of Nice were submitted to Pope Sylvester more than a century before, for his approbation; and therefore he must have been acknowledged as the chief Bishop." Mr. Egan's attempt to prove that the Bishop of

* I subjoin the 28th Canon of Chalcedon, as given by Johnson (V.M. II. 153) to remove all doubt. "We, following in all respects the decrees of the Fathers, and recognizing the Canon of the 150 bishops, beloved of God, which has now been read, decree and vote the same things concerning the privileges of the most Holy Church of Constantinople, which is new Rome: *for the Fathers have with good reason granted [these] privileges to the throne of old Rome, on account of her being the Imperial city; and the 150 bishops most beloved of God, acting with the same view, have given the like privileges to the most Holy Throne of New Rome: rightly judging, that the city which is the seat of Empire, and of a Senate, and is equal to the old Imperial Rome in other privileges, should be also honoured as she is in Ecclesiastical concerns; as being the second, and next after her; and that the Metropolitans not only of the Pontic, Asian and Thracian Dioceses be ordained by the most Holy Throne of Constantinople; but even the bishops of the said dioceses which lie among the Barbarians; the Metropolitans of the said dioceses ordaining [the other] bishops subject to them, and the Archbishop of Constantinople ordaining the said Metropolitans, after the elections have been first made according to custom, and reported to him.*" For the Original, see Justell's "Codex Canonum Eccl. Univ." pp. 124, 126. Paris, 1610.

Rome was acknowledged as chief bishop was unnecessary, as I had *stated it myself*, though his primacy was that of *rank*, not of *jurisdiction*: his claim to the latter did not arise till afterwards.

But that the decrees of the Council of Nice were submitted to Pope Sylvester, I most firmly deny, as it is a mere Roman fancy. Romanists, indeed, generally contend for more than this; they will have it, that the Pope presided in the person of Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, and of his legates Vitus and Vincentius. This is as imaginary as the other; but as Mr. E. has not put it forward, I do not feel called upon to refute it.

As for his statement that the decrees of the Council were submitted to the Pope, that is easily answered. Eusebius (De vita Constant. III. 7) says that the Bishop of Rome was absent because of his age, but sent two presbyters to act in his name; or, as Theodoret says (I. 7), to give his assent to what was enacted. Now, if Sylvester subscribed, or gave his assent, to the Council by the hands of his representatives, why should the decrees be sent to him to confirm afterwards? In that case, his sending representatives to sign the decision of the Council in his name, would be absurd.

Again, the Synodic Epistle of the Council (given by Socrates, I. 9, and Theodoret, I. 9), in their address to the church of the Alexandrians and the brethren of Egypt, says:—"It seemed altogether necessary that an Epistle be sent to you in the name of the sacred Synod; that you may have means of knowing, what things have been moved and examined, and *what things have been sanctioned.*" (See Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. I. 392, note (Ed. 1841), where the whole Epistle is given in English). Would the Council write a Synodical Epistle to a distant church, sending the decrees, and saying that they had been decided *and sanctioned by the Council*, if they had yet to receive the

confirmation of the Pope? Of course not. There is *not the least allusion to the Pope* in the ancient historians, except speaking of him, by the title of Bishop of Rome, as too old to attend the Council, and therefore sending two presbyters to give *his* assent to what was done. Again, Eusebius says (De vita Const. III. 14)—“The things which had been decided on in common were confirmed (*ἰσχυροῦ*) by the signatures of each one.” There is no reference to any further confirmation yet to be given: the questions were decided among themselves and then confirmed (not merely attested) by their signatures, and the matter was completed.

Thus I have shown that there is not the least allusion to any Papal authority or jurisdiction;—I have shown that Sylvester's legates came only to represent him as Bishop of Rome;—I have shown that the decrees of the Council were determined finally by the members then present;—I have shown that on the strength of this, a Synodical Epistle was written to the African Churches, with the enactments of the Council;—I have shown all this *against* the Papal claims, while Mr. E. has not pretended to offer a single argument *for* it;—he has merely made an assertion which I have shown to be unfounded. *That* point, then, is settled.

We now pass on to Mr. Egan's third argument. “If he will look into the Preface to the Council of Nice he will find that St. Athanasius and others believed that (though only twenty canons of the Council of Nice have reached us) there were seventy canons originally framed; see the opening of the sixth Council of Carthage); *and the canon* of the Council of Sardica belonged in reality to that of Nice—the Sardican Council of between 200 and 300 bishops, from all parts of the world, including Britain itself, being but the carrying out of the Council of Nice.—(See Athan. Apol. 2, p. 754. Socrat. 2, c. 20, Sozom. 111. c. 11, Tom. 2, Conc. p. 715).”

We have here so many statements and references to investigate, that the consideration of this passage will occupy some little time. There are eight points which demand our attention.

1. Mr. E. says that if I look into the Preface of the Council of Nice I shall find that S. Athanasius and others believed that (though only twenty canons of the Council of Nice have reached us) there were seventy canons originally framed. To this I reply, I have looked two or three times through this Preface,* but I can *find no mention* either of *the name of Athanasius* or *the number of canons*. That, then, goes for nothing.

2. I am next told to "see the opening of the sixth Council of Carthage." I took Mr. E.'s advice, and did so: and what is more, I went on to see the ending of it; which I venture to think Mr. E. scarcely could have done, or I question whether he would have referred me to the Council at all. It is, in fact, the very Council which I alluded to in my former pamphlet (p. 3), where the claims of the Bishop of Rome were discussed.† Perhaps an abstract of its pro-

* The language of this Preface is so extraordinary, that I have no doubt in my own mind that it is a forgery, or, at least written long subsequently to the Council; neither should I have believed it, had it stated what Mr. E. represents it to have stated. Since however *he* seems to believe it, let me give the concluding sentence which seems scarcely to agree with his notion that the decrees of the Council were submitted to Pope Sylvester for his approbation, more than a century before the Council of Chalcedon (451). "Defertur ad Constantinum sacerdotialis Concilii sententia. Ille tanquam a Deo prolatam veneratur." (Concil. Tom. I. fo. LIX. Cologne, 1530.) "The decree of the Sacerdotal Council (or Council of bishops—*sacerdos* being frequently used for bishop) is carried to Constantine. He venerates it as pronounced by God." If the Emperor regarded it as the voice of God, surely there was no need for it to be confirmed by the voice of a man.

† Aparius, who had been excommunicated for immorality by Urban, bishop of Sicca in Africa, appealed to the Bishop of Rome, and was by him received into Communion. After this, Zosimus sent his legate Faustinus to Carthage to vindicate his right of receiving appeals, which he grounded, as he said, upon the Nicene Canons, quoting instead thereof a Canon said to have been made at Sardica 22 years afterwards. The Africans however were not prepared to give implicit belief even to the word of the Pope: they found no such Canon in their copies; and his mere assertion had but little weight with them, for this was before the fable of Papal infallibility had been heard of.

ceedings may be interesting. The Council was opened by Aurelius Bishop of Carthage—he is called Papa or Pope, a title often given to the chief bishop of a province—who introduces the subject, and says that their copies of the Nicene Council should be produced. The Nicene creed and canons are accordingly read by the notary Daniel. When he had read them, Faustinus, the Roman legate, said that certain things had been enjoined him by the Apostolic See to treat upon with them concerning the Nicene canons, and he therefore proposes that the commonitory of Zosimus should be produced. Aurelius assents, and it is accordingly read by Daniel. It asserts that the right of appeal to Rome had been decided by the Council of Nice, and a pretended Nicene canon is adduced to support it. This was, however, the 5th (or according to some, the 7th) Sardican Canon, which the African Church had *never heard of*, though the *really* Nicene Canons they highly venerated. When the document had been read, Alypius, Bishop of Tagaste, said:—"Concerning this matter, we have already written back in former letters of our Council; and we profess that we will maintain what has been determined in the Council of Nice: I am, however, struck with the fact, that, when we inspected the Greek copies of this Nicene Synod, we found there (I know not how) nothing whatever of these things." He then goes on to beseech the holy Father (Papa) Aurelius, to send some persons with letters from his Holiness to the Bishops of Constantinople and Alexandria and Antioch, "that all doubt may be taken away, because we find nothing whatever of these things which our brother Faustinus has produced." He proposes, moreover, that Boniface also (who had just succeeded Zosimus) should be requested to send to the before-named Churches, for copies of the Nicene Council. After a long discussion, in which Augustine, Faustinus, and others take a part, Aurelius at length concludes by reiterating the proposal to write to the

Eastern Churches for copies of the Council of Nice, and stating that if they found in them the right of appeal, which was advanced in the Commonitory, it should be confirmed; but if not, that they would discuss the subject in a future Synod. A letter is then written to Boniface in the name of the African Church, informing him of their proceedings, and requesting him also to write for a copy of the Canons. In course of time, the Africans receive their copies from Alexandria and Constantinople, with no mention made of the additions in the Commonitory of Zosimus. Aurelius, therefore, writes another letter to the Bishop of Rome—who was now Cælestius, Boniface being dead—and tells him that the Nicene decrees most plainly (*apertissimè*) commit the clergy of whatever rank to their metropolitans, and decided most justly and wisely that all matters are to be determined in the places where they arise. That they could not find it ordered *by any Synod of the Fathers* that he should send his representatives *à latere*, and he is therefore requested not to send his clerical agents (*executores clericos*) to any who asked it; and as Apiarius was removed for his crimes from the Church of Christ, they felt secure that his Holiness, from his honour and moderation, and his wish to preserve brotherly charity, would no more allow Africa to have to endure the presence of Faustinus.

“Thus,” (as Johnson says) “did these African bishops make a great and noble stand in opposition to the first encroachments of the see of Rome on the Church of Africa; and discovered one of the most gross impostures that ever was intended to be put on so venerable a body of men: and this they did with all the modesty and deference that could be paid by one Church to another, without being guilty of implicit faith and blind obedience. For they admitted Apiarius to Communion, *pendente lite*; They distrusted their own copies of the Nicene Council; And, to say all in a word, modesty at last carried the cause against

insolence and usurpation ; and simplicity bore down and triumphed over Romish fraud and forgery. The sophisters of the Church of Rome do mightily belabour themselves to make a plaister for this sore ; but it is altogether incurable ; nor can the wit of man contrive so much as a veil to cover it. *Richerius*, a professed Papist, but an enemy to the Court of Rome, because a friend to truth where he saw it, has detected all that is said by *Baronius* and *Binius*, and all the advocates of this cause, to be mere fiction and forced stuff.”— (Vade Mecum, II. 164, 165).

Archbishop Laud states (on the authority of two documents, an Epistle from Boniface the 2nd, and a copy of the petition of Eulalius, a succeeding Bishop of Carthage, who “ curses all his predecessors who went against the Church of Rome”), that from the time of this Council, a formal separation ensued of the Church of Africa from the Church of Rome, which continued more than one hundred years. In which case (supposing the documents genuine), St. Augustine, Eugenius, Fulgentius, &c., died in the time of this separation, and “ if this separation were not just, but a Schism, then these famous Fathers of the Church died (for ought appears) in actual unrepented Schism, and out of the Church,” and therefore in a state of damnation ; though Augustine is “ accounted a Saint all over the Christian world and at Rome itself.” On the other hand, if these documents are false, “ then Boniface the Second, and his accomplices at Rome, or some for them, are *notorious forgers*, and that of Records of great consequence concerning the government and peace of the whole Church of Christ, and to the perpetual infamy of that See.”— (Conference with Fisher, 1673, pp. 112—114).

With respect to the letter of Aurelius to the Bishop of Rome, Cabassutius innocently observes (Not. Conc. p. 239)—“ It is not known what reply Cœlestine made to this.” It is difficult to imagine what reply he could have

made. Even he, with all the "three-fold brass" of a Bishop of Rome, could hardly persist in maintaining the forgery which had been so patiently, so clearly, exposed. And to allow that it was a forgery, would be too humiliating, too detrimental to Rome. Perfect silence, then, would seem to be the best course.

And, now, let me ask, what in the world could have induced Mr. Egan to refer me to this Council? The only connection whatever that it has with our subject is its relating the unsuccessful attempt which Rome made to impose a fictitious canon of Nice upon the venerable assembly representing the African Church, and the rebuff which she most deservedly received from that Church, in return for her bare-faced imposture and her shameless attempt to lord it over her southern sister. In after years, unfortunately, her will became law; "fraud and forgery"—things too common with her to be thought a disgrace—coupled with the haughty and imperious spirit of old Pagan Rome, compelled, in ages of ignorance and superstition, Western Christendom to bow before her. Still, as matter of history, most valuable are such cases as that of the African Church, of the Spanish, of the British, of the Saxon, and of other Churches, to prove that not in pure and primitive times, but in days of darkness, were her deeds of darkness perpetrated.

3. Mr. Egan continues:—"The Canon of the Council of Sardica belonged in reality to that of Nice."

This was the very point in dispute. The Council of Nice took place in 325; that of Sardica in 347; that of Carthage in 419. This Synod (the 6th of Carthage) took all the pains it could to investigate the truth, and came to the conclusion that this was *not* a Canon of the Council of Nice. Not only, it was not made at Nice, but they never heard of any such canon made *anywhere*. And surely they, so close to the time, were better qualified to decide than we are.

We may, therefore, regard that statement of Mr. E. as disposed of. Still, let us hear his proof of it:

4. "The Sardican Council being but the carrying out of the Council of Nice."

This is quite a gratuitous assertion. Both, indeed, were more or less directly aimed against the Arians, though the latter was in a great measure collected to decide in favour of Athanasius. Julius, Bishop of Rome, indeed, (Athanasius having taken refuge there on being deposed by the Arians), had called a Synod and given sentence in his favour. The Eastern bishops, however, paid no attention to the letters of Julius, requiring them to restore him; the Bishop of Rome not being then recognized as God's representative upon earth, and supreme earthly Lord of the Church of Christ. The Pope's authority, therefore, being of no effect, recourse was had to the *Emperor*, who (*the Emperor*, observe, *not the Pope*) summoned a Council to meet at Sardica in Illyricum, which arrived at the same decision as the Roman Synod under Julius; the great difference consisting in this, that whereas Julius *wished* to restore Athanasius, and would have done, *if he could*,—the Council of Sardica, called by the Emperor, (or rather by the two Emperors, Constantius and Constans) actually effected this. It absolved Athanasius and his fellow bishops from the sentence of deposition, and restored them to their bishoprics, which the Pope of those days could not do. Let this case, then, as well as that of Apiarius before related, cleave to the memory of those who would uphold the Papal Supremacy.

Although most Romanists would wish to regard this as a general Council, yet it was not really such, however it may have been intended,—partly because it was composed principally of Western bishops, partly because the Canons *said to have been made there*, which have come down to us, were not received by the Catholic Church.* No more

* Spanheim says:—"Ignorati etiam hujus Synodi *Canones* toto Oriente, et in Africa ipsa, usque ad tempora Zosimi et Bonifacii, A. ccccxvii. ante

can this Council be regarded as a "carrying out of the Council of Nice." They were two distinct Councils, gathered at an interval of twenty-two years, called by different Emperors, and composed, in a great measure, of different members, and therefore, to say that a Canon passed at *Sardica* was a *Nicene* Canon, is a most singular assertion.

Suppose some one were to quote an Act of Parliament as having passed during Lord J. Russell's administration, which in reality was passed while Sir Robert Peel was minister; and suppose, when this was pointed out, he should say:—"O, of course I know that very well; but you will surely admit that Lord John's government was "but the carrying out" of Sir Robert's: many of the members were the same, and under both ministers the corn-laws were discussed. Therefore I am fully justified in ascribing to Sir R. Peel's administration an Act, which I acknowledge, in point of fact, was passed by Lord J. Russell." Many would regard this as a peculiar way of arguing, and I think few would be convinced by it. Besides, Mr. Egan is too grasping: in his endeavour to secure the two birds in the bush, he has not one safe in his hand. For, observe his argument. He says in one place, that there were seventy Canons "originally framed," i. e., *at Nice*, of which seventy it is pretended that what Zosimus produced was one. And then, directly after, he *allows* that it was *passed at Sardica*; but then he wants *Sardica* to be regarded as a continuation of *Nice*. Now really, Mr. E. should have made up his mind, whether he thought the canon was made

quæ, ut ex actis Carthaginensis Synodi liquet, *nulla horum Canonum mentio, &c.*" (Hist. Christ. Col. 876.) Dupin also, a Roman Catholic writer, says:—"Les Canones du Concile du Sardique n'ont point été reçus par l'Église Universelle, comme des Loix générales. Ils n'ont point été mis dans le Code des Canons de l'Église Universelle approuvé par le Concile de Chalcedoine. L'Orient ne les a jamais reçus; les Evêques d'Afrique ne les ont point non plus voulu reconnoître. *Il n'y a que les Papes qui s'en soient servis*, [candid, this, from a Papist] et encore les ont-ils citez sous le nom du Concile de Nicée, pour leur donner plus de poids et plus d'autorité." (Nouv. Bibliothèque, II. 329.)

at *Nice* or *Sardica*; for even he will not contend for its having been made at *both* places. Indeed, my strong persuasion is—that it was made at *neither*. And as it is a question of some interest, it shall be discussed in another place,* for to do so here would be tedious. Let us now be satisfied with having arrived at the conclusion that “the Sardican Council was not the carrying out of the Council of Nice.”

5. We now come to a list of authorities. The first is “See Athan. Apol. 2, p. 754.” As my Edition of the Apology of S. Athanasius is not the same as that to which Mr. E. refers, the page will not help me; I have, therefore, read the Apology through, but without finding in it any proof of any of the statements made by Mr. Egan.

6. The next reference is:—“Socrat. 2, c. 20.”

I would venture to hope that Mr. E. had read this chapter of Socrates before he referred me to it. But *why* he referred me to it, I cannot imagine. It contains a short account of the Council of Sardica, how about three hundred Western and seventy-six Eastern Bishops assembled at that city, and how the Eastern Bishops would not meet the Western, and so had a Council by themselves at Philippopolis. But what it has to do with the case before us, I cannot divine. It is, indeed, stated that the Western Bishops maintained the Nicene faith. So do the English Bishops now. But this is no proof that there were seventy canons made at Nice, or that a canon made at Sardica was a Nicene canon.

7. We are then sent to “Sozom. 111, c. 11.” Now as Sozomen contains only nine books, a reference to the hundred and eleventh is somewhat perplexing to ordinary minds. On examination, however, it turned out that 111 merely stood for III.; which shows how careful people should be when they transcribe references. Here again, I

* See Appendix, No 3.

cannot imagine why I should be sent to this passage of history. Sozomen gives a short account of the Sardican Council, relating how the Western Bishops were content with the Nicene profession of faith; how they declined rejecting Athanasius, especially as Julius, Bishop of Rome, had not condemned him; and how the Eastern Bishops excommunicated or deposed Julius, and others. But it has not the slightest connection with the subject before us;—it says *nothing whatever about canons*, whether Nicene or Sardioan. What then could induce Mr. E. to refer me to it?

8. The last reference is to "Tom. 2, Conc. p. 715."

Now, surely Mr. E. must know that there are many editions of the Councils; and when he refers me to p. 715 of a Volume of the Councils, without saying what Edition, he might almost as well refer to such a page of Pilgrim's Progress, or the Vicar of Wakefield—at any rate, I can derive no assistance from *my* Edition, (Cologne, 1580) as the 2nd vol. of that contains only 400 pages. I presume, however, it is not of much consequence; as, I trust, we may take it for granted, that its statements do not contradict those already given.

And now, having shown that Mr. Egan's references prove nothing for him, but—when they prove anything—are against him; let me ask him, did he really suppose that I should investigate them? Did he really imagine that I should "see the Sixth Council of Carthage," and "see Athanasius," and "see Socrates," and "see Sozomen," and the rest? Or did he not rather think that I "see" nothing of the sort, and take his word for granted? (Alas! how mistaken, if he did.) Had he not an expectation that he should bewilder and silence me by the confidence of his statements and by his array of authorities? If he did not expect this, I am at a loss to know why he advanced them.

But it is my turn now to produce authorities, and in doing this I shall be as brief as possible.

If Mr. Egan will refer to Theodoret (I. 8. near the end), he will find that historian saying that *the Council made twenty canons* or laws (νόμους ἕξασσι).

If he will refer to the Sixth Council of Carthage, he will find Aurelius stating that the decrees of the Nicene Council were brought to Africa by his predecessor Cæcilian, who was present at the Council; and surely he could not have lost fifty of them by the way;—for the African Church received twenty only.

If he will look into Justell's "Codex Canonum Eccles. Africanæ" (Paris, 1614), he will find that author quoting (p. 13 of the notes) from the Epitome of the Canons presented by Hadrian to Charlemain in 778, as follows:—"*Deinde etiam XX. capitulis Niceni concilii recitatis;*" and on the next page he will find him giving, besides Theodoret above quoted, the testimony of Gelasius of Cyzicum and Hincmar of Rheims to the same effect, viz. that the number of Nicene Canons was only twenty.

Lastly, if he will refer to Mosheim, he will find him, or rather his translator, saying that "*in the sixteenth century an Arabic copy of eighty canons, including these twenty, was brought from Alexandria to Rome. At first there was some doubt; but in a short time all the learned were fully satisfied that the additional sixty canons were not of Nicene origin, though now regarded as such by most of the Eastern Sects.*" (Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. I. 391, n.) And if he choose to prefer the testimony of the modern *Eastern Sects*, (though discarded by "all the learned,") to that of the *Catholic Fathers*, he is quite at liberty to do so; and if he can persuade any one of information to agree with him, he will deserve credit for his ability.

Mr. Egan next goes on to ask (p. 8) whether I can "mention any one General Council, received *honestly* as such, without the Pope's approval?" and whether I can mention a "*Protestant General Council*." This latter seems to me rather an un-English question; and I suppose that a *Protestant General Council* could scarcely take place, so long as Protestants compose but a portion of Christendom. Let me ask in reply, whether he can mention a *Roman* General Council, or an *African* General Council, or an *American* General Council. It will be time enough, when he has done this, to speak about a *Protestant* General Council. I thought at first, that he meant a General assembly of Protestants: that however cannot be his meaning; for then there would be no object in his question, and no connection with the preceding sentence. His meaning evidently is—Can there be a General Council *without the Pope*? Can *Protestants* make a General Council? This is the grammatical, and therefore, I suppose, Mr. E.'s meaning. What made him ask such an extraordinary question, whether Protestants, who form but a *part* of the Christian body, can compose a *General Council*, which represents the *whole* Christian Church, I cannot imagine. But Mr. E. asks whether I can "mention a General Council received *honestly* as such without the Pope's approval." This depends upon what is meant by the word "approval." If it means merely the assent or agreement of the Pope, I reply that he gave his assent to all the General Councils, properly so called, with the exception of one or two canons at Constantinople and Chalcedon, which took effect nevertheless. If by "approval" is meant "confirmation;" then I beg to say that he gave it to *none* of them. Let us enter into a few particulars. The four first General Councils, universally regarded as *Œcumenical*, and revered by Gregory the Great as the four Gospels, were those of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

1. The Council of Nice was summoned by Constantine in the year 325, to declare the faith of the Catholic Church in opposition to the Arian heresy. We have already seen (p. 44) that the Bishop of Rome sent his legates, but exercised no papal right or privilege, either as presiding, or confirming the decrees. The only act of the kind apart from the decree of the Council itself, is a letter from Constantine, acknowledging the decision as of divine authority; and declaring that those persons should be banished who refused to submit to it.

2. The Council of Constantinople was called by Theodosius in 381, to confirm the Nicene faith and to condemn the heresy of Macedonius, &c. This Council is regarded as General from its being generally received, rather than from the Church being generally represented in it. And though Damasus, Bishop of Rome, was present neither in person, nor by his representatives, still the Council is regarded by Rome and the whole Church as Œcumenical ("*quamvis Synodus ista Constantinopolitana fuerit Œcumenica.*" Cabass. 180). That this Council received the formal approval or confirmation of the Bishop of Rome, I have nowhere met with: it was however confirmed by the Emperor Theodosius, to whom the Council directed an Epistle, saying,— "We therefore entreat your clemency.... as by your letter convoking the Council, you have honoured the Church, so now you would, by your sentence and seal, confirm the summary of its acts, and the conclusion arrived at." (Quoted by Landon, *Manual of Councils*, p. 166). And thus in the English Church, following the customs of the ancients, the King summons the Synod and confirms its decrees. That is, he gives them a *legal or civil* sanction, as the Emperor did of old; for, *in a doctrinal or ecclesiastical view*, the decisions would want no confirmation, except what was given by the signatures of the members themselves.

3. The third Œcumenical Council, that of Ephesus, was assembled in 431, to give judgment upon the heresy of Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, respecting the human nature of Christ. He is said to have taught that the Offspring of the Virgin was not God, but that "the divine nature joined itself to the full-formed man, and only aided him during his life." (See Mosheim). Upon petition to the Emperor, Theodosius II., he called a General Council, (fixing both time and place), in which this heresy was condemned, and the title "Mother of God" was given to the Virgin, intimating that that Holy thing which was born of her not only partook of human nature from her, but was really and truly God. The Bishop of Rome, Cœlestine, was not present, but sent three legates in his stead. The President was Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria. I find no mention of any right of confirmation or other interference exercised by the Bishop of Rome. The supreme authority, and one which made itself to be felt, was that of the Emperor.

4. The fourth General Council was assembled at Chalcedon in 451, to condemn the errors of Eutyches, who taught that Christ had only one nature. He had been condemned in a Council by Flavianus, Bishop of Constantinople, which condemnation was annulled by the Pseudo-Council of Ephesus, called the Latrocinium, or Robber-Council. Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome, distressed at these proceedings, wrote to the Emperor, informing him of the impious acts of that Council, and imploring him to convoke an Œcumenical Council in Italy. He conjured the Western Emperor, Valentinian III., to "induce Theodosius to repair by his authority the evil that had been committed at Ephesus, and to annul all that they had decreed there, in an Œcumenical assembly." Theodosius was however deaf to the entreaties of the Pope, and Valentinian III., who joined in his prayer. (Our days, then, are not the first in which the synodical action of the Church has been curbed by the secular power,

and this, notwithstanding the entreaties of a Pope). His successor Marcian, however, yielding to the petition of the Bishops, appointed a Council to be held at Chalcedon. From the high opinion which he entertained of Leo, he wished him to preside, which accordingly he did, not in his own person, but in that of his legate Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybœum, whom with three other legates he sent to attend the Council. Now, at length, in the latter half of the 5th century, we have *for the first time*, a Bishop of Rome presiding in a General Council. And why was it? By reason of any Papal right or prerogative? No. Simply, says Landon, *because the Emperor desired it*, on account of the respect which he entertained for his character. Nor was this all. "It was arranged that the officers of the Emperor should propose the questions for discussion, draw up the various motions, and pronounce the decision, after that the Bishops had given their votes." (Manual, p. 116). The last of the Canons then passed was the famous 28th, already quoted, (see p. 43, n.) which the Papal legates objected to, but which, after some discussion, was confirmed. "The officers pronounced the decision, that the 28th Canon must stand, declaring that *the Council had confirmed all that had been proposed.*" (Landon, p. 127.) "Leo," continues this author, "opposed this 28th Canon; however, *in spite of his opposition, and that of his successors*, the Canon remained and was executed." That Council then was not "approved by the Pope;" at least, not in its integrity.

It should be stated that this Canon was grounded upon the 3rd Canon of the Council of Constantinople, which, Cabassutius tells us, Damasus condemned in a Roman Council. (Not. Conc. p. 182) If he did so, it was unfortunate for him, as the Canon was confirmed (as we have seen) by the Council of Chalcedon.

5. Besides these four, there are two other Œcumenical Councils; but these are not so celebrated, as they are

rather supplementary to the 3rd and 4th, not having put forth any strictly new definitions of faith. They were both held at Constantinople; the first of them being convened by the Emperor Justinian in 553, to determine the controversy respecting certain writings of Theodorus, Ibas, and Theodoret, which supported the Nestorian heresy, &c. (Palmer, *On the Church*, II. 186). But I must indulge Mr. Egan with a quotation from Landon's *Manual* (p. 178) which I think will please him. "The acts of this Council were *approved by Pope Vigilius.*" Surely he will tell me, I have confuted myself. But stay: what was this Papal approval in the latter part of the 6th century? Was it the affixing the seal of his authority, as I presume Mr. E. would mean? If so, that authority was not worth a rush. "For a long time" continues Landon, "it [the Council] was not received by the Churches of Africa,* Spain, and France; and Pope Gregory the Great appears to have had no great veneration for this Council. In after years, when the truth of the question became more generally known, all Churches, both in the West, and in the East, received this Council as Oecumenical." Thus, whatever the Pope thought of the Council was immaterial to the rest of Christendom. He might agree with its decisions, and in that sense "approve" of them; but if that "approval" was intended to pass for an authoritative *confirmation*, he was (to use Mr. E.'s language) "sadly mistaken." The decrees of the Council stood upon their own merits, and were in time received, but not in deference to a Bishop whom Bishops of a sister Church had excommunicated.

6. Having seen how insignificant was the Papal authority in connection with the 5th General Council, let us see how

* In fact, Facondus and some other African Bishops excommunicated Pope Vigilius (who makes but a small figure in connection with this Council) for his condemnation of the "three chapters." See Landon.

it was treated in the 6th. This was assembled by the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus (who sat in the Council in person) in 680, in consequence of the divisions arising from the Monothelite heresy, connected with the Eutychian, which had been condemned in the 4th. General Council. One of the most remarkable transactions was the anathematizing of Pope Honorius. The judgment was:—"Having examined the letters of Sergius of Constantinople to Cyrus, and the answer of Honorius to Sergius, in execrating their impious dogmas, we judge that their very names ought to be banished from the holy Church of God; we declare them to be smitten with anathema; and, together with them, we judge that Honorius, formerly Pope of ancient Rome, be anathematized, since we find in his letter to Sergius, that he follows in all respects his error, and authorizes his impious doctrine." Landon. 182. And when the Council came to an end, "the anathemas against the heretics were reiterated, *without any exception in favour of Pope Honorius*; the legate and 165 bishops subscribed their hands thereto, *and the definition of faith was confirmed unanimously.*" We see then that in early times, General Councils were called by the Emperor, upon the petition of the bishops. The Council itself confirmed its decisions *ecclesiastically*, and the civil power gave them a *legal or civil sanction*. And such, as we have seen, is the custom of the Church of England. The totally different practice of Rome is known to every one.

There were no more Councils properly called Œcumenical, than the six I have spoken of, which, as we have seen, were all convened by the Emperor for the time being.

I hope that I have now shown satisfactorily, that—whatever Mr. Egan may mean by "the Pope's approval,"—whatever authority the Pope himself may have in time assumed—NO "*General Council, received honestly as such*" was submitted to him for his "*approval*;" but, on the

contrary, that one Council which he professed to "approve," was not received till long afterwards, and that decrees of two other Councils were received and acted upon, notwithstanding his dis-approval.

Mr. E. next calls upon me to "consider the Fathers both Greek and Latin, that bear testimony to the Primacy of Peter and his successors in the See of Rome." Now really, this is asking too much of me. Surely, it was his place, not mine, to produce testimonies in his own favour. It would then have been my place to show, either that the quotations which he produced did not, if genuine, prove his point,—or, if they did, that they were taken from later writers whose testimony is of no value.

To enter on such a boundless argument here would be a vain thing, especially since this pamphlet has already (from my anxiety to answer every statement of Mr. E.'s) extended to such a length. Still it is a subject which cannot be passed over; but I will endeavour to handle it as summarily as possible. Among those quoted by Rome as bearing the strongest testimony in favour of her *Supremacy* (for we must remember that Romanists mean this when they say *Primacy*; her Primacy of rank is not denied) are Cyprian and Jerome. (I would observe that *the earliest Fathers are TOTALLY SILENT respecting the Supremacy either of St. Peter, or the Pope.*) And what says the Bishop of Carthage? In his treatise on the Unity of the Church, though he says that "a commencement is made from Unity, that the Church might be shown to be one" (*Exordium ab Unitate proficiscitur, ut Ecclesia una monstretur*), he also says, that Christ "gives to all His Apostles an equal power;" (*Apostolis omnibus parem potestatem tribuat*); and again, "Certainly the other apostles were what Peter was, endued with an equal fellowship both of honour and power," (*Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari con-*

sortio præditi et honoris et potestatis.)—(De Unitate Ecclesiæ. p. 107, 108. Ed. Fell.)*

What was his opinion respecting the supremacy of the See of Rome, we shall see by and by. And now what says Jerome?† “If authority is sought for, the world is greater than a city. Why do you produce to me the custom of one city? Wherever there is a Bishop, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanæ, he is of the same worth and the same priesthood,” —(ejusdem meriti est, et ejusdem sacerdotii.)

And now let us consider a few historical facts. About the middle of the 2nd century, when there was a variation in different Churches respecting the time of keeping Easter, Anicetus Bishop of Rome, and Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna, investigated the subject with great care at Rome. They failed of convincing each other, and having partaken of the Holy Communion together, (Anicetus, to shew his respect, yielding to Polycarp the honour of celebrating it in his own Church) parted with mutual expressions of good will, each persevering in his former practice. Could this have been the case, if Rome had then possessed a supremacy over other Churches? Assuredly not. (The reader will at once call to mind the different behaviour of the Roman Missionary Augustine, in his intercourse with the British Bishops, when he made the surrender of this point one of the terms of communion.)

* In the Benedictine Edition there are several interpolations here, which Baluze had rejected, but he dying suddenly while the work was passing through the press, the Benedictines into whose hands it came, *cancelled the leaf in the text and restored the interpolations*, though they retained Baluze's note, stating why he rejected them. See an interesting account of these additions in a note to the Oxford Ed. of St. Cyprian's Treatises, (1839, pp. 151, 152).

† For the original of this passage, I am indebted to an excellent pamphlet lately published, entitled, “On the Papal Supremacy: an Argument, founded upon Holy Scripture and Early Ecclesiastical History. By a Medical Man. (Rivingtons.)

In the same century, Victor excommunicated, or threatened to excommunicate, the Asiatic Churches with reference to this same question. But they *paid no regard to his threats or censures*, and the venerable Irenæus proceeded to rebuke him sharply for his conduct. Does this look as if the Bishop of Rome possessed a supremacy then? Even Mr. Egan would not be bold enough to affirm it.

Let me however sum up a few statements on this head in the words of the learned layman whose publication I have already referred to:—

“In the 3rd century, *Cyprian* ratified the Asiatic doctrine against Stephen of Rome; expressed some indignation against him for his attempted tyranny; ordered *all causes to be pleaded before himself; forbade Fortunatus and Felix, or any others, to apply to the Bishop of Rome,*” openly adding, “for that *the authority of the African Bishops is not less than that of the Bishops of Rome.*” How could this have been, if the Bishop of Rome were considered as Supreme head of the Church, Vicar of Christ on earth? When the See of Rome began to suffer those appeals, the Fathers of the Church resisted it, and *excommunicated those who dared to make them.* Cyprian calls Stephen merely his brother Bishop, as being his equal. Stephen excommunicated Cyprian on account of his doctrine as to rebaptizing heretics. Yet Cyprian heeded not, nor cared for separation from “Peter’s See.” Nay, he *died* out of Communion with that See; and so did Hilary of Arles; and yet *both of them are canonized Saints!*

“Another instance of resistance to the growing authority of the Bishop of Rome is found in the conduct of *Firmilian of Cappadocia*, who lived at the same time as Cyprian. Firmilian likens Stephen of Rome to Judas, talks of his audacity and insolence; shows that the power of remitting sin was given to all the Apostles, and to all Bishops who succeeded them; declares himself indignant at the open and

manifest folly of Stephen, and calls him truly a Schismatic, separating himself from all others, and making himself an Apostate from the Communion of Ecclesiastical Unity." Is this the language of one who believed in the Roman Supremacy? I wait Mr. E's answer.

"*Jerome*, a little later than the Council of Nice, for he lived in A.D. 400, affirms [as we have before seen] that the Bishop of Rome was only equal in sacerdotal merit to the Bishop of Constantinople, Alexandria, Rhegium, Tance, Eugubium, &c. His reasoning is unanswerably decisive against the Roman claim to Supremacy. And in his celebrated letter to Damasus he is speaking of attachment to Rome only as regarded the particular controversy he was writing about. He does not say it was *always* necessary to be in communion with its bishop, but *then it was*, because the Pope had truth on his side, and he who gathered not with him would scatter and divide. He could not have written to Liberius, whom at least he believed was a heretic, in the way he wrote to Damasus, had he lived in his time. Nay, we have proof upon the matter. He *did* differ from Rome. He believed the Epistle to the Hebrews Canonical, in agreement with the Eastern Church, and *in opposition* to Rome; and absolutely *rejected* the Apocryphal books. Certainly, if Jerome is to be believed, *the Church* had one Canon of Scripture *then*, and Rome has another *now*.

"*Augustine*, in the 4th and 5th centuries, employs language utterly inconsistent with the dogma of Supremacy: and his actions speak even more loudly than his words. He in conjunction with the other African Bishops, *absolutely forbade the least interference on the part of the Bishop of Rome* in the government of their Churches. [He] opposed three Popes in succession, *Zosimus, Boniface, and Celestine*; and his name, with that of 60 bishops, is appended to the Milevi Council, as Legate of the Province

of Numidia, the Canons of which Council ordered that *Communion should be refused to any one appealing to Rome or elsewhere.*" Where was Papal Supremacy then?

"Near the end of the 6th century, *Pelagius the 2nd*, and *Gregory the Great*, for both themselves and their predecessors, *disclaim Supreme authority as inconsistent with the equal jurisdiction of other bishops*; and when, in 588, John, Primate of the East, took the title of Universal Bishop, Gregory declared any one so doing was the *fore-runner of Antichrist*; yet in [606] Gregory's Successor took the same title; and in 1054 the two Patriarchs excommunicated each other; the one part of the Church being as much *Catholic* as the other.

"The *Council of Nice* only makes Rome equal to other Eparchies [or Provinces] speaking then, only of custom, not of Divine right,—["let the ancient customs prevail"]; giving to Alexandria what it was customary for the Bishop of Rome to have in his Province. Canon 6. This language is plainly inconsistent with any *Supremacy* over all the Church on the part of Rome." Of this Rome herself was aware, and therefore prefixed the following clause to the 6th Canon, "The Roman See hath always had the Primacy." This, Landon says, was advanced in the Council of Chalcedon, but was shown to be "*only* an interpolation," and therefore not allowed. We see here another instance of Rome's great weakness—*forgery*.

"The *Council of Constantinople* gives the first rank to Rome, the next to Constantinople on the express ground of Metropolitan eminence ["for Constantinople is New Rome"], not because it was the See of Peter.

"The *Council of Ephesus* says every Metropolitan [bishop] is to be equally secured in discharging his own proper functions, and forbade Bishops to assume jurisdiction over provinces which had not from the beginning been subject to their predecessors."

The *Council of Chalcedon* grants to the Church of Constantinople *equal privileges with those possessed by Rome*, merely allowing to Rome *precedence*;—and the prerogative of honour.

“It is objected to the 28th Canon of Chalcedon that the Roman legates were absent when it was passed; and that it was resisted by them on their return, and by the Pope. True: they were at first absent, *by their own will*; but on their return, and **IN SPITE OF THEIR OPPOSITION**, *it was passed in their presence with acclamations*. The non-approval of the Pope and his Legates, only proves such approval was not necessary. Leo's condemnation of the Canon, and Leo's pride, do not hinder the Canon being authoritative.” (Papal Supremacy, 62—67) Will Mr. E. say Papal Supremacy had an existence *then*?

But authorities against the Roman Supremacy from Councils, Fathers, and Ecclesiastical history might be produced to a bewildering amount. I trust however that the few which have been given will be sufficient in a pamphlet like the present, in which I am called upon to allude to so great a variety of subjects; especially as Mr. E.'s remark occupies only about two lines. I must nevertheless say a few words about the False Decretals, upon which, as I stated in my former pamphlet, the claims of Rome to Supremacy and universal dominion were mainly founded. I quote from Dr. Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus*, as given by the before-cited writer.

“A certain Dionysius Exiguus published at Rome, about A. D. 526 a Collection of Decrees of ancient Synods, and Letters of Roman Bishops, from Pope Siricius, A. D. 385, to Anastasius, A. D. 498. Isidore of Seville, who died A. D. 636, made a similar collection. An impostor, about the middle of the 9th century, made use of the name of Isidore to promote the circulation of a collection he had fabricated; which he pretended contained the letters of Bishops of

Rome, from as far back as A. D. 93. The subject of them chiefly tended to prove that the Bishop of Rome was the successor of St. Peter, and that the foundation of the Church rested on him; that all Archbishops and bishops were subject to him; that he could excommunicate kings, &c. The Decrees of Councils were falsified; no less than fifty forged Decrees were added to the Council of Nice; and the sense of other passages was completely altered by the insertion of a negative. The collection was dispersed everywhere; and was at last universally received as genuine; and the greatest part of it was admitted into the Papal Code, which is still the source of all Ecclesiastical law [i. e. with Romanists]. Nations and General Councils were unable to resist it, until it was exposed to the world by a laborious work called the Centuries of Magdeburg, about the middle of the 16th century. These Decretals were forged in Germany, between A. D. 880 and 850; it is supposed at Mentz, by a Deacon named Benedict: though the author of them is not known absolutely: they were however framed in Germany, probably by one Benedictus Levita. They got credence in Germany, then in France, then in Rome, where usage and approval gave them the force of Laws. Canons of Councils, and Decrees of Popes [to which may be added, Works of the Fathers], have been so industriously altered in past ages of the Church that it becomes doubtful whether much that seems favourable to the Papal Claims may not yet have to be put into the same Category with these false Decretals.* (Papal Supremacy, p. 71, 72).

* I cannot forbear adding the following curious instance of Romish tampering with the decrees of a Council from the same publication, (pp. 72, 73.)

“One of the most barefaced alterations the writer of these pages has ever seen is one made in the 35th chapter of the Council of Laodicea, the original of which launched a strong Anathema against the abominable idolatry of Angel-worship. This, being inconvenient to the modern practice and faith of Rome, was altered, the word *Corners* [Angulos] being adroitly substituted for *Angels* [Angelos]; although the Greek, and all the Editions that came forth simply, and the more ancient Collections of Canons in the Latin Church

It is with great reluctance that I am compelled to dismiss such an important subject with such a (comparatively) passing notice. I hope however that what I have advanced will show that the early "Fathers both Greek and Latin" in their writings and the decrees of Councils "bear testimony" AGAINST "the Primacy [i.e. Supremacy] of Peter and his [supposed] successors in the See of Rome."

Let us now proceed to the next sentence (still, p. 8). "But we go much higher than the Councils to prove this. The New Testament itself contains the most convincing proofs of Peter's Supremacy." We now come to something tangible: Mr. E. does not, as in the case of the Fathers, bid me to "consider" the New Testament generally, but he here condescends to refer to particular passages, which will simplify the argument much. Let us then address ourselves to these "most convincing proofs of Peter's Supremacy."

"1st. The manner of his call to the Apostleship (John I. 42.) (by a change of name denoting the power to be conferred upon him) is very different from that of the other Apostles." With all due deference, I would suggest that the text referred to by Mr. E. does not speak of St. Peter's call to the Apostleship. It relates the circumstance of his first becoming acquainted with our Saviour: his appointment to be an Apostle was not till afterwards. (See St. Luke VI. 12—14, and St. Mark III. 14. 16. 17): "And Simon he surnamed Peter, and James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James, and he surnamed them Boanerges,

have the word Angels plain enough. . . Ussher says the alteration was made by Friar Crabbe."

This alteration occurs also in the Edition of 1580, where the 85th Chapter is—"Non oportet Christianos derelicta Ecclesia Dei abire ad Angulos idolatriæ abominandæ congregationes facere," &c. Is there ANYTHING Rome will not do to serve her purpose? Justell, however, abolishes the *Corners* and restores the *Angels*; thus, "Quod non oporteat Christianos ecclesiam Dei relinquere, et ire, atque Angelos nominare, et congregationes facere; quæ interdicta noscuntur." And such is the version of Dionysius Exiguus.

which is, The sons of thunder." Simon he had surnamed Peter *before* "his call to the Apostleship," as is shown by the text which Mr. E. (inappropriately for himself) refers to. But James and John, it seems, did have an expressive name given to them at the very time they were appointed to the apostolate. And I cannot see that the calling Simon "a Stone" should confer on him Supremacy over the other Apostles;—nay, should even so much as invest him with a dignity greater than what the "Sons of Thunder" might justly lay claim to.

"2nd. He is always mentioned *first* as being the more honourable." Not so. In the *Gospels* indeed he is, which some have thought (as I have read that St. Jerome did) to have been owing to his age. In other parts of the New Testament however his name does not occur first; e. g. I Cor. iii. 22. "Whether Paul, or Apollos, or *Cephas*." Again, in the ixth chap. "As well as *the other Apostles*, and as the brethren of the Lord, *and Cephas*." See also Gal. iii. 9. "James, *Cephas*, and John." In two of which cases his name is put *last*; so that if his Primacy rests upon his being "always mentioned first," it is an argument that will not stand. Besides, though he is generally mentioned first, perhaps as being the oldest, (and I have no objection to allow that he was "the most honourable,") this does not prove him to have had any Primacy; because we find the Apostles contending among themselves before our Lord's death, *who should be accounted the greatest* (St. Luke xxii. 24). Now is it possible that such a contest could have arisen, if Christ had invested Peter with a Supremacy over the other Apostles? Of course not. Did we ever hear of the Bishop of Rome and the Bishop of Ostia contending which should be the greatest? The mere fact of the contest among the Apostles leaves no doubt whatever that Peter had no Supremacy over the others. But let us pass on to the next "most convincing proof."

“3rd. He is the speaker for the rest; and of him the tax-gatherer asks whether his ‘master pays tribute.’” To the first I reply—that though he frequently spoke for the rest (owing perhaps, to the eagerness of his disposition or his age)—yet he did not always do so. See, for example, St. Matt. xvi. 13, 14. Jesus said, “Whom do men say that I am? And *they* said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist,” &c. In reply to a further question, *Peter* made answer; if he were speaker for the rest, why did he not reply the *first* time? See again chap. xiii. 10, “And *the disciples* came and said unto Him,” &c., and also xv. 33., xix. 10., St. Luke ix. 12, 49, and 54, where we find, in one case, “*the twelve*” spoken of generally as making a request to Christ,—in another, *John*,—in a third, *James and John* speaking for the rest; as also in another instance, *Philip* did (St. John xiv. 8). St. Peter therefore was not always “the speaker for the rest.”

The enquiry of the tax-gatherer, in my view, proves nothing. He might have asked even of Judas whether his master paid tribute. But let us see what the argument comes to. The tax-gatherer asked Peter whether his master paid tribute; therefore Peter must have had a Supremacy over the other Apostles. But Peter is said to have been Bishop of Rome; therefore, every Bishop of Rome is Supreme over all other Bishops. In other words, Pius IX. has, by Divine right, supreme power over all Bishops and Churches, because the tax-gatherer asked Peter whether his master paid tribute. O “most convincing proof!”

“4th, Our blessed Saviour identifies him as his representative by paying tribute for both.” I cannot see that this “proof” is more “convincing” than what have been already adduced. Capernaum, as we learn from St. Mark (I. 21, 29), was the abode of St. Peter. On our Lord’s arrival there with the Apostles, the collectors of the tribute-money asked Peter (privately, it seems) whether his Master

paid the tribute; to which St. Peter replied in the affirmative. When they reached the house, Christ referred to the subject, and told Peter to cast a hook into the sea, and to give as payment for both, the piece of money which he would find in the mouth of the fish which he would catch first. Had the question been put at Bethsaida, instead of Capernaum, a similar occurrence might have taken place at the house of Philip. There was nothing surprising in our Lord's paying for His host as well as for Himself; and it must be a very weak cause which can thus catch at a straw, and bring forward a passage of Scripture, which nothing but development on tenter-hooks could torture into an argument in favour of St. Peter's Supremacy.

"5th. Our blessed Redeemer prays for him especially, and tells him, after his conversion to '*confirm his brethren.*' The character of Peter was affectionate and headstrong; he was most likely from the warmth of his disposition to be hurried into some rash act: besides, a sorer temptation was laid on him than there was on the rest. Therefore, for him especially our Lord prayed, as one who stood most in need of His prayers. But surely, this is not a "most convincing proof of Peter's Supremacy," and by consequence, of the Supremacy of his reputed "successors in the See of Rome!" What! Because our Lord offered up for Peter a special prayer of which he especially stood in need, is this a proof that Liberius and Honorius, and Hildebrand and Innocent were God's Vicegerents and supreme lords over the Church? That any one should draw this inference, that the Pope is lord over God's heritage from the prayer of our Lord for St. Peter that his faith should not fail,—*notwithstanding his triple denial of Him, and that with oaths and curses,*—that this portion of Peter's history should be adduced as a proof of his own Supremacy and of that of the Bishop of Rome, is indeed marvellous. Why is development so outrageously opposed to common sense?

But we have not yet done with this text. "When thou art converted" said our Lord, "*strengthen* (or confirm) *thy brethren.*" And does this prove that Pio Nono is invested with supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church of Christ? Does it even prove the Supremacy of St. Peter?—Little indeed is required to satisfy those who think so. But there is one thing which I must insist upon in this argument, which is this: that the whole sentence be applied to the Pope, as it was to St. Peter. To the Apostle it was said "*when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.*" If Mr. E. is willing to allow this, then,—but not otherwise, am I willing to apply it to the Pope. Peter, from the temptations he had suffered and the fall he had undergone, was from bitter experience qualified to give counsel to his brethren. Let the Pope do this, and we shall rejoice. Right glad would every sound Protestant be, if *in this respect*, the Bishop of Rome would show himself like St. Peter. Right glad should we be, if he would strengthen and assist us in our warfare against the devil, the world, and the flesh. Most happy should we be to give him the right hand of fellowship, and to unite with him in all offices of Christian love and charity. But then he must first—be "converted." When the Bishop of Rome has disowned the errors, the superstitions, the novelties,—the whole anti-Catholic System of Popery,—when he is "converted" to pure and primitive Catholicism;—then will our bishops be glad to welcome him as a fellow-bishop;—then will the Patriarch of Canterbury welcome his elder brother the Patriarch of Rome; then may he say to us in the words of St. Paul:—"For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established; that is, that I may be comforted together with you, by the mutual faith both of you and me." Happy, most happy would that time be! But, before the Pope confirms us, he must, like Peter, *repent and be converted.*

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the *Rock of our Salvation*, Christ Himself? More so, surely,

than the Apostle, whom our Lord so shortly after calls "Satan."

7th. "And whoever reads John xxi. 15, 16, and 17, will see that authority is given to him by Christ 'to *feed* (or rule) *his lambs and his sheep.*' Thus invested, this 'Fisher of men' is the first to preach Christ crucified—the first to work miracles, and to convert the *Gentiles* as well as the Jews (Acts, 10th chap.)" Now Mr. E. must believe that this commission to feed the flock of Christ was confined to St. Peter, or that it was not. He will scarcely affirm the former; he will scarcely affirm that Peter was the *only* one authorized to teach in His name, and to act as an inferior shepherd under the Chief Shepherd. Surely he has not forgotten that St. Paul charged the clergy of Ephesus (Acts xx. 28) to "take heed unto the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, to feed the Church of God,"—which quite contradicts the notion that Peter was invested with authority over the whole flock. Mr. E. cannot deny but that all ministers of Christ have His commission to feed His sheep and His lambs. What argument then can be drawn from the fact that Peter was invested with it upon His making amends for his threefold denial of Christ, by his three times declaring that he loved Him? As for the expression "Fisher of Men," that applies to all the Apostles, to all who save sinners by bringing them within the net of the Church of Christ, and the title was given by Christ to Andrew equally with Peter (St. Matt. iv. 18, 19). That Peter was the first to work miracles, to preach the Gospel, to convert the Gentiles as well as the Jews, I allow; nor do I deny that he had a sort of precedence; he was however only *primus inter pares*, first among equals, for we have already seen that he was not greater than the others, much less had he any Supremacy over them.

8th. "He presides at the first Council of the Church, (Acts xv.), 'and all the multitude held their peace,' when

Peter had decided." Now I would ask, upon whose gross ignorance does Mr. Egan here presume? On that of the simple villagers among whom (as I understand) his tract is so industriously hawked about? But I trust no one who ever read the chapter to which he alludes will be beguiled by him. Certainly no one who has the chapter open before him can possibly be. For what says it?

Verse 6. "And the apostles and elders came together to consider this matter."

7. "And *when there had been much disputing*, Peter rose up and said unto them," &c.
12. "Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul," &c.
13. "And after they had held their peace, JAMES answered saying, Men and brethren hearken *unto me*."
14. "Simeon [i. e. Simon Peter] hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles," &c.
19. "*Wherefore MY SENTENCE is* [or, according to the *Rhemish Version*, I JUDGE] that we trouble not them, which from among the Gentiles are turned to God."

St. James, as Bishop of Jerusalem, presided at the Council; and after the question had been much discussed, and Peter, and Barnabas and Paul had spoken, *he* gave sentence (or judgment) respecting the course which it was most advisable to adopt.

Now let me ask,—Was it from *ignorance* that Mr. E. made this mistake? If so, I venture to say there is not a respectable Church School in Shrewsbury in which any child in the upper class would not display more Scriptural knowledge than Mr. E.—(at least, if there should be a child so ignorant, he deserves to be—cashiered, and something more). Or must I hazard a suspicion that Mr. E. did not make this mistake from ignorance, but that he did it pur-

posely and knowingly? Surely, he must be too conscientious,—surely, he must have too high a sense of rectitude, to have been *wilfully* guilty of such a perversion of Scripture. Let me hope that he did it *ignorantly*,—or, peradventure, *thoughtlessly*.

9th. “Even the great St. Paul *goes to visit him*, and when they differed about a mere matter of discipline, St. Paul boasts of his own hardihood in resisting “Cephas to his face,” the very manner in which the Apostle expresses himself, denoting the superiority of Peter.”

From the manner in which Mr. E. speaks of St. Paul’s visit to St. Peter, and his resisting him to the face, the reader would naturally infer that both these events happened at the same time and place; and that in the course of their conversation, happening to differ respecting a point of discipline, St. Paul took the opportunity of blaming his fellow Apostle. This however was not the case. The visit was at Jerusalem (Gal. i. 18),—the rebuke was more than fourteen years afterwards, at Antioch, and in public (Gal. ii. 1. 14); and not so much for “a mere matter of discipline,” as for the want of firmness in Peter’s behaviour; by means of which, and the dissimulation of the other Jews, even “Barnabas also was carried away.” Let us however take these matters one by one.

(1) “Even the great St. Paul goes to visit him.” *Therefore*,—Mr. E. infers,—he was inferior to St. Peter. We read in St. Luke, that the Virgin Mary went to visit Elizabeth. I suppose Mr. E. would argue from this, that the Blessed Virgin was inferior to Elizabeth. Perhaps Mr. Egan’s bishop may “go to visit” him. Would Mr. E. reason from hence that he is superior to his bishop!

(2) But Mr. E. says—“St. Paul boasts of his own hardihood” in thus resisting St. Peter. He does no such thing: he merely declares how anxious he was that they should “walk uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel;

so that when he found a brother Apostle swayed by the fear of man, he hesitated not openly to rebuke him for it, notwithstanding the love and affection he must have felt for him. There was no "hardihood" in blaming a brother Apostle, neither did St. Paul "boast" of what he had done. There is however something so apposite in the Rhemish note on the place, that I cannot forbear quoting a portion of it:—"Wicked Porphyry [as St. Hierom writeth] chargeth St. Paul with envy and malapert boldness, and St. Peter with error." And further on, the annotator says that St. Augustine and Cyprian "find here upon this Apostle's reprehension much matter of *praising both their virtues: St. Paul's great zeal, and St. Peter's wonderful humility.*" And subsequently he quotes Augustine (Ep. 19. c. 2. *in fine*) saying—"That which was done by St. Paul *profitably by the liberty of charity*, the same *St. Peter took in good part by holy and benign godliness of humility.*" Now I would submit to my readers, of whose spirit does Mr. E.'s expression most partake—that of Cyprian and Augustine, or that of "wicked Porphyry"?

But the Rhemish Testament has a marginal note on this verse (the 11th) which is too curious to be omitted. The words which we translate "*to the face*" are there given "*in face.*" "That is (says the note) *in presence, before them all*, as Beza himself expoundeth it. Yet the English Bezites, to the more disgracing of St. Peter, translate, *to his face.* Nov. Test. ann. 1580." So says the *Rhemish* Testament; but the modern *Romish* actually adopts the very words of the English Version "*to the face,*" similar to what their old translators charged with being a false translation in order "*to the more disgracing of St. Peter*"! So much for the Old Rhemish *versus* the New Romish. Mr. E. has "*to his face.*" Does he do it because Jerome's "*in faciem*" cannot by any one who knows the Latin tongue be translated "*in face*"?—for I presume he would scarcely do it "*to the*

more disgracing of St. Peter." Certainly, the Rhemish version was made, "to the more disgracing" of its authors and abettors.

(8) But Mr. E. says that the very manner in which the Apostle expresses himself denoted the superiority of Peter. On the contrary, I have read that some Romish writers have been so annoyed at the confutation of any superiority of Peter by this transaction, as to say that Peter in this place does not mean the Apostle, but some one else. That however is merely a little private judgment: there is no doubt but that the Apostle is here intended. And when we find St. Paul naming him after St. James* (v. 9), and saying of him (v. 11), "I withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed,"—how any one can infer this to be an argument in favour of his superiority (!) is to me a very great marvel indeed. One thing is perfectly certain, that if it had been Peter who had blamed Paul, this would have been one of the very strongest arguments with the Romanists in favour of Peter's Supremacy. But, no matter whether Peter blamed Paul, or Paul blamed Peter; it is all one to Rome: either way, according to her, Peter's superiority is proved by *whatever happened*.

"Finally, Peter fixes his chair in Rome. He writes two Epistles from Rome, which he calls "Babylon," long after the real Babylon had been destroyed (See 1 Peter v. 13, and 2 Peter i. 14), and there lays down his life for his God," Though I do not deny that St. Peter was martyred at Rome, along with St. Paul, yet (passing by the fable that he was 25 years Bishop of that city), I am not at all disposed to grant that he even fixed his chair there. In opposition to

* "James, Cephas, and John." It is observable that this also is the order in which their Epistles are arranged in the New Testament. Supposing, as Mr. E. says, (p. 34) that the Epistle to the Romans comes first, "as their Church was the most honourable, because of its being the seat of the Chief Bishop,"—how is it, if Peter were indeed the chief Bishop and Bishop of Rome, that his Epistles also do not come first?

the statements of Eusebius and Jerome in the 4th century, which rest on no certain authority, we have not only the silence of Holy Scripture,—of Clement, himself Bishop of Rome,—of Ignatius,—of Polycarp,—of Justin Martyr,—and of others whom we should naturally expect would mention this circumstance; but also the assertion of Irenæus, in the 2nd century, that the Church of Rome was founded by the most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, (*à gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ Ecclesiæ*). That is, the Christians living in that city were by the Apostles formed into a body under the superintendence of a Bishop. And who was that Bishop? —Peter? No: Was it Paul? No. Irenæus says it was *Linus*; the blessed Apostles having given to him the oversight of the Church which they had founded and set in order. (*Fundantes igitur et instruentes beati Apostoli Ecclesiam, Lino episcopatum administrandæ Ecclesiæ tradiderunt*. Iren. adv. Hæres. III. 3, pp. 201, 202, Ed. Grabe.)

There is no certain proof that Babylon which St. Peter mentions in his first Epistle is metaphorically put for Rome. The ancient Babylon, though very much decayed, and even, in a great measure, in ruins, was not altogether laid waste, but contained at that time several inhabitants, *especially Jews*. (See Cave, Hist. Liter. I. 4. (1740), and Rosenmüller, Schol. in Nov. Test. V. 463). And though in that mystical book, the Revelations, Rome is called Babylon, there seems no reason why Peter (according to the usual practice of the New Testament writers) should not say Rome, if he meant Rome. But, even allowing Babylon to mean Rome, (which I am not prepared to do), it is no “convincing proof of Peter’s Supremacy”: nor does it even prove him to have resided there as Bishop: it only shows that he was there when he wrote that Epistle. And what of that?

Thus have I gone, line by line, through Mr. E.’s arguments, and carefully considered his “most convincing

proofs." What they prove, it would be difficult to say—certainly, not Peter's Supremacy,—and most assuredly, not the claim of the Pope to universal Dominion. And if we of the Church of England had no better grounds for our religion, it would be groundless indeed!

If Peter were Prince of the Apostles, how is it that he was rebuked by Paul? If Peter had the charge of ruling the whole Church, how is it that St. Paul said, "that which cometh UPON ME daily, *the care of ALL THE CHURCHES*"? If these things had been said of Peter, there would have been something to show for his Supremacy; but even then, it would prove nothing for the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome any more than the Bishop of Antioch,—in fact, it would prove nothing for either.

But Mr. Egan enquires by what right I refer to the early Councils of the Church, when I do not "believe or practice what they command." To "believe what they command" is rather an unusual expression; probably he means, to believe the doctrines which they defined, and set forth. This the Church of England does, as is plain to all the world. As for matters of form and discipline, they vary according to circumstances, and can be settled by any particular Church. Such things I apprehend the Church of Rome does not regard as binding. Does she, for instance, direct her members to stand during public worship upon Sundays (in remembrance of the Resurrection) according to the 20th Canon of Nice? She knows that in this, and in multitudes of other cases, she pays no regard to the Canons of discipline in the Early Church. She does not "practice what they command." But now for doctrine. "When a Protestant Clergyman speaks of the Council of Ephesus to Catholics, let him first say the prayer of the Council of Ephesus: 'Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us Sinners now and at the hour of death. Amen.'" Now, though I was aware that there were in the 4th century,

certain heretics called Collyridians who esteemed the Virgin Mary much in the light of a goddess, and offered cakes to her as "Queen of Heaven"* (as the Romanists *now* call her) thus mixing up Christianity with Paganism,—yet I certainly was surprised to see it asserted that *the Catholic Church* taught the doctrine ascribed to it. However, having an opportunity of consulting Labbè and Cossart, I searched in every imaginable place in connection with the Council of Ephesus, for the prayer adduced by Mr. E., but in vain. Now, though I was perfectly satisfied in my own mind that there was no such prayer set forth by the Council, yet, as the documents connected with the Council form the greater part of a closely printed folio, I could not undertake to assert that it was not there. I therefore mentioned my perplexity to a friend, who directed me to one of the Tracts for the Times (Vol. III. No. 75. p. 11), where I find the following satisfactory account. "The last clause 'now and in the hour of our death' was confessedly *added by the Franciscans in the beginning of the sixteenth century*; and the words preceding it "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners," which Gavanti, after Baronius, wishes to attribute to the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431.) *are acknowledged* by the later critics, Grancolas and Merari, *to have had no place in any form of prayer till the year 1508.*" So much for "the prayer of the Council of Ephesus."

Mr. Egan continues:—"When he [the 'Protestant Clergyman'] speaks of the Council of *Chalcedon*, let him first believe as that Council did about the Pope." This I am willing to do; but is Mr. Egan? Is he willing to allow that the See of Constantinople had *equal privileges with the See of Rome*, the Bishop of the latter place merely having had precedence "on account of Rome being the Imperial city"? And, applying *the principle* of the Council to the altered political state of Europe (the principle being that a bishop

* They seem to have been formerly worshippers of Astarte or the Moon. See Mosheim (Ed. Soames), where reference is made to Jer. vii. 18.

derived importance from the importance of the city)—as London is now a more important city than either Rome or Constantinople, is he willing to allow the Bishop of London* to be superior to the Bishop of Rome? Mr. E. cannot deny that he is *at least* equal (although his sway be not quite so extensive), though perhaps, for the sake of historical association, we might allow to the Bishop of Rome precedence of rank, yet nothing more.

But we proceed:—"When he [the 'Protestant Clergyman'] speaks of Arles, Sardica, or Rimini, let him believe as the British Bishops did who attended these Councils as the representatives of the British Church, then in communion with Popes Sylvester and Julius, by whom the decrees of these Councils were confirmed, &c."

Mr. E. alludes again to this subject in p. 23, where the following passage occurs, which it will be as well to consider together with the sentence just quoted:—"the attendance of the British Bishops at the above-mentioned Councils proves—1st, their communion with and obedience to the See of Rome; and 2ndly, that they had the same belief that the rest of the Catholic world in communion with Rome professed."

Here Mr. E., we see, contends for these four points:—

- (1) That the British Bishops were in communion with Rome,
- (2) That they were obedient to the See of Rome,
- (3) That they held the same faith with Rome and the rest of the Catholic world,
- (4) That the Councils at which they were present were confirmed by the Pope.

* We have in this See an exemplification of the principle of the Council of Chalcedon. Though the Archbishop of Canterbury is spiritual head of the Catholic Church in this country, yet as London is the "Imperial City," the power of its bishop in some cases is greater than that of the Archbishop; as, for example, in his having Ordinary jurisdiction over the members of the English Church abroad, wherever situated,—in his being the recognised bishop in our colonies and dependencies, wherever an actual diocesan bishop has not been appointed. Nor is the reformed Catholic Church so insignificant as the Romanists represent it, there being more than a hundred bishops (including our own) in communion with the See of Canterbury.

1. The first statement is undoubtedly true. In early times the whole Catholic Church maintained a visible communion by an intercourse between the different National Churches, subject to occasional acts of excommunication of one portion or bishop by another. Most people know that the Church of England maintained communion with Rome till the Reformation, and, had she remained orthodox, we should gladly have preserved communion with her.

2. But Mr. E. must not, as a matter of course, unite communion and obedience together, as if when there was the one, there must be the other. These Councils took place before Rome had usurped supremacy over other Churches; nay, long after this time, the Bishop of Rome (as we have seen) was excommunicated in a very unceremonious way by other bishops, so that communion with him was very different from obedience to him. And Mr. E. knows, or *ought to know*, that the British Church was not subject to the Pope for centuries after the period we are speaking of. But let us for a moment assume Mr. E. to be correct; let us grant that the British Church was (if not in the habit of constant communion with Rome) at any rate, obedient to her. Did this cease with the Council of Rimini? Certainly not, assumes Mr. E., for the answer of Dinot to Augustine (p. 23, 24) he treats as a myth,—as a forgery. Although Dinot is represented as having said that the British Bishops could not acknowledge the Pope, as they were under the Archbishop of Caerleon, yet Mr. E. rejects this as contradicting his theory that the British Church was “obedient to the See of Rome.” The wonderful part of all this is that Rome seemed to know nothing about this obedient British Church. For, what led Gregory to send Augustine over here? Was it not his seeing some Northumbrian children exposed for sale in the Roman market, and his being so much interested with them as to ask of what religion were

these youths who came—*de Britannia insula**—from the Isle of Britain? Good innocent Gregory! he did not know whether the inhabitants of this island were Christians or Pagans. And yet Mr. E. tells us the British Bishops were “obedient to the See of Rome.” How ungrateful of Rome, so little to value this “obedience,” as not to know of it!

3. I allow that the British Christians held the same faith with the rest of the Catholic world. That is, they maintained the orthodox faith, as held by the Catholic Church, and by the Church of Rome, at that time orthodox. Mr. E. however makes use of a curious argument to prove this, viz. that British Bishops were present at the *heretical* Council of Ariminum or Rimini. Their faith indeed has been suspected *because* they were present at this Council, which pronounced a decision in favour of Arianism. There were however many orthodox bishops at that Council, though, owing to the violence and deceitfulness of the heretical party, their voice did not prevail. In this dilemma, valuable is the testimony of Athanasius, who, according to Stillingfleet, “particularly takes notice of the Britannic Churches, as adhering to the Nicene faith;” and the same author states that “St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom several times mention their agreeing with other Churches in the true faith. Which is a sufficient argument to clear them from the imputation of Arianism, which did no otherwise lie upon them, than *as they had bishops present in the Council of Ariminum.*” (Origines Britannicæ, p. 178, 179. Ed. 1840).

4. But Mr. E. says that these three Councils, (viz. Arles, Sardica, and Rimini) were “confirmed, &c.” by the Pope. I do not know what meaning may lie hidden in the “&c.”; but it is certain they were not “confirmed” by the Pope. That of *Sardica* was the most likely to have been so, presuming the Canons to be genuine, which, as I have said (for reasons hereafter to be given), I do not believe them to

* Bede, II. c. 1.

be. Supposing them to be genuine, the Canons relating to Papal appeals are acknowledged by Romanists themselves to be but of temporary and local obligation, referring to Julius only. (See Johnson, *Vade Mecum*, II. 162). And I can find no statement that they were confirmed by Julius; as indeed, if forged afterwards, they could not be.

But did not the Pope confirm the Canons of *Arles*? Let us hear Stillingfleet on this point. "Which Canons were passed by their own authority; for *they never sent to the Bishop of Rome to confirm, but to publish them*, as appears by the Synodical Epistle which they sent to him: their words are,—"*Quæ decrevimus communi concilio, charitati tuæ significamus, ut omnes sciant quid in futurum observare debeant.*" (Origenes *Britann.* p. 85.)—That is, *what they had decreed by common consent they signified to the Pope, that all men might know what they ought to observe in future.* There was then no confirmation there by the Pope.

But let us grant the Pope *one* Council: surely the Council of *Ariminum* was confirmed by him. Fortunately for Mr. E.'s cause, it was not. For what says Cabassutius? "*Liberius Papa Concilium istud pro suo officio reprobavit.*" (*Not. Conc.* p. 149)—"Pope Liberius according to his office *condemned* this Council." Mr. Egan would have us believe that he *confirmed* the Arian decisions of Rimini! but the Pope was more orthodox than Mr. E. would represent him to be: instead of *confirming*, he *condemned*.

Thus have we seen that the faith of the Early British Church was orthodox, that she communicated with the Church of Rome, which at that time was also orthodox; but that Mr. E. is mistaken in saying that the British Church was *obedient* to Rome,—that he is in error in saying that the Councils of Arles, Sardica, and Rimini were "*confirmed*" by the Pope,—and that he not only contradicts history, but argues against his own Church when he asserts that *an*

*Arian Council was confirmed by the Pope.** And now I think we may pass on to the next subject.

We now come to miracles.

I believe, as fully as Mr. Egan can, (p. 9), that miracles are as possible now as in the time of the Apostles. But it does not follow from this, that we are to believe everything which the ignorance or superstition or knavery of man chooses to call a miracle. Mr. E. says truly that the whole argument depends on the evidence adduced in their favour. But will he say that every Romish miracle is well attested? Will he deny that many were forged for party purposes (as by the Dominicans and Franciscans)? And are there not some things which are too outrageous to be believed, and which it would be an insult to a man's common sense to talk of bringing evidence for? Suppose a respectable man were to tell us that on the preceding evening he had seen two spires to St. Mary's Church, and four hands to the clock; should we believe him, however respectable? And yet some of the miracles which I quoted are quite as irrational—I would use a stronger word, but I wish to avoid giving offence. And what amount of evidence would be required to enforce belief in the well authorized, if not well authenticated legend of St. Barbara? In the good old times it used to appear in the Breviary for the *edification* of the people. Mine, however, is unfortunately a *reformed* Breviary, as approved by Pius V., Clement VIII. and Urban VIII.; and many pleasant histories are cut out therefrom. I must therefore give the legend of St. Barbara

* Mr. E. may attempt to evade this by saying that he does not mention Liberius. True, he does not: but it would be ungrateful of him to say so; as I have not exposed (what I presume was an oversight) his mistake in saying that the three Councils were confirmed by "Sylvester and Julius." The Council of Arles took place when Sylvester was Pope; that of Sardica during the Pontificate of Julius; but *Liberius* was Bishop of Rome in 359, when the Council of Rimini was assembled. And I have taken for granted that Mr. E. knew this, and meant to have said so.

from the Old Breviary, on the authority of the Protestant Guardian (I. 261); though in an abridged form.

Her father was a cruel idolater, and enclosed her for security in a tower with two windows. While engaged in meditation, an angel appeared and instructed her in Christianity, and when he spoke of the Incarnation, to her great joy, our Saviour appeared to her in the form of a little child. And now, being stronger in faith, she commanded the workmen in her father's absence, to make a third window in the tower, in honour of the Trinity. Also upon her prayer it was granted that she should be baptized by John the Baptist in person. Her father perceiving that she was converted to Christianity, drew his sword in a rage to put her to death, but upon her praying to God, a huge piece of rock opened itself, received her into the chasm, and took her to a mountain where she meant to have hidden herself, but she was betrayed by a shepherd. He however was punished by being transformed into a marble statue and his sheep into locusts.

The history of her given in the continuation of the Golden Legend* differs in some respects from this account. For instance, it is there said that there were two shepherds, and that one, in reply to her father, who followed the flying rock to the mountain, swore he knew nothing of her, but the other betrayed her with his finger, "*digito eam prodidit.*"

"But the blessed Barbara cursed her betrayer, and suddenly he was changed into a marble statue and his sheep into locusts." But this was too much even for the writer of the Golden Legend, so he adds with much simplicity, "*Hoc est apocryphum*"—*This is apocryphal.* And if I asked my readers whether they believed it, I fancy I should be met with, "How can you ask such a ridiculous question?" And yet, should Mr. Egan favour me with a perusal, there will

* Longobardica historia, quæ a plerisque Aurea legenda sanctorum appellatur, sive Passionale sanctorum. 1510. Legend 199.

be one who, I think, cannot well deny these "miracles." For surely he will not reject the Missal. And in the Cambridge Missal (printed by Henry Stephens, 1507) I find a hymn in her honour, of which the following is a portion :

" *Laudent toto corde cleri cum devoto et sinceri Barbaræ solennia:
 Quæ cognovit trinitatem Deo vovens castitatem vitæ per insignia.
 Cujus pater idolorum cultor erat qui decorum castrum strui fecerat
 Cum fenestris tantum binis; ejus nata sed cum trinis fore imperaverat.*

* * * * *
*A vi patris hanc vehebat marmor pastor qua prodebat signi per indieium,
 Quique marmor fit repente, grex locustæ, sic volente Deo hoc prodigium."*

Before the hymn comes a prayer, of which I give an English version :—

" O God, who hast promised forgiveness of sins to those who celebrate the memory of the blessed Barbara, Virgin and Thy martyr, and hast declared by the voice of an angel [*angelica voce*] that no mention of their negligences shall be made for punishment in the day of Thy judgment: grant, we beseech Thee, that by her merits and intercession we may be delivered from everlasting and sudden death, and from all dangers of the soul and body. Thro'."

It appears from the learned Tillemont* that there was no such person as St. Barbara. And if there had been, would it not be ridiculous to talk of bringing evidence for the above story ?

Let us now pass on to Xavier. Mr. E. says his miracles were "as well attested by thousands as the battle of Sobraon is." This I must beg to doubt; and indeed, from various books which I have consulted, I am perfectly satisfied that nearly all his miracles were made for him after his death. And in this manner much injury has been done to the memory of this really earnest and devoted missionary. In a curious collection of letters, which I met with some years ago, called "*Epistolæ Indicæ*" (Louvain, 1566), relating the transactions of the Jesuit Missionaries in India, is one from Xavier himself to Ignatius Loyola. He there relates

* *Histoire des Empereurs*, tom. iii. pp. 808—10, as quoted in the *Protestant Guardian*, I. 262—4.

at considerable length his labours in converting the heathen: he describes at large his instruction in the creed and ten commandments, his catechizing, his preaching, his baptizing, his translating prayers for the new converts, his disputes with the Brahmins, &c.—yet, the only allusion which he makes in a letter of 26 pages to his working miracles, is his saying that among the crowds who resorted to him, some came that they might recover their health by the laying on of hands—"alii quò manuum impositione sanitatem recuperarent" (p. 8). He seems therefore to have thought that he imparted some benefit by this means, as he believed that a similar benefit accrued to the heathen, who in their sickness embraced Christianity (p. 9); he thought it conduced to their recovery. But if he thought that he had the actual power of working miracles, and actually did work them,—why not relate a few? Why be satisfied with telling his brethren in Europe (p. 13) that he preached till he was hoarse, and baptized till his arms were weary? Surely, while relating the spread of the Gospel by his means, a mention of some of the miracles which God wrought by his hands, would not be out of place.* His modesty might prevent his alluding to his having the gift of prophecy and of knowing the thoughts of others (Literæ

* It may be said that it is not safe to ground an argument on one letter. True: but it seems to be admitted by Dr. Milner that Xavier himself speaks only of one cure, wrought upon a dying woman, which he expressly calls a miracle. Not having Xavier's letters to refer to, I can only state the account as given by the Protestant Guardian, which exposes the unfairness of Dr. Milner. It gives Xavier's words as follows:—"In this place [in Travancore] a certain woman near her delivery, had been suffering for more than two days under a difficulty of parturition, so that many persons despaired of her safety. I therefore undertook to explain the chief articles of our faith to her, by means of an interpreter, and she, by the grace of God, believed those things that we told her. Being at length asked if she would become a Christian, she answered that she would, truly and willingly. I then repeated the Gospel (which, as I think, had never been heard in that place), and baptized the woman according to due order; and to be short, she *was straightway delivered!*" (Xaverii Ep. l. I. cp. 4)." Prot. Guard. I. 75. If this is the only open and avowed miracle which Xavier relates concerning himself, I think it would not prove much. In the periodical alluded to there is a long and interesting analysis of the history and development of his miracles, which is well worth perusal.

Indicæ, p. 207, 236), but he surely might have related his casting out devils, his rarely saying the Lord's Prayer over a sick person without curing him, his raising the dead to life (p. 236) &c., if he really did do these things. He might have related that most curious miracle—his making one answer serve for several different questions. In this respect, says Father Antony Quadra, he left the other fathers of the Society far behind; for they could answer only one question at a time, but he satisfied with one reply—“*una cum ratione satisfaciebat*”—ten or twelve individuals putting different questions. And this kind of answer was not unusual with him.* (Lit. Ind. p. 237).

* An example of this is related in his life by Turselline, whose account I give in the words of his old English translator:—“This which followeth was ener scarcely heard of. At *Amangucium* in *Japonia* he preached dayly to the *Bonzies* and other *Ethnickes* the Christian Religion. After his sermon, the inhabitants (being a nation no lesse vehement then insolent agaynst strangers) asked of him very maliciously, one vpon another, many questions concerning that which he had preached. *Xauerius* therefore, when he was vrged thus by so many at once, with diners and sundry questions, often satisfied them all (which is very admirable to be recounted) with one answer, as though he had answered every one apart.”

Let me give one or two more specimens from this store-house of Xavierian miracles, which is referred to as an authority by Alban Butler:—

“A Portughese Souldier also, playing at dyce had lost 600 crowns; wherefore being sad, and not knowing what to do, or course to take, he maketh his moane to *Francis*. He judging it meete to apply a playster fit for the poison of the disease, demandeth of him a Dye, and hauing shaken it in his hand, giueth it him backe, and biddeth him go play againe to recouer his losse. Neither was he therein deceiued. For on a suddain, the fortune of the game began to change, and the souldier hauing good lucke, soone recouered all againe.” Xavier however forbade his playing further.

“This also is very admirable which hapned in the land of *Sanciana*. *Xauerius* as he stood baptizing a number of *Saracens*, who were men of extraordinary great stature of body, seemed vnto the Portugheses, who beheld the thing afar off to be much taller than they. Which caused in them such admiration that they approched neerer to see whether he did not baptize out of some pulpit or high place. But comming close vnto him, they find him standing vpon euen ground. Then indeed they perceiued that *his greatness of mind had added so much to his body* [his own size, it seems, varying with the size of his companions], that he seemed to surpass the ordinary pitch of the tallest men.” (pp. 482—486.)

But he did a more wonderful thing still. He could not only enlarge his body so as to be taller than any man he met with, but on one occasion he seemed to make a duplicate of himself. Once as he was sailing from Japan to China, a great storm arose, which was so violent, that the cock-boat was driven away from the ship. The people in the ship despaired of its safety, but Xavier

Mr. E. next proceeds to refer to the "Protestant traveller" Tavernier, and to the Spanish Jesuit Acosta, whom he humorously calls—"another Protestant." I have only a portion of Tavernier's travels (published in Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages, &c. Vol. VIII.), where I find no mention of Xavier. I believe however that he does call him, as Mr. E. says, "the St. Paul of India;" but there is nothing surprising in this, nor does it prove that Xavier worked miracles. It merely proves that his zeal and his labours in the conversion of the heathen were so great, that in the mind of Tavernier, he seemed to resemble *in this respect* the great Apostle of the Gentiles. And I do not see why any other "Protestant" might not use the same expression, and yet not grant that the nature of his preaching was the same as St. Paul's, or that, like him, he had the power of working miracles.

As for Mr. E.'s "other Protestant," Acosta, I believe he did assert that Xavier worked miracles; but as he was a *Spanish Jesuit*, and was never, I believe, in the East Indies, I do not think his opinions need weigh much with us.*

assured them that within three days it would join them again, which accordingly it did. After the men were taken into the ship, the sailors were about to thrust off the boat, when "they all cried out unto them that they should first help forth *Xauerius* who was stil in the boat. When the mariners replied that *Xauerius* was well and safe in the ship, and had neuer byn in the boat, they affirmed constantly one after another, that all the while they were tossed by the tempest and driven vp and downe in the sea, *Xauerius* was seen comforting them and putting them in hope to escape euen vntil the boat came backe. Then they began to vnderstand, that *Francis* whilst he prayed for their deliuery appeared also vnto them," &c. (p. 382); or, according to Bouhours, another of his biographers, they had no fear of drowning, "because, said they, *Father Francis* was our *Pilot*." This led to some discussion, but at length "both sides concluded that *the Saint had been at the same time in two places*." (Bouhours, p. 549—50, as quoted in Prot. Guard. I. 232.)

So much for the miracles which are "as well attested as the battle of Sobraon is."

* Joseph Acosta was a Missionary in the West Indies in the 16th century, and acknowledged that the Missionaries there had not the power of working miracles:—"Altera causa in nobis est cur Apostolica predicatio institui omnino non possit Apostolicè, quod miraculorum nulla facultas sit, quæ Apostoli plurima perpstrarunt." (Quoted by Geddes, Tracts, Vol. III. 31, and Milner, End of Religious Controversy, Letter 24). That is—"Another cause why Apostolic

Respecting Xavier, he could only repeat what he heard from others.

What was the occasion of the reply of the Indians to the Dutch Calvinists, I have no means of knowing, as Mr. E. gives no reference. But, supposing that, at that length of time, they believed that Xavier had worked miracles, it would be no proof that he did. We know that Prince Hohenlohe had the reputation in his life-time of working miracles; but this is no proof that he did so, for it is related that "his miracles ceased all at once, when the magistrates of Bamberg forbade any more to be wrought, except in the presence of some skilful physician." (Prot. Guard. I. 136. n.) Not that he was worthy of being compared with Xavier; but he could not be more unscrupulous than the *admirers* of the Missionary, who published—not to say invented—his miracles after his death. Indeed the miracles which he performed after his death* contributed more to

preaching cannot among us be performed altogether in an Apostolic manner is—that we have *no power of working miracles*, which they wrought in great numbers." Dr. Milner indeed, not exactly liking this sentiment, translates "*nulla facultas*" by "*not the same power*." Well may Southey say, his bust should be made in bronze. He does indeed quote a passage which contradicts this, but Geddes gives another, thoroughly disclaiming the power of miracles:—"*Non solum ergo signorum vis nostris temporibus deest, verum pro iis etiam scelera ubique ferunt*."—i. e. "Not only therefore is the power of working miracles wanting in our times, but instead thereof crimes rage everywhere."

* The great standing miracle *after* his death was the preservation of his body free from corruption. Mr. E. of course will not deny the miracles published by those who lived near his times, but "to satisfy Protestant minds" which may regard them as the exploded fictions of by-gone ages, and not now believed, I will quote the words of (I suppose) one of the most learned and candid Romanists of modern times, Alban Butler. After describing his death, which took place in 1552, he continues:—"His corpse was interred on Sunday, being laid, after the Chinese fashion, in a large chest, which was filled up with unslacked lime, to the end that the flesh being consumed, the bones might be carried to Goa. On the 17th of February in 1553, the grave was opened to see if the flesh was consumed; but the lime being taken off the face, it was found ruddy and fresh coloured: like that of a man who is in a sweet repose. The body was in like manner whole, and the natural moisture uncorrupted: and the flesh being a little cut in the thigh, near the knee, the blood was seen to run from the wound. The sacerdotal habits in which the saint was buried, were no way endamaged by the lime; and the holy corpse exhaled an odour so fragrant and delightful, that the most exquisite perfumes came

his fame than what he is said to have wrought while alive —“multis miraculis dum viveret, claruit, *magis etiam post mortem*,” &c. (Lit. Ind. p. l. margin.) And I do not suppose it would be difficult to persuade the credulous Indians.

The question of Xavier's miracles has detained us so long, that I will not proceed much further into the general subject. It may however be as well to state that after all,

nothing near it. The sacred remains were carried into the ship and brought to Malacca on the 22nd of March, where it was received with great honour. The pestilence which for some weeks had laid waste the town, on a sudden ceased. The body was interred in a damp churchyard; yet in August was found entire, fresh, and still exhaling a sweet odour, and being honourably put into a ship, was translated to Goa, where it was received and placed in the Church of the College of St. Paul, on the 15th of March in 1554; upon which occasion several blind persons recovered their sight, and others, sick of palsies and other diseases, their health, and the use of their limbs By an order of John V. King of Portugal, the Archbishop of Goa, attended by the Viceroy, the Marquis of Castle Nuovo, in 1744, [*i. e.* 190 years afterwards] performed a visitation of the relics of St. Francis Xavier; at which time the body was found without the least bad smell, and seemed environed with a kind of shining brightness—and the face, hands, breast, and feet had not suffered the least alteration, or symptom of corruption.” (Lives of the Saints, Dec. 3rd.; Vol. II. p. 978-4. Ed. 1833.)

Now, though this may be “as well attested as the battle of Sobraon is,” still, the ascribing to a sinful mortal a sort of glorified body, seems to me to be bordering on profaneness, as giving divine honour to a mere man. But the relations of the old biographer in which a sort of sympathy is remarked between Xavier and our Lord is more objectionable. For instance, the Physician of the Viceroy in his deposition to the integrity of the body, says, “afterwards when by my advise one of the Society of *Jesvs* did *put his finger into a wound, which was open in his left side, close to his hart, there issued out blood, and water together*,” &c. (Turselline, p. 490). The following passage also must, one would think, shock every person who has any feelings of reverence. “There is in the Castle *Xauerium*, being the mansion house wherein *Xauerius* was born, a Chappell wherein is to be seene a Crucifix of exceeding great deuotion, and very much esteemed in those parts. There hapned at this tyme a prodigious accident, miraculous both for sight, and the euent thereof. For certaine it is, that this Image, or Crucifix of our Saviour, being made of wood, did manifestly sweate, as often as *Xauerius* had any great sufferance in *India*. . . . But upon the very yeare wherein *Xauerius* departed this life, it sweat blood every friday after, for a whole yeare together, and made an end of sweating vpon a Friday also, which many so interpreted, as if it had portended *Francis* his death, after many long and painefull labours undertaken for Christ his sake, who had continually carried in his body the mortification of the Crosse.” (p. 497.)

Does it not border on profaneness,—is it not almost like a parody on our Blessed Saviour's sufferings—to state that Xavier's body had in its side a wound from which issued blood and water? Is it not revolting to read of “a Crucifix of exceeding great deuotion” which experienced a bloody sweat every friday of the year in which Xavier died? These things, however “attested,” are to my mind dreadful.

it seems, Romanists are not bound to believe their own miracles : "they admit" says Mr. Butler (Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 46) "without qualification, that *no miracles, except those which are related in the Old or the New Testament*, are articles of faith ; that a person may disbelieve every other miracle, and may even *disbelieve the existence of the persons, through whose intercession they are related to have been wrought*, without ceasing to be a Roman Catholic. This is equally agreeable to religion and common sense." In other words, a Romanist thinks it perfectly consistent to *disbelieve* not only *the miracles*, but *the existence* of St. Barbara (for instance), and yet to *join in, nay—to perform, the service* in which she is commemorated!* This is "equally agreeable to religion and common sense"!! I apprehend however, that they who take this view will be reproached by the strict Romanist with an excess of candour : I apprehend that even a modern Romanist, even an English Romanist, will not renounce the *Breviary*. He may indeed, according to Mr. Butler, disbelieve it, "without ceasing to be a Roman Catholic;" yet, if he be a Romish Priest, he must be a very odd one. For my part, I cannot conceive a man who by his office is bound to read daily a portion of the *Breviary*, either publicly or privately, in the course of the service of Almighty God—canonical punishment being the consequence of his neglect—avowing statements which he believes to be false;—"propositis penis" (says Pius V. in his constitution authorizing the reformed *Breviary*) "*per Canonicas sanctiones constitutis in eos, qui divinum Officium quotidie non dixerint.*" And the same Pope, in the same constitution, alluding to *former Breviaries*, asserts that *in this one* doubtful matters were removed—"remotis us quæ

* Dec. 4th. In the old service books her legend was read: in the reformed (!) *Breviary*, she was merely commemorated. On referring to a modern English Missal, I find that her very name is wiped out. In fact, I suppose the Romanists are become ashamed of her. And yet we have seen (p. 89), that in the old *Cambray Missal* God has *promised forgiveness of sins* to those who celebrate her memory!

aliena et incerta essent." Therefore every faithful Romanist (and surely Mr. E. would not point to an *unfaithful one* as a representative of his Church) must believe the Breviary and all the contents thereof. To renounce that is to renounce his Church. He may disbelieve the amusing miracles related in what are called "*grave authors*" without loss of character: Rome here allows a latitude and a changeableness of opinion to suit the times. He need not believe that the devil appeared to Dominic in the form of an ape, and that the Saint gave him a candle, and made him hold it till the fore finger was burnt away ("*donec digitus indicialis usque ad juncturam manûs totus crematus est*"*);—he need not believe that he was "plucked by hens in the shape of a sparrow,....fastened in the shape of a flea to the book which the same great wonder-worker was reading, and not allowed to skip farther than from one page to another, as the Saint turned over the leaves" (Vindic. p. 170);—he need not believe what the Golden legend tells us of the same Saint, that as he was walking with a friend, a violent storm of rain came on, and how on making the sign of the Cross, he kept the rain from them, not one drop falling within the space of three cubits, the Cross forming, as it were, a pavilion about them ("*ut quasi facto papilione de cruce.*" Hist. longobard. Legend 108);—he need not believe that as St. David was preaching at the Synod of Brevi, the earth under his feet rose up into a hill—"in collem excrevit"—that he might be seen more plainly by those around (Girald. Cambren. de Vita S. Davidis, Lect. 8.);—he need not believe that Dunstan, while busily at work in his little cell, was tempted by the devil in human shape, and how having put his tongs into the fire till they were red-hot, he snatched them out, and seized his enemy by the nose therewith ("*larvalem faciem tenaculis includit.*" Osborn, in Angl. Sacra, II. 97);—he need not believe that St. Mel, a relative of St. Patrick, to clear himself from an

* Acta Sanctorum, as quoted by Southey, Vindiciis Ecol. Angl. 269.

evil suspicion, "ploughed up the earth on a certain hill, and took by the plough-share many and large fishes out of the dry land." (Jocelin's Life of St. Patrick, Chap. 102). And with regard to the Apostle of Ireland himself, he need not believe that "on a time the Saint with his holy company passed over a certain river named *Dabhall*; and for that the day declined and the evening came on, he prepared to pass the night near the bank, and pitched his tent on a fair plain. And approaching the water, he washed his hands and his mouth, and with his most pious fingers he rubbed his gums and his teeth; but through age or infirmity, one of his teeth, by chance, or rather by the divine will, dropped out of his mouth into the water; and his disciples sought it diligently in the stream, yet with all their long and careful search found they it not. But in the darkness of the night, the tooth lying in the river shone as a radiant star, and the brightness thereof attracted all who dwelled near to behold and to admire. And the tooth so miraculously discovered, is brought unto the Saint; and he and all around him, offer thanks to the Almighty, who had brought this thing to pass; and on that spot he builded a church, and deposited the tooth beneath the altar. The which is famed for divers miracles, and even to this day is called *Cluayn Fiacal*; that is, *The Church of the Tooth*." (Jocelin, Chap. 87). This the Romanist of the present day need not believe, unless he likes. Nor is he bound to believe that "a certain Carthusian being dangerously sick, his physicians imposed upon him, and for water-gruel gave him hen-broth; but before the first spoonful of broth was within his lips, the whole hen that had been boiled in it, feathers and all, flew out of the porringer" (related by Geddes, *Miscell. Tracts*, Vol. III.);—he need not (happily) believe the wonderful accounts which have been published of the *Estatica* and the *Addolorata** of the present

* These names have been given to two females in the Tyrol, *Maria Mörl* of *Caldaro*, and *Domenica Lazzari* of *Capriana*. As their history may not be

century;—lastly, to return to whence we set out, he is not bound to believe, though “as well attested by thousands as the battle of Sobraon,” the miracles of the St. Paul of India, St. Francis Xavier. But he *is* bound to believe,—he *MUST*, and if he is a faithful son of Rome, he *DOES* believe,—as being related in a book possessing supreme authority in his Church, and *cleared of all doubtful matter*,—that Paul the hermit was after his death bewailed by

known to all my readers, the following account taken from a relation published by Lord Shrewsbury, (Dolman, 1842) will perhaps be acceptable.

María Mörl, the Estatica of Caldaro, was born in 1812. When she had attained her 20th year, she showed the first symptoms of ecstasy, falling into that state each time that she received the Holy Communion. But it took a more decided character on the festival of Corpus Christi of that year, on which day, having received the Blessed Sacrament, at three in the morning, she fell into an ecstasy which continued uninterrupted for thirty-six hours, viz. till three in the afternoon of the following day. Shortly after her confessor found her holding a cloth, with which from time to time, she wiped her hands, frightened like a child at what she saw there. Perceiving blood upon the cloth, he asked her what it meant. She replied that she did not know herself; that she must have hurt herself, so as to draw blood. But in fact, these were the stigmata which thenceforward continued in her hands, and shortly afterwards made their appearance upon her feet, and to these was added at the same time the wound upon the heart. . . Drops of clear blood frequently flow from them on Thursday evenings and Fridays; on other days they seem to be covered with a sort of crust of dry blood. . . In 1833 [? 1835], during the passage of a solemn procession, ecstasy of jubilation appeared in her; she was seized by it in the presence of several witnesses who beheld her like a glorious angel, scarcely touching the bed with the points of her feet, splendid as a rose, her arms extended in the form of a cross, plunged in the joys of love. . . The first time I went to see her, I found her in the position in which she passes the greater part of the day, kneeling on the foot of the bed, and in ecstasy. . . while her eyes which were raised to heaven, expressed a concentration of soul so profound, as to be proof against the influence of all external objects.” (Görres, as quoted by Lord Shrewsbury, pp. 19, 20). Of this an instance is given in a note to a letter by Dr. Weedall. “When M. de la Bouillierie visited her on his way to Rome, . . he found her kneeling in a state of ecstasy, when he saw a fly walk quietly across the pupil of her eye when wide open, without producing the slightest sensation upon her.” p. 15. “On Sunday” (says Lord S.) “it generally happens that she is raised off her knees, resting only on the tips of her feet, as if enjoying a nearer prospect of heaven.” p. 8. On Friday, she goes through the different stages of the Crucifixion. “The action” (says Görres) “begins early in the morning; at first its progress is gentle and regular, but as it becomes more painful and overpowering, its representation assumes a deeper and more clearly defined character in all its circumstances; and when at length, the hour of dissolution arrives, . . the image of death is depicted on every feature. She is upon her knees on the bed, her hands crossed on her breast: . . you would then suppose that for her the sun of life was setting. . . The sighs which only escape from her with a struggle, show that the oppression

two lions, who came and dug his grave,—(*“foveam, qua hominem commodè caperet, effecerunt.”* Brev. Rom. Jan. 15, Lect. 6). He is *bound to believe* that the body of St. Januarius was renowned for many miracles, especially for extinguishing the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, as also for his blood, which was kept coagulated in a glass vessel, liquifying and bubbling up when brought within sight of his head (*“in conspectu capitis.”* Brev. Rom. Sep. 19, Lect. 6). He is *bound to believe* that Dionysius, or Denys,

is becoming stronger; large drops gather on her fixed eyes, . . . the mouth opens more and more by slight and gradual movements. Her sighs now change into a moaning that wrings the heart; a flush of deep red suffuses her cheeks,—the swollen tongue seems glued to her parched palate,—convulsions become more violent and more intense,—the hands which at first were sinking by degrees, now drop more rapidly,—the nails turn blue,—the fingers entwine convulsively,—the rattle of death is heard in her throat; . . . the last [sigh] is about to escape! then the head declines, and, already bearing all the signs of death, droops in complete exhaustion; she is no longer to be recognized for what she so lately was. This scene continues for about two minutes. The head is then drawn up, the hands rise towards the breast, the face resumes its outline and tranquility. She is kneeling, her eyes raised to heaven, occupied in offering to God the homage of her gratitude. Such is the tragedy which she is weekly destined to perform.” (pp. 21—23).

Domenica Lazzari, the Addolorata of Capriana, was born in 1815 or 1816. Lord Shrewsbury thus describes a visit to her in 1841. It was about a quarter after three on Friday the 21st of May. She was as usual laying [lying] on her back in bed, though comparatively free from suffering. The crown of thorns was as regularly and as distinctly marked across her forehead by a number of small punctures, as if they had been pricked with a large pin, and the wounds appeared quite fresh, though no blood was flowing from them. Beneath was a regular interval of about a quarter of an inch, also perfectly free from blood, so as to give the punctures, which represented the wounds from the crown of thorns, the most perfect possible degree of distinctness. Below this line, her forehead, eyelids, nose and cheeks, were entirely covered with blood, leaving only the upper lip and the whole of the lower jaw free from it. . . . The blood was still oozing perceptively from the wounds in the back of her hands. . . . At our request, he [the clergyman] also asked the mother to uncover her feet, . . . when we found them in the same condition as the hands, with however this singular and surprising difference, that instead of taking its natural course, *the blood flowed upwards over the toes*, as it would do were she suspended on the cross. We had already heard of this extraordinary deviation from the laws of nature, and were now happy to have an opportunity of verifying it in person (pp. 32, 33). In addition to this it is stated that she did not sleep for eight years, nor partake of any food, except the host in the Holy Communion: also that the blood is never washed away but disappears of itself, so that the skin is quite clean before the blood begins to issue afresh. It is also related that the sheets are never stained, not even from her feet, from which the blood very frequently flows. (p. 34.)

Upon these histories I will leave my readers to make their own reflections.

after his head was cut off, took it in his hands and walked two miles with it (*"abscissum suum caput sustulisse et progressum ad duo millia passuum in manibus gestasse."* Brev. Rom. Oct. 9, Lect. 6). He is *bound to believe* that, whereas Elizabeth Queen of Portugal during a part of the year drank only water, and refused wine when prescribed by the physicians for her health, the water was changed into wine by divine interposition; that she suddenly cured a poor woman of a horrible ulcer merely by kissing it; and that when she wished to distribute money to the poor, without the king's knowledge, she, in the winter time, turned the money into roses (*"pecunias ... hiberno tempore in rosas convertit"* Brev. Rom. Jul. 4. Lect. 5). And, not to be further tedious, he is *bound to believe* that St. Francis of Assisium as he was praying by the side of a mountain, saw our Lord under the appearance of a seraph with six wings, as it were crucified, the hands and feet being extended and nailed to the cross. The vision filled him with a seraphic ardour; and his flesh seemed to be impressed like wax with the image of his crucified Lord. For immediately, marks of nails (*signa clavorum*) began to appear in his hands and feet, the heads of the nails being visible in the lower parts of his hands and the upper parts of his feet, and their points coming through on the other side* (*"eorum acuminibus existentibus ex adverso"*). There was also a red wound in the right side as if made by a spear, from which sacred blood often issued, staining his tunic and drawers (*"quod sæpè sanguinem sacrum effundens tunicam et femoralia respergebat."* Brev. Rom. Sep. 17, Lect. 4 & 5). This miracle, together with those immediately preceding,

* Alban Butler says that the points "were turned back as if they had been clenched with a hammer," and that in order to conceal his wounds he "wore shoes and the feet of stockings on his feet:" adding in a note, "Wadding saw in the convent of the poor Clares at Assisium a pair of these half stockings, made by St. Clare for St. Francis, with the parts raised above and below for the heads and points of the nails. Blood from his side is kept in the Cathedral of Recanati." (*Lives of the Saints*, II. 582.)

and many more equally absurd, the Romish priest, if not the Romish layman, is *bound to believe*. And what has that Church to answer for, if she thus (as Romanists themselves allow) substitutes fables for facts, and forgeries for religious truths? For these are the words of some of her writers as quoted by Geddes (*Miscell. Tracts, Vol. III.*) :—“ Carolus Guyetus, a Jesuit, in his 3rd book *de festis* saith,.... ‘Antiently, not a few of the Offices in most Churches, were filled with apocryphal stories,....and which may, for anything that I know, be used in some Churches still.’ And in the 5th chap. of the same book.... ‘I do not deny but that there be many things found in most of the Saints’ legends, as they call them, which are ludicrous and absurd, and, which is more, are palpably false,’” &c. Again, “Melchior Canus, the learned Bishop of the Canaries, in his 11th Book, *De locis theologicis*, makes the following heavy complaint of the miracles which are reported to be wrought in the Roman Church,.... ‘I say this with sorrow, rather than contumeliously, that the lives of the philosophers are written by Laertius with more strictness than the lives of the Saints are by Christians; and the histories of the Cæsars are set forth by Suetonius with more integrity and incorruption than the histories, I do not say of Emperours, but of Martyrs, Virgins, and Confessors, are published by Catholics.’” And “Wicelius on his Sermon on ‘Believe not every Spirit,’ saith,.... ‘Here I cannot but testify with tears, that the heathens were antiently more cautious in these matters than we are; for at this time, we do presently receive all miracles, and so oracles likewise, if they promise us any gain.’” Once more, “Lyranus in the 14th chap. of Daniel saith,.... ‘So likewise in the Church, the people are sometimes very much deceived by miracles which are forged by the Priests or by their adherents for worldly lucre.’” Here then we have it acknowledged by Roman Catholics themselves, that *in most Churches, the Offices were filled with apocryphal stories; that there are many things in*

most of the Saints' legends which are not only ludicrous and absurd, but palpably false,—that the lives of philosophers and emperors were written by the heathen with a greater regard to truth than the lives of the Martyrs, &c. by Romanists, and that in the [Roman] Church, the people are sometimes much deceived by miracles, which are forged by the priests for lucre. Surely, surely, if Romanists thus think of their miracles, they cannot blame Protestants for not treating them with any great reverence.

Before dismissing this subject of miracles, let me make one remark: Among the many things which lead to infidelity, there appears to be scarcely any which opens a wider door than the Romish teaching with regard to miracles. We find a multitude of most astonishing miracles which in old times were most firmly believed,—indeed were adopted as the teaching of the Church, and to disbelieve them would have been as much the mark of a heretic as the disbelief of an article of the faith. Now, however, that statements and documents are sifted, it is found that many of these legends will not stand the test of criticism. What matter? (says the modern Romanist,) we can disbelieve them all, and yet not cease to be Roman Catholics. "This is equally agreeable to religion and common sense." 'Tis true, we used to make the people believe that St. Christopher was a great giant who carried our Saviour on his shoulders through the sea; but if you ask *us*, we should say it was a mere metaphor.* 'Tis true, we *used* to teach the people that God promised forgiveness of sins to all who honoured the memory of St. Barbara; but, although we are infallible and unchangeable, we *now* do not think there was such a person, and therefore we generally† omit her name in our modern books of

* See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, II. 136.

† I say "*generally*," because the name still lingers about the Offices of the Roman Church. It occurs, for instance, in the "Litany for the faithful departed," where, among other Saints addressed, occurs, "St. Barbara, pray for the souls of the faithful departed." *Golden Manual*, (approved by "† Nicholas, Bishop of Melipotamus,") p. 682, 1850.

Offices ; notwithstanding, we still possess authentic relics of her in different places. 'Tis true, we have fabricated a saint out of the handkerchief which a devout woman is said to have offered our Lord as He was bearing His cross, and which handkerchief (now still to be seen at Rome *and other places,**) because it bore a faithful representation of Christ, was called Veronica ; this our fertile imagination has transformed into a saint, though we do not mean to say that we really believe that any such person ever existed. And to maintain this belief, or rather disbelief, while we continue to be "Catholics," is equally agreeable to religion and common sense." Such, we may imagine to be the language of a Romanist of the present day. Here is a legion of saints for you to address your prayers to : some carried their heads in their hands, one turned money into roses, another turned sheep into locusts. And these things the *Infallible* Church of Rome has set forth for your instruction in writings of the highest authority. At the same time, you are quite at liberty to believe that such people never existed. "This is equally agreeable to religion and common sense." What can such abominable, such ridiculous child's play, such tampering with the truth lead to, but infidelity ? And such we find prevailing to an alarming extent in Roman Catholic countries, not only in France, but in Spain, and Italy, and parts of Germany,—outward Romanism, with secret Infidelity. As for the Irish Romanists, they are in this respect better off than their more enlightened neighbours. They have not yet learned that the legends they have been taught are a mythology and the language of metaphor. Here then they have not the temptation to infidelity which other Romanists have.

So far with regard to *fabulous* miracles ; space will not allow me to dwell upon *false* ones,—I mean those which are forged to serve a purpose. I will only quote the follow-

* See Picart, "Ceremonies religieuses," Vol. I. Part ii. p. 83, n. Ed. 1728.

ing remarks of Dr. Geddes, in which he speaks of a certain class of miracles, and the end which they serve in the work of conversion. "And here I cannot but take notice of the crafty way* taken by the Church of Rome to pervert Protestants; which is, when they find that arguments will not do, they then desire them not to be so confident of their religion's being true, as not to fast and pray to God to discover to them whether it is so or not; and having brought them once to doubt of the truth of their religion, as far as this comes to; if they have them close in a monastery, they do either by a voice, or a vision in the night, after they have spent some time in fasts and prayers, let them know, that the Popish is the only true religion. *And by this way, an English Jesuit told me, very devoutly, he had been converted in France, when he was there by an exchange for to have learned the language; and that after a long fast, and many repetitions of that prayer, the Virgin Mary appeared to him when he was in bed, and told him, there was no salvation out of the Church of Rome.* And thus Popery does its whole work, by false reports of miracles and by counterfeiting of them." (Miscell. Tracts, Vol. III. No. II. p. 24.)

But it is time for us to pass from miracles to other subjects.

I am not aware of being justly chargeable with "*unbecoming levity*" (p. 10), in having alluded to the artifices by which an ignorant and superstitious people have been deluded into the belief that a piece of wood or stone can shed tears, and that a Madonna painted upon canvass can open and shut its—or rather—*her* eyes (for this action seems to betoken a sort of vitality residing somehow in the pictures). But what possible connection is there between the

* I have just heard of the return of another English clergyman, who had been led to join the Roman communion, to the bosom of his own Church. He was disgusted at witnessing the artifices practised by Romanists to entrap Protestants. This led him to see the false step he had taken, and to retrace it

hem of our Saviour's robe, or the shadow of St. Peter, or the handkerchiefs which had touched St. Paul, with an image or picture which is represented as showing signs of life? If those handkerchiefs and aprons had been endued with spontaneous motion; if Peter's shadow, deserting its natural position, had moved round, and stood between him and the sun,—then, there would be something in the comparison. As it is, there is not the least resemblance; for the question is about things without life, as images and pictures, being represented as having the power of sense and motion like living creatures. And therefore, my remarks about the winking and weeping Madonnas* “will, of course,” NOT “apply to all inanimate objects.”

The passage which follows in Mr. Egan,—which the disgust it excited in me will not allow me to characterize as it deserves, lest I should seem uncourteous, and which I should have thought too bad to have proceeded even from *his* pen,—that passage I will pass by for the present, but I shall refer to it again before concluding. Let me here say, however, that it contradicts a statement in the following page, where Mr. E. says that their love for the Virgin Mary is “spiritual and heavenly,” as contrasted with what was felt by the Anglican clergyman he mentions towards his deceased wife, which was “earthly.” Now the passage in question proves that the affection which Romanists feel for the Virgin is not in all cases purely “spiritual,” but is mixed up with feelings of an “earthly” kind, which is shown by his com-

* In the Bishop of Exeter's Supplementary Letter to C. Butler, mention is made of several miraculous paintings of the Virgin, among which the following is one of the most remarkable. There was at Mercatello a very antiquated picture of our Lady delle Grazie. On the occasion in question, “the countenance assumed a brilliant tint, the eyes became lively, and the lineaments, though scarcely perceptible, which several ages had effaced, again became distinct and visible. *The countenance of the infant Jesus, which the Mother held in her arms, changed colour; and several times was the Divine Infant observed to bend towards the glass which covered the picture, to signify, as it were, how acceptable was the devotion of the pious multitude that was present at the spectacle.*” (p. 35.) The same volume contains also an account of a *perspiring* Madonna.

paring her with "a missionary helpmate and some hundreds a-year." What can we think of a mind,—or (if you will) of a religion which could put such a thought into a man's mind, as to lead him to speak of the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of our Redeemer, in connection with "*a missionary helpmate, and some hundreds a-year*"? There is, besides this, a profane expression, which I have passed over: all I now contend for is—that this passage proves, if proof were wanting, the great practical mischief which is done to the mind of the Romanist by mixing up the worship of a female mortal with the worship of Almighty God. In fact, practically, spiritual love and earthly love in her case meet together: witness, the sacred fables of the old legend-writers;—witness, the practice of the ancient painters, who ever chose the most beautiful models whereby to represent her worthily, according to their ideas;—witness, above all, the prayers addressed to her, such as the following:—“O pulcherrima dulcedo,.... O dulcissima pulchritudo.” “O purissima, nobilissima atque speciosissima Virgo.” “Virgo admirabilis pulchritudinis.” “O domina, quæ rapis corda dulcedine, nonne cor meum rapuisti? Ubi quæso posuisti illud, ut queam invenire? O raptrix cordium, quando mihi restitues cor meum?.... Nunquid ipsum cor meum semper vis tenere? Cum illud à te postulo, *mihi arrides*, et statim *tua dulcedine consopitus* quiesco: cùm in me reversus, cor meum iterum postulo, *me complecteris dulcissima*, et statim *inebrior amore tui*, nec possum discernere cor meum à tuo, neque aliud novi petere nisi cor tuum.” (Viridarium Marianum, p. 294, &c.)

Can that man's mind be in a healthy state who can use such prayers as the above?—who can call St. Mary his most beautiful sweetness, and most sweet beauty, most beautiful virgin, virgin of admirable beauty? who can talk to her about stealing his heart away, and ask her where she has put it, and when she shall restore it, and the like? Is this all “spiritual and heavenly”? How must the Blessed

Virgin herself grieve, if there can be grief in Paradise, should she know of the prayers (if such idolatrous nonsense can be called prayers) which are addressed to her. But we shall be told, this is merely metaphorical. Let us then come to what is represented as an actual occurrence. It is quoted by the "English Churchman" from the well-known Alphonso Liguori. "In the fourth part of the *Treasure of Rosary* it is related that a gentleman who was most devoted to the Divine Mother, had erected an oratory in his palace, in which he was accustomed to pray frequently before an image of Mary, not only by day but also by night, interrupting his repose in order to honour his beloved lady. But his wife, who was also very pious, observing that her husband left the room in the middle of the night, and did not return for a considerable time, became jealous, and began to suspect evil. Hence, to rid herself of the thorn which tormented her, she one day asked her husband if he loved any woman more than her. The gentleman answered with a smile, 'know that I love a lady the most lovely in the world; to her I have given my whole heart, and I would die rather than cease to love her; and if you knew her, you would tell me to love her still more'. He meant the most Holy Virgin; whom he loved so tenderly. But his wife, becoming more suspicious, asked him if he got up every night and left the room for the purpose of meeting that lady. Not suspecting the great agitation which she suffered, the gentleman answered that he did. The lady was confirmed in her suspicions; and blinded by passion, she one night, when her husband left the room as usual, took a knife, and, through despair, cut her throat, and died in a few minutes." The story goes on to say, how the husband, having finished his devotions, returned to his chamber and discovered the dreadful deed to which his wife had been urged by her jealousy. He leaves the room, prostrates himself before the image of the Virgin, and prays to her, saying

that she can repair the evil, and asking to whom he shall have recourse if she does not comfort him. Upon this, a servant informs him that his wife is calling him. He goes: finds her alive again. She implores his pardon, saying that by his prayer the Virgin had delivered her from hell. On the following day he invited all his relatives to a banquet, when he made his wife relate what had happened. "Thus, all became more inflamed with love to the Divine Mother." Now how much of this is true I do not know; nor is it of any consequence. I merely relate it as an exemplification of the state of the Roman Catholic mind, and as an illustration of the practical working of the worship of the Virgin.

Mr. E. goes on to deny (p. 11) that the Romanists "pray to images or relics, &c.," or "give to the blessed Virgin or any other creature *divine honour* which belongs to God alone." Let us then see what is the teaching and practice of Rome on this point. When speaking of the uncertainty of belief among Romanists, I said (p. 26) that they were at a loss to know what honour to give to images, and whether to worship the Cross as a *creature* or as the *Creator*; by which I meant, whether to give it "divine honour" or not. And I said that I might find occasion to refer to the question elsewhere: let me then now redeem my promise. In my former pamphlet (p. 12) I quoted the words of an Italian ecclesiastic of high station, Piazza, who stated that in the Church of Rome, the cross was worshipped "with the high adoration of Latria, *wherewith they worship God.*" Mr. E. will perhaps call him an "apostate foreigner," and strive to make his testimony worthless. But, his being a foreigner, and especially an Italian, can surely be no reason against his being a witness to the religion of the Church of Rome. On the contrary, his testimony is on that account so much the more valuable. And as to his being an "Apostate," i. e. a convert from Rome, surely this

is no argument against his evidence, but the contrary: for who should know a religion so well as one who professes it? And therefore his testimony, instead of being worthless, is *doubly valuable*. As a Roman Catholic, he would know his own religion better than a Protestant would, and therefore cannot be accused (as we are) of not understanding it: as an Italian, and an Italian high in office, he can be trusted as an exponent of his own religion better than an English Romanist who modifies his teaching so as not to shock the Protestant mind. And this Italian tells us that the Roman Catholics worship the Cross "with the same high religious worship and adoration of Latria, as they call it, wherewith they worship God himself, making thereby no difference between God and a piece of wood" (Account of the Inquisition, p. 178). And he goes on to quote the Roman Pontifical which orders that in the procession of the Emperor and a legate of the Pope, the Legate's cross shall be carried on the right hand of the Emperor's sword; because *Latria* is due the Cross,—"*Quia Cruci debetur Latria.*" And on Good Friday, when the Cross is unveiled, all the people go and pay upon their knees their *highest adoration*, (i. e. *Latria*) *to the Cross* (p. 180). These are the statements of one who ought to know, and doubtless did know, the teaching of Rome on this point, and he says distinctly, that Romanists pay divine honour to the cross, "*making no difference between God and a piece of wood.*" And he moreover goes on to state that this was one of the chief things which led him to leave the Roman Church. It cannot then be a Protestant misrepresentation. The English Romanists indeed, when writing for Protestants, would lead us to a very different conclusion. Thus, Butler (Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 103) says—"We *venerate the cross*, as a memorial of the passion and death of the Author of our salvation. We *venerate the images, paintings, and relics* of the saints as memorials, that bring their virtues

and rewards to our mind and heart." And Dr. Kelley, as quoted by the Bishop of Exeter, says that "images may be useful in reminding them of circumstances connected with religious duties; but that they *attach no importance to them beyond that.*"* (Supplem. Letter, p. 22) And yet what says the 2nd Council of Nice, held by Rome as Œcumenical and inspired: "As for them who say it is sufficient to have Images for the sake of exciting their livelier remembrance of their prototypes, *and not for worship*; as they reject one part of the truth, and admit the other, they are half bad, speakers of truth and falsehood in a breath. Alas! their madness!"† According to Dens (Theology, V. 45), the second Council of Nice forbids Latria to be paid to images, as being due to God only; on which account many maintain that no image ought to be worshipped with Latria. But others explain the Synod to mean that the images of Christ are to be honoured with a *relative* but not an *absolute* Latria; therefore it is not inconsistent to say that they should be honoured with a lesser honour than their prototype (*honore minore adorentur, quam prototypon*). We have therefore in the Church of

* Let me here quote the remarks of one who was not an "apostate foreigner," and, most certainly, not a "notorious bigot,"—the late Sir J. E. Smith, the well-known naturalist. In his "Tour on the Continent," (Vol. II. p. 344-5), speaking of Castello San Pietro he says:—"I found nothing curious in the village, except a column in the square, with a statue of the Virgin upon it, erected the preceding year by the lord of the town, in memory, as the inscription says, of the *Virgin of the Rosary* having preserved this place from damage during the late earthquakes. This is a public authentic monument, and we may therefore conclude that the Church allows the people to understand by these images something more than a mere assistance to the imagination in prayer, as the more enlightened [Roman] Catholics declare; *we have here undeniable proof, that they are, to all intents and purposes, IDOLS, supposed to be endowed with different powers and dignity.* I would not be uncandid or censorious, but I cannot see any difference between these images and those of paganism. None of the heathens ever imagined that the golden Jupiter of the Capitol was Jupiter himself; nor that the Diana in the temple of Ephesus was the very identical goddess in person; but they supposed it to be more efficacious to worship before those figures than any they could make themselves; and just so do the [Roman] Catholics."

† Labbé. Con. Tom. VII. p. 317. as quoted by O'Donnoghue, "Peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome," p. 156.

Rome six degrees of worship. Almighty God is worshipped with Latria;—the Cross, and images of Christ with a lower degree of Latria;—the Virgin Mary with Hyper-dulia;—the images of the Virgin with Sub-hyper-dulia;—the other Saints with Dulia; and their images with an inferior Dulia. Alas! and wel-a-day for the poor ignorant Romanist, if he is obliged to bear all these distinctions in mind. Nay, it must I think perplex even an educated Romanist, and it would be a question worthy of Thomas Aquinas himself, to decide the difference between Dulia and what I have called Sub-hyper-dulia,—to decide which is the greatest, the honour due to a Saint or to an image of the Virgin. St. Thomas himself, it seems from Dens, decided that the images of Christ should be honoured with a relative Latria. In Edgar's "Variations of Popery" however (p. 423), he is represented as saying that *the same reverence* should be shown to the image of Christ as to Christ himself, "Eadem reverentia exhibeatur imagini Christi et ipsi Christo; ejus imago sit adoratione latriæ adoranda" (Aquinas III. Q. 25, Art. III. P. 140). And the same writer quotes from him the opinion that the Cross is to be adored with Latria ("Crux Christi est adoranda adoratione Latriæ"), and also the statement of Bossuet, "Saint Thomas attribue à la Croix, le Culte de Latria, qui est le culte supreme." (p. 422). If Romanists pay to the Cross and the images of Christ, Latria, which is the supreme *or highest worship*, there can be none higher: and surely this must be divine. Nor can we wonder at the reverence in which the Cross is held, when we read the following prayer which is used at the blessing of a Cross*:
 "We beseech Thee, Holy Lord, Almighty Father, everlasting God, to vouchsafe to bless this wood of Thy Cross, that it may be *a saving remedy to mankind*,—that it may be to them the strengthening of faith, the increase of good works,

* "De benedictione novæ Crucis." Pontificale Romanum, Venetiis, 1786. as quoted by Bishop of Exeter, Letter to C. Butler, p. 95.

and the *redemption of their souls*,—that it may be their comfort, protection and defence against the cruel darts of their enemies, through our Lord Jesus Christ.” The Pontiff afterwards sprinkles the Cross with holy water, and censes it with incense. Then standing uncovered he says: “*Blessed be this wood, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: and may the blessing of that wood on which the holy members of our Saviour were suspended, be in this wood, that they who pray and bow themselves propter Deum before this Cross, may find sanctification both of body and soul, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord.*” Thus, there is a prayer to God to bless the “wood of the Cross,” (which here is certainly no figurative expression for Christ Himself), that it may be *a saving remedy to mankind, and the redemption of their souls*, their comfort, protection and defence against the cruel darts of their enemies, and that they who pray and *bow themselves before it may find sanctification* both in body and soul. And will a Romanist tell us, in the face of this, that he looks upon the Cross as a mere piece of wood?—that the poetical invocations in which it is called their “only hope,” do not mean the Cross, but Christ Himself? Be it so. But where is the poetry,—where is the figure of speech, in the prayer in which the WOOD OF THE CROSS is called “a saving remedy to mankind” and “the redemption of their souls”? Are there no traces of divine honour here? none, in the expression “*redemption of their souls*”? Could the “wood of the Cross” effect this, if it had nothing divine about it? Surely not. Thus we have seen that, whereas there is here, as in many other important points, a contradictory teaching in the Church of Rome, the Pontifical, and canonized Romanists, who represent the genuine belief of their Church, maintain that the Cross and the images of Christ are to be adored with the same honour as what is paid to Christ Himself, i.e. “*with divine honour.*” Which was to be shown.

Mr. Egan also denies that the members of his communion pray to relics. It certainly does seem odd that they should have been accused of doing anything so singular. And yet there are prayers quite sufficient to afford ground for such a charge. For instance, I find the following in Picart's Ceremonies (Vol. I. part ii. p. 113), addressed to the Veronica:—"O happy figure, conduct us that we may see the face of Christ.' With greater reason (continues the writer) may we say to the holy winding sheet (*Saint Suaire*), 'Preserve us, O divine resemblance of Jesus Christ, the resemblance of the Father, who is unchangeable. To thee I address myself, as to an intelligent being.' &c." This probably will be said to be "figurative and poetical." Perhaps so. Yet when, as we have seen, God is asked in a solemn prayer, to make the *wood of the Cross* a "saving remedy to mankind....and the redemption of their souls," can we wonder if some, whose imagination is stronger than their understanding, should become impressed with the idea that when using the above words "O happy figure," &c., they were addressing an object which had really power to benefit them;—particularly when there is such confusion between a saint and a handkerchief,* that it is difficult to know which is which? Are there *no* members of the Church of Rome,

* The Veronica, as before stated, is a handkerchief professing to bear an impression of our Saviour's face. Owing to the handkerchief having been arranged in three folds, there are said to be *three originals*, one at Rome, one at Jerusalem, and one in Spain, besides *several copies* in France, which are famous for miracles. (See Picart, I., ii., p. 83, n.) The Sudarium is the linen in which our Lord's body was wrapped in the tomb. There are said to be *two originals*, differing from each other (!) (as shown by Picart's plate), one at Bezançon, the other at Turin. Besides these, there are three others at Rome, one at Compiegne, one at Milan, one at Lisbon, and one at Aix-la-chapelle, the greater part known under the name of Veronica. (Picart, l. c. 115). In these cases the Sudarium must be the napkin which was wrapped round the head of our Lord. The winding sheet preserved at Bezançon, is stated in Picart to have wrought many miracles, such as stopping the plague, curing diseases, restoring sight to the blind, nay even, in the 14th century, restoring a dead man to life. And the writer quotes Chifflet as stating that miracles have been wrought even by the copies (*images*) of this relie. Mention having been made of Veronica, I would observe that the *Saint* of that name lived, according to A. Butler, at Milan in the 15th century. "Some private writers

who think nothing of "metaphorical prosopopœia"* while they use the words, "Preserve us, O divine resemblance of Jesus Christ." "To thee I address myself, as to an intelligent being. O happy figure, conduct us that we may see the face of Christ." ?

Let me however before leaving this subject of the honour paid to relics, quote from the learned work already referred to. "The charity of the Christian avoids too harsh a judgment. A believer assures us that a little relic which he carries upon him properly encased in a reliquary is to him an excellent antidote against the temptations of the flesh, a spiritual balm which fortifies him, an 'essence' which makes him live to God: let us believe him upon his word." (Ceremonies religieuses, I., ii., p. 199). On the same page occurs the following note:—"Bozius in one of his works finds the merit and incorruptibility of relics upon these passages of Scripture: "*There shall not a hair of your head perish.*" "*The Lord keepeth all his bones, so that not one of them is broken.*" "*He that eateth my flesh hath everlasting life.*" These texts prove, says he, that the least parts of the saints, even their hair, are preserved to our time (*jusqu' à nous*): that their bones ought to be put in cases to attract our veneration (*hommages*), that the relics of the saints have an eternal life (*une vie éternelle*), a life-giving virtue (*vertu vivifiante*),

and churches (he says) have given the name of St. Veronica to the devout woman who is said to have presented this linen cloth [namely, what bore the impression of our Lord's face, and was itself called the Veronica] to our divine Redeemer; but without sufficient warrant." (Lives of the Saints, I. 53, n.) Yet I find in the "Rosary of the most blessed Virgin Mary" that "Jesus leaves the impression of His sacred countenance on the *Veil of St. Veronica*." (Golden Manual, 1860, p. 148.) Putting the later Saint out of the question, A. Butler calls the "print of the holy face" *Veronica*, while the "Rosary" gives that name to the woman who received the impression on her handkerchief or veil. Have we not here now, a lucid piece of ecclesiastical antiquity ?

* Card. Bellarmine explains the prayer to the Cross in this way:—"either the Cross is here taken for Christ Himself crucified; or else the address is merely a metaphorical prosopopœia, as Moses (Deut. xxxii.) cries out, 'Hear, O ye Heavens, and I will speak.'" Bell. de Imag. l. 2, c. 20, as quoted by Bishop of Exeter, Letter to C. Butler, p. 92—3.

and that they preserve the power of working miracles, which the saints had when alive." Now if such be the belief of the Romanist,—if he is satisfied that relics have a *life-giving virtue*,—that the remains of saints have the same power of working miracles which the saints themselves had when alive, implying (as it seems) that the saints are in some sort present in their remains, ... then I should draw this conclusion,—that, though I have never *said* that Romanists prayed to relics, if I had said so, I should have had sufficient ground for making the assertion.

Mr. E. moreover denies that the Romanists give divine honour to the Blessed Virgin. Now what is meant by "divine honour"? Does it not mean such honour as ought not to be given to any human being? And yet it is notorious that Romanists do give such honour to the Virgin, ascribing to her powers and attributes, and offering to her devotions and prayers which cannot be ascribed and offered, without interfering with God's prerogative. In my former pamphlet I gave quotations enough to prove this. I showed that Romanists called her their "only hope," I gave instances in which they avowed that they entirely resigned to her their body and soul and whole being, they acknowledged that she *alone* had destroyed all heresies, they address themselves to her, as to the Holy Ghost, declaring that she infuses grace into the saints, and they pray her to lead *her* worshippers to eternal glory. And if these things do not imply divine honour, I do not know what does. But as my former extracts were not convincing, I will add a few more. "Blessed are they (says St. Bonaventure)* whose hearts love thee, O Virgin Mary: their sins shall be mercifully *blotted out by thee*." "Vouchsafe, O sweet Mary, to keep us now and for ever without sin." The Jews asked, and rightly asked, "who can forgive sins but God alone"? Here Bonaventure ascribes to the Virgin the right to forgive sins

* For these quotations I am indebted to the "English Churchman."

and the power to keep us from sin. In the history given above from Liguori, the gentleman, when his wife had destroyed herself, prayed (as we have seen) to the Virgin, and asked her to whom he should have recourse, if *she* did not comfort him. She was evidently his "only hope,"—*spes unica*, as the Romish books of devotions call her. But was he not also in the habit of praying to God? That is not stated; but he acknowledged he had "given his *whole* heart" to the Virgin, so that he might well say, "If thou dost not comfort me, to whom shall I have recourse"? She was to him in the place of God, and he gave her—most unquestionably—"divine honour." Again, in the Golden Manual, lately published under the sanction of the late metaphorical Bishop of Melipotamus,* I read, in the Paraphrase of the Litany of Loretto, addressed to the Virgin, the following sentence, "*Janua cœli*. Gate of heaven, since through thee salvation came into the world, and *none can enter heaven but by thee*; pray for us." p. 156. We used to read in Holy Scrip-

* Of all the irrational things which Rome has adopted into her system, there is perhaps scarcely anything more irrational than the system of titular Bishops. The name of *bishop* (overseer), implies a church or diocese to oversee. A bishop without a church, as the Archbishop of Spalato says, is like a shepherd without a flock, a sailor without a ship, a husband without a wife, (See De Dominis, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, I. 276). But have not titular bishops a diocese? Yes verily, but one they never see. The first titular bishop sent into England (by Gregory XV. in 1623) was called BISHOP OF CHALCEDON, (Berington, *Memoirs of Panzani*, p. 100); but his residence was by special favour dispensed with, as long as that city remained in the hands of the infidels: in fact he never went to Bithynia at all. Since that time we have had Bishops of Cambysopolis, Ariopolis, &c., and so on as far as Melipotamus, places which probably exist somewhere, but which do not occur in all geographical dictionaries. All these, observe, have been sent as bishops *into England!* But what can be more absurd than to send a man to one place, and call him bishop of another? As for the places having been formerly Christian cities, that does not make the absurdity less. The thing is too ridiculous to argue about. Suppose we were to send an ecclesiastic into Spain, and call him Bishop of Canton,—and another into Austria, and call him Bishop of Timbuctoo,—and another into Italy, and call him Bishop of Swan River,—or Cynopotamus, which would do quite as well as Melipotamus, or Honey-river. Nay, why should we not send a prelate to Russia, and call him Bishop of Birmingham, and another into Greece, and call him Bishop of Shrewsbury? Why should we not send one to California, and call him Bishop of Kaffir-land? Should we not be the laughing-stock of the world? And yet the practice of Rome is just as childish.

ture, that no man came to the Father but by Christ;—that there was *none other name* under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved, [and therefore “enter heaven”] but that of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nay, teaches Dr. Wiseman, there *is* another name whereby we must be saved: none can enter heaven but by the Virgin. This doctrine may be Roman, but it is not Apostolic: it contradicts the Word of God: it ascribes to the Virgin a prerogative which the Bible gives only to our Redeemer; in other words it is investing her with “divine honour.” In the same book I find the following language addressed to the Virgin:—“O amiable Queen, I also, unworthy as I am, I also love thee, but I love thee too little: I desire to love thee more tenderly and more generously, for *to love thee is one of the marks of predestination.*” (p. 390)

“How great is my grief, O most holy Virgin Mary, when I consider the injuries which thou receivest every day on the part of men! O mother of mercy, I should never dare to lift up my eyes to thee, wert thou not the advocate of sinners. Oppressed with the burden of my infidelities, I come to ask forgiveness at thy feet, for myself and for all mankind. I acknowledge *thy glory to be ABOVE THAT OF ALL CREATURES.*” (p. 392)

I will now quote from another Roman Catholic devotional work. In a MS. book of “Hours” of about the 15th century, in my possession, I find the following language:—

“Holy Mary, virgin of virgins, mother and daughter of the king of all kings, bestow upon us thy consolation, that through thee we may have granted to us* the reward of the heavenly kingdom.”

At the conclusion of a long prayer to the Virgin, comes this sentence: “—May you listen to and receive this sup-

* I thus translate “*mereamur habere;*” as “*mereor,*” in medieval Latin, does not necessarily convey the idea of merit. In the Golden Manual, however, it is translated “*deserve,*” which, of course is stronger against Rome. See Opening of the “Little Office of the Blessed Virgin.” p. 521.

pliant prayer, and may you *grant to me eternal life*: hear and hearken unto me, O most sweet Mary, mother of God and of mercy. Amen."

Again:—"By your tender mediation *wash away our faults*, that being redeemed by thy means we may be able to climb to the seat of everlasting glory, where thou remainest with thy Son without end."*

Let us now turn to the Breviary. In this book, of the highest authority in the Church of Rome, occurs the following prayer:—

"O Mother of pity and mercy, Blessed Virgin Mary, I, a miserable and unworthy sinner, flee to thee *with my whole heart and affection*, and I pray thy most sweet pity, that as thou didst stand by thy most sweet Son hanging on the Cross, so thou wouldest vouchsafe mercifully to stand by me a miserable priest and by all priests, who here and in all the holy Church, offer him this day, that AIDED BY THY GRACE, we may be enabled to offer a most worthy and acceptable victim, in the sight of the most high and undivided Trinity."†

I will now proceed to quote portions of certain hymns from the same Book, and, that they may have more authority, I will give the version of them in the Golden Manual.

"Tu Regis alti janua," &c.

"Hail, O refulgent Hall of Light!
Hail, Gate sublime of Heaven's high King!
Thro' thee redeem'd to endless life
Thy praise let all the nations sing."

(Office of the Blessed Virgin, Golden Manual, p. 552.)

* "Sancta Maria virgo virginum mater et filia regis regum omniū tuum nobis impende solacium ut celestis regni per te mereamur habere premium," &c.

"—Hanc orōnēm supplicē exandias et suscipias et vitā eternā michi tribuas audi et exaudi me dulcissima Maria m̄r dei et misericordie. Amen."

"—Tuo pio interventu culpas nostras ablue ut perhennis sedem glorie per te redempti valeamus scādere ubi manes cū filio tuo sine tempore."

This book is the work of a French transcriber, as appears by the Calendar.

† Roman Breviary, p. cccxxxiii. Pars Hiemalis, as quoted by the Rev. W. Dalton—"Rise and Progress of Romanism" 1851. p. 22.

Again,

“Ave maris stella,” &c.

“Gentle Star of Ocean!
Portal of the sky!
Ever Virgin Mother
Of the Lord most high!

Oh! by Gabriel's Ave,
Utter'd long ago,
Eva's name reversing,
Stablish peace below.

*Break the captive's fetters;
Light on blindness pour;*
All our ills expelling,
Every bliss implore.

Virgin of all virgins!
To thy shelter take us;
Gentlest of the gentle!
Chaste and gentle make us.”

(Golden Manual, p. 587.)

From the same Office of the Virgin, I subjoin the following prayer:—

“O Lord, we beseech Thee, let the glorious intercession of the blessed and glorious and ever-virgin Mary *protect us, and bring us* (perducat) *to life everlasting.* Through our Lord, &c.”

So much for the Breviary.

In the “Little Office of the Immaculate Conception,” authorized by the present Pope, occur the following portions of hymns, &c.:—

“O terrible as
The embattled array!
Be thou of the faithful
The refuge and stay.”

After this come the following versicles and responses:—

- V. The Lord Himself created her in the Holy Ghost,
R. And poured her out among all His works. [What does that mean?]
V. O Lady, hear my prayer.
R. And let my cry come unto thee.”

(Golden Manual, p. 599.)

Again:—

“Fill'd at thy conception
With love and with light!
The dragon BY THEE
Was shorn of his might.” &c.

V. Thou art all fair, my beloved,
R. And the original stain was never in thee."

I will only add the concluding verse,

" Be thou my true guide
Through this pilgrimage here ;
And stand by my side
When death draweth near." *

(Golden Manual, p. 603.)

As for the Missal, I quoted in my former pamphlet the acknowledgement " Rejoice, O Virgin Mary, thou *alone* hast destroyed all heresies"; and I will now only add the following Postcommunion in the Votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin:—

" Having received, O Lord, what is to advance our salvation ; grant we may always be protected by the patronage of blessed Mary ever a Virgin, *in whose honour* we have offered this sacrifice to Thy Majesty. Thro'."

In the Cambray Missal I find a hymn in her honour, of which the following is a portion,†

" Who wast *chosen for the salvation of the human race*, being a Virgin, thou wast made the Mother of God and of man, and wast exalted (assumpta) above the heavens to the right hand of God. And all things venerate thee, as the true Mother of God."

Now let us have a prayer of St. Bonaventure:—

" O Empress and our Lady most benignant, *by the right of a mother* COMMAND *thy most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ*, that he may deign to raise our minds from the love of earthly things to heavenly desires."‡

* In the original, thus:—

" Ducas cursu prospero ;
Et in agoniâ
Tu nobis assiste,
O dulcis Maria.

A friend of mine has an hypothesis that bad versification is a sure sign of the presence of bad theology. This stanza corroborates his view: surely none but a Romanist could make the third syllable long in " agoniâ."

† Missale Cameracense. De beata Maria, fo. xxi.

‡ Southey, *Vindiciæ Eccl. Angl.*, p. 436.

Now let us come to our own times, and to England.

“ AN ANGELICAL EXERCISE.

I reverence you, O sacred Virgin Mary, the Holy Ark of the Covenant; and together with all the good thoughts of all good men upon earth, and all the blessed spirits in heaven, do bless and praise you infinitely, *for that YOU ARE THE GREAT MEDIATRIX BETWEEN GOD AND MAN, obtaining for sinners all they can ask* and demand of the blessed Trinity. Hail Mary.*

Again:—“I am the Protectress of my servants, says the glorious Mother of God. Give me your heart, my dear child, and if it be as hard as a flint, *I will make it as soft as wax*; and if it be more foul and loathsome than dirt, *I will render it more clear and beautiful than crystal*. Give me your heart, my child, and tell me, in the sincerity of a true son, how much you love me, your chaste Mother? Hail Mary.”

And now let us sum up what has been said.

In the Missal (and in the Breviary also) the Virgin is addressed as the *only destroyer of all heresies*. Now, a man may convert a heretic; though I do not suppose it ever fell to the lot of any man to *destroy a heresy*. If so, it must have been by argument and disputation, and great labour. But these are clearly not the weapons the Virgin would use. If she destroyed a heresy, it must be by exerting a supernatural influence over the understandings and affections of men. But, to change the heart, as well as to convince the head, is the province of ONE BEING, and but One. Who could destroy a heresy,—who could exercise this supernatural power but a Divine being? Doubtless, no one. And to ascribe to any one this power, is, at the same time, to ascribe to them “divine honour.” But the Virgin has not only destroyed *all* heresies (which, by the way, is manifestly

* “Devotion of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, including the Devotion to the Sacred Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with an Appendix, .. and the Indult of his holiness, Pius VII., in favour of it, for the use of the Midland district.” p. 298. Bishop of Exeter, Letter to C. Butler, Esq., p. 388.

untrue, for there are several yet remaining); but she *alone* has destroyed them. What! has the Almighty done nothing? No: ALL have been destroyed by the Virgin ALONE. What a dreadful blotting out of God from His own world have we here! What a wanton robbery of his honour to give it to a creature! Is not this putting the Virgin in the place of God? Is not this giving her "divine honour"?

But the prayer I have quoted from the Missal states that the priest had offered the sacrifice *in honour of St. Mary*. Now, when we remember that the Romish priest supposes that he is repeating the sacrifice on the cross, and offering up God Himself, and when it is stated that he *offers up God Himself in honour of the Virgin*, must we not conclude that by so doing, he is paying her an honour to which no mortal is entitled, in other words, "divine honour"?

The Missal also, in the hymn which I have quoted, teaches that the Virgin was "chosen for the salvation of the human race"; *the Bible* says JESUS CHRIST was ordained for this purpose. Here again, God is thrust into the background; it is *Mary* who has the "divine honour."

Then the Breviary teaches that she aids us "*by her grace*," (while the Bible says it is the HOLY GHOST who thus aids us, Rom. viii.)—that through her we are redeemed to endless life,—that she has the power to establish peace upon earth, to break the captive's fetters, to give light to the blind.

But what do we read in the Bible? "*The Lord* shall give his people the blessing of peace." Again: Christ said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because *He hath sent ME* to preach deliverance to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind." Nor does the Holy Scripture make mention of any Redeemer but One; it speaks of no one *by* whom, or *through* whom we are redeemed, but the Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, when the Virgin is said to be the giver of peace on earth, of liberty to the captive, of sight to the blind, to be one of the means of our redemption, and,

being thus powerful, to make us chaste and gentle, and to take us to her shelter, she is honoured with such honour as is due only to the Blessed Trinity.

And what are we to think of the hymn in the office of the Immaculate Conception, which says that the dragon was shorn of his might (or bruised) by the Virgin? This is distinctly stated to be done, not (as it is sometimes) through her intervention or mediation, but by her as the agent; not "*per te*," but "*à te*":

Draconis potestas
Est a te contrita.

We read in Gen. (iii. 15) that the *seed* of the woman (viz. Christ) should bruise the head of the serpent. We read in Romans (xvi. 20) that it is God that bruises Satan, who is the old dragon. Thus, *Rome* says one thing, and *the Bible*, another. The Bible says it is the Lord God who bruises Satan and crushes the power of the serpent. Nay, says Rome, it is the *Virgin*. She it is by whom the dragon is "shorn of his might." The word of God ascribes this to Christ, *we* say it is the act of the Virgin: We put St. Mary in the place of Christ; we give *her* the honour which the Bible gives to *Him*; and our adversaries are actually so uncharitable as to say that this is giving her "divine honour"!*

But besides the Breviary and Missal, what do the approved Romish divines say? What do their books of devotion say? In the Golden Manual (which I have before referred to as

* "With a view (says Mr. Seymour) to exalt the Virgin Mary, it is maintained by her votaries, that it was Mary and not Jesus that crushed the serpent's head. . . In at least ninety-nine pictures in every hundred [in Italy] representing the crushing the head of the serpent, it is represented as the act of Mary. Indeed, more than this, I have never seen one representing it as the act of Christ; and yet I have certainly seen at least five hundred representing it as the act of Mary. The practice may be said to be universal; at least in all the galleries of pictures, and in all the altar-pieces of churches which I have visited in every part of Italy it is universal. And as these pictures of religion are the only books of religion read by the Masses of the people, so this has become the universal belief of the people of Italy." (Pilgrimage to Rome, 1850, 427-8.)

approved by Dr. Wiseman) we have seen that the glory of the Virgin is acknowledged to be "*above that of all creatures;*" not merely the highest *among* creatures; but ABOVE THEM ALL. Is this an honour fit for a mortal? What is there between the creature and the Creator? Is there any middle place? No: but St. Mary is regarded as *above all creatures*. Has she then the honour of a creature only,—she who (as they say) has been exalted to the right hand of God, and reigns above as Queen of heaven and earth? No: she is honoured as being *above the creatures*; in a word, she is honoured with "divine honour." Moreover she is invoked as being "*the great Mediatrix* between God and man" (though the Bible tells us but of "*one Mediator* between God and man, the man Christ Jesus");—as having power to wash away our sins, to purify our hearts, and to grant to us eternal life. How can any Romanist deny that Rome ascribes divine honour to the Virgin? What! Can any *creature* forgive sins? Can any *creature* bestow eternal life? Can any *creature* impart divine grace? Can any *creature* be the refuge and support of sinners?—Can any man or woman do all this? No verily. Who can forgive sins but God? Who can purify the heart but God? Who can impart divine grace but God? Who can be the stay and refuge of sinners but God? Who can bestow eternal life but God? To grant these prerogatives to the Virgin is indeed to place her "above all creatures," and most undoubtedly to invest her with "divine honour."

But Mr. E. will say, all this proves nothing: "the language of prayer is figurative and poetical;"...."our belief regulates and qualifies our devotions." Let us grant even this. But, I would ask, where would you find a truer embodiment of doctrine than in those words which are put into the lips of the whole congregation? Doubtless, the belief of the mass of the people is to be found more certainly in the Offices and Services of the Church than in her Articles

and definitions of faith.* Doubtless too, the Church, knowing this, would be careful what words were put into the lips of her people. And if a Church maintain discipline and a rigid supervision over the writings of her children, as the Church of Rome professes to do, she would exercise a watchful eye over the books popularly used by her members. And that this is true, the practice in Roman Catholic countries bears witness. So that, granting that the language of prayer is "figurative and poetical," I can at the same time fully adopt Mr. Egan's words when he says,—“our belief regulates and qualifies our devotions.” For what is the Roman belief, not expressed in prayer, respecting the Virgin Mary? I refer again to the “English Churchman” for my authority. The extracts are taken from Liguori's “Glories of Mary” :—“*Mary* has so loved us, says St. Bonaventure, that *she* has given us her only Son.” “How is it that whereas we ask many things of *God*, *without obtaining them*, we no sooner ask through *Mary*, than they are granted to us?” “The prophet complained in his day, that no creature was to be found who could appease the wrath of God. ‘Lord,’ said he, ‘we have sinned, and there is none to restrain your arm from falling heavy upon us;’ but now *Mary* presents herself *between God and his offending creatures*.” “My soul,” says the blessed Errie Suzon, “is in the hands of *Mary*, so if the judge wishes to condemn me, the sentence must pass through this clement Queen, and she well knows *how to prevent its execution*.” Now, Bonaventure and Liguori have been canonized, or put into the list of acknowledged saints, by the Church of Rome: and before any are canonized, a rigid scrutiny is made of their writings, and an express certificate is given that they have written nothing contrary to the Roman Catholic faith. In other words, the Church of Rome adopts their teaching as her own. And we see she teaches, by the mouth of

* See 57th Canon.

Bonaventure, that "Mary so loved us that she has given us her only Son." Our Lord said Himself, "God so loved the world that He gave us His only-begotten Son." Now the same gift could not proceed from two independent sources. Who then gave our Lord to die for us? "SHE gave him to us," says F. Nieremburg, "when *in virtue of her jurisdiction over Him as mother, she permitted Him* to deliver Himself up to the Jews." Therefore God's gift of His Son would have been in vain, if the Virgin had not "permitted" it;—if she had not *herself* given Him for us. I think this is giving the Virgin "divine honour;" and I am sure it is blasphemous. Again, what says Liguori? "The prophet complained in his day, that no creature was to be found who could appease the wrath of God ;....but now *Mary* presents herself between God and His offending creatures." Yet what says our Lord? "Lo I come to do Thy will, O God." And what says St. Paul? "God was IN CHRIST, reconciling the world unto Himself" (2 Cor. v. 19). Romanists ascribe this office to the Virgin: they put *her* in the place of *Christ*. Most plainly and most offensively they rob Him of the honour which He won when He humbled Himself to the death of the Cross,—and this honour, this "divine honour," or (at least) a portion of it, and with many a greater portion of it, they bestow most idolatrously, upon the Virgin Mary.

Being unable to procure the works of Liguori, who (be it remembered) was canonized in 1839, and therefore represents *modern*, and not mere *medieval* Romanism—I am compelled to give only such passages as I find quoted by other authors. One or two more shall suffice. We are instructed by his "Glories of Mary" (Intro. p. xvii. Comp. pp. 123, 152) to hold the opinion "that the salvation of all depends on *preaching devotion to Mary*, and confidence in her intercession." "'Yes,' says Richard of St. Laurence, '*Mary is omnipotent: for according to all laws, the Queen enjoys the same privileges as the King; and that power*

may be equal between the Son and the Mother.'” (p. 138.) Again: “*If my Saviour drive me off because of my sins, I shall GO AND CAST MYSELF AT THE FEET OF HIS MOTHER*” (p. 90). I will now give some extracts from a book published in Ireland ten years ago. “On the assent of the Virgin to the proposition made her [by the angel Gabriel] hung the destinies of the human race.” “What would have been our condition, if Mary had not yielded this ready compliance with God’s will? *We have every reason to conclude that MAN WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN REDEEMED.*” (Kenrick’s *New Month of Mary*, p. 62. Dublin, 1841.) “Yes, holy Mother, if we owe all to Jesus Christ who has redeemed us, to thee we owe Jesus himself.” (Ib. p. 66.) “The salvation of our relatives, and our friends, and of ourselves *is in her hands.*” (*Salvation made easy*, 2nd Ed. pp. 36, 37. Dublin, 1841). “What nobler object of our love, in earth below, or heaven above?” (Ib. p. 46.)*

Passing on from “*Salvation made easy*,” let us consider a few more passages on this subject from approved Romish authors:—“Considering (says Bernardinus de Busto) the Blessed Virgin is the Mother of God, and God is her Son,it therefore followeth that the Blessed Virgin is superior to God, and GOD HIMSELF IS SUBJECT TO HER† in respect of the manhood which he assumed from her.” (Quoted from Ussher by Southey, *Vindiciæ*, p. 435). “From the time

* For the quotations in this paragraph I am indebted to “Gibbings’s Roman Forgeries,” pp. 59—61.

† Dreadful as this blasphemy is, it seems countenanced by the little book to which I have so often referred, the *Viridarium Marianum*. I allude to a representation of the crowning of the Virgin in heaven. She is kneeling between God the Father and God the Son, the Holy Ghost hovering over in form of a dove. The Father, who is habited like a Pope with the triple crown, &c. sits on the one side; while Christ, who holds a sceptre in His right hand, is on the other side **KNEELING ON ONE KNEE**, as if doing homage to His Mother. Innocent in itself though the title “Mother of God” may be, and to be received in the sense in which it was given by the Council of Ephesus (see p. 58); still I think it is to be regretted that the doctrine was not defined in some other form; and I fancy the Council would scarcely have adopted the expression, could they have foreseen how it would have been abused,—could they have foreseen that Rome would have used it as an argument to show that, the Mother being greater than the Son, *the Virgin is superior to God.*

she conceived God," (says Bernardine of Sienna, canonized in 1540) "she obtained a certain jurisdiction and authority in every temporal procession of the Holy Spirit, so that *no creature could obtain any grace of [? or] virtue from God except according to the dispensation of His Virgin Mother,*" "all the gifts, graces, and virtues of the HOLY SPIRIT are administered by the hands of *herself*, to whom *she* will, when *she* will, how *she* will, and in what quantity *she* will." "She therefore sits at the right hand of the King, that *as often as you adore Christ the King, you may adore also the Mother of Christ.*" (From the English Churchman) "She is the Ruth, says Bonaventure, who gathers up the fallen ears *which would otherwise be lost*, and deposits them in the granaries of heaven. Even as Eve had persuaded Adam to our destruction, so *it was necessary that Mary*, as her anti-type, *should prevail over the Second Adam for our redemption*.... Such is the efficacy of her intercession, that myriads upon myriads are now crowned in heaven, who, *but for her*, would have been burning in hell." (Southey, p. 447). And in what light did the late Pope, Gregory XVI. regard her? These are his words:—"But that all may have a successful and happy issue, *let us raise our eyes to the Blessed Virgin Mary, who alone destroys heresies, WHO IS OUR GREATEST HOPE, YEA, THE ENTIRE GROUND OF OUR HOPE.*" Encyclical Letter, 1832. (Cramp, Text-book of Popery, 1839, p. 358).

And now let us turn again to the Breviary:—"Grievously, my beloved, were we hurt by one man and one woman [Adam and Eve]; but thanks be to God, *not less by one man and one woman** are all things restored, and that not without great usury (fœnore) of grace" (Officium B. Mariæ in Sabbato, Mense Junio).

Next take the following lesson from the service of the festival of the Assumption:—"But who is sufficient to

* So in the *Viridarium Marianum*, p. 278, "That sex was first in sinning, and, by her transgression gave death to her companion; which the merciful Father reversing, provided that *this Virgin Mother should give life with her Son.*"

conceive, how glorious on this day was the progress of the *Queen of the World!* with what transport of devout affection the whole multitude of the Heavenly Hosts went forth to meet her! with what hymns she was conducted to the throne of glory! with how placid, how serene an aspect! with what divine embraces she was received by her Son, and *exalted above every creature*, with that honour which became the worth of so great a Mother, and that glory which befitted so great a Son!"*

Anselm,† in his *Liber de excellentia B. Virg. Mariæ*, (Opp. Tom. iii. p. 219. Colon. Agripp. 1612) gives the following reason for our Saviour not taking the Virgin Mary to heaven, at the same time with him: "Fortassis Domine" &c. "Lest perchance, O Lord, thy heavenly court should stand in doubt whom they should rather come to meet, thyself, namely, their Lord, when afterwards seeking thy kingdom in the human nature which thou hadst assumed (in assumpta carne), or her their Mistress, ascending into that same kingdom now become hers by a Mother's right....Using therefore a more prudent and worthy counsel, it was thy will to go before her," &c. Thus, as Rome teaches that mankind was redeemed by Christ *and the Virgin*; so according to St. Anselm, they would have ascended to heaven together, only our Lord thought it better not, in order to save the angelic host from a perplexity.

If such be the belief of the Romanist respecting the glory bestowed upon the Virgin, he may easily agree with the following lesson on Rev. xii. 1. in the Office of the Blessed Virgin: "Let us *embrace the footsteps of Mary*, my brethren, and *with the devoutest supplication let us fling ourselves before her blessed feet*. Let us hold her fast; let us not suffer her to go, till she hath blessed us, for she is powerful." (Officium B. Mariæ in Sabbato, Mense Octobri.)

* Bishop of Exeter, Letter to C. Butler, p. 43.

† Gibbings's "Roman Forgeries," 1842, p. 41.

Once more, let us see the teaching of the Roman Church in Spain at the present day. The following are extracted from a Novena, or devotion for nine days, to the use of which indulgences have been attached by eight or nine Prelates:—

“ Of the Charity of Most Holy Mary.

“ As the Eternal Father delivered His only-begotten Son to death in order to give life to men, so this admirable Mother of love delivered her only Son Jesus to the rigours of death that all might be saved. She did not content herself with giving to the Divine Word flesh, wherein to suffer for men: *she herself sacrificed Him.* Standing at the foot of the cross, whilst her beloved immolated Himself for the salvation of mortals, *she herself offered the sacrifice of this unspotted victim,* beseeching of the Eternal Father that he would receive it as a payment and satisfaction for all the sins of the world.”

“ Of the righteousness of Most Holy Mary.

“ It is well known that most holy Mary, instead of being a debtor, gave so abundantly, that all remained and are her debtors: *men FOR REDEMPTION:* angels for their special joy: *even the MOST HOLY TRINITY are in a certain way a debtor to her* for the accidental glory which has resulted and does result to them from this their beloved.”*

And now, whether the language of prayer be “figurative” or not, I think the extracts adduced will show that it represents their belief. And the warmest and most highly-

* From “What is the working of the Church of Spain,” by the Rev. F. Meyrick, as quoted in the “Guardian,” (June 18, 1851). The work itself I have been unable to procure, as it is out of print.

I subjoin an extract from a modern Spanish sermon, as related by the writer just quoted: “In another sermon, the preacher described the Day of Judgment, with the following additions to the scriptural account. The angels will come forth from heaven in procession, bearing the true cross, of which all the parts will be miraculously gathered together. . . A glorious throne will be set up, on which our Lord Jesus Christ (on the mention of the name he touched his cap) will sit, and on His right hand will be seated His Mother, Maria Santisima, our Lady, the Sovereign Queen of Angels (on the mention of her name he touched his cap again, and every head bowed, and a murmur ran through the Church ‘Ave Maria,’) and thrones will be placed for the Apostles. The most remarkable thing was the constant mention of ‘Maria Santisima,’ with the titles above given each time repeated, *the great reverence shown by the people to her name, and their TAKING NO NOTICE OF THAT OF OUR LORD.*” Such then being the honour paid to the Virgin by Roman Catholics, “well” (says the “English Churchman”) “might a distinguished Priest at Rome admit to Mr. Seymour, that it was a very natural impression that the religion of Italy [as also of other Roman Catholic countries] ought to be called the religion of *Mary* rather than the religion of *Christ.*”

wrought poetical expressions which have been applied to the Virgin, are fully countenanced and confirmed by the grave and didactic statements of learned writers and doctors, which Rome by her canonization of them, adopts as her own.

Further remark must be needless, for the teaching of Rome must be plain to every one. We have seen Breviaries, and Missals, and Hours,—prayers, and hymns, and lessons,—doctrinal treatises, and books of devotion,—sermons, and pictures,—we have seen these as existing in England, and France, and Spain, and Belgium, and Italy,—at the present day, and in by-gone centuries,—all with one voice proclaiming that Rome regards the Blessed Virgin as a Divine Being, robbing Christ of His glory in order to invest her with “divine honour,” with an honour, in some instances greater than what is paid to our Lord Himself. And if any one denies this, the most charitable thing we can say of him is, that he is ignorant of the religion of Rome.

Mr. Egan proceeds to institute a comparison between the sacred poet and the profane, saying that the latter is allowed to personify inanimate nature, and to address his vows to that which has no sense to hear or help him; while the latter is “denied a similar indulgence to inanimate objects of religious but relative respect.” Are the cases really similar? Let us see. For an example of a profane poet let us take those lines of Coleridge in “This Lime-tree bower my prison”:—

“Ah! slowly sink
 Behind the western ridge, thou glorious Sun!
 Shine in the slant beams of the sinking orb,
 Ye purple heath-flowers! richlier burn, ye clouds!
 Live in the yellow light, ye distant groves!
 And kindle, thou blue Ocean! So my Friend
 Struck with deep joy may stand, as I have stood,
 Silent with swimming sense; yea, gazing round
 On the wide landscape, gaze till all doth seem
 Less gross than bodily; and of such hues
 As veil the Almighty Spirit, when yet he makes
 Spirits perceive his presence.”

Kirke White, however, is perhaps still more to the point:—

“Methinks thou lookest kindly on me, Moon,
And cheerest my lone hours with sweet regards;
Surely like me thou’rt sad, but dost not speak
Thy sadness to the cold unheeding crowd.”

Again:—

“Now unto thee, pale arbitress of night
With double joy *my homage do I pay.*”

Once more:—

“Pale Moon, from thoughts like these divert my soul;
Lowly I kneel before thy shrine on high.”

For an example of a “sacred poet,” I will take the hymn “Vexilla regis prodeunt,” which occurs in the service for the day before Passion Sunday, and the Saturday following.*

“Forth comes the standard of the King:
All hail, thou mystery ador’d!
Hail, Cross! on which the life himself
Died, and by death our life restor’d.
• • •
O sacred wood! in thee fulfill’d
Was holy David’s truthful lay;
Which told the world that from a tree
The Lord should all the nations sway.
Most royally empurpled o’er
How beautifully thy stem doth shine!
How glorious was its lot to touch
Those limbs so holy and divine!
Thrice blest, upon whose arms outstretch’d
The Saviour of the world reelin’d;
Balance sublime! upon whose beam
Was weigh’d the ransom of mankind.
Hail, Cross! thou only hope of man,
Hail on this holy Passion-day!
To saints increase the grace they have;
From sinners purge their guilt away.
Salvation’s spring, blest Trinity,
Be praise to thee through earth and skies;
Thou through the Cross the victory
Dost give; oh, also give the prize!”

(Golden Manual, pp. 705—6.)

Now in my former pamphlet (p. 12) I gave one of these verses (the last but one) in the original; and I presume it is to that Mr. E. alludes, as I quoted nothing else of the

* Brev. Rom. 1650. p. 359 and 372.

kind, when he says that the sacred poet is not allowed to personify inanimate nature, and address his vows to objects of religious but relative respect. I conclude then, that Mr. Egan in this hymn regards the Cross to mean the actual Cross, and not the atonement of Christ, or what is called the "doctrine of the cross," which St. Paul intended when he said, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." And now see how it is addressed in the above hymn. It is saluted with "All hail, thou mystery ador'd." It is called the "sacred wood," from which David said the Lord should rule the nations; it had a "glorious lot" in being made worthy to touch the limbs of Christ: it was "thrice blest," as bearing the outstretched arms of our Saviour; and then,—without any intimation that what in one verse signifies a piece of wood, in the next, is put for our Lord Jesus Christ Himself,—without anything to make us suppose this,—the hymn proceeds, "Hail, Cross! thou only hope of man," &c. One cannot imagine how any person who has the gift of reason could address these words to the Cross; yet, when we bear in mind the prayer (see p. 111) that God would bless the *wood* of the Cross, and make *it* a saving remedy for mankind,—when we remember that Romanists believe that inanimate objects possess a miraculous power,—and when, above all, Mr. Egan does not contend that the Cross signifies Christ crucified, but allows it to be the material Cross, an "object of religious but relative respect," it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Romanist does "pay his vows" to the mere "wood of the Cross."* And I would ask Mr. E.

* Cardinal Bellarmine (as we saw, p. 114) explains the address to the Cross by saying that it is *either* a "metaphorical prosopopœia," or that the Cross means Christ crucified. Now there is a want of clearness here which is to be regretted. Does the Cardinal mean that some members of his Church take it in one way, and some in another? Or does he mean that every Romanist has a sort of confused notion on the subject, not exactly knowing what to hold, but mixing the two ideas together, or how? Mr. E. seems to adopt the clearest course: he does not contend for either of Bellarmine's explanations; but, as far as we can judge, takes the words in their literal meaning.

whether he means to say that a Romanist when he addresses the Cross, as in the above hymn, really means no more than Coleridge did when he called upon the Sun and the flowers and the Ocean, to put forth all their beauty to charm his friend? Let me ask him whether, when a Romanist pays homage to the Cross and kneels before it,—he really means no more than Kirke White did, when he talked of paying homage to the Moon and kneeling lowly before her shrine. Should he do so, I would answer him by relating the *practices* of his Church, supposing *hymns* and *prayers* prove nothing as being “figurative and poetical.” But surely Mr. E. will not assert that Kirke White really thought that the Moon was “sad”; he will not assert that that devout man really paid homage to the old pagan “Queen of heaven,”—that he really knelt in adoration, and offered *latria*, or supreme divine honour, to the *Moon!* Yet this the Romanist does (as we have seen) to the Cross, and surely, corresponding sentiments cannot be absent from his mind when repeating the Hymn to the Cross. I do not mean to say that there is nothing “figurative or poetical” in the above address to the Cross; but what I do mean is, that the Romish sacred poet oftentimes addresses himself to the *actual wood of the Cross*, as to a divine life-giving object. The profane poet in his address to the Sun, or Moon, or Ocean, &c. means nothing whatever of the sort. Is there then any resemblance between the two? Not the slightest.

Mr. E. says that images should not be prayed to, as they have neither life nor sense to hear or help us: But, notwithstanding what modern English Catechisms may teach, have not Crosses and Crucifixes shown signs of life on various occasions, thus fully justifying their worshippers in “addressing their vows” to them? Indeed, if we may believe what we read, they in this respect far surpass winking and even perspiring Madonnas. Mr. Egan scarcely

needs reminding of the Crucifix which is said to have spoken at the Council at Winchester in favour of Dunstan,* at a time when our land was under Roman influence. In my former pamphlet (p. 58) I mentioned the Crucifix of Nicodemus at Lucca, which one day wished to take off its shoe for the love of a poor man who asked alms of it. (*Ceremonies religieuses* I., ii. p. 106) From this work I will adduce notices of other wonderful crucifixes.

“The *Sanctissimo Crocefisso* of Naples is of wood; but the coarseness of the material should take nothing from its merit; and the gratitude which it expressed to St. Thomas Aquinas in thanking him for his excellent and salutary writings, ought to redouble the zeal of those who visit the chapel where it resides.

“Another Crucifix of Naples had a long conference with Pope Pius V. ‘*son Lieutenant.*’ Another, also of the same city, would have lost its head by a cannon ball, if it had not bowed its head first; but it lost its crown.†

“The Crucifix of Loretto is celebrated for many miracles. The angels brought it from Palestine to Italy with the holy Cottage (*Santa Casa.*) A Crucifix of *St. Maria Transpontina* at Rome, had often conversations with St. Peter and St. Paul.

“We have said nothing of an infinity of Crucifixes, of which some have shed tears, others have sweat blood, [see p. 94. note], discovered sacrilegious persons, blinded or

* Osborn *de Vita S. Dunstani* (*Anglia Sacra*, II. 112.)

† The history of this Crucifix is given by Spondanus in his Continuation of Baronius, where, in addition to what is stated above, he tells us that it lost also the hair of its head, that it remained in the same position, and that it was worshipped (or honoured) with the highest veneration by the Neapolitans. His words are as follows: “Narrant (Itali) pridie illius diei contigisse, ut cum Petrus contra turrim Ecclesiæ Carmelitarum .. tormentum omnium maximum explodi jussisset; pila immensi ponderis muro perforato casu ad imaginem ligneam Crucifixi, quæ in transversali trabe medio templo pendeat, rectâ pervenerit: ejusque caput commisisset, nisi ea ingenti prodigio illud inclinasset ne percuteretur, coronâ tamen spinâ sublatâ, et capillis verticis resecatâ: .. Extare adhuc Imaginem sic inflexo capite, et à Neapolitanis summâ veneratione coli.” Spond. ad Ann. 1438. Tom. I. p. 860, Paris, 1659.

rendered helpless malefactors. Some have even restored life to the dead, and others health to the sick. All are distinguished by some remarkable place. We do not go on to speak of domestic Crucifixes, because the favours which they grant are rarely extended beyond the family which they protect. In the rank of these latter should be placed the Crucifix which honoured with many nocturnal visits Father *Bencius*, and at length determined him to take the habit of Jesuit.* (Cerem. Relig. I. ii. 106, 107.)

Now, whatever the Romanist in Protestant England may say and teach, as long as we read of Crosses and Crucifixes bending their head to avoid a Cannon ball,—pronouncing sentence at a Council,—showing a disposition to relieve a poor man,—entering into conversation on several occasions, besides raising the dead to life, and doing other things of smaller moment,—we are abundantly authorized in concluding that multitudes of Romanists—fewer, of course, in a Protestant country, like England—do really “address their vows” to the actual material wood of the Cross, believing that it has in itself an inherent divine virtue, and that if it has not “sense to hear,” it has, at any rate, power to “help” them.

“The chair of Wickleff, (Mr. E. informs us, p. 11) the rope of Turpin, and the pistol of Rush are objects of treasure to Protestants.” The chair of Wickleff is doubtless an object of great interest to the Protestant, vividly reminding him, as it does, of one, for whom, though we may not adopt all his opinions, we may well be thankful to God, as

* Crucifixes appear not to be the only images which have distinguished themselves by the power of speech. I copy the following from Mr. O'Donoghue's “Peculiar Doctrines of the Church of Rome.” p. 151.

“They show at Rome an image of the Virgin, which reprimanded Gregory the Great, for passing by her too carelessly: and in St. Paul's Church, a crucifix which spoke to St. Bridgith. Durantus mentions another Madonna, which spoke to the Sexton, in commendation of the piety of one of her votaries.”

being the "Morning Star of the Reformation." But does Mr. E. really believe that the rope of Turpin and the pistol of Rush are objects of treasure to Protestants? What! a rope that hung a notorious highwayman, a pistol which was the instrument of perpetrating a barbarous murder, objects of treasure to Protestants!—not (observe) to the mere English collector of curiosities, of any or no religion; but to *Protestants*. It is a part of the Protestant religion, forsooth, to treasure up the relics of thieves and murderers! Turpin's rope, and Rush's pistol are to them what St. Peter's chains and St. Laurence's coals are to the Romanist! Is this what Mr. E. means? What would he say if I were to affirm that the poniard of some Virgin-worshipping bandit, or the dagger which drank the life's blood of Rossi were "objects of treasure" to the Romanist? One statement would be as true as the other. And I again ask, does Mr. E. believe what he says?

I will not dwell on the expression "uxorious Parson," except to say that Rome has produced a worse character still, and to express my hope that the one is now as rare as the other. Doubtless Mr. E. intends by the way, to cast a slight on the marriage of the clergy. That is a question which there is no room to discuss here. Let it suffice to say, that, though a wife may in some cases exercise a secular influence (what blessing has not been abused?) the marriage of the clergy is sanctioned by Holy Scripture, as is clearly proved by the following passages: "Marriage is honourable *in all*." (Heb. xiii. 4.)—therefore not in the laity only. Again: "A bishop (or priest) must be the husband of one wife;" (1 Tim. iii. 2)—"Let the deacons be the husbands of one wife;" (v. 12)—"Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas?" (1 Cor. ix. 5)—so that the clergy *of all degrees* were married in the Early Church, and continued so to be for

several centuries. For further information on this point let me refer to Bishop Hall's "Honour of the Married Clergy"; in which work, after mentioning several dishonourable titles by which Rome spoke of marriage, at the same time that she called it a sacrament, the learned prelate shrewdly remarks (Book I. sec. iv.):—"So as we may well wonder at these two extremes in one doctrine: and study in vain how a *Sacrament* should be incompatible with a *sacred person*."

My subject does not require me to speak of the dreadful enormities which have been committed by the Romish clergy in consequence of their being, by virtue of their office, too holy to enter into the estate of matrimony. I will therefore say nothing on the matter.

In p. 12 Mr. Egan breaks out into a rhapsody, in the course of which he pleasantly calls upon me to "ascend once more my mountain eyrie,"—to "collect a new revelation from Seymour," &c.,—to "sing an 'Io Pœan' for the Piazzas, Achillis, and Gavazzis," &c. &c. Hoping that Mr. E. will excuse my climbing my hill for this purpose, as it would be a fatigue, and so far as I can see, an unnecessary fatigue, I will endeavour to satisfy his requirements at a more humble elevation. Mr. Seymour's "puppeyism" he says, is well known at Rome. What he alludes to, I do not know. The question is, is Mr. S. or is he not, a credible witness? Does he speak the truth, or does he not? I have quoted him, and intend to quote him again, as speaking the truth; if he tells falsehoods, let Mr. E. point them out, and expose him. When a person,—an eye-witness—brings such heavy charges as he does against the corruptions of Rome, the mere imputation of "puppeyism" (whatever that may mean) is a very feeble way of meeting them.

With respect to Piazza, I have alluded to his history before: he appears to have been a serious, sober-minded man, who, from being a judge of the Inquisition in Italy,

became, on conviction of the errors of Rome, "by the grace of God," as he says, a convert to the Church of England. His book, which I have quoted, was published in 1722.

Of Achilli and Gavazzi (whom I had not mentioned) I know but little, except that they have lifted up their voice against the abuses and corruptions of Rome, which they had ample opportunities of being acquainted with, and therefore good ground for exposing; and this *fact* of their being *practically* acquainted with the abuses they have exposed, (and not merely *theoretically*, like Protestants) must naturally excite a bitterness of feeling against them in the breasts of those who would wish to preserve those abuses and corruptions. But when Mr. E. says, "Give £200 a-year to *another* unprincipled Courayer—to *puff up your imaginary orders*," it reminds one of his adducing as "another Protestant," the Spanish Jesuit Acosta. For, in the first place, the orders of the Church of England are not "imaginary," but are quite as good as those of the Church of Rome; and they are *better* than those of the Romish Schismatics in this country, which are uncanonical on two grounds, (1) their being transmitted in schism, (2) their bishops deriving their succession (such as it is) from others who had been consecrated by a single bishop, which well-informed Romanists know to be uncanonical, and inadmissible except in a case of great necessity.* But did Courayer receive £200 a-year to "puff up" our orders? No: and it may be as well to inform Mr. Egan and his readers, that Courayer, who was a French Catholic divine, being convinced of the validity of the English orders wrote a book in defence of them; in consequence of which he fell under ecclesiastical censure, his book was suppressed, and "to avoid severer measures which were about to be pursued," he came to England (where he communicated with the Church) in 1728. (Watkins, Biog. Dict.) Now his book appeared in 1723, so that it is not very likely that we should have given him £200 a-year to write it. Mr. E. insinuates that

* Palmer, Treatise on the Church. Vol. II. pp. 469—472. (1838)

such was the case. Does he believe it himself? If so, he should have given his authority.*

Mr. E. has next the boldness to allude to the Isle of Antrim, where Mr. Nangle settled a colony of Protestants; and calls upon me to "collect all those delightful converts, who before losing their faith had lost their morals; and who have since been proficient in the science of iniquity." Now if, as Mr. E. says, "before losing their faith they had lost their morals," it was high time for them to embrace a purer faith which should bring forth the fruit of better morals. And, as it would seem, such was the case: the better faith *did* produce better morals. But let us hear Mr. Nangle's own words:—

"A few Protestant gentlemen," he writes, in a Letter to Lord John Russell, in 1835,† "of the highest respectability, formed themselves into a committee with a view to promote the temporal and spiritual interests of the inhabitants of this island, a district which, even in the west of Ireland, is proverbial for its destitution. They procured a tract of wild mountain, purposing to reclaim it by native labour, and on this and other improvements they have already expended a sum exceeding £1,600."

Mr. Nangle then goes on to state that the oversight of the settlement was entrusted to him with the approbation of the Archbishop of Tuam,—that "several families and individuals abandoned the communion of the Church of Rome," and joined them; in consequence of which "no exertions were spared by the Roman-catholic priests to exasperate the peasantry,....and to urge them on to such repeated acts of violence as might exhaust" their "patience or" their "courage, and oblige" them "at last to abandon" their "post in the island." As this proved unsuccessful, Dr. M'Hale went over in person, a service was performed in the chapel, when those who had joined the Church were

* In 1736 Courayer translated into French Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, and dedicated it to Queen Caroline, who augmented to £200 a pension of £100 which he had previously received from the Court. I presume it was this fact which gave rise to Mr. E.'s fabulous account of £200 a-year being given to Courayer to write a book which was published in France in 1723.

† British Magazine, Vol. ix. p. 71.

“held up to abhorrence in the strongest terms which language could furnish, and *their neighbours were forbidden to speak to them, or to sell them provisions, or show them any kindness.* Before Dr. M’Hale left the island, these inhuman injunctions were again repeated, and a *solemn curse pronounced against any who dared to violate them.*”

“In consequence of this,” continues Mr. N. “our poor people have been subjected to much inconvenience, and sustained much loss; their kind salutations of their former friends meets no return; the stream of social kindness has been embittered at its source by the gall and worm-wood of religious rancour; some of these faithful sufferers for conscience’ sake have been inhospitably *ejected from their dwellings*; ... others have been obliged, ... to purchase provisions in a distant village; for ... *their neighbours ... dare not sell them potatoes, as a murmur has already gone out among the people, that ANY ONE WHO VIOLATES THE BISHOP’S ORDERS MAY EXPECT TO HAVE HIS CATTLE HOUGHED, and to suffer other injuries in his property and person.*”

The same gentleman wrote a letter to Dr. M’Hale,* in the course of which he says:—

“The national schoolmaster is not less zealous than his patron, the parish priest, in enforcing the anti-social doctrines. The day after your departure from the island, seeing one of the peasantry walking and conversing with a man who had left the Church of Rome and joined our congregation, he openly reproved him for holding any intercourse with such a heretic, asking him did he not know “**THAT HE WAS CURSED BY THE PRIEST FOR DOING SO!**”

“I speak without exaggeration—I testify what I have seen and heard:—As I walked in company with a few of my brethren through a neighbouring village a few days after you had bestowed your *parting benediction* on Achill, even *little children of so tender an age that their articulation was imperfect* **CURSED US AS WE PASSED.** In this very village, but a short time since, the little kindnesses which we occasionally conferred upon the poor people used to meet a rich return of grateful blessings. To what is the change in the spirit of the villagers to be attributed? You well know *they have been accustomed to hear the most frightful imprecations uttered against us from the altar by men whom they regarded as heaven’s messengers; you well know that they heard THE BITTEREST OF THESE EFFUSIONS APPLAUDED BY YOURSELF.*”

“In reference to the Bishop of London’s statement concerning the increase of protestantism in Ireland, I must testify even at the hazard of again exciting your indignation, that it quite accords with my own experience. I have travelled much through this province, and in every parish I have found *among the most exemplary of the protestants a greater or a less number of persons who had been educated in the Church of Rome, and lately abandoned its communion.*”

* Brit. Mag. Vol. ix. pp. 72—74.

So much for Mr. Egan's statement, that the converts from Romanism to the Church of Ireland before losing their faith had lost their morals, and after their conversion had been "proficients in the science of iniquity." Such "proficients," I think it will be allowed, rather belong to the party of Dr. M'Hale and Irish Romanism, if cursing, and malice, and hatred, and bodily violence be evil things; and whoever compares the spirit and the acts of the two creeds will regard Mr. Egan's allusion to the Isle of Achill as unfortunate and ill-judged.

But Mr. E. proceeds (in a most suicidal manner) deeper and deeper into Irish affairs; and his language is such as to provoke something more than a mere passing notice of his remarks.

Speaking of some, who in the time of the late famine "became *for a time* hypocrites, not converts, to Anglicanism," he says,—“Compare these (if you dare) to those noble and intellectual men of rank, of fortune, and of piety, who have left all to follow Christ.” Now I was not before aware that any Romanists had become *for a time* converts to “Anglicanism,” in order to procure food. One clergyman* indeed states that a man came to him offering to “change” if he could get anything for his children; but the reply was that “*he must think very badly of our religion if he supposed we bought converts.*” Granting however that there were such cases,—is Mr. E. serious or playful when he dares me to compare a Romish hypocrite, an Irishman who was *for a time* a convert to Anglicanism, (and therefore I presume when the famine was over, relapsed into Romanism) with men of rank and education in England who from conscientious motives have apostatized to Rome? His question is either jocular and unmeaning,—or, if intended to be serious, it treats the Anglican conversions as a piece of most intense mockery. Here is an Irishman dying of hunger: he is a

* Rev. J. T. Kyle. British Magazine—Vol. xxxi. p. 358.

Romanist: he comes to the clergyman, saying,—“ Give me meal;—give me soup;—I profess myself a Protestant.” And as long as he wants meal and soup, he is a Protestant;—he is such “ for a time,” and when the want is over, the “ hypocrite” turns Romanist again. And what is Mr. Egan’s argument?—‘ Compare this man, IF YOU DARE, with such men as Mr. Maskell, and Mr. Oakley, and Archdeacon Manning,—men who have left all to follow Christ.’ If there is anything which can make the Anglican conversions appear more ridiculous, I should like to know what it is.

It seems to me however that Mr. E. has not expressed his meaning accurately; and if he will allow me to make a suggestion, I fancy he must have meant (for in no other way, as I think, does his argument mean anything) that the Irish converts, to whom I had alluded in my pamphlet,—i. e. the *actual* converts from Romanism to the Church of Ireland, are not to be compared with the converts from the Church of England to Romanism.

If Mr. E. means this, his challenge is intelligible, and I accept it.

In order to understand the nature of the conversions from Romanism to the Irish Church, and the difficulties and dangers attendant thereupon, it will be necessary to bring forward some facts connected therewith; and if they should be unpleasant to Mr. Egan, he must excuse me, as it was *his* language and *his* challenge which have compelled me to produce them.

I will first bring forward some statements illustrating the behaviour of the Romish Clergy with respect to certain Schools in which the Scriptures were taught. Two cases will be sufficient to show their spirit and conduct. In one, a Church Education School, there were 64 children, all Roman Catholics. On one occasion the Romish Priest entered the School, when there were 40 children present. The report states:—

* He used very abusive language to the master, and beat the children with his staff, & taking them, that he would warn their parents from the door to the chapel the following Sunday. This happened in the presence of several poor people from the neighbourhood, who came to the door when the Priest arrived. Among these persons was the farmer from whom the school-house is rented. It is thus seen the Priest was very abusive, calling him a scoundrel and a blackguard, and ordering him to go away out of the house, which the poor man refused to do.*

* Persons unacquainted with the habits of the Romish clergy in Ireland, will be surprised at the frequent mention of the "barricade," the use of which seems to be a constant source of "amusement" to them, as well as an evidence of their audacity.

The following anecdote is quoted by the Protestant Journal (1834, p. 510) from the "Cork Constitution":—"A Rev. Divine... on Sunday last, indulged his congregation with a very cutting denunciation of two most respectable Protestant ladies. The alleged offence of these ladies was—what, reader? That they had distributed moral and religious tracts to the peasantry on their estates! And for this they were denounced as emissaries of hell, &c... It was well for them, continued this sacerdotal despot, that I did not meet with them when distributing their tracts, for I fear that I should have AMUSED MYSELF with *horrorisappoy* them!"

As some persons may think the accounts of the violent conduct of the Romish clergy in Ireland overstated, I subjoin the following extract from a private letter, printed in the British Magazine.

"I had often heard stories of the priests beating the people, but never did I conceive it possible for the matter to be carried so far beyond the most exaggerated reports, as I have myself now seen it to be." He then goes on to state, that in consequence of the government finding it necessary to stop the public works, the mass of the inhabitants of the three divisions, amounting (as it seems) to some thousands, came to the village where he was, demanding that their wants should be instantly attended to. "It was, of course, not very easy to deal with such an impatient multitude; but, after having consulted together, the Committee told them that they would call over the names of the inhabitants from the relief list, and supply those who were most in need, as far as the provisions in hand would meet the demand. Accordingly, endeavours were made to form the immense throng in such a way as that some kind of order could be observed. But the difficulty was very great, and the task required more patient labour than it had ever been my lot to go through on any former occasion. In the midst of our exertions however, the Roman-catholic Priest arrived, and unaccustomed to such gentle measures, he resolved to make short work with the poor creatures, and he flew at the crowd (evidently from habit) with his whip, slashing them about the face, and ears, and eyes, and naked feet and legs, in such a way as to draw blood from several. Of course, a hasty clearance from the door of the Committee-room was the immediate effect." They however soon crowded round as before. "This time the Priest was not content with a whip, but seized a heavy stick, and laid about him in so frightful a way, that I was really shocked. This process was repeated several times before night. How the poor people bear to be knocked and bruised and beat about, seems marvellous. I only heard of one man in the whole crowd that resisted, though many showed me their cuts and scars... Of course, all these were Roman Catholics." (*Brit. Mag.* Vol. xxxii. p. 90—1.)

No much for these "Ministers of Peace."

In another case, the Priest prevailed upon the farmer from whom the school-house was rented to turn the school-master out. Another house was however found; and the school continued. The account proceeds,

“ Sep. 24.—The Priest again visited the place with his curate. The children hearing of his approach, all ran out of the house, and hid themselves until he went away. He told the schoolmaster that he must, and he was determined he would, break up that school, and *gave a charge to his curate, in the presence of the master, and in the hearing of the parents, to curse and flog the children.* He also told the owner of the house, that *he should be cursed publicly from the altar in the chapel, until he turned the master out of the house.* As soon as the Priest went away, the children all returned into the school, and continued regularly in attendance. On the two next following Sundays however, *the owner of the house was publicly cursed from the altar.*”

“ Meanwhile, in the first week in October, the Priest having received some meal to distribute in charity, refused all applicants who had their children at ‘ the Protestant school.’”

“ The owner of the house in which the School was held was also reminded, that a house had some time ago been burned in some unknown way on that townland, and three cows consumed to ashes; and the Priest asked him the significant question, *how he would like his own house to be burned ?*”*

Let us next see the account which a clergyman, the Rev. A. J. Preston, gives of the discouragement which his flock had to endure at the hands of the Romanists. When he first came to his parish, he found there a congregation of six persons: in the course of seven years the Protestants, who flocked from all parts, amounted to 520, “ *and these, individually, most respectable characters.*”

Here follows an extract from one of his letters:—

“ Seven years ago, as I mentioned, I had a congregation of but six persons. Everything was under the influence of the priest; none dare dispute his sovereignty—in the very centre of a popish country, inhabited by demi-savages, and under the influence of the deadliest of despots, in the neighbourhood of the College of Maynooth... I well knew I should earn for myself the hostility of the priest. I was prepared for it; and sorely I felt his iron hand. Many a time have I and my poor protestants been the subjects of his Sunday discourse,—held up by him to a fierce and cruel people in the most insidious manner, the subjects of vituperation, the almost victims of assassination. Oh, if English Protestants knew but the hundredth part of our sufferings, they would not forsake us.

* British Magazine, Vol. xxxii. (1847) pp. 597—9.

Would you believe that on a Sunday three Roman Catholic priests, with an immense mob at their backs, came to the Church door just as the service had concluded, and as the congregation were leaving the Church, yelling in the most terrific manner, to the no small terror of the poor people, who had assembled there for the worship of their Maker? Would you believe that these same priests desired their flock not to deal with, or buy from, or sell to, any Protestant? Would you believe that there were persons paid nine shillings a-week each for standing in markets, and before the doors of the shops, to prevent others who were disposed to sell their goods to Protestants from so doing; and that, in consequence, starvation nearly ensued? Had it not been for the prompt assistance of Government in sending a military and police force to escort provisions, bought privately in a distant market town, many would have absolutely died of hunger; as it was, two or three fainted from excess of weakness, brought on by want of food.

"I pledge myself to the truth of this, as of every other fact which I have stated; that, at the very time when our distress was at its height, the priests rode up to the poor peoples' doors, and asked them in the most insulting manner, "*Had they plenty to eat*"?—"Was the mutton done"?—"How much longer will your provisions last"?—"We hope you are not hungry"; and such-like expressions; thus adding insult to injuries, which they were instrumental in originating. But this is not all. Those who had the temerity to go any distance for provisions, (*and some went upwards of twenty miles for them,*) were met on the roads on their return, and their horses destroyed, cars broken, and provisions trampled under foot, and the owners obliged to betake themselves to flight."

Believe me your most obliged,

A. J. PRESTON.*

Rathernan Glebe, June 9th, 1835.

What are we to think of a religion which bore such fruits as these? Can we say that it was "first pure, then peaceable, easy to be entreated," and the like? Can we say that such a spirit came from heaven?—or that it was "earthly, sensual," and so on?

Next let us mention the case of an individual clergyman, who went over from Romanism to the Church of Ireland.

"About two years ago (this was in 1833,) in Ireland, the Rev. Mr. Tancred, from being a Roman Catholic Priest conformed to the Protestant faith, quietly and unostentatiously, without noise, or show, or bustle, without promise or expectation, and commenced to labour sincerely for the vineyard of our Lord, after having sacrificed all emolument in the Romish Church, and all expectations from his friends. ... After enduring much persecution from the bigotry of Roman Catholics, who boast so

* British Magazine, Vol. viii. pp. 202-3.

much of their liberality, he was forced to leave Ireland, *where they made several attempts on his life*; and he is now labouring in the vineyard, under the Bishop of Winchester's patronage. ... Let me ask was it in this unostentatious manner that a Spencer or a King, or any other conversion to Roman principles is allowed to pass? No; the entire kingdom is made acquainted with it. ... On the contrary, *if a Roman Catholic leaves the pale of his Church, he is persecuted; he is considered a black-sheep; his life is in danger*; and it is considered a charity to put him out of the way." (*Protestant Journal*, 1833, p. 775.)

I will now quote from the writer, whom Mr. Egan particularly requested me to quote from, and with my extracts from him, I will bring my remarks upon conversions from Romanism to a close.

Thus writes Mr. Hobart Seymour to the Bishop of London, in 1835:—

"I once had a parishioner whose name was D——, a Roman-catholic schoolmaster, who had been led by the reading of the scriptures to see the errors of the Church of Rome. He had frequently attended privately upon me for spiritual instruction, and had avowed his intention of attending openly at the parish church. As soon as this intention became known, *there was a notice posted by night on his house, stating that if he did not forthwith cease from reading the scriptures, and immediately return to mass, he should be visited AND SHOT*; and the notice went on to state, that he should be treated in precisely the same way as a man named M—— had been treated a short time before. *That man, who was a protestant, was shot dead in the cool of the evening, while sitting happily with his wife and children round his own fire-side!* The original notice, which was brought to me at the time, is still in my possession.

"I shall state another fact:—

"I had a parishioner named M——, a Roman-catholic farmer, who expressed his intention, together with all his family, of withdrawing from the Church of Rome, and attending in future upon the services of the parish church. I had frequent conversations with him on the subject, but when his intentions became known, attempts were made to intimidate him. *One morning early, as he opened his door, the very first object that met his eye was his grave already made to the size and shape of a coffin at his own threshold!* Awful as was this significant threat, he visited me that very day, and avowed his resolve to persevere. The result was that in a few nights afterwards *his house was broken open by a large gang, who shattered to atoms every article of property in his house, beat his wife and children, and, after baptizing him again, as they called it, back into the Church of Rome, left him nearly dead from the horrid usage he received at their hands.* One of the party was apprehended, and tried at the Assizes before Judge Vandeleur, and transported.

"I shall state one instance more:—

"I know of a man, named O'C——, a Roman Catholic Schoolmaster, who was led by his reading the Scriptures to avow a change in

his religious sentiments. He accordingly felt it his duty to attend, as a Protestant, at his parish church. *The very first day he left his home to attend that church—on the Sabbath-day, when all evil passions might well be stilled in its holy hours of worship, about the full noon-tide hour, and in the full blaze of day—for it was just twelve o'clock—on the king's high road leading to the parish church, he was way-laid, and DELIBERATELY AND HORRIBLY MURDERED!* Nor was this all of the horrid tragedy; for a crowd assembled shortly afterwards, and the parish priest [i.e. the Romish priest] attended, and having taken some Protestant books from his pockets, he held them up in the presence of the people, and declared that *the murder was a just judgment from heaven upon the man for having such books in his possession!* These particulars were proved on the inquest, and as the horrible affair occurred in a parish of which I was the curate, I can write, as I now write, from personal knowledge.

“These facts, my Lord, have, *with hundreds of others*, come under my own personal observations. ... The unhappy victims were *my own parishioners*; I was intimately acquainted with all the particulars, and I now publicly offer to have them proved before any suitable tribunal in the kingdom.”

Mr. Seymour afterwards states that numbers of persons in Ireland are in heart Protestants though they dare not avow it, from fear of the consequences. And he instances the case of an old woman who sent for him on her death bed and stated that though outwardly a Romanist, “she was really a Protestant, and had been such for sixteen years.” Mr. Seymour expressed his surprise that she should so long have concealed this fact from him. “Upon which the withered and dying woman raised herself in her bed with an effort, and with eyes in tears and uplifted hands, declared that she had kept it secret, because she feared that if it were known, *her family would be murdered or otherwise injured!*”

Mr. Seymour goes on to remark,

“No one can conceive, who has not had an opportunity for personal knowledge, *the fierce and horrid language which is too often uttered by the priests against every one who shows a tendency to abandon the Church of Rome; and your Lordship would be shocked to the inmost soul to hear the horrid and malignant curses which are often pronounced from the chapel altars in our country parishes against such persons.* Nor, I grieve to say it, are they idle and powerless curses; for those knots or cabals which I have described, [a few desperate and disaffected persons in every neighbourhood, under the influence of the Romish priest] are ever ready to fulfil them to the letter. * * *

“I shall illustrate this by a fact:—

“I knew a man named H——, who was originally a Roman-catholic, who had braved with the spirit of a martyr the hostility of the priest by embracing Protestant principles. The priest, who is one of the clergy under the authority of Dr. M'Hale, ... denounced poor H—— by name from the chapel altar, and uttered a prophecy that, as a judgment from heaven for his apostacy, his property should be under a curse, and would pine away in afflictions and losses! A few short days had scarcely rolled away, when the fulfilment of this prediction commenced: his cow sickened and died, and in a few days more, his second cow likewise sickened and died, and left the poor sufferer upon the verge of beggary! The fact is, that the satellites of the priest, taking the hint from the prediction, poisoned the cows, and thereby fulfilled the prophecy—confirming the influence of the priest—and deterred others from the example of abandoning the Church of Rome.

* * * * *

“It is this untiring system of persecution that has so long kept the population in the bondage of the Church of Rome; and it is effective, simply because it is untiring.

* * * * *

“I shall confess to your Lordship the effect which it has had upon myself, and the course which I have pursued may be variously regarded. ... But whether I shall be deemed guilty or not guilty herein, I shall confess it before God and my country, and do now avow it to your Lordship, that for the last five years I have not asked any Roman-catholic to renounce the Church of Rome. I have preached to them the gospel of Jesus Christ; ... but, though I have seen them perishing around me, I have not called on them to abandon the Church of Rome, because *I knew that they could not do so without being exposed to the malignant and virulent persecution of the priests and their emissaries. ... I knew that they would be pointed at and sneered at in our streets—insulted at our markets—beaten at our fairs—reduced by combinations against them to undeserved poverty—and finally, perhaps, obliged to seal their testimony with their blood. O, my Lord, it is our God alone who knoweth how many martyrs—I use the word in full consciousness of its import—have been immolated in Ireland as victims at the shrines of the priesthood of the Church of Rome!* *

Thus have I complied with Mr. Egan's wish (*wish*, shall I say?) that I should “collect a new revelation from Seymour.” I *have* collected “a new revelation” from him, in a quarter, probably, that Mr. E. did not expect: “*new*,” doubtless, to many; and such a “*revelation*” of Romish atrocity, as ought to excite the blush of shame in the cheek of all members of the Roman communion who do not hold in abhorrence the acts of the Romish clergy in

* British Magazine, viii. pp. 564—568.

Ireland. I have adduced but a few of the facts which crowd upon the enquirer ; but, from the above-named writer and from others, I have brought forward enough for my purpose, which was to show the nature of the unceasing persecution which the Irishman has to endure, even from his school-boy days (when peradventure he first feels the lash of the priestly horsewhip) if he should dare to oppose the wish of the Romish clergy, and forsake the errors of Rome for the true Catholic Church of Ireland ; how he has indeed to undergo a fiery trial which must needs make him shrink, if his faith were not well-founded and his motives sincere. I have brought forward evidence of the good conduct of these converts, how they are “individually *most respectable* ;” how that among the members of the Irish Church, converts from Rome are described as “among the *most exemplary* ;” and I do not shrink from making the comparison between them and the English converts to Rome, of whom I believe several have been led astray by vanity, or impatience, or love of novelty, or fondness for music, or want of information or of stability of mind, and the like. Nay, I “*dare* to compare” the honest, truth-loving Irishman with “those noble and intellectual men of rank, of fortune, and of piety, who [as we are told] have left all to follow Christ.” Compared with *his* simple faith, what shall we say of the fallen condition of some of them ? What shall we say of the vulgarity* of the once elegant-minded Faber ? What shall we say of the over-weening conceit of a Wackerbarth,—of the petulance of a Ward,—of the sophistry of a Newman,—of the untruthfulness of a Dodsworth,—of the ostentation of a “Father Ignatius,”—of the disgraceful Jesuitism of a Gawthorn ? † What shall we say of the—what must I call it ?—of a Feilding, who has given (so state the papers,

* As shown in his correspondence with a dissenting teacher, published in the “English Churchman.”

† See Appendix, No. 4.

and state it uncontradicted) *a silver cradle to the Bambino,* in hopes to obtain a son and heir thereby?* Who is it that has left all to follow Christ? Such as these, or the converted Irishman, who has broken through (it may be) the ties of blood,—who has cut himself off from his fellows and his friends,—who has before his eyes loss of work, loss of property,—cursing, beating, starvation, nay death itself,—murder in cold blood,—if he should change, and avow his change, from Romanism to the Church of Ireland? He may not be “noble;” he may not be “intellectual;” he may not be a “man of rank,” or “of fortune;” but (as Mr. E. himself takes care to remind us) “God has chosen the weak things of the world to confound the wise;” and again I say, I dare to compare the persecuted Irish convert with the boasted English deserter;—and again I ask, which of the two can most justly be said to have “left all to follow Christ?”

But there is another statement connected with Ireland which requires remark;—a statement, which, if made by a layman of whose character I knew nothing but what I could gather from his writings, I should describe as a mixture of ignorance and malignity seldom met with, and wherein it would be difficult to say which of these two qualities prevailed. Coming however from the pen of a person of information,—of a gentleman of honourable feelings, and

* The Bambino, mentioned in my former pamphlet (pp. 14—16), is a representation of our Saviour as an infant in swaddling-clothes, and is richly adorned with jewels. Mr. Seymour describes it as “a small doll made of wood, and about two feet in length, not unlike, except in its attire, the dolls made for the amusement of our children in England or France.” It is kept in the Church of Ara Coeli at Rome, and its worship is described in the passage above referred to, which is taken from Mr. Seymour’s “Pilgrimage to Rome,” pp. 290—293, (Ed. 1850). The same writer states that it is universally believed among the lower classes that if a woman is near her confinement, “the presence of this Bambino laid on the bed at her feet, will ensure a safe delivery!” (p. 281). This belief does not appear to be confined to the lower orders, and an amusing incident “of much notoriety” is said to have happened a few years ago, when the Bambino had been sent for to the house of a noble lady for the purpose above mentioned. See Bishop of Exeter’s “Supplemental Letter to C. Butler, Esq.” pp. 23—25.

therefore a lover of truth,—of a clergyman, nay, as he would fain be called, a “*Catholic*” clergyman,—I stand aghast: I know not what to say, or what to think.

In the sentence to which I allude, Mr. E. gives a description of the unfortunate sufferers in the famine of 1847, “with hair an inch and half long on their emaciated bodies—with complexions like the withered leek—projecting jaw-bones and distended mouths,”—and (addressing me) calls them “*those haggard victims of your Church’s oppression.*”

Well says the poet,

“Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou art not so unkind,
As man’s ingratitude.”

Did Mr. Egan never hear of what England, and the Church of England, have done for his countrymen,—for his Romish countrymen? Did he never hear—in addition to the thousands voted by the English government—of the thousands collected through all the churches in England for the distressed Irish? Did he never hear—not of one only, but of a second collection for the same object? Did he never hear of the thousands contributed by private benevolence among us, not to speak now of the generosity manifested by other bodies? Did he never hear of the self-denial, the zeal, the untiring labour of the clergy of the Irish Church (which is one with our own) in finding work, in collecting money, in distributing food and clothing, and thus saving hundreds, not to say thousands, from perishing? Does he know all this, or does he not, when he dares to call those sufferers whose lives we preserved, “**THOSE HAGGARD VICTIMS OF YOUR CHURCH’S OPPRESSION**”?

But let us to documents. The following are the returns of a rural deanery in one of the most distressed districts, and will show the comparative amount of assistance given by Protestants and Romanists, and the comparative number of Protestants and Romanists relieved.

The rural deanery contains five parishes. In the first parish—

	<i>Amount Subscribed.</i>	£.	s.	d.
By Protestants.....		74	19	0
By Romanists.....		25	5	6
		<hr/>		
		100	4	6

Proportion of persons relieved :

Romanists to Protestants as *ten to one.*

Second parish; which contains a large population of poor Protestants—

	<i>Amount Subscribed.</i>	£.	s.	d.
By Protestants.....		155	10	7
By Romanists.....		35	10	0
		<hr/>		
		191	0	7

Proportion of persons relieved :

Romanists to Protestants as *eight to one.*

Third parish—

	<i>Amount Subscribed.</i>	£.	s.	d.
By Protestants.....		38	17	6
By Romanists.....		5	0	0
		<hr/>		
		43	17	6

Proportion of persons relieved :

Romanists to Protestants as *ten to one.* In the same parish is a Soup Committee. Proportion of persons relieved, Romanists to Protestants as *twelve to one.*

Fourth Parish—

	<i>Amount Subscribed.</i>	£.	s.	d.
By Protestants.....		120	0	0
By Romanists.....		23	0	0
		<hr/>		
		143	0	0

Of three hundred heads of families supplied with meat and soup gratuitously, only four were Protestants.

Fifth parish—

	<i>Amount Subscribed.</i>	£.	s.	d.
By Protestants.....		55	0	0
By Romanists.....		11	0	0
		<hr/>		
		66	0	0

Proportion of persons relieved :

Romanists to Protestants as *twelve to one*.*

So that, in a district where £444 7s. 1d. is subscribed by Protestants, and £99 15s. 6d. by Romanists, this money is so distributed by the Irish clergy, that for one Protestant who receives relief more than ten Romanists are assisted, yet these, forsooth,—these whose lives (so to speak) were preserved by the Irish clergy,—these were “THE HAGGARD VICTIMS OF OUR CHURCH’S OPPRESSION.”

But money is soon given. There are other things of more value still: the incessant zeal, the unwearied labour, the anxious thought and contrivance for others’ welfare,—without these, money would lose half its value. And let us see how in these respects the Irish clergy conducted themselves towards their “*haggard victims*.” The following is an extract from a letter of Dr. Hadden, Skibbereen:—

“There is a clergyman (only one out of many) who is obliged to supply with food *forty-six families*. There are (and the number must increase) now 162 *persons daily supplied with soup from his house*; his means are small and his own family large; yet if compelled to withdraw this supply, the greater number must very soon perish.

“Another clergyman supplies 60 persons three days in the week with soup; he cannot very long afford to do so, and then the poor must perish by famine.”†

I will next give an extract from a letter of the Rev. Alex. Irwin, dated Armagh, Feb. 1847:—

“The local subscriptions [in the parish of Creggan] amounted to £220; but of this, £100 were given by the rector, a clergyman far advanced in life, 57 years in the ministry, who is doing all in his power to sustain the famishing multitudes by whom he is surrounded.” In the adjoining parish of Newtown Hamilton “the benevolent rector endeavoured to find employment for the women in spinning flax, so as to enable them to contribute something towards the support of their families; 275 wheels were set to work; but the funds were insufficient

* Brit. Mag. xxxi. 458—460. In the large towns, as also in some parts of the north of Ireland, there may be some difference in these proportions: i.e. in some few, there may be a larger number of Protestants requiring relief. But the above is said to give a fair average generally of the amounts subscribed and persons relieved.

† Brit. Mag. xxxi. 231.

to meet the expense of reviving this branch of trade; and the attempt had to be abandoned, in order to appropriate the money to the establishment of a Soup-kitchen."

An extract from a letter of the Rev. J. Disney, incumbent of Charlemont, shows the various ways in which the clergy exerted themselves for the benefit of their poor parishioners.

"I have a great many irons in the fire, which keep me tolerably busy attending to them. I have just dismissed a levy of knitters and needle-men. To-morrow I will have another of tailors and shoe-makers, all of whom are in great distress, and some very nearly starving from want of employment. The clothes which I get made up by giving them employment, I will sell at a very reduced price to the poor, which will be a great help to them this season.

"I have got labour in the fields for 20 poor men, (who were starving for want of employment, which they were incessantly seeking) by saying to some small farmers,—who are disabled this year from employing labourers as usual,—'Here is a list of unemployed destitute men; set one or two of them to work at your farms, and I will pay them *half* their wages.' ... I am also giving to each of the poor famishing children in my schools a pennyworth of coarse but wholesome brown bread, which I get made up for them every day. I verily believe that *many of them get nothing else during the day.*"*

And now let us have a picture of a clergyman's Sunday in those times. The following is an extract from a letter of the Rev. W. M. Crosthwaite, Durrus Glebe, Bantry.

"It is Sunday evening: still, as the strange state of things which we see around us has rendered every day alike to the Irish parson, I will begin by telling you how this day has passed. It is now almost six o'clock in the evening, and until this moment, I have not sat down to-day since I came down stairs from my bed-room in the morning, except for a few minutes while the alms was [sic] being collected in church. The day began with giving out breakfast to crowds of people from two large boilers, in my yard. My own breakfast was eaten by snatches during the process, not having time enough on coming into the house even to take off my hat, before being called out again. ... The moment service was over, I found a person waiting for me to go to see a poor woman who was very ill, and without having time to take off my great coat or hat, I hastily ate my dinner while my horse was got ready, and arrangements were made for giving another meal to crowds of poor creatures again flocking round the house, with that ghastly look which we now know so well to be the look of famine, but which I never saw in any cases of poverty until this year. On my return from visiting this poor woman, ... my yard was thronged like a market, the poor creatures getting a plentiful supply of hot thick soup. The process is now over, and while waiting for the bell to summon us to evening prayers, I take my pen to give you

* Brit. Mag. xxxi. 346—7.

some account of our proceedings. I must honestly say, however, that this Sunday has been the worst we have had in consequence of about 400 men on one of the roads in the parish having been without payment for four weeks, through a mistake made in the hurry of business by one of the Officers of the Board of Works....The suffering has been dreadful; but, by almost superhuman exertions, I trust we shall not let one die of starvation... Many—many are for several days back only saved by my standing between them and death. No: I will not be guilty of saying so,—it is our generous English friends who have *placed their hands upon the open grave* and prevented these poor creatures from sinking into it. Be assured, I do not forget to tell them so. By the help of the money sent to us from England, I have purchased £120 worth of Indian meal, and have sold it out to the most destitute, at a reduced price. By this help, and that of one or two friends in this country, I have given out some thousands of quarts of soup during the last few weeks. By the same help I have been enabled hitherto, in some way or another, to assist every inhabitant of this wild and wretched parish who have applied to me for relief.”*

Thus have the clergy of our Church treated their “haggard victims.” They have found them work,—they have distributed among them (at a countless cost to themselves of money, of labour, of anxiety) the various necessaries of life; they have saved multitudes from perishing; and after all this, Mr. Egan comes forward and calls these sufferers, thus by the instrumentality of the Church, snatched from the jaws of death, “THOSE HAGGARD VICTIMS OF YOUR CHURCH’S OPPRESSION.”

But I have not done yet. We have at present seen only one side of the picture. Let us look at the other.

“With regard to an opinion,” says Mr. Crosthwaite, “which is prevalent in some quarters in England, namely, that the priests are at all times in the habit of relieving the poor people by collecting alms for them in the chapels, and giving largely in charity to them in their own homes, and otherwise, *there could not be a greater mistake made*. I do not mean to say that there are not instances of Roman-catholic priests who have given liberally of their own goods to feed the poor. On the contrary, I remember hearing of one of them who was an extremely charitable man, and a most remarkable exception to the general rule. But the rule is the contrary. * * *

“It is sometimes supposed by persons unacquainted with this country, that the poor are assisted by collections in the Roman-catholic chapels. Now this also is a mistake. There are not generally collections in the chapels for the poor. I have heard of instances; but they are not general.

* Brit. Mag. xxxi. 216—7.

The chapel collections are, I believe, *an additional tax upon the poor creatures*, for the repairs and adorning of the chapel. ... *The poor* are known generally speaking to mean the *Roman Catholics* of the parish; and the *church clergyman* is known as the *poor man's friend*. ... I have heard of instances of priests in towns being charitable men, but it is not general in the country districts. It is a well-known fact that it is not so.*

The same gentleman explains in another letter why Romanists stand in need of help so much more than Protestants:—

“It is a common remark in Ireland, if one sees a cabin of a cleaner and tidier appearance than ordinary, ‘That is like a protestant home;’ or if one gets into conversation with a stranger on the road, dressed in a more respectable way than ordinary, it is not an uncommon remark, ‘I suppose you are a protestant.’ Many will say that it must be so, for there is something degrading in the Roman-catholic system, both of doctrine and discipline; but without entering into that question at all, there is enough in the pecuniary demands upon Roman-catholics to cause a great difference, in the lapse of time, in the circumstances of the two sections of the population. *The priests' incomes, and the building and repairs of the chapels have been a heavy tax from which protestants are exempt.* And these demands are not like the voluntary contributions of the protestant dissenters in England. The priest's dues in Ireland are, to a considerable extent, a regular charge, and *compulsory on the people.* Their superstitious awe of the priest's curse, and the system of intimidation, and *worse than intimidation*, by which he *rules them as with an iron rod*, is quite enough in ordinary times, to ensure the payment of their dues with tolerable regularity. This being the case, *the Roman Catholics have hitherto been subjected to a heavy tax, which protestants had not to pay.*”†

Allusion has been made to the fact that in the time of the famine, the Romish clergy were not generally examples of liberality. A few more remarks on that point seem desirable. The Editor of the periodical so often referred to, speaking of the Romish clergy, states it is a fact which he knew “from the most unquestionable authority to be true, that they have been known and proved to have *sold the relief tickets* [!] to the poor starving people.” He also quotes a letter from a clergyman of his acquaintance, in which it is stated that the Romish priest, in several cases had “*actually refused to attend the poor people dying of sickness*, brought on by want, and that simply *because they*

* Brit. Mag. xxxi. p. 461.

† Id. p. 355.

have no money to give him."* One more case shall suffice. It is taken from a letter of a clergyman in Ireland:—

"The priest was called the other day to visit a poor woman, who thought she was dying. I had heard of her illness, and had sent her half-a-crown; but when the priest went to her, she told him she was utterly unable to pay him anything, and he was obliged to anoint her *gratis*. Well, the poor woman recovered, and hearing that the priest had received some money to distribute amongst the poor, she went to beg for some portion; but no: she was driven away *with the horsewhip*, because *when she was anointed she would not pay him*. Her answer was, 'Why, your reverence, all the money I had was half-a-crown I got from the minister.' But that made no difference; she was driven away with the peace-giving salutation, 'Go along, you thief.'"[†]

And now let me ask, of which church were the suffering Romanists, the "*haggard victims*"? Which is the church that has *oppressed* them? The Irish, which is the true Catholic Church of the country,—whose clergy devoted themselves so unweariedly by every means in their power to the relief of the wretched sufferers, without reference to creed or religion? Or the Romish Church,—let me rather say, the Romish Schism[‡] in Ireland,—which, besides enslaving the mind by a most gross superstition, keeps the body in

* Brit. Mag. xxxi. p. 210, 211.

+ Id. p. 357.

‡ As many persons, I believe, suppose the present Romish communion to be a continuation of the Old Catholic Church in Ireland, and the Romish bishops successors of the old Catholic bishops, it seems advisable to state a few facts on that subject.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the papal jurisdiction was rejected in Ireland, the royal power in ecclesiastical affairs was acknowledged, and the English Ritual adopted instead of the Roman. To the measures of the Irish Parliament agreed the majority of the bishops. Only *two* out of *nineteen* there present (the whole number being 26 or less) opposed their adoption. With regard to the deprivation of the unreformed bishops at the Reformation, we read that *five* bishops favourable to the reformation had been expelled irregularly by royal commission in the time of Queen Mary: *two* only, out of the whole number of Irish bishops, were expelled from their sees in the reign of Elizabeth, in consequence of their opposition to the measures approved by the rest; and these two bishops had both intruded into their sees; the legitimate pastors being still alive, and deprived not by a synod, but by a single bishop. Therefore *these two bishops were justly expelled*; and the remainder of the synod of Irish bishops remained in possession of their sees and jurisdictions. (See Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*, Vol. I. pp. 551—3). So far things went on smoothly enough. This however would not suit the Court of Rome. She could not endure that the Catholic Church in Ireland should thus escape from her dominion and recover its ancient rights. Therefore a Schism must

perpetual poverty by a system of perpetual extortion,— whose clergy, familiar with the horsewhip and the curse, rule the people with a rod of iron so long as they obey

be made: war must be carried into Ireland, and that, conducted not only by spiritual but by material weapons. The "*faith*" must be propagated by the sword and the musket, and Protestants convinced then, as now, by gunpowder and bullets. The principal restorer of Romanism in Ireland was Richard Creagh, son of a merchant at Limerick, whence he went to the university of Louvain, and afterwards returning to his native land laboured strenuously to propagate the Roman faith. He then went to Pope Pius V. who consecrated him Archbishop of Armagh; *that see being already filled by the legitimate primate Loftus*, who had been canonically consecrated in Ireland. Shortly afterwards, the Pope ordained Maurice Gibbon to the see of Cashel, *who had the audacity to demand from the legitimate metropolitan Maccaghwell a surrender of his office*; and, on his refusal to do so, *wounded, and attempted to assassinate him with a spear*, [or rather, a sort of knife, "*cultro, quem a Skeyne dicimus*," Ware, *De præsul.* p. 172] for which he was obliged to escape to Spain. Notwithstanding these efforts, the Schism did not make such way as was hoped for; and indeed, some of the schismatical bishops repented of their sin, as the schismatical Bishop of Clogher and Miller Magrath, named as Bishop of Down by the Pope, and united themselves to the Church. Of these the latter was raised to the see of Clogher in the Irish Church.

The Irish princes and lords excited the people to hate and persecute the Church of Ireland as being the religious system supported by the *English government*. They were themselves assisted by aid of all kinds from *the Pope and the King of Spain*. In their insurrections religion was the avowed object, and the bishops and priests of the Romish schism the chief political agents.

Queen Elizabeth had been excommunicated and declared a heretic in 1569 by Pius V., who absolved her subjects from their allegiance, and forbade them on pain of anathema to obey her in any respect, while he conferred her dominions on the King of Spain. About 1575 James Geraldine of Desmond, plotting an insurrection, went to the King of Spain for assistance, and proceeded to Rome, where at that time was Cornelius Omelrian, a Franciscan, an Irishman, and sham Bishop of Killaloe, together with Thomas Stukely, who sought aid from the Pope against the English, and the notorious Jesuit Sanders. James requested the Pope (Gregory XIII.) to assist their schism, at that time *nearly falling in Ireland*, and the result was that he *granted a pardon to all the bands of robbers who then infested Italy, on condition that they should undertake this expedition to Ireland for the exaltation of the see of Rome*. Of the army thus composed, the Pontiff made Hercules Pisanus general; and the *bishop Omelrian*, together with the Jesuit Sanders, placed themselves at the head of *these bands of robbers*, by whose aid they expected to establish their sect in Ireland. They landed with 4000 stand of arms, supplied by the King of Spain to arm the adherents whom they hoped to find in Ireland. They brought over a bull from the Pope, in which *all who should join themselves to Geraldine, and rebel against Queen Elizabeth, were granted a plenary indulgence and remission of their sins*, as in the case of making war on the Turks in the Holy Land. Such was the method by which the Romish sect was propagated.

In 1583 the same *bishop Omelrian* arrived from Spain, where he had been an emissary of the rebel Earl of Desmond, with a supply of *men, money, and arms*. About 1598 Edmund Macgabhrana, pretended Archbishop of Armagh,

them; and who, should they dare to think for themselves and forsake their errors, make them to feel not only that their earthly welfare, but their very lives are in their

came from Spain, with commands from the king to declare war against the 'protestants.' *This warlike prelate fell shortly afterwards in battle with the Queen's troops.* Not long after, Odonel chief of Tiroconnel, being engaged in plotting an insurrection against the Queen, sent James Ohely, pretended Archbishop of Tuam, to the King of Spain, who besought aid from him for the Romish sect, at the same time extolling the advantages of Ireland, which he exhorted him to invade and subdue, as he might from thence easily conquer England. A few years afterwards the king sent a fleet with 17,000 troops to invade Ireland; but it was shipwrecked on the coast of Galicia.

About the year 1600 came into Ulster friar Matthew de Oviedo, a Spaniard, pretended Archbishop of Dublin, and Martin Cerda, a noble Spanish knight, bringing from the chief-pontiff to all who should bear arms against the English, *for the faith, indulgencies and pardons of their sins*, together with the aid of £22,000 pieces of gold to the insurgents.

In 1602 Eugene M'Egan, or Maceogan, whom the Roman Pontiff had sent over as his vicar, with the title of Bishop of Ross, together with his brethren in schism assuming the titles of Clonfert and Killaloe, issued an excommunication against all who should take up arms in the cause of the Queen, or should *give quarter* to the prisoners of the royal army. *Mac Egan absolved all such prisoners from their sins*, and then *caused them to be put to death in his presence.* He fell in battle against the royal army, *at the head of a troop of horse*, with his sword in one hand and his breviary and beads in the other.

"In this manner," says Mr. Palmer, to whom I am indebted for the above sketch, "the schism arose in Ireland. *Originating in the exhortations and importunes of foreign emissaries*, addressed to a superstitious, an ignorant, and a 'credulous people, it was fomented by the arrival of usurping and intrusive bishops sent by the Roman pontiff, and completed amidst rebellion and massacre, stimulated by the unholy ministers of the new communion. . . The Romish sect in Ireland was founded in schism, in rebellion, and by force of arms; not by the peaceful weapons of argument and prayer. And as it was unholy in its origin, so were its fruits unholy; 'Certainly,' says O'Sullivan, 'the Irish of my party (i.e. the Romish), although they excel most nations in their honour and observance of the Catholic faith and of divine religion, yet in the time of this war were much worse than Turks or heretics in faction, dissension, ambition, and perfidy.'"

"Thus the regular and ancient succession of bishops from St. Patrick through a long line of venerable prelates, has descended continually in the Church of Ireland to the present day. The Romish society, on the other hand, derived its mission and succession from the Pope of Rome in the reign of Elizabeth and James I., and cannot in any degree derive itself from the ancient Church of Ireland, from which it separated. . . And as its first ministers were mere usurpers, so in latter times it has become questionable whether any of their ordinations are valid. Consequently, we cannot admit this sect to constitute any part of the Catholic Church, and the whole history of Ireland, from the period of the Reformation to the present time, affords a terrible example of the retribution which grievous sins draw down upon the descendants of the guilty." (*Treatise on the Church*, Vol. I. pp. 555—569.)

For a fuller account of the ecclesiastical transactions of these times, see Dr. Phelan's Remains, Vol. II.

power,—who incite to deeds of violence, and applaud, when committed, even murder itself,—who have been known to beat from their door the poor and needy, and to refuse to give the consolation of religion to the dying, unless they have money to pay them for it? Which, let me ask, were the oppressors? Of which religion were these poor people the “haggard victims”? Surely of that, which, like a withering curse, has blighted the greater portion of that fair land,—which has degraded the character of the Irishman, remarkable, when favourably developed, for talent, for kindness, for warm affection, into a state of superstitious ignorance, of turbulence, of malice, of blood-thirstiness,—which fosters among the people a spirit of disaffection and rebellion against their rulers, making the preservation of peace and good order in Ireland the most difficult problem for the statesman to solve,—which, in fact, has in a multitude of ways so strong and so direct a tendency to evil, nay, which has *actually produced* so much evil among the people, that we may safely vary Mr. Egan’s statement, and say that “a low Irish [Romanist] cannot be surpassed in iniquity.” Surely, *this* is the religion of whose “oppression” the poor Irish have been “the haggard victims.”*

* To confirm what has been said of the blood-thirsty nature of the Irish Romanists and the violence of their religious bigotry, it may be enough to mention that some time back five protestant clergymen were murdered in the course of about six years, besides a considerable number who were pelted with stones, were fired at, and otherwise assaulted, but who happily escaped with their lives from the murderous attacks of their assailants. (See *Brit. Mag.* Vol. ix. pp. 313—4.) Let me add a few remarks of Dr. Adam Clarke, a native of Ireland, in corroboration of what I have stated respecting the Irish character, which he was well acquainted with. The Irish Romanists, he tells us, “are taught to hold in hatred all other religionists, because they are told *God hates them*. Hence, they are cruel and blood-thirsty: they will sometimes hamstring living animals, or mangle their flesh, leaving them, at the same time, life enough to be sensible of their agonies. . . Inhumanity to brutes is ever connected with cruelty to man: hence they are incendiaries, and often murderers! What, then, does Ireland owe to the Roman Catholic religion? It finds them uncultivated savages; it leaves them little better than fiends. But compare their state with that of the Protestant Irish, who are less cruel, less wretched, less ignorant, less superstitious, less idle, less dirty, less distrustful; in short, who are, in every respect, the reverse of their poor misguided countrymen. . . You have but to emancipate them from their superstitions and to cultivate the minds of the Irish, and they are as noble, as intellectual, as fine a race of beings as are in the world.” (*Protestant Journal*, 1833, pp. 761—2.)

In p. 18, Mr. Egan expresses his fear that my "experience of Romish writers" is not "much," adding that if I had "any," I should have "given the first commandment at full length, as it is given in the Catholic first Catechism (4th chapter.)" I must confess I do not understand this argument. I had quoted in my former pamphlet from the "Key of heaven" to show that Romanists sometimes altogether leave out the prohibition of image-worship, which we call the 2nd commandment. I did not say they *always* did so, and I was aware that it was given in the First Catechism. But my object was to show how Rome is wont to tamper with God's commandments, and for this purpose I quoted from the well-known and very popular work just mentioned. But (argues Mr. E.) this shows I have no experience of Romish writers, "*for* if I had *any*" he tells me, I should have quoted the other book. The force of this "*for*," I cannot see; neither can I see why I am bound to quote one book, and forbidden to quote the other. Is a book, which in 1834 had passed through 17 editions, no guide to the popular teaching of Rome? Is it an unacknowledged, nay, a disowned book? Mr. E. cannot deny that it is a book in very common use; and it seems to me an act of indiscretion on his part, to expose the discrepancies in the books published for the use of the members of his communion, an inconsistency we are not chargeable with. But, after all, why does Mr. E. argue in this manner? I quote a popular book in which our 2nd commandment is left out. Mr. E., after saying, Why did you not give the commandment as in another book, adds in a note that "What Protestants make the second commandment [i.e. what the "Key of heaven" leaves out] is only a commentary (*expressly for the Jews*) to the first com."; thereby vindicating the mutilation which I had complained of. This inconsistency is not worth dwelling upon. But one thing does deserve remark,—the assertion that the 2nd commandment was intended "*expressly for the Jews*." Before reading this, though satisfied

that ours was the best way of dividing the commandments, yet I did not think it a matter of much consequence *how* they were divided, provided we had them entire. Now, however, I see not only the great superiority there is in our division, but the necessity of maintaining it. What! The 2nd commandment "*only a commentary to the 1st,*" and "*intended expressly for the Jews.*" I cannot sufficiently express my horror at this passage. Was it written by one who believed in the perpetual obligation of the ten commandments, and that they were intended for Christians as well as Jews? Clearly—avowedly, not. Our Lord said He came not to destroy the law but to fulfil it. Nay, (says Mr. E.) Christ came to alter the commandments: Christians have no concern with the second; it was "*expressly for the Jews.*" The Church of Rome had openly and notoriously broken and defaced this commandment, and then (forsooth) she must come and say—this command was not for *us*; it was for the Jews! It forbade them worshipping the Golden Calf, but it does not forbid our worshipping the Crucifix—(see p. 111). They did wrong in bowing the knee to Baal, but we may innocently bow the knee to the images of the Virgin and the Saints! Shame on a Church which allows (if she *does* allow) individuals of her communion to blot out one of the commandments of the Eternal Jehovah! Well is she doing the work of the Infidel by pulling down the barriers of Christianity;—not satisfied with undermining the Bible, she would here strike out one of the commandments. And thus does the Antichrist of Rome, advancing in her career of development, pave the way for the Antichrist of Infidelity.

But let us go on. Mr. E. proceeds to state that if I had much experience of my own writers, I should have seen in Erasmus's Exposition of the Ten Commandments, that he divides them as the Church of Rome now does, and "as the Catholic Church has always done." Now here I observe two errors—one is the calling Erasmus one of our writers,—the

other is, the saying that the Catholic Church always divided the commandments as the Church of Rome now does.

1. I read in Dr. Milner's "Letters to a Prebendary," p. 172, n., that "Erasmus in some of his earlier works played off his wit in ridiculing the superstitions of the people in a manner that sometimes injured religion itself; but there is abundant proof of his subsequent remorse for these profane sallies, and of *the sincerity of his belief in the Catholic doctrines*. In one of his epistles he reproaches the Protestants with having set fire to the house in order to destroy the cobwebs in it." This Romish author, then, would not regard Erasmus as one of our writers. But the following passage which occurs in Dr. James's Treatise on the corruptions of Scripture, &c. is still more decided:—"Erasmus Roterodamus, that famous, judicious, and industrious scholar of his age, dear unto many popes and papists of the best sort; *a papist unquestionably*, though a professed enemy to the sundry abuses which had crept into popery; is now shaken off, and *shifted upon us for a Protestant*; or rather left neutral by them, and become the very reproach and off-scouring of the Jesuits. And why so? not so much for taxing the abuses of their monks and friars, as for discovering the counterfeit works of the false, and restoring the true works of the ancient Fathers. This is the true cause of their great spleen against him." (pp. 284—5, Ed. 1843). Erasmus then, was *not* one of our writers.

2. Concerning Mr. E.'s other error, that the Catholic Church has always divided the commandments as the Church of Rome does now, perhaps I cannot do better than give an extract from Dr. Lingard's "History, &c. of the Anglo-Saxon Church."—"Though the scripture speaks of the decalogue as the ten words of the law (Ex. xxxiv. 28), it nowhere points out the manner in which its prohibitory and preceptive clauses are to be divided, so as to make the exact number of ten commandments. *Hence the manner of dividing them*

has always been a mere matter of opinion among Christians. Many with St. Augustine have reckoned the first three prohibitions as one commandment, because they have a common reference to the worship of the only true God; and these to make up the number of ten, have divided the prohibition of concupiscence into two, &c.—*Others, with St. Jerome, reckon the second and third prohibition, as the second commandment* [as the Church of England does], because both have reference to idolatrous worship; *and these, that they may not exceed the number of ten, comprise the prohibition of both branches of concupiscence in one commandment.* Among the Anglo-Saxons *religious opinion on this question was perfectly free.** (Vol. II. p. 418. Ed. 1845.) Therefore the Catholic Church has *not* “always” divided the commandments as the Church of Rome now does.

While on this subject let me remark that the Hebrew, the Septuagint version, and the Doway Bible, as well as our own, comprise in one sentence or verse (Ex. xx. 17, and Deut. v. 21.) what we call the 10th commandment; which is surely an argument for its being regarded *as one*, and not as the 9th and 10th. For as the 6th, 7th, and 8th, (according to our arrangement) form each a separate verse, why should not the prohibition of covetousness also form two verses, if intended for two commandments? Moreover, according to the Roman method, the words of Scripture are altered. For this is the commandment as recited in Deut. v. 21. (Doway version)—“Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s wife: nor his house, nor his field, nor his manservant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor

* Dr. Lingard proceeds to give an extract from Bede giving both arrangements. His words are these:—“Primum mandatum pertinet ad Deum Patrem, dum dicit, Ego sum Dominus Deus tuus; non habebis deos alienos; non facies tibi sculptile, &c. Secundum pertinet ad Filium, ubi dicit, Non assumes nomen Dei tui in vanum. Nonum est, Non concupisces uxorem proximi tui. Decimum, Non concupisces rem proximi tui. Aut certe sic distinguendum, ut sit primum mandatum, Non habebis deos alienos; secundum, Non facies tibi sculptile, &c. (Bede. Oper. ii. 130, 131).” This latter, as before stated, is our arrangement, and certainly the best.

anything that is his :”—where we certainly have no intimation of any division. Yet how does Rome shape her commandments from this verse? According to her the 9th is, “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s wife.” And the 10th, “*Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s goods.*” (Abridgment of Christian Doctrine, chap. iv.). Rome, I presume, takes her commandments from this chapter, since here the word “wife” is placed before “house;” whereas in Exodus, which the English Church follows, these two words are transposed. And does not this fact, of the variation of the order of the words clearly prove that it is one precept? Does it not plainly forbid the command being split in two? Does it not clearly show that not one object should be selected, *which stands first in one place and second in the other*, to form a separate commandment, but that there is one prohibition extending to all the objects enumerated (and not merely wife and goods), and one evil principle forbidden, that of covetousness? Surely, greatly to be preferred is the English arrangement, which, with St. Jerome, unites together what the Bible unites together, and gives the commandments in the very words of Scripture.

This may seem to be a matter of small importance, but it is not so, when we find that Rome takes advantage of her way of dividing the commandments oftentimes to abolish one of them (viz. that which forbids image-worship);—or, else, while she retains the words and they are shown to condemn her practice, she dishonestly seeks to escape conviction by asserting that the commandment is intended “*expressly for the Jews,*” (and Mr. E., I find, is not the only Romanist who holds this opinion);—when, I say, we find Rome acting in this manner, the division of the commandments, otherwise immaterial, becomes a matter of importance.*

* Owing to the Roman influence which formerly prevailed in our Church, we find so early as the 9th century examples of the decalogue in which the 2nd commandment is left out (see Soames, Bampton Lectures, pp. 243—249); and such seems to be a usual practice in Roman Catholic countries at the

Mr. E. having stated which his "Protestant Dr. Whitaker" (or as he now more correctly says, Whittaker) was, I procured the book from which the quotation was made, and found it to be very tolerably correct; i.e. the sense was given, though not the exact words. The quotation in his last tract is verbally correct, and is certainly a singular statement to have proceeded from a "Protestant Doctor." It must be borne in mind, however, that his work is a warm vindication of Mary Queen of Scots, and his charge refers to the *political* forgeries which he maintains were resorted to for the overthrow of that unfortunate Sovereign. But how different is this case from that of Romish forgeries. Individual Protestants, in a particular reign, and *for a political object*, were charged (how justly, I know not) with forgery. Romanists have committed *religious* forgeries, for a long series of years,—and that, not merely as *individuals*, but as carrying out the spirit and teaching of their Church;—nay, as acting under the sanction and authority of their Church. More applicable to the question, surely, are the words of the modern Dr. Whittaker, which are quoted at the beginning of this pamphlet:—"The Church of Rome full well knows that she has no means of convincing men by their reason,—she has recourse to *Fraud, Falsehood, Forgery.*"

present day. Mr. Soames ("Latin Church during Anglo-Saxon times" p. 311) mentions a series of reliefs lately executed for the Magdalen Church at Paris; which are thus explained:—"1. Thou shalt have but one God. 2. *Thou shalt not take His name in vain.*" &c.; and he afterwards (p. 313, n.) quotes the following words from the Lectures of Bishop Nixon, who was for some time chaplain at Naples:—"The same omission is to be found, I believe, in *all* the summaries in use in Italy. In one put forth by the present Archbishop of Pisa, for the use of the young people within his diocese, the abstract of the Commandments runs thus:—1. Thou shalt not have another God before me. 2. Thou shalt not take God's name in vain. 3. Remember to sanctify the festivals.—9. Thou shalt not desire the goods of another. 10. Thou shalt not desire the wife of another." Now if the 2nd commandment was meant "expressly for the Jews," this omission is intelligible; but if not, why do the English Romanists say in their Catechism "The 1st commandment (i.e. our 1st and 2nd) forbids us to worship false Gods OR IDOLS, &c.?" (Abridgment of Christian Doctrine, chap. iv.). As Mr. E. says, p. 17, "What inconsistency there always is in error."

As to Mr. E.'s passage from Zanchius, which he pleasantly says may do me good, it contains a deplorable picture, if true, of the conduct of his party. But what has it to do with the Church of England? Although we are Protestants, *as well as Catholics*, yet surely we are not answerable for every act of every foreign opponent of Rome, from Luther down to Socinus!

With respect, again, to Burnet: his statements have certainly more to do with English Churchmen than the other, though how the quotation bears upon the subject before us, (*viz.* forgery,) I cannot see, as there is no allusion to forgery in it; and therefore the passage has nothing at all to do with the question, and is thrust in without meaning. However, as it is produced, let it be considered, lest I should seem to avoid it.

Mr. E. is aware that the state of morals was very low before the Reformation,*—such indeed as to call loudly for some correcting hand. And I do not deny on the other hand that many embraced a profession of the reformed doctrines whose conduct was anything but what it ought to have been. But the thoughtful reader does not need reminding that hypocrites will be found in all creeds, and that a want of sober-mindedness (not to say fanaticism) is to be expected to prevail in all seasons of reaction and religious excitement. If therefore Mr. E. adduces the words of Bishop Burnet in order to show what, according to him, was the character of the religion of the reformed Church, his inference is not a fair one:—the character of a religion should be judged of when the excitement is over. And to compare the spirit of the English Catholic, with that of the Roman Catholic religion, it shall be sufficient here to quote the words of a writer in the "English Churchman,"

* This the Romish Dr. Milner allows:—"I grant, however, there was an increasing spirit of irreligion and immorality amongst different nations, and in none more so than in our own, during a considerable time previous to the Reformation." Letters to a Prebendary. p. 168.

who is supposing the case of a person leaving the Catholic Church for the Roman Communion. "You would give up a Church, which, notwithstanding the small number of her bishops and clergy to the increased population, has given the nation a character throughout the world for *Piety, Order, Loyalty, Integrity, Public credit, Benevolence, Honesty, Industry, Humanity, Observance of the Lord's Day, and the Fulfilment of Oaths, Marriage vows, and promises*; and you would join a Church which, with a much larger proportion of bishops and clergy, and in places where she has had almost entire freedom and sway, has *notoriously failed in producing many of these qualities*. Ask the financier, what the public credit of Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and Colombia is worth,—ask the Assurance companies, where life and property is *most* in danger,—ask the educated infidel where he finds his class of men most abound,—ask the historian where *Sedition, Revolution, Assassination, and cold-blooded Massacre* have been most frequent. Nay, ask the Pope himself, whether his own subjects, whom he and other Popes have trained and governed, in all things temporal and spiritual,—ask him whether even *they* are pious, moral, loyal, and industrious. Ask him why he disguised himself as a footman, and ran away from them two years ago? If Popes, who claim to be the fountain of spiritual power, cannot train and govern their own subjects, how can we expect them to govern others?" &c.

As for the manner in which much of the Church property was appropriated by the state, I do not suppose any Churchman of the present day will be found to defend it. But if Mr. E. would draw an argument from that against our religion, surely he will be reduced to silence when he considers how divers Roman Catholic states have acted. What, for instance, will he say to Spain? What will he say to the destruction of monasteries, and the havoc made among Church property in that "most Catholic" country? And besides, although much Church property was diverted from

its proper objects at the time of the Reformation, and much of the land belonging to the monasteries passed into lay hands; still, there was a large amount set apart for religious purposes. There were six new bishoprics erected, Westminster, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, and Bristol, and fifteen chapters founded, besides several hospitals, and the two colleges, Trinity College, Cambridge, and Christ Church, Oxford, "which are the glory of our sister universities."* Can Mr. E. say so much for Spain? †

But we find the confiscation of monastic property carried on even in Italy itself. Mr. Seymour tells us that the Certosa of Pavia, founded in the 14th century, was possessed of lands, which in course of time improved so much that the value of them was much greater than was necessary for the monastery. And what was the consequence? "*The government sequestrated the superfluous revenues, and appropriated them to national purposes.* The Country was Roman Catholic, the government was Roman Catholic. And they applied these confiscated revenues to the purposes of a Roman Catholic people. This was done during the last century; since then, the French, while in possession of Italy, following the example of the former governments, have reduced the wealth of the convent still more; and there is now scarcely sufficient for its adequate maintenance. It is a striking illustration that the suppression of monasteries, and confiscation of their endowments, is as congenial to the spirit of Romanism in Italy, as to the spirit of Protestantism in England; and surely, if it be a sin in one, it is no less a sin in the other." (*Pilgrimage to Rome*, pp. 64, 65).

* Bp. Short, "Sketch of the History of the Church of England", Chap. v. § 248, 259,

† I have just met with the following announcement in a provincial paper of October, 1851. "Much surprise has been caused by the advertisement in the official papers announcing the sale by auction, of the large convent of San Martin and its premises, contrary to the agreement of the Concordat. The ultra papers are highly scandalized at a measure so little to be expected from a cabinet that has hitherto shown itself so extremely favorable to the Holy See."

We now come (p. 14) to the subject of the Holy Scriptures.

The first question which here demands our attention is the integrity of the originals, the Hebrew and Greek, from which confessedly our version is taken. Are they, in the state we now have them, corrupted, as Mr. E. says they are;—and does our version, in consequence, partake of this corruption?

From the arguments and authorities adduced by Lightfoot,* Dupin, Charles Butler (*Horæ Biblicæ*, Vol. I.), and Mr. Hartwell Horne (*Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures*, Vol. II.), it appears that the Hebrew text has, on the whole, been preserved with singular correctness, considering the ages which have rolled by, and the multitudes of copies which have been made of the sacred records. It is indeed admitted that there is a considerable number of various readings, which is the same thing as saying that the copyists were fallible men; but, so far as I can discover, the variations refer in a great measure not to the actual text of the Bible, but to the vowel points, (which, as is well known, are rejected by many as a modern invention), and what variations do occur, involve no difference of doctrine.† But Mr. E. would

* This learned divine in a note upon the words "one jot or one tittle," (St. Matt. v. 18), gives examples of the very scrupulous care which the Jews took respecting the correctness of the text of the Holy Scripture (Vol. xi. pp. 98, 99. See also, iii. 405—408, Ed. 1822). And nothing could surpass the labour of the Masorites, the supposed inventors of the vowel points, in their extreme minuteness and accuracy of observation on the Sacred text. They marked the number of verses, and of the words and letters in each verse, the number of times that the same word is found in the beginning, middle or end of a verse; the different significations of the same word—they even went so far as to count the letters of the Hebrew text, and which was the middle letter in each book. Thus Genesis had 1684 verses, 20718 words, 78100 letters; and the midst of the book was in Chap. xxvii. v. 40, &c. (Butler, I. 57—9).

† "In the period between the 6th and 10th centuries, the Jews had two celebrated academies, one at Babylon in the East, and another at Tiberias in the West; where their literature was cultivated, and the Scriptures were very frequently transcribed. Hence arose two *recensions* or editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, which were collated in the 8th or 9th century. The differences or various readings observed in them were noted, and have been transmitted to our time under the appellation of the oriental and occidental, or eastern and western readings. They are variously computed at 210, 216, and 220, and

persuade us that the Hebrew original is "corrupted,"—and the prophecies concerning Christ as the true Messiah "are most filthily depraved"* by the Rabbins. And yet, notwithstanding all this, *it was allowed at the Council of Trent, that the Vulgate, the authorized text of the Church of Rome, might be corrected by the originals.*† Will Mr. Egan tell us how this was to have been done, if the originals were so "corrupted" and "filthily depraved"?

But let us look into this question a little further. Mr. Egan (p. 47) refers to Dupin (*Dissertation sur la Bible*); and I am glad he has done so, as otherwise, perhaps, the book would not have occurred to me, and I find it to contain the most satisfactory replies to what he has advanced. Dupin has a long section (Book I. c. iv. § 4) to show that the Hebrew text has not been corrupted by the malice of the Jews. This he does in detail, prefacing it with the remark that justice is due to everybody, to Jews as well as Christians;

are printed by Bishop Walton in the Appendix to his splendid edition of the Polyglott Bible. In the early part of the 11th century, Aaron ben Asher, president of the academy at Tiberias, and Jacob ben Naphtali, president of the academy at Babylon, collated the manuscripts of the oriental and occidental Jews. The discrepancies observed by these eminent Jewish scholars amount to upwards of 864; *with one single exception, they relate to the vowel points, and consequently are of little value; they are also printed by Bishop Walton.* H. Horne's "Introduction to the Scriptures", II. 37, Ed. 1825. In the same valuable work (pp. 45—48) is given an interesting account of a MS. procured by Dr. Buchanan from the black Jews in Malabar, "who," says Mr. H. " (there is strong reason to believe) are part of the remains of the first dispersion of that nation by Nebuchadnezzar." This roll, which is now deposited in the public library at Cambridge, contains a portion of the Pentateuch, and is written on a roll of goat-skins dyed red. Mr. Yeates has collated this MS. with the printed text of Vander Hooght's edition of the Hebrew Bible, and the result of his investigation is, that the amount of variations in the whole does not exceed forty, and that *none of them are found to differ from the common reading as to the sense and interpretation.* And it is thus, not only a literary curiosity, but as Bishop Marsh observes, "of still greater value to a theologian, as it affords an additional argument for the integrity of the Pentateuch."

* This expression Mr. E. borrows from Dr. Humphries. Of course he means that the Rabbins have altered the text. If he means only that by their glosses they have put a wrong meaning on the text, the quotation means nothing as thus adduced, but only tends to mislead.

† Pallavicini. Liv. 6, chap. 17—as quoted by Dupin (*Dissertation*, B. I. c. 7.)

and besides "it is to the interest of Christians to prove that the original of the books which are the foundation of their religion have not suffered considerable change or corruption, for if one supposes that the Jews have altered and changed it, as it pleased them, what reliance could we place upon these books? It will be said, perhaps, that there are versions which have preserved the purity of it; *but how shall we persuade people of this, if the original on which these versions have been made, exists no more?*" After clearing up satisfactorily the passages which have been adduced as showing that the Jews corrupted the text, Dupin proceeds to say, that if they had done this in ill-will to the Christians, they would doubtless have falsified the passages which contain the clearest prophecies of Jesus Christ, and which Christians allege against them. *Now these passages remain in their purity, and are even sometimes stronger in the Hebrew text than in the Vulgate.*" He then shows that it was morally impossible that the Jews could have corrupted the Scripture, for "how" (says he) "would they have been able all to conspire in this design? and how could they corrupt those copies which were in the hands of Christians?" And further on he says, "The difficulty which there is to assign the time when they pretend that the Jews have falsified the Hebrew text, shews still further the falseness of this system. Some have pretended that this falsification was not made till after the time of Jerome. *but the version which St. Jerome made from the Hebrew text being, as we have remarked, almost everywhere agreeable to the Hebrew text which we have, as well as the versions of Aquila, of Symmachus, and of Theodotion, these are so many evidences against this pretended falsification, and we defy those who sustain this opinion to produce passages of any consequence where the version of St. Jerome is different to the present Hebrew text.*"

Thus are Mr. E.'s statements shown to be incorrect by his own authority Dupin.

So much for the Hebrew text. But Mr. E. is not satisfied with trying to undermine the authenticity of the original of the Old Testament; but he will have it that that of the New Testament also is corrupt. Even the Greek original he maintains has been falsified by Arians, Greek heretics, &c. It is melancholy to witness a Christian minister thus seeking to throw uncertainty over the whole word of God. For, be it remembered, that in the New Testament, as well as in the Old, the Council of Trent allowed that the Vulgate might be corrected by the original. But Mr. E. maintains, that what we have is not the original. The Greek text (he says) has been corrupted by Arians and other heretics. But may not Mr. Egan be carrying the argument too far even for himself? We know that Arianism prevailed to the greatest extent during the life of Athanasius. Now he died, according to Alban Butler, in 373. But Jerome's revision of the Old Italic version, as it was called, was not completed till 384. And his own translation from the originals, which is called the Vulgate, did not appear till some years later. (See Horne's Introduction, II. 199). Can Mr. Egan prove that the Arians had not corrupted the text *before Jerome's time*? Happily, the true lover of God's word need be under no alarm for the purity of the original. The early Christians would be too much on their guard to suffer the heretics thus to corrupt their sacred treasure. How is it possible, indeed, however Arians or others might have treated their own copies, for them to have corrupted all the copies in the possession of the orthodox throughout the whole Christian world? The notion is preposterous; and it is difficult to conceive how it could have occurred to any one, except to serve a purpose.

In leaving this subject, I would again ask Mr. E. how it is, if the Greek text as we now have it, is so corrupt and heretical, that *the Church of Rome decided that the Vulgate might be corrected by it*. And I would moreover

call upon him to name the passages in which the English Version has adopted the corruptions of the Arians, &c., and in which the Vulgate is pure from these errors; and also to inform his readers why the later translations by Romanists into the English language are so much nearer the authorized version of the English Church than their earlier ones. They may argue as they will, but why do they copy our version? What is this but to acknowledge its superiority?

The following paragraph of Mr. Egan (p. 14) is altogether beside the question. What have we of the Church of England to do with German and Swiss Bibles? What matter is it to us that Zuingli told Luther that "he corrupted the word of God,"—or that Luther "would not receive a Zuinglian bible"? How are we affected by the circumstance, that "the Tigurine Edition was rejected with anger by many Protestants"? Supposing Beza does say that "the Basle translation" is "wicked," and that Castalio's is "sacrilegious, wicked, and heathenish;"—supposing Molinæus does say that "Calvin in his harmony makes the text of the Gospel leap up and down," and collects many instances of Beza's corruptions:—supposing "Staphylus and Emserus" do "find 1400 heretical corruptions in Luther's *Dutch Testament*"! What on earth has all this to do with the question concerning the authorized version set forth by the Catholic Church of England? Are we implicated in all the errors of German and Swiss and Dutch versions? Are we to be answerable for them all? And if not, to what purpose is this collection of authorities?

There is however one remark which may be noticed. "English Protestants," Mr. E. says, "chiefly follow Beza's translations." Doubtless Beza's translation was open before them; but so was the Vulgate; so also were other versions: but *chief of all* they had the *originals*, the Hebrew and the Greek, before them. *These* were what they translated from:

unlike modern Romanists, they went to the fountain head, but they did not despise the labours of others; and if they found any version expressing, as they thought, the meaning of the original, they adopted that interpretation, whether from Beza or the Vulgate. And Campbell gives several instances in which our Version differs from the former, and agrees with the latter.

The doxology at the end of the Lord's prayer (p. 15) we retain on the authority of (I believe) almost all the Greek MSS. and Fathers, notwithstanding the "censure" of Erasmus and Bullinger." Though it does not seem to be supported by the Latin versions (it is given however in the margin of the Vulgate), our Church doubtless thought it more reverent to retain a passage, respecting which there might be a doubt, than to reject what might be a portion of God's word, nay, what were, very probably, the words of our Blessed Lord Himself. Sorry I am for those who can prefer the coarse expression which Mr. E. quotes as Luther's to the following beautiful and unsuspecting language of St. Chrysostom:—"Having then made us anxious as before conflict, by putting us in mind of the enemy, and having cut away from us all our remissness; He [Christ] again encourages and raises our spirits, by bringing to our remembrance the King under whom we are arrayed, and signifying Him to be more powerful than all. *For Thine, saith He, is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory.* Doth it not then follow, that if His be the kingdom, we should fear no one, since there can be none to withstand, and divide the empire with Him? *And the power, saith He.* Therefore, manifold as thy weakness may be, thou mayest of right be confident, having such a One to reign over thee, who is able fully to accomplish all, and that with ease, even by thee. *And the glory, for ever. Amen.* Thus He not only frees thee from the dangers that are approaching thee, but can make thee also glorious and illustrious. For as His power is great, so also

is His glory unspeakable, and they are all boundless, and no end of them. Seest thou how He hath by every means anointed His Champion, and hath framed Him to be full of confidence?" *

Surely more reverent,—surely more worthy of imitation is the spirit which retains the doxology, and can draw from it such thoughts as the above, than that which calls it "*tag-rag*," &c.

"The early Protestant translations," says Mr. E., p. 15, "were fearfully corrupt;" and he enumerates Wicliff's, Tyndal's, Coverdale's, and the Bishops' Bible. "Fearfully corrupt" is not a correct expression, if it is meant to imply that they were purposely falsified or corrupted. That there were many errors is not denied; and this was unavoidable when we consider the state of learning at the time, the vast labour of the undertaking, and the many hindrances and difficulties which existed.

Wicliff, whose version appeared about 1380,† not being sufficiently acquainted with the originals, translated from the Vulgate; and, as a translation from a translation must fail in many cases to give the meaning of the original, there were doubtless numerous passages which might have been more correctly rendered, even supposing that the Vulgate gave in every instance the exact sense of the Hebrew and the Greek. Besides which, many errors would unavoidably creep in through the carelessness of copyists. It was however a great and noble work, and was so offensive to the party who wished to keep the people in ignorance, that a bill was brought into Parliament in 1390 for the purpose of suppressing it. The Duke of Lancaster, however, defended the right of the people to have the word of God in their own tongue, and through his interest, the bill was rejected. And this gave encouragement to Wicliff's followers to publish another and more correct Edition of the Bible.

* St. Chrysost. Hom. in St. Matt. vi. 13. "Library of the Fathers," p. 299.

† My authority here is Horne's "Introduction," Vol. II. 285, &c.

The first portion of the Scriptures printed in English was the New Testament translated from the Greek by *Tindal*, assisted by J. Frith, and W. Roze; all of them afterwards martyrs for the reformed faith. Owing to the opposition which was made to the translation of the Scriptures in England, the book was published at Antwerp or Hamburg in 1526. The greater part of the Edition was bought up and burnt by Bp. Tonal, who thus unwittingly gave assistance to the promotion of what he wished to prevent. With the help of the money thus provided, Tindal put forth a more correct Edition the following year. He also translated a great part of the Old Testament.

In 1535 was published *Coverdale's Bible*, the first complete English Version, and the first which received royal authority.

In 1568 (several editions appearing in the mean time) the *Bishops' Bible* was completed. This was projected by Archbishop Parker, and was called the "Bishops' Bible" from the circumstance of eight of the translators having been bishops.

At a subsequent period objections were raised against this translation, which gave rise to the present authorized version, executed in the reign of James I. I have not the means of reference to the writers quoted by Mr. E., and know not how qualified they were to make the objections they did to the version as then existing. And, as the Bishop of London (Bancroft) said in the Hampton Court Conference, "If every man's humour was to be pleased, there would be no end of translating." And there were some men whose "humour" it would not only be difficult to please but not worth attempting to gratify. Such an one was Mr. Broughton, the "zealous Protestant" whom Mr. E. quotes as maintaining that "their translation, now in England, is full of errors—it perverts the text of the Old Testament in 848 places, and *it causes millions of*

millions to reject the New Testament and to run to eternal flames." Such a statement as this naturally leads Mr. E. to exclaim: "This certainly is a bad Bible, to be the sole rule of faith." So it certainly would be, if the statement were true. A book which "causes millions of millions to run to eternal flames," must indeed be a most evil rule of faith. But who was this zealous Mr. Broughton? It is worth enquiring; and if it should seem that he wrote through "*pique or malice*" (as Mr. E. asserts—*though without proving*—that Llorente did), then, to be consistent, Mr. Egan will not ascribe much weight to his opinion. Hugh Broughton was a man of great attainments in the Hebrew and Greek tongues; but a more conceited or arrogant man hardly existed. Not being appointed as one of the translators of the Bible in king James's time, "as one" (says Bishop Walton) "*though skilled in the Hebrew, yet of little or no judgment in that or any other kinde of learning*, he was so highly offended that he would needs undertake to shew *how many thousand places they had falsely rendered, when as HE COULD HARDLY MAKE GOOD HIS UNDERTAKING IN ANY ONE!*" Such a man would have no difficulty in saying that the text of the Old Testament was perverted in 848 places, but if he could not make good his statement, what was it worth? "With the Bishops' Bible" says Mr. Horne "he had found great fault; insisted upon the necessity of a new translation; pronounced his own sufficiency to make one exactly agreeable to the original text of the Hebrew; and at length excited a very warrantable suspicion, that in so important a task he was unfit to be trusted." Mr. Horne gives an example of his language, which leaves us no cause to regret that he did not make a new translation. "Bancroft, seeing himself in Judaisme, as I heard in his allowed libel equal scoffer, as of a mist soone scattered, raved against me for pearls to such, and holy things to such!" (*Introduction, &c.* II. 257.) If

this "zealous Protestant" had translated the Bible in this style, surely *he* would have caused "millions of millions to reject" it: for of what earthly use it would have been to any body it would be difficult to say. I think we have now seen that Mr. Broughton's opinion was not of much value.

But now let us see the specimens which Mr. E. gives of the alterations which were made in the Bishops' Bible (which he would have us believe was the ruin of so many thousand souls) by the subsequent translators. The words which were in the former translated "congregation," "he had given thanks," "temple," "covetousness, which is the worshipping of images," are (he tells us) rendered in the present authorized version—"Church," "blessed," "altar," "covetousness, which is idolatry." Doubtless these are changes for the better; but were the former expressions so very shocking as to "cause millions of millions to reject the New Testament, and run to eternal flames"? I am of opinion that they are not of such a soul-destroying tendency; and when, after the very heavy charge made against the old translation, these texts are all that are adduced to support the accusation, it reminds one very strongly of the fable of the mountain and the mouse.

Supposing however that the old version was so bad, Mr. E. surely would say that there should be a new one and a better. And he must acknowledge that the alterations were for the better. And yet he says the translation "was made with no good motive, but rather to oppose the Presbyterians, who could not bear to see the word 'Church' in the Scriptures." But thus to condemn people's motives for giving the true meaning of the word (for Mr. E. must allow that "Church" is the best translation) seems to me to show a great want of charity, to say nothing else. There is no doubt but that the motive of the translators was to make the version as exact as possible, and to represent as nearly as they could the mind of the Holy Ghost.

As for the preface to the Bible, in which King James is compared to the Sun, and Queen Elizabeth to a Star, any expressions of "fulsome adulation" which Mr. E. may object to must be ascribed to the times, in which, as every one knows, the language of flattery and compliment was carried to the highest pitch. Besides, we have similar comparisons in Scripture, where princes are frequently called stars, (Judges v. 20) and they who love God are compared to "the Sun when he goeth forth in his might" (v. 31). And if the language Mr. E. finds fault with seem unfit to be prefixed to the word of God, surely the address of Father Mathew in the Douay Bible (Dublin, 1847) "To the members of the various *total abstinence Societies* (!) in Ireland, England and Scotland," which follows immediately after the approbation of the Romish Prelates,—surely this looks rather strange in such a place, and his perversion of a text of Scripture is anything but to be commended: for surely St. Peter (2 Ep. i. 5, 6) had no allusion to "total abstinence," when he wrote the words quoted by Mr. Mathew, "You minister in your faith virtue: and in virtue knowledge: and in knowledge *Abstinence*," &c.

What Mr. E. calls the "addition to the Lord's prayer" has been already spoken of. The question of the Apocrypha will be considered hereafter when we come to discuss the Canon of Scripture. Concerning the 14th Psalm it may be enough to remark, that although in the Prayer-book there are 11 verses, according to the Vulgate and some copies of the Septuagint, yet in other copies the additional verses do not exist, any more than in the *Hebrew, Chaldee, or Syriac*. So that these verses are supposed to have got into the Greek from Rom. iii. 13—18, where St. Paul had quoted them from other parts of Scripture. This is the reason of their appearing in the Prayer-book. In the Bible however, they are omitted, as they do not exist in the original. (See Bp. Horne's note on this Psalm.)

Concerning the Canon of Scripture as set forth by the Council of Laodicea (p. 16) and the 3rd Council of Carthage (p. 17), together with the opinions of St. Jerome and Dr. Bilson (pp. 16, 17), I will not stay here to offer any remarks, but beg to refer the reader to Appendix No. 1, where the subject will be considered at greater length than it could be done satisfactorily here. I will therefore only just remark, in passing, that while Mr. E. says I "must or ought to know that the Council of Laodicea was a provincial Council, consisting of only 22 *Bishops*," on the contrary, I know no such thing, as its first Canon says that it was gathered *from different provinces* of Asia—(ex diversis Asiæ provinciis); and it was therefore more than a provincial Council; and Binius tells us how highly it was regarded both in the East and West, and that the number of bishops was *thirty-two*.* And with regard to Mr. E.'s remarks about the articles, I would add that although in Edward VI.'s reign 42 Articles of religion were set forth, which underwent some modification under Elizabeth, and certain omissions made, which reduced the number to 39, yet it was not pretended that these articles were dictated by the Holy Ghost, and therefore infallible. Neither, on the other hand, was the spirit which animated the framers of them or of the Canon of Scripture an *ignis fatuus*, as will be seen when we come to consider the latter subject. Mr. E. truly says (p. 17) that the Bible Society is a "private company," (i.e. not recognized by the Church), nor is the Church of England answerable for any of its arrangements; and I will add, lest he should not be aware of it, that the Apocrypha can be obtained from the Christian Knowledge Society, either alone, or bound up with the Canonical Scriptures, as the purchaser may choose. And as our Church,

* "Hoc concilium antiqua nobilitate celeberrimum, Græcorum atque Latinorum scriptis celebri memoriæ commendatum fuit. In quo... congregati sunt 32 Episcopi." Bin. Conc. t. 1. p. 305.

along with the Primitive Church, gives a lower authority to the Apocrypha than to the other Scriptures, the plan of binding them up separately may sometimes be desirable, lest some people, from want of better instruction, may regard them as of equal value and authority with the Canonical Scriptures, the undoubted and inspired Word of God. Moreover the English Church does read the Apocryphal books "for example of life and instruction of manners," as is plainly to be seen by referring to her calendar of lessons. As to what Mr. E. says about the "unworthy ravings of itinerant mountebanks" &c. being a substitute for the Apocrypha, I think it unnecessary to show its untruth. And were I disposed to do so, his language is such as to forbid my taking any notice of his statements further than making this passing remark.

Mr. E. proceeds to say (p. 17) that some words are not properly translated in the "Protestant Bible," and he gives as examples "Metanoia," "Presbyteri," "Episcopi," "Spiritus." The first of these is translated by us "repentance," by the Romanists, usually, "penance." And in like manner, where we have "repent," they translate "do penance." Now the Greek (*μετάνοια*) signifies *a change of mind*, which is expressed by our word "repentance." Penance however, or the doing of penance, is an outward act, following indeed properly (as Rome would teach) upon a penitent state of mind; yet properly associated with the idea of satisfying God for our sins by some act of self-denial or suffering.* And therefore to translate the Greek word by penance would

* Thus in the authorized Romish Catechism (*Abridgment of Christian Doctrine*) Chap. v. "Why does the Church command us to fast? A. That by fasting we may satisfy God for our sins." In early times penance was enjoined upon a repentant sinner in order, among other reasons, to satisfy the Church of the truth of his repentance. The Romish doctrine of satisfying God for our sins by acts of suffering may find a parallel indeed among the Indian devotees and Fakeers, who think to propitiate the cruel gods of their imagination by their tortures, but it is totally opposed to the system of the Primitive Church, with which coincides the teaching of the English Church, that it is the Blood of Jesus Christ alone which can satisfy God for our sins.

be (1) a wrong translation and (2) it would convey a wrong impression of the meaning of Holy Scripture, or rather, would imply a doctrine contrary to the teaching of the Bible. But supposing that we do translate "metanoia" improperly, and that we ought to say "penance" and not "repentance"; why does Rome herself translate it by the latter word in 2 Tim. ii. 25, "If peradventure God may give them *repentance* to know the truth" (Rhemish Version)? Why does she not say (Acts v. 31) "Him hath God exalted with His right hand, to be prince and Saviour, to give [*penance*] to Israel, and remission of sins"? Why does she not say (Acts xi. 18) "God then hath also to the Gentiles given [*penance*] unto life" (for in these cases, *as well as in the others*, the Vulgate has "pœnitentia")? Why is this? Because the Greek word could not bear to be so forced: because, in fact, it means, as the English Bible properly translates it, "repentance." And this meaning "metanoia" has in every case, whereas in several cases it can have no reference to "penance" taken in its best sense, and is everywhere opposed to a popular Romish doctrine that by any outward act of penance (of which fasting is one) we can "satisfy God for our sins." Plainly then, our translation is the correct one.

The next word Mr. E. says we have wrongly translated is "Presbyteri," rendered in the English version "Elders," in the Rhemish, generally, (but not always) "priests." The reason why it was not translated "priests" in our Bible, was that although that word is a mere abbreviation of Prester or Presbyter, yet "by popish abuse," as Fulke says (Defence of the translations, &c. p. 109, Ed. 1843) it was "commonly taken for a sacrificer, the same that *sacerdos* [is] in Latin." Now this title answers to the Greek word ἱερεὺς, which is applied to the Jewish sacrificing priest (and to every Christian offering up spiritual sacrifices, Rev. I. 6, 1 Pet. II. 5), but never to the Christian minister. The word "priest"

then, being so associated in the minds of the great majority of the people with an offerer of sacrifice, the translators of the English Bible rendered the word "presbyter" (πρεσβύτερος), by its actual meaning of "Elder." Whether it refers to the age or to the ecclesiastical office of the person spoken of is decided by the manner in which the word is used, but this is the case in the Greek also, so that whatever ambiguity exists in the one is to be found also in the other.* But we shall find here, as in the preceding instance, that while Rome attacks us, she has need to defend herself, and to excuse her own inconsistencies. If, for instance, we translate "presbyteri" by "Elders," why does Rome sometimes render the word by the equally indefinite words "Ancients" or "Seniors"? See Acts xv. 6, where the Rhemish Testament reads, "And the Apostles and [not Priests, but] *Ancients* assembled to consider of this matter." And again, v. 22, "Then it pleased the Apostles and *Ancients*, with the whole Church to choose men out of them," &c. and so in v. 23, "The Apostles and *Ancients*, the Brethren, to the Brethren of the Gentiles," &c. In all these cases the literal translation of the Greek is "Elders"; but it is the name of an office, as Rome allows; why then should not the Romish version translate it by "Priests," if it is maintained that "Elders" is wrong, and since (as they contend) it means "Priests"? Again, St. Peter says (1 Ep. v. i.) according to the old Rhemish version, "The *Seniors* therefore that are among you, I beseech, myself a *fellow-Senior* with them," &c. or, according to the more recent version, "The *Ancients* therefore that are among you, I beseech, who am

* It is with diffidence that I venture to give an opinion on such a subject, yet I cannot help thinking it would have been better if the English Church in her modern offices had adopted the word "Presbyter" for the second order of the clergy (as was done in the Scotch Prayerbook revised by Archbishop Laud), and have rendered the Greek original, where it evidently signified the second order of the clergy, by the same word instead of "Elder." Presbyter, it may be added, is a good wholesome ecclesiastical word, commonly used in Primitive times, and has no connection with Presbyterianism. *Sacerdos* was a title often given to Bishops.

also an Ancient," &c. And yet the Rhemish testament has here a note purposely to explain that the word *Seniors* means *priests*! "Though the Latin *Senior*, be not appropriated to holy order by use of speech, neither in the Latin nor in our language: yet it is plain that the Greek word *Presbyter*, which the Apostle here useth, is here also (as commonly in other places of the New Testament) a word of Ecclesiastical office and not of age, and is as much as to say, *Priest* or *Bishop*. For the Apostle himself being of that order, speaketh (as by his words it is plain) to such as had charge of souls, saying, *Feed the flock of God which is among you*. Because we follow the vulgar translation, we say *Seniors*, and *Senior*: whereas otherwise we might and should say, according to the Greek, *The Priests therefore I beseech, myself a fellow Priest with them*." Again, Acts xx. 17, the Rhemish version reads, "And sending from Miletum to Ephesus, he called the *ancients* of the Church." And the margin tells us that the word "Ancients" means "Priests," and refers to a note on Acts xv. 6, where the same statement is made. But now, since the Greek in all these places is the same (*πρεσβύτεροι*), why should not the Romish version say "Priests" if the word means it, rather than "Ancients?" The reason is, that it is not (like ours) taken from the original, but from the Latin Vulgate, and this has in four of these cases "Seniores," and in the 5th "majores natu," which cannot possibly be translated by the Ecclesiastical word "Priests." Therefore Rome, by the law she has made for herself, is prevented from translating the word "Priests," though she says it has that meaning, acknowledging, "we might AND SHOULD SAY, according to the Greek "The Priests," &c. Into this net they are led by preferring a Latin version to the Apostolic original. But if Romanists allow that they have given an indefinite (not to say a wrong) meaning to the word we are considering;—when they say that if they followed the original, they *might and should say*

"Priests," while they actually do say "Ancients" or "Seniors,"—then, let them correct their own mistakes and inconsistencies before they find fault with us. And so much for "Presbyteri."

The 3rd example which Mr. Egan adduces of improper translation in the "Protestant Bible" is the word "Episcopi." He alludes of course to Acts xx. 28, where St. Paul is addressing the presbyters of the Church of Ephesus: "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you *overseers*;" where the Rhemish version reads "*bishops*." The Greek word has both these meanings; or rather, the word *bishop* signifies one who has the oversight of others. It does not seem to be of any very great importance which word is used; our translation however better expresses the meaning of the Apostle, whose object was not so much to tell them of the *rank* which they held in the Church, as to remind them of the *function* and duties pertaining to that rank, viz. the oversight of the flock of Christ. Our translators therefore were *not* wrong in rendering "Episcopi" by "Overseers." *

* The Greek word occurs several times in the Septuagint, and in some of them is translated "Episcopus" in the Vulgate, and in the Douay Bible, "Overseer." As for instance in Nehemiah xi. 22. *Episcopi Levitarum*—"Overseers of the Levites." In the New Testament the word is applied to one who had the oversight of a Christian congregation (and therefore answering, allowing for the difference of circumstances, to our "Parish Priest"), the more distinctive title being *Presbyter*. Here however it may be well to notice a statement, which, though true, involves a fallacy. It is said that in the New Testament, bishops and priests are the same, and therefore bishops ought not to be above priests *now*. Certainly, bishops, in the scriptural use of the term, meant only priests or presbyters. But, are persons who bring this forward as an argument against Episcopacy, so forgetful of the scriptures, or so blinded by prejudice, as to leave the Apostles out of their reckoning? The Presbyters were certainly, *Episcopi*, overseers of their own flocks,—but the Apostles were *their* *Episcopi*, their overseers,—though they retained the name which their Lord and master had given them. When they died however, their successors did not adopt their title of Apostle (perhaps from humility), but the indefinite title of Overseer hitherto given to the second order was appropriated to them, and has so continued to the present time. *Names* are always liable to change, but it is a *fact* which cannot be disputed that there were three orders of clergy in Apostolic times—and to reject this three-fold order is surely to reject an apostolic, nay a *divine* ordinance.

The last instance of incorrect translation brought forward by Mr. E. is the word "Spiritus." The passage referred to is doubtless St. John iii. 8. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, &c..... so is every one that is born of the Spirit." In this verse, the word (*πνεῦμα*) translated in the English Bible "wind," is in the Rhemish version "Spirit;" thus:—"The Spirit breatheth where he will; and thou hearest his voice,* but thou knowest not from whence he cometh and whither he goeth: so," &c. The Rhemish Testament of 1582, alluding to the two meanings of the Greek word, (i.e. "wind," and "the Holy Ghost") says "both senses be good," although the reason is given for adopting the latter. In the Latin Vulgate, as in the Greek original, the word admits of both meanings; but surely our Lord's argument requires that it should be translated as it is in the English Bible. What are we to understand from the Rhemish version? "The Spirit breatheth where He will, and thou hearest His voice, &c..... so is every one that is born of the Spirit." What resemblance is there between the Spirit, and one that is born of the Spirit? Surely, none whatever. By this translation, our Lord's words are deprived of all meaning. Read them however as in the English version, and the sense is plain. As the wind blows where it will, though you cannot see it, but know its presence by its sound and its effects—so he who is born of the Spirit manifests his heavenly birth by corresponding conduct. Therefore the translation of the word in the English authorized version is undoubtedly the best: in other words it is the right one.

But besides these four examples of words which Mr. E. maintains are not translated "in their true Ecclesiastical sense," in the English Bible, two more instances are given of what are asserted to be false translations, viz. 1 Cor. ix. 5,

* In the modern Romish Testament, there is a reference here to Psalm cxxxiv. 7. "He bringeth forth *winds* out of His stores" (Douay version). This is a singular authority to show that the word "Spiritus" does not mean "wind," but "Spirit."

and 1 Peter iii. 18, 19. In the first of these, St. Paul is asserting his right "to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as the other apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas" (or Peter). This however, proving the right of the Apostles and other Christian ministers to marry, is unpalatable to Rome, and therefore in the Rhemish Testament, which for "wife," reads "woman," according to the Vulgate, (though the Greek word is capable of either signification), there is a note to warn their readers against the *perversion* of "heretics." And St. Paul is represented as maintaining his right to lead or carry about "a woman a sister," certain fathers being adduced in support of this meaning. And Mr. E. says the word must mean *woman* and not *wife*, because St. Paul was not married. No one maintains that he was: nor does this passage prove that he carried with him in his travels "a woman a sister." He only maintains his power or right of taking with him a female companion, if he chose: and surely a wife would be a more natural companion than a spiritual sister: surely English Missionaries who go abroad as married men act more according to the mind of the Apostle, in taking with them a *wife*, as an associate of their labours, than if they were accompanied by a *Sister of Charity*.* "It is further worthy of notice," says Mr. Horne (*Introduction*, &c. I. 578) "that Clement of Alexandria has particularly remarked that the Apostles carried their *wives* about with them, 'not as wives but as sisters, that they

* In the Rhemish Testament we are told that in the text before us "the Apostle meaneth plainly the devout women that after the manner of Jewry served the Preacher with necessaries, of which sort many followed Christ and sustained him and his with their substance." It seems to me that the Apostle cannot mean this; for we have not the slightest intimation anywhere that devout women attended any of the Apostles from place to place, as they did our Blessed Lord. And though it is perfectly natural that Christian women should minister to Christ's Apostles during their abode among them, yet this is not what St. Paul means when he speaks of "*leading about*" one as an associate. And we know that Peter was married, as were also James and Jude, the "brethren," or kinsmen of our Lord. And, as before stated, it would be more natural to take their wives with them as companions in their travels, than "a woman a sister."

might minister to those who were mistresses of families,' &c. And in giving his finished picture of a perfect Christian, he says [alluding, of course, to the passage before us] 'He eats and drinks *and marries*, *having the Apostles for his example.*'" We may conclude therefore, that in the text before us, "*wife*," and *not* "*woman*," is the correct translation.

Our version also, Mr. E. tells us, retains Archbishop Abbott's corruption of "*quicken*ed by the spirit," instead of "*quicken*ed in spirit," in 1 Pet. iii. 18. It would have been well if Mr. E. had given some authority for his statement. When we recollect that there were forty-seven translators of the Bible,—that this portion of the Scriptures was translated by seven separate individuals, who afterwards compared their translations together, and that every portion of the Bible afterwards underwent the scrutiny of the whole forty-seven (Horne's Introduction, II. 250 - 1),—when we recollect this, it seems hardly fair to lay all the blame upon one man, i.e. supposing the version is not correct. But is it so certain that it is not correct? In the *Received Text* which we follow, there is the Greek word answering to our article "the"; and therefore the words are properly translated—"by (or through) the Spirit." Wahl (*Clavis N. Test.*) renders the phrase, "*ope Spiritus divini*"; i.e. by the aid of the divine Spirit: and Bishop Pearson, quoting the text, says, "From which words it appeareth that Christ preached by the same Spirit, *by the virtue of which He was raised from the dead*: but that Spirit was not His soul, but something of a greater power" (*Exposition of the Creed*, p. 112, Ed. 1723). And Archbishop Leighton says, in his Commentary upon the text, "That body which was entombed was united to the spring of life, *the Divine Spirit of the Godhead that quickened it*" (Vol. II. p. 453, Ed. 1828). Therefore our rendering of the original—"by the Spirit"—is a correct translation, and *not* a "corruption."

Besides the above, Mr. E. says (p. 18) "there are other errors too numerous to reckon up, as 'yoke-fellow,' instead of 'companion,' which even Calvin and Beza condemn." Surely, it is a matter of very small moment which of these two words is used: "yoke-fellow," however, is the more exact, being a precise translation of the original Greek.

I have now considered Mr. Egan's objections to our Version, and noticed every text and every word which he says is wrongly translated. He does indeed speak of some "Protestant Clergyman," but without giving his name, who is reported to have found between 2 and 3000 errors in a quarter of the Bible—(a loose assertion which goes for nothing): and he adds, "See also Dr. Kennicott's opinion." What that is however he does not stay to inform us, but proceeds to his conclusion,—“The Protestant Bible then is erroneous and defalcated, and not a safe guide as a rule of faith.” That it is not “defalcated,” I hope to show in the Appendix,—and, as for its being “erroneous,” while no one claims for it infallibility and spotless perfection, yet it is greatly superior to the Romish Version, and therefore such a charge comes with a bad grace from the Romanist. What says the learned Selden?—“The English translation of the Bible is the best translation in the world, and renders the sense of the original best,” &c. Respecting the translators, Bishop Horsley says, “Their reverence for the sacred Scriptures induced them to be as literal as they could, to avoid obscurity; and it must be acknowledged, that they were extremely happy in the simplicity and dignity of their expressions. And as they laboured for the general benefit of the learned and the unlearned, they avoided all words of Latin original, when they could find words in their own language....which would express their meaning.” Dr. Geddes asserts, “The highest eulogiums have been made on the translation of James the First, both by our own writers and by foreigners. And indeed, if accuracy, fidelity, and the

strictest attention to the letter of the text be supposed to constitute the qualities of an excellent version, *this of all versions, must, in general be accounted the most excellent.*" And Dr. Taylor, of Norwich, says, "As our English translation is, in itself, by far the most excellent book in our language, so it is a pure and plentiful fountain of divine knowledge, giving a true, clear, and full account of the divine dispensations, and of the gospel of our salvation; insomuch that whoever studies the Bible, the English Bible, is sure of gaining that knowledge of faith, which, if duly applied to the heart and conversation, will infallibly guide him to eternal life." (Horne, "Introduction," II. pp. 256-9.)

Let the English Churchman, then, be grateful to Almighty God for this among His many mercies, that He has placed him in a Church which has supplied him with so excellent a version of the best of books; and moreover, instead of discouraging him in the perusal of it (as Rome has so generally done, where she has had her own way) has earnestly urged upon him the humble and assiduous study of it. This she has done in the First Homily, where the advantages of searching the Holy Scriptures are set forth at great length. A few extracts will suffice:—"Let us reverently hear and read Holy Scripture, which is the food of the Soul. Let us diligently search for the Well of Life in the books of the Old and New Testament," &c. And, after mentioning the inestimable value of the Scriptures, and the benefits to be derived from their perusal, it continues, "These books, therefore, ought to be much in our hands, in our eyes, in our ears, in our mouths, but most of all, in our hearts. And there is nothing that so much strengtheneth our faith and trust in God, that so much keepeth up innocency and pureness of the heart, and also of outward godly life and conversation, as continual reading and recording of God's Word if it be joined with a godly mind, and a good affection to know and follow God's will."

But we must now pass on to speak of the Roman Catholic scriptures. The question of the interpolation of the Apocrypha among the Canonical books will be considered in another place (Appendix, No. 1). Here therefore, some remarks will be made on the *Version* adopted by the Romanists. As for the Vulgate I have no wish to depreciate it, or to give it a lower value than it deserves: on the contrary, I regard the memory of Jerome to be worthy of very high estimation on account of his biblical labours, notwithstanding the errors to be found in the Version which goes by his name, which may arise, not only from some incorrect rendering of his own, but also from the carelessness of copyists; as, e.g. the translating of Gen. iii. 15, where the promise made to Adam that the seed of the woman (i.e. Christ) should bruise the serpent's head, is referred (in opposition to both Hebrew and Greek) to the woman herself, and therefore, by the Romanists, to the Virgin Mary.* To the latter cause may perhaps be attributed the error of inserting the name of the prophet Isaiah in St. Mark i. 2, for the words of a prophecy which occur in Malachi. But it is from no carelessness of copyists that we have in Heb. xi. 21, Jacob represented as adoring the top of Joseph's rod, instead of worshipping God, leaning upon the top of his staff: though in the Douay Bible we read (Gen. xlvii. 31) "Israel *adored God*, turning to the bed's head." This, however, by

* The reading of the Vulgate is "ipsa" *she*, referring to the woman; but the margin has "ipsum, subaudi semen, qui est Christus. LXX 'ipse' vertunt, Christum intelligentes." That is, in the text of the Vulgate, it is "*she*" (the woman) who is to bruise the serpent's head; the margin has "*it*" (i.e. the seed of the woman), and the Septuagint reads "*he*," meaning Christ. How grievously this promise has been perverted to the dishonouring of Christ has already been alluded to, p. 128, note; and it is melancholy to find the same doctrine taught in the National Schools in Ireland,—the following passage being contained in Reeves' History of the Bible, one of the books employed for the separate instruction of the Romanists:—"Mary was the woman destined by Almighty God to crush the serpent's head, as it is written in the Book of Genesis (ch. 3), and it was to obtain her consent that God sent his Angel to Nazareth!" (*Review of the Scripture lessons for the use of the Irish National Schools*, 1886, pp. 13, 14.)

the way: it is not my purpose to investigate the merits or demerits of the Latin Vulgate, so far as its exactness as a translation goes:—that forms no part of my plan; and I therefore take no exception to the testimonies which Mr. Egan has adduced from St. Augustine and other fathers, as also from Whittaker, Molinœus, Beza, and other modern writers. But I would venture to make a few remarks, 1st, on the state of the text of the Vulgate, and 2nd, on the English translations which have been made from it.

1. "The Latin Vulgate" (Mr. E. asserts) "has been for more than 1460 years judged by the Catholic Church to be *the most true and authentic copy of the Scriptures.*" On this I would observe that the word "authentic" was given to the Vulgate at the Council of Trent, an expression which, though variously interpreted,—some taking it to mean divinely inspired,—was probably intended to signify much the same as our word "authorized:" and it was decided that, as there were many Latin versions in existence, that called the Vulgate should be used in all sermons, disputations, &c. The next question was to set forth a correct text of the Vulgate, as many errors had crept into the copies then in existence. Cajetan was adduced, who had urged the study of the Hebrew and Greek Originals, and said that "to understand the Latin text was not to understand the infallible Word of God, but of the translator who might err:"—an opinion contradictory to that of Cardinal Ximenes, who is reported to have made the profane remark, that the Vulgate bore the same reference to the Hebrew and Greek Septuagint, that our blessed Lord did to the two thieves, making the Hebrew to represent the hardened thief, and the Greek the penitent. (Campbell, Dissertation XI. part 1). A Committee of six persons was appointed to examine and collate copies and prepare a new edition. Their labours soon closed, and the Pope (Pius IV.) employed many learned men in preparing a correct edition of the Vulgate. His successor, Pius V.,

continued the undertaking, and the book was published by Sixtus V. in 1590. This last Pope took very great care to ensure correctness, and issued a bull, enjoining its universal reception, and forbidding the slightest alteration under pain of an anathema. After its publication, however, it was discovered to abound with errors: it was quickly called in, and in two years afterwards (1592) a more correct edition was issued by Clement VIII., accompanied by a similar bull; and in 1593 another edition was printed, containing further alterations. (See Cramp's Text-book of Popery, p. 44, n.). Now the question is—were these variations mere "*typographical errors* ('*præli vitio*') as Mr. E. would have us believe? No: very far from it. Dr. James, in his *Bellum Papale* and "Apology," notices that he has discovered more than 2000 variations between these two editions, some of whole verses, and many others clearly and decidedly contradictory to each other. Yet both editions were set forth as infallibly correct, and an anathema pronounced by each Pope against any one who should alter them. (Cramp, 43—4). In other words, Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. virtually anathematized each other. But after all this, it is confessed by Roman Catholics themselves that the text of the Vulgate was not even then brought to perfection. Dupin relates that Lucas Brugensis having taken to Cardinal Bellarmine his remarks on many passages which seemed to him to want correction, the Cardinal replied: "I thank you for the book which you have brought me, but you must know that we have not corrected the Vulgate in everything which might be according to the utmost exactness (*la dernière exactitude*), and even of set purpose we have overlooked many things which seemed to stand in need of correction." These faults are not only, continues Dupin, faults of the copyists or printers, which the correctors [of the press] would have made no difficulty in removing, but rather faults of the translator (*interprete*), which they have not thought it fitting

to reform; which is so true, that in the preface which Clement VIII. printed at the beginning of his edition, it is stated that in the Vulgate many things have been changed purposely, and that others had been left without change, although it seemed that they ought to be changed (*alia quæ mutanda videbantur, immutata relicta sunt*). And Lucas Brugensis maintains that the Correctors at Rome have left many errors (*plusieurs fautes*) for which he adduces the testimony of Bellarmine, and of Bandinus, director of the Vatican press. See Dupin, (*Dissert. prelim. B. I. c. vii. § 3*), who says moreover (§ 4) that Isidore Clarius, a Monk of Monte Casino, and afterwards Bishop of Foligno, had previously corrected the text of the Old Testament of the Vulgate, and though he acknowledges that he left some passages where the sense of the Vulgate is somewhat different from the original, in order to follow custom and not to offend Catholic ears in changing that version entirely, yet he remarks that he had reformed more than 8000 passages in the Bible.

Thus, then, we see the corruptions which existed in the Latin Vulgate,—that the Council of Trent pronounced it to be authentic and to be used in preference to every other version, and that many held it to be divinely inspired, though at that time a corrected copy was not in existence,—we have seen that a Bishop of Foligno had amended it in 8000 places, and had still left several passages unaltered, in order not to offend Catholic ears by making too many changes,—we have seen that what professed to be a corrected copy was issued shortly after the decree of the Council by Sixtus V. who forbade any alterations to be made (nay, even marginal readings to be given) on pain of excommunication;—that within two years' time, notwithstanding its being infallibly correct and its unchangeableness secured by an anathema, a succeeding Pope set forth another edition, differing from it in more than 2000 places, and so altered in omission and substitution of verses, that in this respect it differed from its former self more than

any one of the English versions have differed from the others. We have seen, by the confession of Romanists themselves, that, even after the corrections of Clement, many passages still stand in need of correction, and these *not* errors of the press;—when we consider all these things we may venture to affirm that the statement “that the Catholic Vulgate has had many errors patched up” is *not* (as Mr. Egan would have it) “an assertion made with very bad faith,” but is perfectly true,—and moreover that the Romanists are involved in far greater difficulties than the Church of England, nay, in difficulties and contradictions of which she knows nothing.

2. We have however only arrived at the threshold. What we have been considering, is only the Latin translation of the Bible. This translation has itself to be translated before it is presented to the English Romanists; for, as has been observed, the Douay Bible and Rhemish Testament do not profess to be taken from the original Hebrew and Greek, but from the Latin, and therefore, whatever errors there may be in the Latin are perpetuated in the English translation; not to speak of passages in which the Latin Version may itself admit of different interpretations, and is moreover unable to give the full force of the originals from want of the *article* which does not exist in that language. For instance, from the Latin we cannot distinguish (as we can in the Greek) between *a* son of God, and *the* Son of God, between *a* spirit and *the* Spirit,—between the Holy Ghost and a divine influence. And when indefinite language has to be translated into another tongue, we cannot expect the result to be satisfactory. How vastly superior is *our* plan of translating from the inspired Originals: how much more likely is our Version to give the correct meaning of the Word of God.*

The earliest Version set forth by the English Romanists was in 1582, when they, “finding it impossible to with-hold

* In some cases indeed they make use of the Greek, “for the better understanding of the Latin (!) which being a translation, cannot always (as themselves confess) attain to the full sense of the principal tongue.” Pref. to Rhem. Test. xvi.

the Scriptures any longer from the common people,* printed an English New Testament at Rheims....: The Editors (whose names are not known) retained the words *azymes*, *tunike*, *holocaust pasche*, and a multitude of other Greek words untranslated, under the pretext of wanting proper and adequate English terms by which to render them; and thus contrived to render it unintelligible to common readers..... The Old Testament was translated from the Vulgate at Douay (whence it is called the Douay Bible) in two Vols. 4to, the first of which appeared in 1609, and the second in 1610. Annotations are subjoined, which are ascribed to one Thomas Worthington: the translators were William (afterwards Cardinal) Allen, Gregory Martin, and Richard Bristow" (Horne, "Introduction," II. 249). Various other editions have been published subsequently.

The obscurity of the Romish Version will be better seen by the production of a few examples from the Rhemish Testament of 1582. I quote from the 5th Edition (the first in folio) printed in 1738.

St. Luke xxii. 1. "And the festival day of the Azymes approach'd which is call'd Pasche".

St. John xix. 42. "There therefore, because of the Parasceve of the Jews, they laid Jesus, because the monument was hard by."

1 Cor. iv. 15. "For if you have ten thousand Pædagogues in Christ; yet not many fathers."

* That this is not an uncharitable remark appears from the very preface to the Rhemish Testament, where it is stated that "more than 200 years ago, in the days of Charles V. the French king, was it put forth faithfully in French [—for what purpose? to instruct the people?—Nay, but—] *the sooner to shake out of the deceived peoples hands the false heretical translation of a sect called Waldenses.*" And, after alluding to Wicliff's translation, it proceeds, "Now since Luther's revolt also, divers learned Catholics [—for what purpose? for the edification of the people?—Nay rather] *for the more speedy abolishing of a number of false and impious translations put forth by sundry sects* and for the better preservation or reclaim of many good souls endangered by them, have published the Bible in the several languages of almost all the principal Provinces of the Latin Church" (p. ii). These passages distinctly imply that Rome would have been slow enough to publish translations of the Bible, had not Protestants preceded them.

1 Cor. v. 7. "Purge out the old leaven, that you may be a new paste, as you are Azymes. For our Pasche, Christ is immolated."

Heb. x. 6. "Holocausts and* for sin did not please thee."

What instruction, let me ask, could any but the learned derive from such passages as the above? What notions would be associated in the minds of the common people with Pasche, Parascève, and Pædagogues? What ideas would the mere English reader have of Holocausts and Azymes? Indeed the reason given by the Romish party in the 16th century for not translating the New Testament, was that it contained so many words which had not corresponding expressions in English.

It is but just to add, however, that most of the passages above given are altered in the present Romish Version, being made to agree more or less with that of the English Church. Whether the Romanists were ashamed of the work of their forefathers, or whether they were honestly desirous of improving their translation, I do not know. But to make the nature of these alterations more easily understood, it will be necessary to give a few examples.

RHEMISH VERSION (1582)	MODERN ROMISH (1847)	AUTHORIZED ENGLISH.
St. Luke x. 35. "Have care of him, and whatsoever thou shalt super-erogate, I at my return will repay thee."	—and whatsoever thou shalt <i>spend over and above</i> , I at my return will repay thee.	—and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again I will repay thee.

1 Cor. v. 8. "Therefore let us feast, not in the old leaven, &c... but in the azymes of sincerity and truth."	— not <i>with</i> the old leaven .. but <i>with the unleavened bread</i> of sincerity and truth.	— not with old leaven ..but <i>with the unleavened bread</i> of sincerity and truth.
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* In the modern Version it is rendered, "Holocausts for sin did not please thee;" leaving out the word "*and*," and making but one kind of sacrifice, thus rejecting the old Rhemish explanation,—"*For sin* is the proper name of a certain sacrifice, . . as *Holocaust* is another kind." In our Version the distinction is kept in view (which it is not in the modern Romish), and the passage is intelligible as well (which it was not in the old Rhemish),—"In burnt-offerings and [sacrifices] for sin thou hast had no pleasure."

REVISOR VERSION (1582) MODERN ROMISH (1847) AUTHORIZED ENGLISH.

1 Cor. xvi. 19. "Aquila and Priscilla, with *their domestical Church*, salute you much in the Lord."

Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with *the Church that is in their house*.

Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the Church that is in their house.

Gal. vi. 1. "Brethren, if a man be *pre-occupied* in any fault," &c.

Brethren, if a man be *overtaken* in any fault, &c.

Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, &c.

Heb. ix. 26. "— now once in the *consummation of the worlds*, to the destruction of sin, he hath appeared by *his own host*."

— now once, at the *end of ages*, he hath appeared for the destruction of sin, by *the sacrifice of himself*.

— now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.

Heb. xi. 27. "By faith, he left Egypt; not fearing the fierceness of the king: for *him that is invisible he sustained*, as if he had seen him."

— for *he endured*, as seeing him that is invisible.

— for he endured, as seeing him who is invisible.

Heb. iv. 9. "Therefore there is *left a sabbatism* for the people of God."

There *remaineth* therefore a *day of rest* for the people of God.

There remaineth therefore a rest to the people of God.

Rom. viii. 18. "For *I think* that the *passions* of this time are not *congruous* to the glory to come, that shall be revealed in us."

For *I reckon*, that the *sufferings* of this time are not *worthy to be compared with* the glory to come, that shall be revealed in us.

For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.

Heb. xii. 2. "Looking on *the author of faith*, and *the consummator Jesus*, who, *joy being proposed* unto him, *sustained* the Cross, *contemning confusion*, and *sitteth* on the right hand of the *seat* of God."

Looking on *Jesus the author and finisher of faith*, who *having joy set before him*, *endured* the cross, *despising the shame*, and *now sitteth* on the right hand of the *throne* of God.

Looking unto *Jesus the author and finisher of our faith*; who, for the *joy that was set before him*, *endured* the cross *despising the shame*, and is *set down* at the right hand of the *throne* of God.

Heb. xiii. 16. "And *beneficence* and *communication* do not forget; for *with* such *hosts* *God is promerited*."

And do not forget *to do good* and *to impart*; for *by* such *sacrifices* *God's favour is obtained*.

But to do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.

RHEMISH VERSION (1582) MODERN ROMISH (1847) AUTHORIZED ENGLISH.

<p>1 Pet. ii. 2. "As infants even now born, reasonable, desire the milk without guile, that in it you may grow unto salvation."*</p>	<p>As new born babes desire the rational milk without guile, that thereby you may grow unto salvation.</p>	<p>As new born babes desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby.</p>
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These are a few examples, out of a multitude which might be brought forward, showing how the Romanists have availed themselves of our version to improve their own. In this they are doubtless to be commended: it is however ungrateful of them to turn round and abuse our translation, after having made such a laudable use of it.

* There is a curious remark on this way of rendering in the Preface to the Rhemish Testament (p. xv), which is worthy of notice. "We do so place *reasonable*, of purpose, that it may be indifferent both to *infants* going before, as in our Latin text; or to *milk* that followeth after, as in other Latin copies and in the Greek." Here, by the way, we see an additional difficulty in translating from a translation,—the existence of various readings in the translation. In my Edition of the Vulgate however (printed in 1598, and therefore before Sixtus V. had forbidden the printing of marginal readings), there is no various reading, and the text is,—"*Sicut modo geniti infantes, rationabile et sine dolo lac concupiscite.*" This corresponds with the Greek, and of course there is no difficulty respecting the translating of it. The Rhemish translators however reject the plain construction of the words, and by trying to translate it two ways at once make it mean nothing. If they meant *reasonable* to belong to *infants*, why did they not say, "as reasonable new-born infants"? If they meant it to agree with *milk*, why did they not say,—"*desire the reasonable milk*?" But when they confuse the two ideas together, putting a stop between *reasonable* and *milk*, and say, "as infants even now born, reasonable, desire the milk," their aim seems to have been to deprive the words of all sense: if such was their object, they have completely succeeded. While on this Preface, I would notice another sentence which does not seem to have been kept in view by the modern Editors of the Romish Version of the New Testament. On the same page the translators say:—"How is it possible to express *Depositum*, 1 Tim. vi [20], and He *exinanited* Himself, Philip ii. [7], and, you have *reflourished*, Philip. iv. [10] and, to *exhaust*, Heb. ix. 28., but as we do?" The last verse it is very easy to translate differently: nay, the wonder seems to be how they could express it as they do; for the Greek word *ανεσκευεν* certainly means (as we render it) "*to bear*," and while the Vulgate has *exhaurienda*, the margin reads, more correctly, *tollenda*. Suppose however, we grant that it is not "*possible*" to translate this verse differently from what they have done, what are we to say when we find that in the three other passages the authors of the present Romish Version have not only found it "*possible*" to express them differently, but have *actually done so*, and that mostly in the words of the authorized English Version! Thus in 1 Tim. vi. 20, while the Old Version has—"O Timothy, keep the *depositum*," the modern Romish reads, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust";—which is *word for word the same as ours*. In the second passage (Phil. ii. 7) where the Old Rhemish reads—

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But after all, the question is not so much respecting any particular version of the Word of God, as respecting the permission or encouragement given to read it. Here lies the great difference between the Churches of England and Rome. What the mind of the Church of England was at the time of the Reformation, we have already seen (p. 192), and that such was the spirit which animated her members in Saxon times may be seen from the advice given on this subject by the celebrated Alcuin in the 8th century. It is quoted by Mr. Soames* from the address to Count Guido,

"But he exinanited himself," the modern has, "But emptied himself";—equally literal, and certainly more intelligible. Lastly, we have Phil. iv. 10, "And I rejoiced in our Lord exceedingly that once at the length you have *reflourished* to care for me." Even this passage also the modern Romish translators have found "possible" to render differently, viz.—"that now at length your thought for me hath flourished again";—*almost the very words of the English Version*. But I must give another instance or two of the old Rhemish divines being corrected by their successors of the present day. I have already (p. 78) alluded to the contradiction between the two translations in Gal. ii. 11., which speaks of Paul withstanding Peter, "in face," as the Old Version will have it, against the "English Bezites";—my last example shall be 1 Pet. i. 25. It should be observed that at the end of the Rhemish Testament (1738) there is a table of certain places "corruptly translated in favor of Heresies of these days, in the English Editions." In the Rhemish Testament the passage mentioned is thus translated: "But the word of our Lord remaineth for ever, and this is the word that is preached among you." Upon this there is the following note in the Table. "*For preached*, they [i. e. the Protestants] add, *by the Gospel is preached*: in favour of their heresy, that there is no other word of God, but the written word only." Will it be believed, that this so-called "heretical corruption" has been adopted in the modern Romish Version (!) which reads thus,—"And this is the word which *by the gospel* hath been preached unto you." Where is the unchangeableness and infallibility of Rome? Why will she so often call a thing *heretical* and then adopt it herself?

* Bampton Lectures, p. 92. Mr. Soames gives this from a Saxon MS. in the Public Library at Cambridge, but adds that "it may be found in Latin, probably its original language, in the printed edition of Alcuin's works, p. 1220." (Ed. 1617) Respecting Alcuin himself he gives the following translation of a Saxon MS., which shows how he was regarded in old times. "There was a certain famous doctor in the English nation, called Albinus, and he had great estimation. He taught many of the English race in bookish craft, as he well know how; and went afterwards over sea to the wise king called Karulus [i. e. the Emperor Charlemagne]: who had great talents for religion, and for the world; and he lived wisely. To him comes Albinus, the noble doctor, and in his dominions he lived a stranger, in St. Martin's minster: and there he taught many with the heavenly wisdom which God gave to him" (Bamp. Lect. pp. 90-1.) Alcuin is generally supposed to have been the author of the Caroline Books, written in confutation of the decrees of the Second Nicene Council in favour of Image-worship.

and is so beautiful that I cannot forbear giving the whole passage.—“The reading of holy Scriptures is the knowledge of everlasting blessedness. In the holy Scriptures man may contemplate himself, as in some mirror, what sort of person he is. Just so the reading of holy Scriptures : it cleanseth the reader’s soul, it bringeth into his mind the fear of hell-punishment, and it raiseth his heart to the joy above. The man who wishes ever to be with God ; he should often pray to Him, and he should *often read the Holy Scriptures*. For when we pray, we speak to God, and when we read the holy books, then God speaks to us. It is a two-fold joy which the reading of the holy books bringeth to the readers ; first, that it so instructs their understandings as to render them sharper, and also that it leads them from this world’s vanities to the love of God. The reading of the holy books is a very pious work, and it greatly helpeth to the cleansing of the soul. As the body is fed with fleshly meats, so also the higher man, that is, the soul, is fed with divine conferences : as the Psalmist says, “Sweeter to the cheek of my mouth are thy speeches, than honey, or the honeycomb.” He is very happy who readeth the holy Scriptures, if he turneth the words into works. All the holy Scriptures are written for our health, that we may through them understand the truth. Oftener the blind man stumbleth than he who sees ; so also, he who knows not God’s commands, oftener sinneth from his ignorance, than does he who knows them. And like the blind man without a guide, so also man without a teacher must have great difficulty in going the right way according to God’s commands.”

We see then the estimation in which the Scriptures were held by the members of our Church in earlier as well as later times, and how at both periods the searching of them is recommended (and that to the laity, as well as clergy) as fraught with manifold blessings. And now what says the Church of Rome on this subject ? In early times *she* also

recommended the study of the Word of God ; in the 13th century, however, when her corruptions had increased to so great a height, and were too evident to those who (as the Albigenses) searched the Scriptures for themselves, a council was held at Toulouse in 1229, which in the 14th Canon forbade "laymen to be allowed to have the Books of the Old and New Testament; unless perhaps some one out of devotion, desire to have the Psalter or Breviary for the divine offices, and the Hours of the Blessed Virgin: but *even those now mentioned they may not have translated in the Vulgar tongue.*" What would St. Paul have said to such a decree as this?—he, who passed the commendation on Timothy, that "from a child" he had "known the Holy Scriptures," which were "able to make him wise unto salvation"? It was indeed a sign of conscious weakness to forbid all except the clergy to read in their own language that Word which was ordained to give wisdom unto the simple, to rejoice the heart, and to give light to the eyes,—which was written for our learning, that we might through it have comfort in this world, and a joyful hope of glory in the world to come. But other Councils and in the same century go even further than this. The Council of Besiers in Languedoc (Conc. Biterrense, 1246) speaks of theological books not to be possessed by laymen in Latin, and *not even by the clergy in the vulgar tongue.* And the Council of Tarragona (Conc. Terraconense, 1234) ordains that *no one shall have the books of the Old or New Testament* in the Romance, or vernacular dialect. And if any one had such, and neglected to bring them within eight days after the publication of the order to the Bishop to be burnt, he should be regarded, *whether clergyman or layman*, as suspected of heresy, until he had purged himself. (See Gieseler, Text-book of Eccles. History, ii. 392, note.)

Three centuries later we find Rome, actuated by the same fear of the diffusion of Scriptural knowledge, acting in a

similar way. The Council of Trent, which held its sittings at the time of the Reformation, did what it could to suppress the reading of the Scriptures by the people; and in the 4th Rule concerning prohibited books (*De libris prohibitis*) decrees as follows: "Since it is manifest by experience, that if the Holy Bible be promiscuously permitted in the Vulgar tongue, more loss than profit will thence arise by reason of the rashness of men: in this matter, let the judgment of the bishop or inquisitor be stood to, that with the advice of the parish priest or confessor, they may grant the reading of the Bible in the Vulgar tongue, translated by Catholic authors, to such as they shall understand can receive no hurt by such reading, but increase of faith and piety. Which faculty let them have in writing. But he that without such faculty shall presume to read or to have the Bible, he may not receive absolution of his sins, except he first deliver up his Bible to the Ordinary."

Rome then, has again and again forbidden to the people the liberty to read the Scriptures in their own language, in some cases *absolutely*, in others, with such a condition annexed as amounts in most cases to a prohibition (and many authorities might be added to what have been adduced;) and this is so plain that none can deny it. With regard to the rule of the Council of Trent, Dens says, that "excepting some things of small importance (*puncta*;) as about leave to be obtained in writing, concerning the delivery of the Bible taking place before absolution, and to be made to the Ordinary, the observance of this law is severely urged by the Bishops of Catholic Belgium." And he adds that, according to Steyaert, the law has been received and hitherto maintained, with some variation, ... in by far the greater part of the Catholic world, indeed *in the whole world purely Catholic* (imò in orbe merè Catholico toto): *only more indulgence has been granted in the case of those who have to live among heretics.* (Theol. Moral. ii. 103.) We see then how unfairly the English Protestant is charged

with falsehood by the English Romanist. The former searches the authorized documents of the Roman Church, and finds that she forbids the circulation of the Scriptures in the Vulgar tongue. When he adduces this against the Romanist, he tells him that he is uttering a calumny, that in England the Romanists may read the Bible as much as they like; but he does *not* tell him that this is not the case in Belgium, in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal, or even in Ireland;* he does not tell him, though he might do so, that Rome has two faces,—that though unchangeable in her thirst for universal empire, she is perpetually changing in the methods by which she strives to bring it about,—that expediency—not truth and sincerity—is the principle which actuates her;—and therefore, while she suppresses the reading of God's word in countries under her own sway, lest her spiritual power should be lessened,—in Protestant lands, where the Bible circulates freely, and where it would be impossible, or nearly so, to maintain the rule,—she makes a virtue of necessity, and allows the existence of a liberty, which she asserts to be evil, as productive of more harm than good.

I shall produce a few instances in proof of what I have stated, viz. that Rome suppresses the Bible, where it is in her power to do so.

In January 1824 the Maronite† Patriarch issued an

* It is only fair to mention that prefixed to the Douay Bible printed at Dublin in 1847, is an address of Father Mathew (referred to p. 181) to the Members of the Total Abstinence Societies urging upon them the purchase and perusal of the Scriptures. I was much pleased when I saw this, thinking it an evidence of the improved tone of feeling among the Romanists. But I was afterwards led to conclude that it was owing to the great desire which there is among the Irish Romanists for the scriptures, and to prevent them from reading the Protestant Bible. See also p. 147, &c.

† The Maronites are descended from the Sect of the Monothelites, who were condemned in the 6th General Council. They reside near Mount Lebanon, and take their name from the Monastery (called after Maro, an Abbot in the 7th century) about which they had fixed their habitation. In the 12th century they entered into communion with Rome, and, like the united Greeks, are allowed a considerable independence both in opinion and church polity, on condition of acknowledging the Pope's supremacy. See Archbishop Wingard's Review of the Church of Christ, p. 76.

injunction against the possession of the Holy Scriptures circulated by the English Missionaries in Syria. "They carry with them" he says, "everywhere Books of the Old and New Testament, printed in various languages, Syriac, Arabic, &c.—some full of mistakes, and others correct." Wherefore (he continues) we enjoin, in the name of God, that henceforth none shall either *keep in possession* any of the above-named books, or shall *sell, buy, or give them away* to others; and moreover shall not *read* them, on any consideration, *even though they may be correct copies, according to the Vulgate of Rome.* And whoever shall find near him any of the said books, whether of the Old or New Testament, or Books of Sermons, &c.—we order that all such be either burnt by those who possess them, or brought to us at Kannobino, because we cannot suffer such to remain in their possession."* The Patriarch then goes on to declare that if this order is not complied with within ten days, offenders shall be punished, if a clergyman, by being forbidden the exercise of his ministry,—if a layman, by excommunication.

Now if a Church warned her people against books of an evil tendency, it would be highly praiseworthy; but what are we to think when we find Rome, and Churches in connection with her, forbidding the people to read or possess the pure Word of God? Must we not think that they look upon it with fear, as their enemy?

Next let us enquire how the Bible is treated in Italy and in Rome itself. The authority of the Italian Inquisitor Piazza has already been adduced in my former pamphlet (p. 13), shewing that in his time in Italy, they reckoned "a case or matter of the Inquisition, the *reading or only keeping* of a Bible, New Testament, or any part of 'em in Italian, or any other language but Latin." And what is the

* Protestant Guardian, Vol. ii. 137, where this document is quoted from the Report of the Jews Society for 1825.

natural result of this prohibition? Mr. H. Seymour says that he had heard from a person who had resided ten years at Rome, that a copy of the Bible in the language of the people could not be procured, unless in secret, at any bookseller's shop in Rome. Wishing to judge for himself whether this were true, he visited every shop of the kind, and was everywhere told that they had no copy of the Bible in the language of the country. He asked on every occasion why they did not possess so important a book, and on every occasion they replied, *Non è permesso*—"it is not permitted;"—or *è proibito*—"it is prohibited." He thus found the statement to be true which he had heard, being unable to procure a portable copy of an Italian Bible at any bookshop in Rome. He however met with two copies of Martini's Edition in 24 volumes, the price of which would amount to more than six pounds of our money; which of itself would amount to a prohibition. And the booksellers informed him that the sale of the Bible in any cheap or portable form was forbidden, "the object being to prevent their circulation." (Pilgrimage to Rome, p. 221.)

Thus, however people may be accused of uttering a calumny, when they say that Rome forbids the reading of the Bible;—whatever may be the indulgence allowed (from motives of policy and expediency) in a Protestant country like England;—we see it is true, that where Rome has the power, she carries out her principles into practice, and sets the seal of prohibition upon the circulation of the Word of God.

But let us come nearer home: how is the Bible regarded in Ireland? Among the common people there is a great and increasing desire for it. But is it equally precious in the eyes of the Romish clergy there? Let the following statements answer this question. Some time ago a Romish Priest was called upon to visit the family of a poor man named Magennis, one of whose daughters was in

the last stage of consumption. When the priest entered the house, he observed a bible which was lying on a shelf. He took it down, and inveighed against the mischievous tendency of the book in the hands of unlearned persons. He then required that it should be burned. The sick person, her sister, and mother protested against this; and on their refusal, he committed the Bible to the flames with his own hands. (Protestant Journal, 1834, p. 472). Other cases are mentioned in the same publication. In one of these a New Testament in the Irish language was burnt by the Rev. Mr. Dillon of Kileooney, "who stood indicted some years ago at the sessions of Loughrea, for throwing several copies of the Word of God into the River Suck" (p. 593). On another occasion, a Romish priest entered a school, in the County of Roscommon, when all the children but one had left, and observing thirteen *Romish** Testaments on the desks, he ordered her to put them on the fire, which she did, one by one, as he commanded her (1833, p. 371).

It is however unnecessary to multiply instances of what is so notorious. I will therefore conclude my remarks on this subject with an extract from a letter of the Rev. J. Booker, Killurin Parsonage, Wexford.

"Romish writers, I know, are very unwilling to admit that their Church discountenances the reading of the scriptures by the laity; but whatever doubt there may be raised by Romish writers as to the *theory* of the Romish Church upon this point, there can most certainly be no doubt as to the practice of that Church where she possesses power to act according to her wishes.

* * *

"In the town of *Wexford* there are four Romish booksellers, and there is not a copy of the Bible or the New Testament with one of them. There is the same number of Romish Booksellers in the town of *Ennis-corthy*; with these I found three copies of the New Testament; but in *Ross* and *Gorey*, where I made enquiry [July 1837], there was not for

* The account says "Donay,"—though that properly belongs to the Old Testament: It is however plain enough what is meant. We see here an instance of the fact that the Romish objection to the Scriptures is not to the Protestant version only, but to their own also, if not accompanied by their notes.

sale a single copy of the Romish Version, though there are eight booksellers' shops in these towns—that is, in short, in the four principal towns of this county there were not to be found with the Romish booksellers, more than three copies of the Word of God, and these three of the New Testament only. From these few facts it is quite evident that the Romish clergy have no desire that the scriptures, even their own version, should get into the hands of their people. We should observe too that the Romish clergy have no associations, nor private depôts, for the sale and gratuitous distribution of Bibles, such as the Protestant clergy have for the supply of their congregations." (British Magazine, Vol. xiii. p. 217.)

These statements will be sufficient to shew which Church (to use an expression of Mr. Egan's) "blinks the light." They will shew, that while the Church of England fearlessly distributes the Word of God among all classes of society (teaching at the same time, that no profit can be looked for, unless it is read with reverence and humility),—the Church of Rome has distinctly forbidden the reading of the Scriptures by the people at large, that where she has the power, she strictly enforces this prohibition, though from motives of policy the rule is relaxed in Protestant countries; and yet in the sister Isle, numbers of her clergy have been found who would burn that sacred book, as if it were a thing to be abhorred, rather than lead their people to read it, and to esteem it as the most precious thing which God has bestowed.

The Church of England loves the light of God's Word, and wishes her members to rejoice in it, and to study that Word, and to live by it;....the Church of Rome shews no such love for the Scripture: if forced to permit it to be read, she permits it *because she is forced*: She shuns the light and would keep it from the people. Which system then, is most likely to be in accordance with that Holy Word? That which loves it, or that which fears it and shuns it?

We are again brought (p. 20) to the subject of the weeping Madonna, and of relics. Respecting the first, I had in my former pamphlet (p. 10) mentioned an anecdote

of a figure of a Madonna at Ancona, which was represented as shedding tears, the tears being contrived by means of certain glass beads. Mr. Egan says that this is a calumny, and intimates that I knew it to be such. It is certain that if I had known it to be a calumny, I should not have inserted it, but such was not the case, for I think it most highly probable that the account given was a true one, and the circumstance is alluded to, but in more general terms, by Sir W. Scott, in his *Life of Napoleon*.* Will Mr. Egan assert his belief that the lifeless image, or the Virgin supernaturally present within it, † shed *real* tears? He must have heard of such images, and also of bleeding pictures. Does he believe that real blood ever proceeded from a piece of canvas which had not previously been punctured,—or that genuine tears were ever shed by a piece of wood?

Respecting the “three heads of John the Baptist” which I had alluded to, Mr. E. says that they “may after all be only *three pieces of one head* :” and refers to the supposed crib or manger of our Lord at Rome, which is so called, “though it does not constitute the third part of the crib.” ‡

* His words, as given in the *Protestant Journal* for 1832, p. 784, n. are as follows—“A curious piece of Priestcraft had been played off in this town, (Ancona) to encourage the people to resistance. A miraculous image was seen to shed tears, and the French artists could not discover the mode in which the trick was managed, until the image was brought to head quarters, when a glass shrine, by which the illusion was managed, was removed. The Madonna was sent back to the Church which owned her, but apparently had become reconciled to her foreign visitors, and dried her tears in consequence of her interview with Buonaparte !” (Vol. iii. chap. 8, p. 276.)

† According to Mr. Faber, (“*Facts and Assertions*,” p. 47) Peter de Medrano asserts—“We must say that, to our Lady the Mother of God, there has been granted the remarkable privilege of being *physically and really present in some of her statues or images*.” (Roset. Theolog. p. 311.)

‡ The crib or manger is kept under the Altar in the Chapel of the *Præsepe* (i. e. manger) in the Church of *St. Maria Maggiore* (Wright's *Travels in Italy*, p. 221); and is described by Mr. Seymour as a “rude and rough piece of wood, about the size of the lower part of a man's arm” (*Pilgrimage, &c.* p. 224). Mr. S. speaks of it as the *Cradle*, but that relic seems to be preserved, with many other things of higher antiquity in the Great Church of St. John Lateran. A list of these treasures is given by Johannes Diaconus, or John the Deacon, in his

I am aware that it is common with Roman Catholics in speaking of their relics, to talk of a portion of any one, as if it were the whole. (See Mr. Seymour's "Pilgrimage," p. 336). With the head of John the Baptist however, and some other relics, the case seems to be different. These, at least, are the grounds which I had for the allusion which I made. Mr. Blanco White, formerly a Spanish Catholic Priest, in his "Poor Man's Preservative against Popery" (p. 64) relates an anecdote of a French Priest (a man of no religion) who had been travelling in Italy and Germany, where the collections of relics had been boastfully displayed

account of that Church published by Mabillon in his *Museum Italicum*, and they are said to comprise—"The seven Candlesticks contained in the first tabernacle, . . . and the rod of Aaron which budded. Also the tables of the testimony, and the rod of Moses with which he struck the rock twice, . . . There also are the remains of the cradle of the Lord. Some of the five barley loaves and two fishes. Also the table of the Lord. The towel with which He wiped His disciples feet. The coat without seam, . . . The purple robe of the Saviour; Two vessels (*ampullæ*) of the blood and water from the Lord's side. *Circumcisio Domini*. The towel which was about His head. . . There is there also some of the place from which Christ ascended into heaven. Some of the blood of St. John the Baptist. Some of the dust and ashes (*pulvere et cinere*) of the burnt body of the same fore-runner of Christ (!) His garment of camel's hair. A vessel full of manna from the tomb of St. John the Evangelist. The tunic of the same Apostle." (Mus. Ital. ii. 564). Does Mr. Egan believe that all these things are really preserved at Rome? Does he think the rod of Aaron, and the tables of the Commandments, and portions of the barley loaves and the two fishes are still to be seen? Or will he accuse Protestants of a "calumny," if they expose such frauds,—if they cannot forbear to call them forgeries and impositions?

Suppose, again, a Protestant were to affirm that monks of a certain Abbey in France, pretended to show one of the very tears shed by our Lord at the grave of Lazarus. Would not this be called "a calumny?" Yet such a relic was (and I presume still is) preserved at the Abbey of Vendome, under the title of The Holy Tear, or the Tear of Christ (*Lacryma Christi*). At the end of the Venice Edition of Mabillon's Prefaces to his Acts of the Benedictines, (1740) is a Dissertation upon this Holy Tear, accompanied by an engraving, exhibiting a view of the place where it is kept, and the arcade over it, which is adorned with a series of subjects apparently sculptured in high relief, the first of them being a representation of the resurrection of Lazarus, in which an angel is shown giving the Tear to his sister Mary. Other scenes are given, representing its history, till it is deposited in the Abbey of Vendome. (See also the same author's Annal. Bened. iv. 591.) The learned writer alludes to the gifts which have been made to the Church in its honour at different times, and the miracles said to have been wrought by it. This then is no Protestant invention. But surely we are not bound to believe in the genuineness of this relic. And, though levity on such a subject is reprehensible, yet, I trust we may say what we think, without being guilty of a "calumny."

to him. "The Priests of a famous Abbey in France" he continues, were doing the same, when among other wonders, 'here,' they said to the traveller, 'is the head of John the Baptist.'—'Praised be heaven!' answered the waggish Priest, 'this is the third head of the holy Baptist which I have been happy enough to hold in my hands.' And Dr. Geddes, an older writer, and one against whom Mr. E. may perhaps take less exception, says, while speaking of the pretended Romish miracles, "such are that of *St. John Baptist*, and of other Saints' natural heads, being whole and entire in divers Churches, and in which every one of them is said to have wrought miracles to demonstrate its being the true head." (Miscell. Tracts, Vol. iii. No. 2. p. 49).

I do not remember to have heard of "ship loads of the true cross," but I have heard of there being sufficient, if all the pieces were collected together, to make the main-mast of a man-of-war. Doubtless, these are both intended as figurative expressions for any large quantity, very greatly exceeding the actual amount of the Cross itself. And when we read the accounts of those who are fond of the marvellous, it is not surprising that such expressions have been made use of. Mr. E. says that when at Rome, he was fortunate enough to get four pieces of the true cross, and that all four together are not the size of a lady's small pin, and that even these have not for years been given away. Fortunate indeed he was, and most highly honoured, to be thus singled out for the enjoyment of so great a favour, and if he is satisfied that his relics are genuine, it is all very well. Yet I have read that in Ireland "many priests and almost all friars give little strings of common hawker's beads, and *small needle-like splinters of timber*, to the more devout sort of people, as holy relics that have been blessed by the Pope, and as *pieces of the wood of the true cross*." (Prot. Journal, 183, p. 454.) Perhaps Mr. Egan will say that what these friars dispose of are not

genuine pieces of the true cross ; but how can he tell that what he has are a whit more genuine ?

We read in Picart's Ceremonies that Queen Helena, foreseeing that the discovery of the Cross would inflame the devotion of Christians, took only a portion of it with her, leaving the remainder in Jerusalem, to be there the object of the zeal of the pilgrims, but one could not doubt but that this sacred wood would be insensibly lost (*perdu*), on account of the continual distributions which were made of it to devotees, if St. Paulinus had not assured us that from that time *it remained in the same state*, that the faithful *took without ceasing of this divine wood*, and that in the mean time, *they saw it always perfectly entire* (I. ii. 205). If this be true, the expressions above alluded to are not so great a calumny as might at first appear.*

The subject of the forgery of relics is too extensive to enter upon here : suffice it to say that the time has been when the manufacture of them, and the impositions con-

* Mr. Egan, (in connection with this subject) with his usual accuracy, speaks of Roman Catholics as "*nine-tenths of the Christian world.*" Now if any number is divided into ten parts, and nine of these are taken away, of course we have *one tenth remaining*. In other words, if members of the Roman Church are nine tenths of the Christian world, they are nine times as numerous as the other Christians, who will form but *one tenth of the Christian world*. Now from an estimate taken a short time ago, and that with the greatest regard to accuracy, the number of Christians, not members of the Roman Church, are computed at 120 millions. And as Roman Catholics are (according to Mr. E.) *nine-tenths of the Christian world*, they are, of course, nine times as many.

Thus we have,

120, 000, 000 Christians not Roman Catholics.

9

1080, 000, 000 Roman Catholics.

i. e. the members of the Roman Church amount to 1080 millions. But the *entire population of the whole globe* is computed at only 980 millions. So that Mr. E. (despising the sensible axiom of Euclid, that the whole is greater than a part) would make the part greater than the whole, *reckoning the members of the Church of Rome at 100 millions more than all the inhabitants of the globe (Christians and unbelievers), put together*. The fact however appears to be that they are only 160 millions, or *rather more than half the Christian world*. Perhaps Mr. Egan will say that he spoke only in round numbers ; but the numbers must be very round indeed which could stretch 160 millions into 1080 millions !

nected with them, and the deception practised by means of them upon the people, were connected with some of the greatest corruptions of the Romish system, and give us a sad insight into the working of that Church which has been accustomed to leave no art untried,—to hesitate at no act of deception, if it conduce to the enlargement of her spiritual power.

We now come to Ælfric. In my former pamphlet I had referred to him, calling him, as is usually done, Archbishop Ælfric, and quoting from one of his homilies, to shew what was the doctrine of the Saxon Church at that time respecting the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. There are thus three points which Mr. E. contends for against me :—(1) that Ælfric was not Archbishop,—(2) that if he had written in the sense ascribed to him by Protestants, it would have been his own private opinion, and not that of the Anglo-Saxon Church,—and (3) that Ælfric spoke as Roman Catholics do in the present day.

1. For the first, Mr. E. confidently affirms, (p. 21) “Ælfric was not Archbishop.” It is the belief of most learned men that he was; and the most probable opinion is that he was Archbishop of York, though some suppose that he presided over the See of Canterbury. (See the learned Henry Wharton’s *Dissertation on the subject, in Anglia Sacra, I. 125*, and the ingenious “*Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle* ;” also Mr. Wright’s *Biographia Britannica literaria, Anglo-Saxon period, p. 480, &c.*) There is no doubt but that the personal history of Ælfric is involved in much obscurity; nor is it a point which I intend to contest, because there do not appear to be sufficient grounds to decide respecting it with absolute certainty. Let me however state that there were several persons of that name about the same period, an Archbishop of Canterbury from 996 to 1005, an Archbishop of York from the year 1028 to 1051, and another, called

Ælfric Bata, a disciple of the great Ælfric, who is supposed to have been the same with one of the Archbishops. The subject of our enquiry was a pupil of Ethelwold, who was Bishop of Winchester (968—984), and by his successor Elfeah or Elphege, he was sent in Ætheldred's days to govern the newly-established Abbey of Cerne in Dorsetshire, at the request of its founder, Elthelmar, the "thane." While there, he wrote two books of homilies, apparently about the years 990 and 991, from the allusion in his second Latin preface to the Danish invasion. These homilies were confessedly translated from the works of different Latin fathers, on which account he is called by Dr. Lingard, Ælfric "the translator." He is however more generally known by the title of "the Grammarian," from a Grammar which he composed in the Latin language. Besides these, he translated into English the Pentateuch, with the books of Joshua and Judges, he composed a body of Ecclesiastical canons, addressed to Wulsine Bishop of Sherborne, and a pastoral Epistle written by the command of Wolfstan Archbishop of York, with other works. (See Mr. Wright's Biog. Brit. and Mr. Thorpe's Preface to Ælfric's Homilies.) Into the question of his personal history after leaving Cerne, I do not purpose to enter, as it would occupy much time without corresponding advantage. I will therefore only add that I do not *contend* for the fact of his having been Archbishop, (having used that appellation in compliance with general usage) observing, at the same time, that while common consent ascribes to him one of the highest episcopal thrones in the kingdom, Mr. E. is somewhat too dogmatical in asserting, unless he had the means to prove it, that "Ælfric was not Archbishop—he was a mere Abbot." Dr. Lingard, with equal learning, and more modesty, only asserts that he "can *find no evidence* to identify" him with either of the Archbishops. II. 319.

2. But leaving this question, which is, indeed, of little or no importance in a theological view, let us pass on to

Mr. E.'s statement, that if Ælfric "had written in the sense in which Mr. Soames takes him (after Mat. Parker, in 1556), it would have been *his own opinion*, and not that of the *Anglo-Saxon Church*." I will therefore endeavour to show now that Ælfric's doctrine (*whatever it might be*) was not his "own opinion" merely, but that of the English Church at the time.

When living in the monastery of Cerne, above mentioned, regretting the ignorance and errors which prevailed, he set forth forty homilies for the instruction of the people;—"not" (as he observes in his English preface) "for confidence of great learning, but because I have seen and heard of much error in many English books, which unlearned men, through their simplicity have esteemed as great wisdom." These homilies he submitted to Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury, with the request that he would, if he saw any errors, be at the pains to correct them and give the book the sanction of his authority. The work was so favourably received by the Archbishop—(*nostrum studium nimium laudasti*; says Ælfric, in the preface to his second Volume), that he dedicated another set of homilies to him with the same request as before, adding, that if it meet with his approbation, he shall not regard the blame of the invidious.* Thus, these homilies were not written merely for the instruction of the

* Whether from this expression, and from the one given in his first preface, that he had seen "*much error in many English books*," anything can be gathered respecting the doctrine we are about to investigate, I would not venture to assert. It seems however that he anticipated that some persons might find fault with his labours, and he distinctly states that there were errors prevalent which needed correcting; and as he takes such pains to set forth the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, possibly he might allude to erroneous opinions which may have been adopted by some on that head. I do not lay any *stress* upon this supposition, I only say the statement is noticeable, because Dr. Lingard says that it is not likely that he should teach a doctrine at variance with the teaching of the Church at the time. Now possibly, Radbert's opinions might be beginning to find some favour among the English: at any rate, it is less easy to understand how he should be so very explicit on the doctrine of the Real Presence, and insist over and over again upon his statements and explanations, if he did not see occasion for it on account of erroneous sentiments on this head prevailing among the people:

people as any private witness of heresy might be,—but they were not free from the shadow of their being read as heresy by the clergy “*considerantes hoc significat passim*”—i. e. the first form “*per manus sacerdotum, et integræ et ministræ Læi vocantur in Ecclesiis*”; they were dedicated to the advancement of Christianity, not as a mere matter of ornament, but that we might carefully receive them and give them the stamp of our public authority,* as fit for the object for which they were intended,—and thus, as Dr. Lingard above, they cannot be suspected of heresy,—and yet, *esse veritas, fortissimè, continet merito Ælfric’s private opinions*! Surely, his private opinions received very public encouragement. Doctrines avowed by the spiritual head of the English Church, and preached in the parish churches of England with his sanction, could not be matters of private opinion. Doctrines, Ælfric’s doctrine represented the belief of the Anglo-Saxon Church at that time.

3. But now comes the question, What was his doctrine respecting the Holy Communion or Eucharist? Did he speak as Roman Catholics do in the present day? To understand this, we must enter somewhat into the controversies of the times. Our Blessed Lord on many occasions (as is well known) used figurative language, as, e. g. when He spoke of His body as a temple, when He called Himself a door, a vine, &c. But when He instituted the holy Eucharist, the Roman Church maintains that He meant literally what He said: i. e. the words “This is my Body” signified His actual Body then present at the table.† This meaning is

* “*Presor modo obnixè almitatem tuam, mitissime Pater Sigerice, ut digneris corrigere per tuam industriam, si aliquos nevos malignæ heresis, aut nebulosæ fallaciæ in nostrâ interpretatione reperies: et adscribatur dehinc hic codicillus tue auctoritati, non utilitati nostræ despiciabilis personæ.*” Preface to first Volume.

† It has been well remarked that if the doctrine of transubstantiation be true, and the words be taken in their strict sense, the wine, according to St. Luke and St. Paul, is not changed into the Blood of Christ, but the cup or chalice into the New Testament. Luke xxii. 20. and 1 Cor. xi. 25. “This

often said to have been first applied to the words by the second Council of Nice in 787, when the statement that the consecrated bread was the image of Christ, which was made by Gregory, Bishop of Neocæsarea, in the Council of Constantinople in 754 (assembled to condemn image-worship) was reprobated in the strongest terms by the second Council of Nice (assembled to *authorize* image-worship), wherein it was said—"Read as long as you will, you will never find that our Lord, or the Apostles, or the Fathers call that unbloody sacrifice which is offered by the priest, an image, but the very Body and the very Blood."* Where we see, the Council called the Eucharist the "unbloody (*incruentum*) sacrifice;" but if "unbloody," how could actual, material, blood be present, according to the belief afterwards adopted by the Roman Church? So that the Council used vague and indefinite expressions, and made use of words which have often been applied to the bread and wine by those who hold no material presence, and yet call them Christ's real Body and Blood in a sacramental sense, and therefore even *it* cannot justly be quoted as upholding the dogma of the material presence, much less, that of transubstantiation. That doctrine is said to have been invented by Paschasius Radbert, a monk, and afterwards Abbot, of Corby. Or rather, he used language more distinctly setting forth a doctrine said to be previously existing, and which no doubt was existing, in a greater or less degree. For Paschasius did not altogether *invent* the doctrine: he wrote more copiously and

cup is the New Testament," &c.—So that what looks like a cup is not really a cup: it is so only in appearance,—according to its real substance it is the New Testament. If Romanists will have the words of institution to be taken literally, they cannot avoid this conclusion, but to escape this monstrous absurdity, they must allow that the cup is put figuratively for the contents of the cup, i. e. the wine.

* Concil. Nicæn. II. Actio Sexta, apud Binium, Vol. VI. p. 88. It is also maintained by this Council that if the bread be an image (or representation) of the Body, it cannot become the divine Body—"Si imago corporis est, non potest sane fieri divinum Corpus." But we shall see, by and by, that Ratramn quotes a prayer in the Eucharistic service, where it is called an image.

dogmatically about it than had been previously done, and, (though his views seem confused and contradictory) yet he gave a sort of fixedness to opinions which had previously been floating about more or less obscurely, and carried them out to greater lengths;—in other words, he *developed* (as we should now say) the doctrine of transubstantiation.* Such however, was not the received doctrine of the Church, and his opinions were attacked at the time by various writers of eminence; and though, as the times (by the confession of Romanists themselves) grew worse and worse, his teaching gained ground, and was acknowledged at Rome, in the time of Lanfranc and Berengarius, in the 11th century, as the doctrine of the Latin Church, yet it was not till the 13th century, viz. at the Council of Lateran in 1215, that it was fully developed and declared to be an article of faith.

But let us speak more particularly of Paschasius, as it will be necessary in order to understand the meaning of Ælfric's expressions. In a book written by him in 831, when monk of Corby, entitled "De corpore et sanguine Domini," he asserted that the bread after consecration became the true actual Body of Christ which was born of the Virgin, and suffered upon the Cross, and rose again from the sepulchre: not only that Christ was really present under the form of bread, but that the bread was changed into (not merely the sacramental, but) the material and natural Body of Christ,—and that there were no remains whatever of the bread and wine, for what appeared to be such, were not truly such, but Christ's natural Body and Blood.†

* See Gieseler, Text-book of Ecclesiastical History, II. 46.

† *Tria potissimum (says Mabillon) docet hoc in opere Paschasius, quæ statim ab initio libri exponit: nimirum verum corpus et sanguinem Christi Domini existere in Eucharistia: panis et vini substantiam facta consecratione non superesse: ipsumque corpus non aliud esse, quam quod de Maria Virgine natum est. Hæc paucis comprehendit in hunc modum. Licet figura panis et vini hic sit, omnino nihil aliud, quam caro Christi et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt. Unde et ipsa Veritas ad discipulos hæc inquit: Caro mea est pro mundi vita. Et, ut mirabilis loquar, non alia plane, quam quæ nata est de Maria, et passa in cruce, et resurrexit de sepulchro. (Mab. Præf. in Sæc. quart. Act. SS. Bened. Pars secunda. Cap. I. § II. ii. n. 28.)*

"The work of Paschasius Radbert," says Neander. (Vol. vi. p. 212, 1852) "being the first in the Western Church in which this doctrine was so distinctly expressed, created a great sensation. Men found in the writing of the Church-fathers, particularly of Augustine, much which seemed to conflict with such a theory. He himself was afterwards constrained to own, (in his letter to the monk Frudegard, "Quæris de re, ex qua multi dubitant") that *many* doubted whether the Body of Christ in the Eucharist was the same body as that in which He was born, suffered, and rose again." Numbers indeed expressed themselves at variance with the opinions of Paschasius, and among them occur the names of Agobardus, Druthmar, Walafridus, Florus Magister, Heribaldus, John Scotus, Rabanus Maurus, and Bertramus or Ratramnus. Of these, two deserve special notice, Rabanus and Ratramnus. The former of these was Archbishop of Mentz, and was one of the most famous men of his time. He is called by Baronius, "that brilliant star of Germany, the pupil of Alcuin,"—"a man very remarkable for learning, inferior to no one in uprightness and knowledge."* What was the opinion of Rabanus respecting Paschasius's doctrine, we learn from an expression in his "Liber Pœnitentialis, cap. 33, De Eucharistia," addressed in 854 to Heribald Bishop of Auxerre, in which he says :—"Certain persons *lately* (nuper), holding unusual opinions concerning the Sacrament itself, have said that this very Body and Blood of the Lord, which was born of the Virgin, and in which the Lord suffered on the cross, and rose again from the sepulchre, [is the same as that which is taken from the altar :] *against which error*, we have, to the *utmost of our power* (quantum potuimus) writing to the Abbot Egilus, set forth what ought to be believed concerning the self-same Body."† It is much to be

* Baronii, Ann. Eccl. ad ann. 843 and 847, as quoted by Mr. Soames, Bampton Lectures, p. 411.

† Canis. Lect. Ant. Tom. II. pars ii. p. 311.

regretted that the Epistle to which he refers, as having opposed this error to the utmost of his power, is no longer extant. However "we may well rest satisfied" as Mr. Soames says "with the notorious and indisputable facts, that *the bright star of Germany, the pious Raban, the prince of contemporary philosophers and divines*, took up the pen of controversy to convict of *error* a belief in the corporal presence, and to brand it as a *novelty*." Bampton Lectures, p. 879.

Now let us see what Ratramnus says. It should be stated that he was a monk of Corby, of which Paschasius was then Abbot. Upon a second edition of Radbert's book being put forth, and presented to Charles the Bald, some time after the year 844, that king, perceiving the diversity of opinion on this subject among the learned, sought counsel of Ratramnus, who was thus led to write his work "De corpore et sanguine Domini," in opposition to the views of Radbert, whom however he did not mention, for he could not decently do so, being his own Abbot. (Neander, vi. 214). His work is divided into two parts, in reply to the questions (1) whether the Sacrament of the Altar contain any secret virtue, which is evident only to the eye of faith, and (2) whether it is the very same body as that which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, &c. In reply to the first he says, "That bread which by the ministry of the priest is made the Body of Christ, shows one thing outwardly to the human senses and cries (*clamat*) another inwardly to the minds of the faithful." He then goes on to say, that though the bread does not change in its appearance, yet that a more excellent thing is present there, i.e. the Body of Christ, which is cognizable not by the bodily senses, but by a believing mind (*quod non sensibus carnis, sed animi fidelis contuitu vel adspicitur, vel accipitur, vel comeditur*). "Since no man can deny such to be the case," he continues, "it is clear that that bread and wine is *figura-*

tively the Body and Blood* of Christ—(*claret quia panis iste vinumque figuratè Christi corpus et sanguis existit*). For if, according to some, nothing is here taken *figuratively*, but all is beheld *in truth* (or reality) faith has no exercise here. But because they confess that it is the Body and Blood of Christ,—nor could it be so, unless a change were made for the better, nor is that change made *bodily* but *spiritually*; it needs must be that now it should be said to be done *figuratively*, since under the covering of *bodily* bread and *bodily* wine, there is the *spiritual* Body of Christ and the *spiritual* Blood—(*necesse est, ut jam figuratè facta esse dicatur, quoniam sub velamento corporei panis corporeique vini spirituale corpus Christi spiritualisque sanguis existit*).” Thus we see, that Raturamus taught, that after consecration, the bread was still bread, and that there was no change of substance (or transubstantiation), but that it became, as it were, ennobled with the Real Presence of the Spiritual Body of Christ, so that the bread and wine might be called—not as Paschasius said, and as Rome still says—actually and naturally, but *figuratively*, the Body and Blood of Christ.

With regard to the other question, whether the consecrated bread is the very same natural body as that which was born of the Virgin, he replies,—“Ambrose† says, ‘Christ is in that sacrament’; for he does not say, ‘That bread and that wine are Christ.’ It is indeed the Body of Christ, not

* Here and elsewhere I follow Raturamus in putting the verb which agrees with the words “Body and Blood” in the singular number.

† According to Mabillon, Paschasius defended his opinions by the following passage from S. Ambrose, “Liquet igitur quod præter naturæ ordinem Virgo generavit, et hoc quod conficimus, de Virgine est. Quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Christi corpore, cum præter naturam sit ipse Dominus JESUS natus ex Virgine? Vera utique caro Christi quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est; vera ergo illius carnis SACRAMENTUM est.” Act. SS. Ord. Ben. Sæc. VI. pt. ii. Cap. I. § iv. Where we see St. Ambrose distinctly says that the Eucharist was a SACRAMENT of the true flesh of Christ which was crucified and buried. Therefore it could not be the flesh itself.

however the corporal, but the spiritual ; it is the Blood of Christ, not however the corporal, but the spiritual. (*Est quidem corpus Christi, sed non corporale sed spirituale ; et sanguis Christi, sed non corporalis sed spiritualis*). The Body of Christ which died and rose again and is made immortal, now dies no more—it is eternal and impassible. But that which is celebrated in the Church is temporal not eternal, corruptible not uncorrupt. But if they are not the same, how is it called the very Body of Christ and the very Blood ? Concerning the very Body of Christ it is said that it is very God and very man, who in the end of the world was born of the Virgin Mary. But since these things cannot be said of the Body of Christ which is wrought in the Church through a mystery, it is said to be the Body of Christ after a certain manner. And this manner is in a *figure* and an *image* (*in figura est et imagine*), that the truth itself may be perceived. In the prayers which are said after the mystery of the Blood and Body of Christ, and to which the people say *Amen*, it is thus said by the voice of the priest—“Receiving the pledge of eternal life, we humbly beg that in the outward participation of the sacrament we may partake of what we touch in an image (*ut quod imagine contingimus, sacramenti manifesta participatione sumamus*)”: i. e. in partaking outwardly of the bread we may inwardly receive the Body of Christ of which the bread is an image or representation.* Ratramnus dwells at some length on the expressions “pledge” and “image,” showing that they are not the thing itself, but have a reference to it; and after quoting and commenting upon another prayer, he comes to the conclusion—“Wherefore the Body

* This prayer has long been removed from the Roman liturgy, but there is a passage to the same effect in our Communion service: Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee; and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood.”

and Blood which is accomplished in the Church differs from that Body and Blood, which in the Body of Christ is now known through the resurrection to be glorified. And this Body is a pledge and an appearance, but that is the truth itself (or the reality—*ipsa veritas*). We see therefore that *there is a GREAT DIFFERENCE between the mystery of the Blood and Body of Christ, which is now taken by the faithful in the church, and that which was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered, was buried, which rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father.*"*

Thus we see that Ratramnus asserted the Real Presence of the spiritual Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, that the bread and wine were *figuratively* the Body and Blood of Christ, and that these were "verily and indeed taken and received by *the faithful* in the Lord's Supper;" but he distinctly denies, against Radbert and the modern Church of Rome, that the bread upon the Altar is the same natural Body of Christ which was born of the Virgin. And yet, Ratramnus was not accounted a heretic,—his book was not condemned, at least not then; but as centuries rolled by, and his book which had been long forgotten was brought to light at the time of the Reformation, it *was* condemned as heretical, and supposed by Roman Catholics to be a spurious production of the Protestants! and though more modern Roman Catholics, as De Sainte Beauve, Mabillon, and Boileau (see Gieseler) have avowed it, yet it is called by Sixtus Senensis "a pernicious volume of *Oecolampadius*" (a German Reformer), by Sotomaïor "a most pestilent book of *Oecolampadius*"; it is included in the Index of prohibited books published in A.D. 1559 (during the Council of Trent), and in Cardinal Quiroga's Index is the injunction—"Let the whole book (*totus liber*) of Bertram [or Ratramn] the

* For the original of these extracts I am indebted to Gieseler's Text-book, II. pp. 47, 48. n.

priest concerning the Body and Blood of the Lord be entirely (*penitus*) taken away."*

We will now return to Ælfric, whose language we shall be better able to understand after the account which has been given of the opinions of Paschasius and Ratramnus, since (as we shall see) he adopts in many cases, the very words and expressions of the latter writer, and therefore echoes, as it were, his condemnation of Radbert. Mr. Egan says (p. 21) that he must "express his astonishment" at my "believing Mr. Soames, or any one else [!], about Ælfric's doctrine." The best plan then will be to go at once to Ælfric himself. In the famous Paschal Homily entitled "A sermon on the sacrifice on Easter Day," he gives an account of the institution of the Jewish Passover, showing the typical relation which it bore to the sacrifice of Christ. After mentioning several particulars, he proceeds—"The people of Israel ate the flesh of the lamb at their Easter-tide, when they were delivered, and we now partake *spiritually* of Christ's Body, and drink His Blood, when *with true belief* we partake of the holy housel," i.e. the consecrated bread and wine in the Lord's supper. He afterwards goes on to explain in what sense the bread and wine are called Christ's Body and Blood:—"Now certain men have often inquired, and yet frequently inquire, how the bread, which is prepared from corn and baked by the heat of fire, can be changed to Christ's Body; or the wine, which is wrung from many berries, can by any blessing be changed to the Lord's Blood? Now we say to such men, that some things are said of Christ typically, some literally." He then says that Christ is called bread, and a lion, and a lamb, &c. *typically*; but that "according to His true nature, Christ is neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why then," he asks, "is the holy housel called Christ's Body or His Blood, *if it is not truly* that which it is called?"

* Gieseler, II. 48. n., Gibbings' Roman Index expurgatorius, Pref. pp. xlv, xlvi. and Edgar's Variations, p. 372.

Truly* the bread and wine which are hallowed through the mass of the priests, appear one thing to human understandings without, and cry another thing to believing minds within. Without, they appear bread and wine, both in aspect and in taste; but they are truly, after the hallowing, Christ's Body and His Blood through a ghostly mystery. Great is the difference between the invisible might of the holy housel and the visible appearance of its own nature. By nature it is corruptible bread and corruptible wine, and is by the power of the divine word truly Christ's Body and His Blood; *not however, bodily, but spiritually*. Great is the difference between the Body in which Christ suffered, and the Body which is hallowed for housel. The Body verily in which Christ suffered was born of Mary's flesh, with blood and with bones, with skin and with sinews, with human limbs, quickened by a rational soul; and His ghostly Body, which we call housel, is gathered of many corns, without blood and bone, limbless and soulless, and there is, therefore, nothing therein to be understood bodily, but all is to be understood spiritually. Verily Christ's Body which suffered death, and from death arose, will henceforth never die, but is eternal and impassible. The housel is temporary, not eternal; corruptible, and is distributed piecemeal; chewed betwixt teeth, and sent into the belly: but it is, nevertheless, by ghostly might, in every part all. Many receive the holy Body, and it is, nevertheless, in every part all, by a ghostly miracle. This mystery is a pledge and a symbol; Christ's Body is truth. This pledge we hold mystically until we come to the truth, and then will this pledge be ended. But it is, as we before said, Christ's Body and His Blood, not bodily but spiritually."

Then come two miracles of which Mr. E. relates one, (which, by the way, happens to be on the next page to the

* In Mr. Thorpe's version which I use, the Saxon is here incorrectly rendered "but."

passage quoted by me, and not "in another Homily," as he incorrectly asserts)—how that two monks, doubting, as it would appear, respecting the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, prayed to God for some manifestation of the same, and how they saw a child lying on the altar where the priest was celebrating mass, and an angel standing with a knife waiting till the priest should break the housel; and how the angel then dismembered the child in the dish and poured its blood into the cup, and afterwards, when they went to housel, it was changed to bread and wine. Now Ælfric, living in a credulous age, probably believed things which we might regard it not the mark of a sensible mind to believe; but if he did insert this "legend" (as Mr. E. calls it) into his homily (for some, though I am not aware on what ground, regard it as an interpolation), it is not clear what he meant to prove by it. The mere circumstance that two monks saw, or said they saw, an angel divide a child lying upon the altar, while the priest broke the consecrated bread, is surely no proof at all that the child and the bread were the same identical object. And it is anything but a proof of the Roman doctrine that the priest renews the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, for why should He be represented under the form of a *child*? Surely it was not as a *child* that He suffered and shed His Blood for us; surely it was not as a *child** that He spoke those mysterious words, "Take eat,

* More consistent, surely, is the account which is related of a Jew of Paris in the 13th century, who maliciously ill-treated the consecrated Host which he had found means to obtain through a communicant. Not content with stabbing it (which caused blood to gush out of it) and treating it with various other indignities, he at length threw it into a cauldron of boiling water, when immediately "the water assumed the appearance of blood, and the Host was seen above in the form of a *Crucifix*, and Jesus Christ was again seen dying upon the Cross." So says (as quoted by the Protestant Penny Magazine I. 194—5.) "The History of the miraculous Host," published at Paris in 1633, by Fr. Leon, with the approbation of two doctors of the faculty of theology, and reprinted in 1821.

Let me here ask, if the Host is truly the very Body of Christ,—if it can be pierced and cut with a knife, and if blood can issue from it,—how can Mr. E. say (p. 21) that the Body of Christ is impassible? Surely, either the Host is not the true material Body of Christ, or else the Body of Christ still under-

this is My Body which is given for you." While then, I repeat, it is difficult to say why Ælfric inserted this miracle (supposing it not to be an interpolation), it is clear that he *could* not have meant to adduce it as a proof of the doctrine of transubstantiation, both from the passages already given, and from what he says afterwards, in which that doctrine is so flatly contradicted.* Thus we read, "We have said to you a little before, that Christ hallowed bread and wine before His passion, for housel, and said, 'This is My Body and My Blood.' He had not yet suffered, but, nevertheless, he changed, through invisible might, the bread to His own Body, and the wine to His Blood, *as He had before done in the wilderness*, before He was born as man, when He changed the heavenly meat to His flesh, and the flowing water from the stone to His own Blood." And again, "He did not command the Body *with which He was invested to be eaten, nor the Blood to be drunk which He shed for us*; but He meant by that speech the holy housel, which is *spiritually* His Body and His Blood: and he who tastes that with believing heart shall have everlasting life."...."Verily this

goes suffering: i. e. His glorified Body now in heaven is continually being called to suffer on earth. This Mr. E. denies, and most justly; but then he must also deny that the substance of the consecrated bread is changed into the substance of the Body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary and is now in heaven, which is the doctrine of the Church of Rome: for to believe two things so plainly contradicting each other, is surely impossible.

* The other miracle (which is not alluded to either by Dr. Lingard or Mr. Egan) represents St. Gregory as asking God for some manifestation, to satisfy a doubting woman respecting this mystery. When she came to housel, the part she was to receive appeared, as it were, a finger all bloody. This, if taken literally, is, if possible, still more opposed to Ælfric's argument than the other: it goes too far, indeed, even for Roman belief. We have here, not only Christ as a *child undergoing suffering*,—but a part of Him—a finger—as the portion offered to a communicant. But how could this be, if Christ, whole and entire, is in every part of the bread,—as Ælfric says He is *spiritually*, and Rome, *corporally*? Did Dr. L. and Mr. E. omit this miracle because they could not make it agree with *their* views of Christ's Presence (for they both strive to make it appear that Ælfric is with them)? What he meant by inserting this legend (if insert it he did) I leave to others to explain; it is sufficient for our purpose, that his doctrine is plain enough, beyond the reach of misrepresentation.

housel, which is now hallowed at God's altar, is a *remembrance of Christ's Body, which He offered for us, and of His Blood, which He shed for us*, as He Himself commanded, 'Do this in remembrance of Me.'* *

Thus then, we see that Ælfric's doctrine is the same as that of Ratramnus, the opponent of Paschasius, viz. that the bread and wine after consecration are truly the Body and Blood of Christ, but (as he repeats over and over again) "*not bodily, but spiritually*,"—that there is a "great difference" between the sacramental Body of Christ, or the housel, and the Body in which Christ suffered, the latter being composed of human limbs, with blood, bone, and a rational soul, while the former (or housel) is composed of many grains, without blood, bone, limbs, and destitute of a soul;—and that there is therefore "nothing therein to be understood bodily, but all is to be understood spiritually," that it is "a pledge and a symbol,"—a "remembrance" of Christ's Body which He offered for us, and that while *in a spiritual sense* it is truly Christ's Body, yet that literally speaking, it *betokened* Christ's natural Body, as the Rock in the wilderness, though called Christ, "was not Christ bodily, but betokened" Him; †—the bread and the wine being His Body and Blood, in the same sense as the manna and the water from the Rock were made His Body and Blood, viz. in a symbol or figure.

Now this is notoriously contradictory to the doctrine of the Roman Church, which asserts that the bread and wine after consecration, are turned into the natural Flesh and

* Vol. I. pp. 267—277, Ælfric Society's Edition.

† This expression occurs in another place of the same homily. It is singular that this illustration should have been mentioned by John of Ragusium in his oration before the Council of Basle, as one which might be advanced by a *heretic*! "Non enim ut *hæreticus* sapit, sed desipit, ita debet intelligi quod Dominus ait: *Hoc est corpus meum*, id est, hoc significat corpus meum, sicut quod dicit Apostolus: *Petra erat Christus*, id est, Petra significabat Christum." (Canis. Lect. Ant. IV. 468). In the view of this Roman theologian, therefore, Ælfric would be regarded as a heretic.

Blood of Christ, not symbolically or spiritually, but actually and literally, insomuch that no substance of bread and wine remains, but only the appearance and sensible properties thereof;* that the bread in the Eucharist is the actual Body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and is now in heaven,—consisting not only of human flesh and blood, but containing also His soul and divinity.†

* “Si quis dixerit, in sacrosancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini unà cum corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, manentibus duntaxat speciebus panis et vini: quam quidem conversionem Catholica Ecclesia aptissime Transubstantiationem appellat; anathema sit.” (Conc. Trid. Sess. XIII. Can. II.). That this change is a material and not a sacramental change appears, not only from the above Canon, but also more plainly from the Catechism of the Council of Trent, where the change which takes place of bread and wine (i. e. of meat and drink) into our flesh and blood, according to the course of nature, is adduced as a ground for believing in the possibility of the change of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ:—“Nam cum panem et vinum in humanam carnem et sanguinem vi naturæ quotidie immutari animadvertamus; facilius adduci possumus hæc similitudine, ut credamus panis et vini substantiam in veram Christi carnem verumque ejus sanguinem cœlesti benedictione converti.” (Cat. Co. Trid. P. II. Cap. iv. § xix). John of Ragusium also says, in the oration above quoted, that “when the priest pronounces the words of Christ ‘*Hoc est Corpus meum*,’ the bread and wine are changed into flesh and blood by that power of the word by which the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, by which He spake and things were made, He commanded and they were created, by which He changed the woman into a figure of salt, and the rod of Moses into a snake, by which He changed the springs into blood, and water into wine.” (Canis. Lect. Ant. IV. 468).

Let me here redeem a promise made in a note on p. 23; viz. that the teaching of Pope Gelasius on transubstantiation would be brought forward in another place. Writing against the Eutychians who denied the human nature of Christ, he says:—“The sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ which we receive, are certainly a divine thing; and by them we are made partakers of the Divine nature; but yet the substance or nature of bread and wine do not cease to be in them. Indeed the image and similitude of the Body and Blood of Christ is celebrated in the mysterious action: we are therefore to believe the same thing in our Lord Christ, as we profess, celebrate, and take in His Image,” &c. (See Bower’s History of the Popes, II. 228).

Pope Gelasius, therefore, was no believer in transubstantiation.

† In a Council held at Rome in 1079, Berengarius, who had been accused of teaching heresy respecting the Eucharist, is compelled to make the following confession, in accordance with the teaching of the Church of Rome:—“Ego Berengarius corde credo, et ore confiteor, panem et vinum, quæ ponuntur in altari per mysterium sacræ orationis, et verba nostri Redemptoris substantialiter converti in veram et propriam, ac vivificatricem carnem et sanguinem Jesu Christi Domini nostri, et post consecrationem esse verum Christi corpus, quod natum est de Virgine, et quod pro

Thus we see that Ælfric's teaching is totally opposed to the doctrine of the Church of Rome.

Before parting from Ælfric, let me notice the monstrous consequences into which the Roman doctrine which he opposed would lead. He asserts, as we have seen, that the consecrated bread, which he calls the *housel* or ghostly Body of Christ,—in contradistinction to his natural and glorified Body—is “chewed by the teeth.” Now the Church of Rome confounds the two,—i.e. the spiritual and the natural Body,—and not only contradicts St. Paul (who repeatedly gives the title of *bread* to the sacramental Body of Christ*) in asserting that there is no bread remaining, but merely the accidents (i.e. the sensible qualities, such as shape, taste, colour, and smell),—but has entangled herself in a dilemma from which there seems no escape. For, what does the communicant in the Church of Rome believe that he “chews with his teeth”? Certainly not *bread*, for she teaches (as we have seen) that there is no trace of that remaining; it is all changed into the natural flesh and blood of Christ, (which was born of the Virgin Mary and is now in heaven) leaving only the sensible properties, or species. What then, I repeat, does the Roman communicant believe that he “chews with his teeth”? Surely, he cannot hold the monstrous opinion which even the Jews were scandalized at, that he feeds upon Christ in a gross and carnal manner, and thus partakes of the actual Body of

SALUTE MUNDI OBLATUM IN CRUCE PEPENDIT, ET QUOD SEDET AD DEXTERAM PATRIS: ET VERUM SANGUINEM CHRISTI, QUI DE LATERE EJUS EFFUSUS EST, non tantùm per signum et virtutem sacramenti, sed IN PROPRIETATE NATURE ET VERITATE SUBSTANTIÆ.” Bin. Concil. Gen. Tom. VII. p. 489.—In the Council of Trent it is asserted, with a contradiction which it is difficult to reconcile, (for—as has been said—the words of the 2nd Council of Nice need not mean the same thing)—“In divino hoc sacrificio, quod in Missa peragitur, IDEM ILLE CHRISTUS CONTINETUR, et in cruentè [!] immolatur, QUI IN ARA CRUCIS SEMEL IPSUM CRUENTE OBTULIT.” Sess. XXII. Cap. ii. See also Sess. XIII. Cap. iv., where it is stated “Statim post consecrationem VERUM DOMINI NOSTRI CORPUS VERUMQUE EJUS SANGUINEM sub panis et vini specie unâ cum ipsius ANIMA ET DIVINITATE existere.”

* 1 Cor. xi. 26—28. “For as often as ye eat this *bread*, and drink this cup,” &c. not—“eat this *Body*, and drink this *Blood*,” &c.

Christ now in glory! And yet, he either does this, or else he believes that he masticates roundness and bread-like flavour, and presses between his teeth shape and taste and colour and smell.*

Will Mr. E. say that Ælfric was guilty of teaching such folly, or held opinions so monstrous?

Let us however pass on to Mr. Egan's statement concerning our Lord's Body, and his authorities in favour of *his* belief in the Real Presence in the Eucharist. I am not aware that in my remarks in my former pamphlet (p. 25), I have misunderstood his words about the "spiritualized Body of Christ" (p. 21); if I have done so, it was quite unintentional on my part. I will confess that I do not quite understand his explanation of it in his second tract, on the page just mentioned; nor how "the four properties of a spirit, viz. Immortality, Clarity, Agility, and Impassibility," can be applied to a body, which he says was "*material and palpable.*" Nay, our blessed Lord Himself especially made the very opposite statement, when, appearing to His Apostles after His resurrection, he said "Handle me, and see; for *a Spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.*" How

* Berengarius (as we saw, p. 231, note) was made to confess that the bread after consecration was changed into the same Body of Christ which was born of the Virgin and hung upon the Cross, &c. In a Council held at Rome in 1059 he was compelled to swear that the bread and wine not only became the Body and Blood of Christ, but that this Body is sensibly, not in a sacrament but in truth, touched and broken by the hands of the priests, and *bruised by the teeth of the faithful*:—"sensualiter, non solum sacramento sed in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari et frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri." Bin. Concil. Gen. Tom. VII. p. 274. Thus we see it was taught at Rome under Nicolas II., that *the natural flesh of Christ was chewed by the teeth*, that flesh, namely, which is elsewhere said to be born of the Virgin! In the Council of Basle, however, in 1433, a somewhat different statement is made. For John of Ragusium, in the Oration above referred to, says that Christ "whole, true and entire" is in this Sacrament, and in each particle of it, *however the species may be divided, broken, or chewed with the teeth* (quantumvis species dividantur, frangantur, dentibus masticentur). Canis. Lect. Ant. IV. 468. Now let not Mr. Egan accuse me of "cavilling," but let him say distinctly, what the Roman Communicant chews with his teeth. As he believes there is nothing in the Host, but the actual (not the mere sacramental) Body of Christ, and the *appearance* (not the *reality*) of bread,—what does he handle, break, and partake of? the actual flesh of Christ which hung upon the Cross and is now "impassible"?—or shape, and colour, and taste, and smell?

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then could our Lord's Body have the "four properties of a spirit?" I will not however dwell upon the circumstance of these words of our Lord escaping Mr. E.'s recollection, but will pass on to consider his quotations (p. 22) from Bede and Alcuin. Of these, the one most in his favour is that from Alcuin,—“Eo tempore opportuno, quo panem et vinum in substantiam corporis et sanguinis Christi consecraveris.” This however by no means proves that Alcuin held the medieval doctrine of transubstantiation. Whatever may here be the meaning of “substantia,” it is probable that he meant by it no more than what was afterwards taught by Ratramnus and Ælfric, viz. the *reality* of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist. And, in addition to a proof to be mentioned hereafter, this is confirmed by the writings of two of the most famous of his pupils, the Emperor Charlemagne, and Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz. The former of these, in a letter to Alcuin, as quoted by Mr. Soames, speaks of our Lord in His last supper with His disciples, breaking bread and giving them the cup as *a figure of His Body and Blood*.* Rabanus again, says that bread, because it strengthens the heart of the body, is fitly *called* the Body of Christ; and wine, because it makes blood in the flesh, is referred to the Blood of Christ. But these things although they are visible, yet being sanctified, pass through the Holy Spirit into *a sacrament* of the Lord's Body.† From these passages, in

* “Cœnando cum discipulis panem fregit, et calicem pariter dedit eis in figuram Corporis et Sanguinis sui,” &c. Albini Opp. col. 1150. (Bampton Lectures, p. 410).

† “Ergo quis panis corporis eor firmat, ideo ille Corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne ad sanguinem Christi refertur. Hæc autem dum sunt visibilia sanctificata tamen per Spiritum Sanctum in sacramentum divini corporis transeunt.” (De Instit. Cler. lib. I. c. 31. Colon. 1532. p. 53. as quoted by Mr. Soames, Bampton Lectures, p. 412). This passage may remind the reader of that quoted above from the Catechism of the Council of Trent; but it is easy to see that the doctrine is as distinct as possible. Raban speaks of the bread and wine as having in their effects a resemblance to the Body and Blood of Christ, from which cause they may be “fitly called” so (even as innocent people are “fitly called” lambs, though they are not truly so); but the Roman Catechism teaches, that as ordinary bread and wine undergoes an actual change into real human flesh and blood, so in like manner the consecrated bread and wine are changed into Christ's real flesh and blood.

which the bread is called a "*figure*" of the Body of Christ, and is said to pass into a "*sacrament*" or sign thereof, one can hardly regard Alcuin as a believer in the Roman doctrine of the material Presence or of transubstantiation,—for he would scarcely have held one doctrine himself, and taught his pupils another. And this will be made clearer still by a citation from St. Augustine, which will be produced presently.

Let us now turn to Bede. The first of the passages quoted from him by Mr. E. is as follows. "Panis et vini creatura in Sacramentum Carnis et Sanguinis ejus, ineffabili Spiritus sanctificatione transfertur." (Hom. in Epiph. p. 175. Giles's Edition.) i. e. The bread and wine are transferred by the ineffable sanctification of the Spirit into the *Sacrament of His Flesh and Blood.*" Mr. E. must surely have got hold of the wrong passage, as it proves just the contrary to what he maintains, and what he would make us believe the Saxon Church maintained. The bread and wine, says Rome, are changed into the real natural Flesh and Blood of Christ. Nay, says Bede, they are transferred into a *sacrament, or sacred sign*, of that Flesh and Blood. It would be difficult to find a passage, not being controversial, more clearly *against* the Roman doctrine, than the one here alleged in its favour from this most famous predecessor of Ælfric, as a teacher in the English Church.

But what says the other quotation—"Missarum solemnias celebrantes Corpus sacrosanctum et pretiosum Agni Sanguinem, quo à peccatis redempti sumus denuo Deo, in profectum nostræ salutis *immolamus.*" This is quoted by Mr. E. from Bede's "Hom. in Vigil. Pasch. p. 31, A. Tom. 7, col. 6."—"When we celebrate the solemnities of the Mass,* we offer up to God the most holy Body and precious Blood of the Lamb,

* There is nothing necessarily Romish in this word Mass, or *Missa*. It signified at first, merely the dismissal of the congregation "*ite, missa est;*" by degrees, it was applied to the Church-service itself, as *Missa Catechumenorum* and *Missa Fidelium*, and at length came to denote the Communion service in particular. (See Card. Bona, Rer. Litur. l. I. cap. 1. 2.) The word was retained in Edward VI's First Prayer Book, and the name still lingers in some of our Church festivals, as Christmas, Michaelmas, &c.

by which we were redeemed from our sins, for the furtherance of our salvation." Now, the offering here spoken of is either a true and actual sacrifice, or a representative and commemorative one. Does Bede, then, mean that the English Church in his day believed that the priest offered up the natural Flesh and Blood of Christ, which He gave for our redemption? Or, does he use these expressions in a figurative or sacramental sense? There will be no doubt, when other passages are considered, that the latter is his meaning.

Bede, in his commentaries, copies largely from St. Augustine the famous Bishop of Hippo, and frequently adopts, in speaking of the Eucharist, this father's language as his own. Thus, on 1 Cor. x. he quotes the following passage from him. After speaking of the incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ, he proceeds: "Quomodo est panis Corpus ejus, et calix, vel quod habet calix, quomodo est Sanguis ejus? Ista, fratres, ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in illis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur. Quod videtur speciem habet corporalem; quod intelligitur, fructum habet spiritalem."* The bread and wine, he says, are called sacraments, because one thing is seen in them, another thing is understood. What is seen, has a bodily appearance; what is understood, has a spiritual benefit. Surely he would not have spoken in this way, if he had believed that the bread and wine were the natural Body and Blood of Christ. At the same time, he allows that they may be called by this name, "after a certain manner," as in the following passage, which throws much light upon the one we are considering from Bede:—"Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso? Et tamen *in sacramento* non solum per omnes Paschæ solemnitates, *sed omni die populis immolatur*: nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus, eum responderit immolari. *Si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum*

* Opp. tom VI. col. 479, 480, as quoted by Mr. Soames, Bampton Lectures, p. 400.

quarum sacramenta sunt, non habent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam *ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt.* Sicut ergo *secundum quemdam modum, sacramentum Corporis Christi Corpus Christi est, sacramentum Sanguinis Christi Sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est.*" Was not Christ, he says, *once offered up in his own person?* And yet *in a sacrament* (or figure), he is offered up not only through all the solemnities of the Passover, but every day for the people. For if the sacraments had no resemblance to those things of which they are sacraments (or figures), they would not be sacraments at all. But from this resemblance they commonly receive the names of the things themselves. As therefore, *after a certain manner*, the sacrament of the Body of Christ is the Body of Christ, and the sacrament of the Blood of Christ is the Blood of Christ, so the sacrament of faith is faith.* In strict language, therefore, *the bread and wine* (according to Bede's great authority, Augustine) *are not the real natural Body of Christ, but, from a certain resemblance, are called so; being in reality, but sacraments or signs of the same.* And this will teach us what meaning to apply to Bede's words "*Corpus sacrosanctum et pretiosum Agni sanguinem immolamus,*" quoted by Mr. Egan, viz. that it is a *figurative or representative sacrifice.* An actual *immolation* would be impossible: it would be just as reasonable to take in its literal sense (as Mr. Soames well observes) the sin of those who "crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh." Heb. VI. 6.

One more passage, adapted from St. Augustine, shall suffice to show Bede's views concerning the Eucharist. "He who eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, abideth in Me and I in him. This is therefore to eat that food and drink that drink, to abide in Christ and to have Him abiding

* Ep. 98. *vulgo* xxiii. tom. II. col. 267. Ed. Bened., as quoted by Mr. Soames, Bampton Lectures, p. 406.

in himself. And he who does not through this means abide in Christ, and in whose Christ does not abide, without doubt neither eats His Flesh, nor drinks His Blood, although he eats and drinks to his condemnation the *sacrament* of so great a thing—(*etiamsi tante rei sacramentum ad iudicium sibi manducet et bibat*).^{* * *} (See the 29th Article of the Church of England. Therefore, it was the teaching of Augustine, and of Bede after him, that we can be partakers of the bread and wine, without partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, although to our condemnation, we eat and drink the sacrament or sign thereof. Therefore—as we have before seen—the bread and wine are not truly the Body and Blood of Christ (in the strict meaning of the words), but the sacraments or signs of them. It should be added that this passage is also quoted by Alcuin, l. III. c. 15. col. 490, (according to Mr. Soames, B. L. p. 409), and therefore shows that he also, notwithstanding the expression quoted by Mr. Egan, believed that the consecrated bread and wine were not changed into the very natural Body and Blood of Christ, but became sacraments or figures thereof.

These passages clearly prove, to adopt Mr. E.'s words as my own, "the belief of the Anglo-Saxon Church, as to the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament to have been the same as *we Catholics* now believe it to be." Yes: the same as "*we Catholics*" now maintain; but altogether different from the *carnal* Presence and the novelty of Transubstantiation, as maintained by the *Romanists*: for in this point, as in so many others, Rome has departed from the *Catholic* faith, as held by the Primitive Church, and by the Catholic Church of England.

Mr. E. next gives us quotations from some modern authorities, from Bale, Calvin, Chemnitz, and Luther. The first is from Bishop Bale, a coarse-minded man, who wrote in a very unguarded, off-hand way, and whose statements,

* Opp. VI. 482. See the original passage in Mr. Soames, Bamp. Lect. pp. 402-3.

especially when connected with controversy, I do not suppose would weigh much with any sober-minded person. The passage cited professes to give an account of the religion preached to the Saxons, and is adduced by Mr. E. to show (I presume) that what was taught by the Roman missionaries is the same as what is now held by Roman Catholics. In the few lines given, about thirty points of doctrine or discipline are mentioned as preached by Augustine, in some respects represented correctly, in others incorrectly. To discuss all these would extend to a most unreasonable length a pamphlet which has already grown to so great a bulk: Mr. E. however, singles out four, which I presume will be quite enough to dwell upon, viz. *Images, the Celebration of the Mass, Purgatory, and the public Invocation of Saints.*

1. I never heard that Augustine preached "images." He indeed came into the presence of Ethelbert, with his brother missionaries, bearing a silver cross, and a *picture* of Christ, which latter Bede calls "*imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabulâ depictam:*" but this was no image. As for the Cross, it is seen perpetually on our churches, both ancient and modern, designating a sacred building set apart for the worship of Him who died upon the cross for our salvation. The figure of it, moreover, is marked upon our foreheads, when admitted by baptism into the army of Christ. Therefore, "we Catholics" of the English Church, are "not ashamed of the Cross of Christ,"—neither of the doctrine of salvation through His death and sacrifice, nor of the visible emblem which reminds us thereof. I should not have said so much about the Cross, had it not been one of Bale's thirty items. As for pictures of our Lord, though we do not use them painted on banners, yet are they not constantly to be seen in our churches on painted windows? And I have yet to learn that Augustine introduced *images* in any other meaning of the word. With respect to the Cross, Bede says that it was borne (not *for adoration*, but) "*pro vexillo*"—*for a*

standard,—to show (as it were) whose soldiers they were. And as for the *worshipping* of images, which Bale (ignorantly or wilfully) includes in his list, there is not only no allusion to it in Bede, but the English Church, when Rome wished to enforce it after the 2nd Council of Nice in 787, (i. e. nearly 200 years after Augustine's coming here), most plainly protested against it. Hoveden,* relating how Charlemagne sent over the decrees of that Council to this country (viz. to Offa, king of Mercia, in 792), says, with reference to the decision in favour of image-worship—"which the Church of God altogether execrates" (*quod omnino Ecclesia Dei execratur*); and he adds that Alcuin wrote an Epistle against it, wonderfully confirmed by the authority of the sacred Scriptures, and sent it to Charlemagne in the name of the Bishops and Princes of England. So much for the assertion that Augustine taught our Saxon forefathers *the worship of images*.†

2. Concerning the *Celebration of the Mass*, let me repeat what I have said on p. 235, that the Mass formerly meant only what we now call the Communion Service, and was called so even in our Protestant King Edward VI.'s days. At the same time, I do not pretend to affirm that the religion which Augustine brought over was altogether free from error (for it was now towards the end of the 6th century), nor do I feel bound to vindicate *everything* which the Roman missionaries taught, and in the Celebration of the Mass there were doubtless some things which we should not approve; but I have shown at some length, that the belief of the Early English Church on the doctrine of the Eucharist was *very* different from that of the present Roman Church, and similar to what we hold now; and this difference doubtless extended itself to the *Celebration of the Mass*.

* Ann. Pars prior. Scrip. post Bedam. Lond. 1596. fo. 232, B.

† The story of the decree in favour of image-worship in a council said to be holden at London in 710 on occasion of a certain vision which is reported to have appeared to Egwin, is shown to be a fabrication, by Collier (I. 122, Fo. Edn.), and Mr. Soames, (Bamp. Lect. 241.)

3. *Purgatory*. It is probable that this doctrine was not preached by the Roman Missionaries to the Anglo-Saxons, at least, not in any definite form. For although, certainly before this time, it had a beginning, yet if anything of the kind was taught, it was most likely only as a "pious opinion," not an article of faith. And what renders this probable is not only the doubtful language expressed by Bede,* a century or so afterwards, but still more, the wording of a prayer for the dead enjoined in the Council of Cloveshoo in 747, which was to this effect:—"Lord, according to the greatness of Thy mercy, grant rest to his soul, and for thine infinite pity, vouchsafe to him the joys of eternal life with thy saints."† Here, we see, God is implored only to give *rest and the joys of eternal life* to the soul of the departed, according to a practice prevailing very early in the Church.‡

* Thus, in speaking of a certain belief on this subject, he says, "I do not deny it, because *perhaps it is true*" (quia forsitan verum est); and, commenting on I Cor. iii. 15, "he shall be saved, yet so as by fire,"—he applies this to mean the fire of tribulation, but continues, "*Tule etiam aliquid post hanc vitam fieri incredibile non est, et utrum ita sit quasi potest, et aut inveniri aut latere, nonnullos fidelium per ignem quendam purgatorium . . . salvari.*" So that he treats it as an unknown point yet to be investigated, and while he allows that *it is not incredible* that something of the kind, i.e. a fire of tribulation, may exist even after this life, yet that it may yet be discovered or else escape enquiry, that some of the faithful may be saved through a certain purgatorial fire, to be endured for a longer or shorter time, according as they have loved more or less the perishing things of this world. Bed. Opp. V. 291, & 288, as quoted by Mr. Soames. B. L. 846-7. Clearly then, Purgatory was not an article of faith with Bede. And if not with him, is it likely that it should have been with the generation before? Of course not.

† Johnson's Can. 747. 27. For the Original, see Spelman's Concilia, I. p. 253.

‡ In the liturgy of St. Gregory (the author of the Mission) we have also this prayer, "Memento, Domine, famulorum tuorum cunctorum et cunctorum, qui nos processerunt cum signo fidei, et *dormiunt in somno pacis*. Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur." (Forbes. Instruc. Histor. p. 647, 1702). But it is absurd to say, as this learned writer remarks, that those who rest in Christ should be tormented with the sufferings of Purgatory. Nay, the prayer itself bears witness that they *sleep in the sleep of peace*. This prayer still retains its place in the Roman Missal, standing there as a remarkable witness against her altered doctrine. The definition of Purgatory given in the Catechism of the Council of Trent is as follows:—"There is a purgatorial fire in which the souls of pious men, tormented for a definite period, are cleansed, that an entrance may be open to them into their eternal country, into which nothing that is defiled enters." (De Symbolo, Art. V. Cap. vi.)

But the doctrine of *purgatory*, by which the soul is supposed to be in a state of temporary torment, and to undergo a fiery purification from its carnal impurities, is a very different doctrine indeed. (See preceding note.) The notion of a purgatory doubtless prevailed more or less in after times in the Saxon Church, but all that I maintain is—there is no evidence to prove that it was one of the doctrines introduced by the Roman Missionaries.*

4. *Public invocation of Saints.* On this point, let the following extract from an old Saxon homily suffice. It is upon the text, St. Matt. iv. 10, "*Get thee behind me, Satan: it is written, Man shall worship his Lord, and Him only shall He serve.*" It is written in the old Law, that no man shall pray to anything, but to God alone: because no creature is worthy of that honour; but He alone who is the maker of all things. To Him only we ought to pray. He only is very Lord and very God. We desire intercession of holy men, that they will intercede for us to their Lord and our Lord. Nevertheless, we do not pray to them as we do to God, nor will they suffer it; as the angel said to John the Apostle, when he would have fallen at his feet: *Do it not, bow not thyself to me. I am God's servant, as thou art; pray to God only.*"† From this it is evident, that at the time this homily was written, the Early English Church taught (as we do now) that *men must pray to God only*, and therefore, whatever practice may have sprung up in after times, that *public invocation of saints* was *not* one of the doctrines preached to our Saxon forefathers.

* Johnson says, in the Preface to his *Canons of the English Church*, p. xix. that in "ancient times men were not under any obligation to offer their devotions for the dead, upon a supposition that their souls were in purgatory; but upon another principle universally granted, viz. that they were in a very imperfect state of happiness. Yet it must be confessed, that the conceit of a purgatory was gaining ground apace in the age of Bede; but it was an *opinion* only, not an article of faith, till the Council of Trent made it so." The Council of Florence indeed, in 1442, had adopted this doctrine, but it was decreed with more precision at Trent.

† Hom. Dom. I. in Quadrag. Wheloc. in Bed. p. 283. Mrs. Elstob's *Tranal.* Pref. p. xlv. as quoted by Mr. Soames, *Bamp. Lect.* p. 215—6.

I trust that I have said quite enough on Mr. E.'s quotation from Bale; some of whose statements, let me repeat, are correct, while others are not so. This however is of no consequence to my purpose, which is to maintain my assertion that the English Church, before the Norman invasion, did not teach the doctrine of transubstantiation. And as Bale does not allude to this, I might have passed over the extract from him in silence; but, lest that should have been construed into an admission that I had nothing to advance on the subject, I have said thus much on those points particularly selected by Mr. Egan.

Mr. E. next proceeds (p. 22) to give passages from Calvin, Chemnitz, and Luther, to the effect that the Sacrifice of the Mass has prevailed everywhere, or nearly so, for many ages, &c. Their saying so, however, is not sufficient to make any one believe this, as the statement is very far from the truth, especially if the Romish belief is intended. Supposing however it were correct, it would not prove the truth of the Roman doctrine of the Mass, since error may prevail very extensively for a long time. And I need not remind Mr. E. of St. Vincent of Lerins' rule, thus quoted and thus commented upon by Bishop Ridley:—" 'When,' saith he, 'one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity.' In like sort now (adds the Bishop), when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the Primitive Church, which I find clean contrary to the Pope's decrees. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the Primitive Church before the novelty of the Romish Church.*

The paragraph relating to the British Church (p. 23) has been already considered (pp. 83—87); I will therefore

* Bishop Ridley's Last Examination before the Commissioners, p. 268, Parker Society's Edition.

refer the reader thither for observations upon it. Let me however make a few remarks on what took place between Augustine and the British Bishops when the question of an union between them was discussed. Mr. E. says that the three points of dispute were—"1st, that the Britons should celebrate Easter as we do at present; 2nd, that they should complete the administration of baptism after the Roman manner; 3rd, that they should join in preaching the Gospel to the Saxons—not a word about anything else." I grant that no other points were "*disputed*," but the above account would give a very incorrect impression, if it were meant that in everything else the Romans and Britons agreed, for Augustine says—"You act in *many particulars* contrary to our custom, and yet *if you will obey me* in these three points, we will readily tolerate *all the other things you do*, though contrary to our customs" (Bede II. 2.). Here then we see there were "many particulars" in which the Romans differed from the Britons, how far involving any diversity of doctrine it is difficult to say,—though they were there probably not wide apart; indeed, I am not aware that we have any evidence that there was any actual difference between them.* And if the points on which they varied were of trifling importance, surely it was the place of the new comer Augustine, to concede to the Britons, and adopt the customs of the Church which he found there,—not theirs to give way to him. Suppose a bishop were to go from Rome to India with authority from the Pope over the English Bishops there,—suppose he were to summon them and tell them that if they would *obey* him in certain matters, and unite with him in preaching to the Hindoos, he would overlook other points of difference,—what would the Bishop of Calcutta

* An exception should be made, indeed, in respect of the Papal supremacy, which certainly was not a doctrine of the British Church, though it was maintained by the Roman missionaries to a certain extent,—not however at all equal to what prevailed in after times, when the Pope made himself universal Bishop, and became the disposer of dioceses (not to speak of kingdoms) as he chose.

say? What would the Bishops of Madras, of Bombay, of Colombo say? Would *they* alter the practice and customs of their churches to please him? Surely, they might well use the words of our British ancestors, and say, "We will do none of these things, neither receive you as our Archbishop" (Bede, II. 2).

Mr. E. seems to suppose that the only argument in proof of the independence of the British Church is the "supposed answer" (as he calls it) of Dinoh at the Conference at Augustine's Oak, and maintains that it is a forgery.* As it was not adduced by myself, I am not concerned to defend it; not that I mean hereby to express any opinion, one way or another, as to the genuineness of the MS. from which Sir H. Spelman printed it (See his *Concilia*, I. p. 108). Whether it contains word for word the reply of the British party or not, I think that most probably it embodies the substance of the answer given on the occasion: but should the MS. be entirely spurious (which I by no means grant) it will in no respect affect the question before us, viz. that of Roman supremacy; for it is abundantly evident from Bede, that *Augustine, as emissary from Rome, claimed obedience over the British Church,—that the British Church altogether ignored foreign interference, even though it came from Rome,—and that those claims were consequently, distinctly and absolutely rejected.*

Thus we see that Mr. E. is incorrect in stating that the British Church was in "obedience to the see of Rome."

* This answer was to the effect that the British Christians would be obedient to the Pope and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree; and further obedience than this they did not know to be owing to the Pope. Besides which, they were under the jurisdiction of a Metropolitan of their own, thereby implying that they could not admit of any jurisdiction from abroad. Respecting the chief objection to the authenticity of this reply, viz. the occurrence of the word *Caerleon*, where we should have expected *St. David's*, see Collier, *Ch. Hist. of Eng.* I. 76, and Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 371, Ed. 1840. The other objections are of very minor importance.

But we are now happily beginning to draw towards a conclusion. Mr. E. congratulates himself (p. 24) on the result of his labours, affirming that he has answered my pamphlet of 55 pages, but that I have not answered his tract of 18. To answer his *first* tract (as I have before stated) I never pretended; I professed only to "put forth some remarks on a few of the opinions and statements therein contained" (See Advertisement). In my *present* pamphlet however, I have endeavoured to answer all his arguments against the Church of England, and to reply to all his remarks upon my first pamphlet. How far I have been successful, I leave to others to judge. But (I repeat) to answer his first tract, I never professed, and therefore I have here nothing to do either with Lord William Russell, or Lord John Russell,—I am not bound to defend the conduct of the one, or the opinions of the other. I venture however to think that Mr. E. has *not* answered my pamphlet, and of those points wherein he has failed, I will by and by subjoin a list. On the other hand, I maintain that I *have* disproved what Mr. E. said about the Spanish Inquisition, and whoever reads pp. 27, 28, and 32—36 of my former pamphlet with a candid mind, will be satisfied that it was *not* (as he says) "a mere political engine"; but rather a court for the punishment of heresy, and for the extermination of all forms of faith except the Roman Catholic.* It seems however that

* "When the Inquisition (says a writer in the Quarterly Review) had, with the usual secrecy, prepared for the blow which was to root out at once the growing seeds of the Reformation, the Catholics of Spain heard, with awful joy, that not only the prisons of the tribunal were crowded with Lutherans, but convents and private houses had been converted into gaols, for the safe keeping of their heretical countrymen.

"An *Auto da Fe* has always been considered in Spain as a triumph of true Christianity, where, if the view of the sufferers may now and then start a tear, the heart, rejoicing in the complete victory of the Church, forgets the ties which bind it to the victims. Hence the custom of performing these exhibitions on the greatest festivals, and welcoming the Sovereign, or any members of his family with a solemn burning of God's enemies.

"On the 21st of May, 1559, which was *Trinity Sunday*, the principal square

I have made an omission in not alluding to the mischief which it prevented. Certes, that was a great omission! But I cannot see that this duty devolved upon me. If Mr. E. had displayed an alacrity in searching out the mischiefs prevented by the Star Chamber, (between which and the Inquisition he instituted a comparison, and an *unfavourable* comparison),—then perchance I might have investigated

of Valladolid presented one of the most splendid assemblies which Spain, then at the height of its glory, was able to display.

"Near relatives—the sons and daughters of a wealthy citizen—composed the greatest part of the condemned group. They stood near the figure of a female placed upon a deal box. It was the effigy of Leonor de Vibero, their mother, whose bones were contained in the box, to be consumed in the same fire with her children. Augustin Cazalla . . . was the eldest. His dislocated limbs bore strong marks of the rack. Pain and the love of life had made him recant his opinions. He had been deluded with the hopes of mercy till the day before execution. Yet the barbarity of his tyrants was not sufficient to reanimate his courage. The unfortunate man was repentant. Not so his brother Francis de Vibero, a country vicar. The torture had once made him yield; but finding that he was to die, he loudly proclaimed his Protestant principles, and expired calmly in the flames. Their sister Beatrice de Vibero, was involved in the same fate. Out of regard to her humble submission, she was strangled before being thrown into the fire.

"Thirteen perished in the flames at the second *Auto* of Valladolid, on the 8th of October, 1559 (*also a Sunday*).

"Among the females who suffered, at this time, were four nuns—one, in her 21st year. Though steady in their profession of the Protestant faith, they were strangled before the wood was lighted; probably to obviate the shock which the sight of so many females burnt alive would give even to hearts armed with the triple mail of Roman orthodoxy.

The priests gave out that they had asked absolution. It is however, a fact, that all were bound to the stake before the supposed act of submission.

"A priest named Gonzalez, had, among other proselytes, gained over two young females, his sisters, to the Protestant faith. All three were confined in the dungeons of the Inquisition. The torture, repeatedly applied, could not draw from them the least evidence against their religious associates. Every artifice was employed to obtain a recantation from the two sisters, since the constancy and learning of Gonzalez precluded all hopes of a theological victory. Their answer, if not exactly logical, is wonderfully simple and affecting. 'We will die in the faith of our brother: he is too clever to be wrong, and too good to deceive us.' The three stakes on which they died were near each other. The priest had been gagged till the moment of lighting up the wood. The few minutes that he was allowed to speak he employed in comforting his sisters, with whom he sang the 109th Psalm, till the flames smothered their voices." (Vol. 29, pp. 251—6).

And this tribunal, which thus tortured and burnt harmless priests and unoffending females for entertaining Protestant opinions, was forsooth "*a mere political engine*"!! Is there any one in England besides Mr. Egan, who would have ventured to make such an assertion?

the blessings resulting from the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition. But, as he has not done this, why should I go out of my way to do anything so singular ?

Concerning *Llorente*, all that is incumbent on me to state is, that he was a writer, who from his office had abundant means of knowing the truth of what he said, and that he is constantly quoted as an authority on the subject of the Spanish Inquisition. If Mr. E. believed that his statements were not to be depended upon, it was his place, as a controversialist, to have given his reasons for this disbelief, rather than to put forth inuendos concerning him, and to expect me to enter upon his personal history. What on earth have I to do with this ? I have never heard any statement against his character. If Mr. E. has, he should have said so ; and if he could have proved that he was a worthless authority, then my statements from him would fall to the ground. As it is, they stand unshaken : mere insinuations go for nothing with rational men.

Mr. E. next proceeds to say that I have “ not met the charges brought against the English Inquisitions of the Court of Star Chamber and High Court of Commission ” ;— and that—I “ have not shown, *nor can show*, that the Protestant Archbishops and Bishops were not, and have not been the most persecuting Bigots.”

In reply, I maintain, that I *have* met these charges, which amount to *this*,—that the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were more iniquitous than the Spanish Inquisition. I have alluded to some of the sentences passed by these Courts,—I have mentioned some of the punishments inflicted by the Inquisition ; and after thus instituting a comparison between the two, I have asked, “ Will Mr. Egan *now* say that the Star Chamber was the most iniquitous of *all* Inquisitions ? ” And now let me ask, why did he not meet my charge ? Why did he not bring forward some of his “ iniquitous ” details ? Why did he not adduce evidence

to *prove* that the English Courts were more “iniquitous” than the Spanish Inquisition? When a man is distinctly challenged, and when he brings forward no *proof* for his statements, the only inference is, that he does so, because he has no proof to bring. A loose accusation without proof goes for nothing: and it would be almost better for a person to make no charge at all, than to make one which he cannot support by proofs, especially as in the case before us, where the evidence is so completely—so overwhelmingly on the other side. For who, that wished to persuade people by honest reasoning, would attempt to make it appear that a punishment, which for the most part consisted of fine and imprisonment, was worse than the horrible tortures of the rack, of the red-hot slipper, of the cutting of the flesh with cords,—of the tearing the limbs asunder,....of all the agonies of that dismal abode of terror, the Inquisition,—agonies endured by hundreds and thousands, and consummated by a most dreadful death, that of being burnt alive? Wisely has Mr. Egan contented himself with vague charges: wisely has he abstained from attempting to produce *proofs* for his assertions,—knowing that the attempt would be vain, and that to endeavour to persuade men by such means would be utterly hopeless.

But Mr. E. says that I “have not shown, *nor can show*, that the Protestant Archbishops and Bishops have not been the most persecuting bigots.” If I *cannot* do this, it is from want of skill on my part, not from any want of materials to prove the very contrary of Mr. E.’s statement, viz. that the most persecuting bigots have been the *Romish* Archbishops and Bishops. For who, that is acquainted with the Church of Rome, is ignorant of the persecuting spirit which has prevailed so widely among her clergy, from the horse-whipping priest in Ireland to the very head of that Church? Who was it that presided over the 4th Council of Lateran in 1215, where the doctrine of the extermination of heretics

was so vigorously enjoined by that Church?* Who was it that was so desirous to root out the unfortunate Albigenes from the South of France, that he ordered a crusade to be preached against them, as if they had been Turks or Infidels? Who was it but a Bishop of Rome, Innocent III., at whose instigation this army was raised and sent against the Protestants, and whose soldiers acted so well in accordance with the infuriated spirit of this reputed successor of St. Peter, that one city after another was taken and burnt, and all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, cut to pieces, without regard to age or sex.† What was this Bishop of Rome, who heaped such miseries upon that unfortunate people, but a “persecuting bigot”? Can Mr. E. mention any “Protestant Archbishop or Bishop” who manifested such a diabolical spirit? If so, let him name him, and mention his deeds.

But let us come to England, and, though one would not commonly wish to expose the failings of one’s own Church, yet it may be well to see the difference which existed in her, when animated by the spirit of Rome, and when acting independently of that See.

In the reign of Queen Mary, when that violent persecution arose (urged on as it was by several of the unreformed bishops), it has been computed that during a reign of 3 years, 277 persons were burnt alive; among whom were 5 bishops, 21 clergymen, 8 lay gentlemen, 84 tradesmen, 100 peasants and day-labourers, 55 women, and 4 children.

Let us now take one instance of the “persecuting bigotry” of the Romish bishops, (i.e. of the bishops in communion

* See Cap. iii. *De Hæreticis*. In this chapter the secular powers are to be admonished to take an oath that they will exterminate heretics to the utmost of their power from their dominions (*bona fide pro viribus exterminare studebunt*); it holds out also the following inducements to the extermination of heretics:—“*Catholici vero, qui crucis assumpto charactere ad hæreticorum exterminium se accinxerint, illa gaudeant indulgentia, illoque sancto privilegio sint muniti, quod accedentibus in Terræ sanctæ subsidium conceditur.*” Bin. Conc. Gen. Tom. VII. par. ii. p. 807. Did Mr. E. ever hear of an assembly of “Protestant Archbishops and Bishops” making laws of this kind?

+ Lockman’s Popish Persecutions, 241—3, &c.

with Rome) in this country. In 1555 during the reign of Queen Mary, when our Church was in communion with the See of Rome, acknowledged her authority, and was animated with her spirit, five bishops, namely those of London, Winchester, Durham, Llandaff, and Chichester, sat as commissioners to try the Bishop of Worcester (Hooper) on the charge of holding heretical opinions.* They condemned him to be guilty of death, even to be burnt alive at the stake, and they delivered him over to the secular arm for the execution of the sentence. We are so familiar with the expression "burnt alive," from its frequency in the time of Queen Mary, and from the multitudes who have been sacrificed in this way by the Spanish and other Inquisitions, that we almost fail to realize that death in all its horrors. Of them Bishop Hooper tasted indeed more bitterly than many others. Imagine a venerable old man, the head of an English diocese, whose only crime was holding and teaching what he believed the scriptural doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and beloved by thousands for his works of love and earnestness in the cause

* The following anecdotes will exemplify the spirit of one of these commissioners, the well-known Bishop Bonner. In 1554 one Thomas Tomkins was brought to the stake for denying the Corporal Presence in the Eucharist. In one of his examinations before him, Bonner was so irritated at his firmness that he seized hold of his hand, and burnt it in the flame of a wax candle which was standing on the table. "In the which burning he neuer shrunke, till the vains shrunk, and the sinewes burst, and the water did spirt into M. Harpsfield's face: In so much that the said Maister Harpsfield mooued with pittie, desired the Bishop to stay, saying, that hee had tried him enough. This burning was in the Hall at Fulham." Fox, Book of Martyrs, p. 1394. The same writer relates another anecdote of Bonner and a blind harper, "how the said Bp. Boner hauing this blinde Harper before him, spake thus unto him: that such blind abiects which follow a sort of hereticall Preachers, when they come to the feeling of the fire, will be the first that will fie from it. To whome the blinde man said, that if euerie ioynt of him were burnt, yet he trusted in the Lord not to fie. Then Boner signifying priuillie to certaine of his men about him what they should do, they brought to him a burning coale, which coale being put into the poore man's hand, they closed it fast againe, and so was his hand pitiouslie burned." (Fox, p. 1821). Can Mr. Egan name any "Protestant Archbishop or Bishop" who was possessed of such a fiendish spirit as this bishop?—an *English* bishop, indeed, (with sorrow I say it),—but with a *Romish* heart, and a bishop of our Church at a time when she was in communion with, nay enslaved by Rome. If Mr. E. can find his equal in persecution among "Protestant bishops," let him (I repeat) mention his name.

of Christ,—imagine him stripped to his inner garment, and, fastened to the stake with an iron hoop about his middle, calmly awaiting the sufferings which the malice of his enemies had prepared for him. It was a cold windy day in February: the fire was made about him of reeds and faggots, but the faggots were green, and insufficient in quantity, and the wind blew the flame of the reeds aside, so that the fire did him but little hurt. This first fire being ineffectual, “within a space after, a fewe drie fagots were brought, and a new fire kindled with fagots, (for there were no more reedes :) and that burned at the neather parts, but had small power aboue, because of the winde, sauing that it did burne his haire, and scorch his skinne a little.....After the second [fire] was spent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with an indifferent loude voice: For God’s loue (good people) let me haue more fire. And all this while his neather parts did burne: for the fagots were so fewe, that the flame did not burne strongly at his upper parts. The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreame than the other two: and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him smal good, they were so placed, and the winde had such power. But when he was blaeke in the mouth, and his tongue swolne, that he could not speake, yet his lippes went till they were shrunke to the gummes: and he knocked his breast with his hands, untill one of his armes fell off, and then knocked still with the other, what time the fat, water, and bloud dropped out at his fingers’ ends, untill by renewing of the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand did cleaue fast in knocking to the yron upon his brest. So immediatly bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.” (Fox, p. 1372, Ed. 1583).

Such were the sufferings which this good man endured at the hands of the *Romish* bishops. Yet Mr. Egan says that the “Protestant Archbishops and Bishops were the most persecuting bigots.” But has he ever heard of any of

them who surpassed, or even equalled, in acts of persecution and savage cruelty the multitudes of Romish Bishops, who not only put to death their unoffending brethren for the sake of religion, but seemed to have a satisfaction and a pleasure in so doing?—He knows he never has: and yet—in the face of all history, he has the hardihood to maintain (but not with any attempt at proof,—which he knew would be vain,—and therefore without any chance of persuading reasonable men) that the “Protestant Archbishops and Bishops have been the most persecuting bigots.” The thousands, the *tens of thousands*, of victims of Romish cruelty in by-gone days in England, in France, in Germany, in Spain, in Italy,—yea, in India (as at Goa), in Africa, and in America tell a very different tale indeed.*

Let us now resume Mr. E.’s charges against me. “He has not proved that the Protestant Histories of England are not ‘Conspiracies against the Truth.’” p. 24. On referring to his first tract to see what was the statement on this subject which I had omitted to notice, I found it to be the following:—“Though ‘History for these last three hundred years (as Count J. De Maistre very properly observes) *has been a conspiracy against truth*’ [the italics are Mr. E.’s], yet the

* There unfortunately are one or two instances (as in the case of Joan Bocher and Van Parre) where the punishment of death by fire was inflicted with the concurrence of Protestant Bishops. But the reader must notice (1) the extreme rarity of such instances, (2) that the sentence was passed (at least in the case of Joan Bocher)—“with anguish of heart and bitterness of spirit” (Le Bas’ Cranmer, I. 339), and (3) that Cranmer, whose name is associated with these executions, had been nursed in the lap of Rome, and notwithstanding his change of belief, had not escaped from the influence of those principles of persecution which his early faith had engendered. Such indeed was the case with many Protestants, and (as I have before observed) it took some years for men to get the better of that spirit of persecution, which, owing to the long prevalence of Roman domination, seemed almost natural to them. It is also worthy of note, that the Church of Rome, *as a Church*, has taught and acted upon the principles of persecution. (See e.g., in addition to the Council of Lateran before referred to, the earlier canons of the Council of Toulouse in 1229). This, no Reformed Church ever did, that I know of, although *individuals* have held persecuting opinions. When a Romanist, therefore, persecutes, *he acts according to the spirit of his Church*; when a Protestant Churchman persecutes, *he is guilty of an act, for which his Church gives no sanction whatever*.

Protestant Histories of England throw some light on the wicked character of Lord W. Russell,' p. 13. On this I would only observe that De Maistre speaks of *history in general*, though Mr. E. makes an exception in favour of the "*Protestant Histories of England*," which are so far from being "conspiracies against truth," that he refers to them to prove the wickedness of Lord W. Russell. And yet now, in his second tract, he implies that the "Protestant Histories of England" are "conspiracies against the truth," and charges me with an omission for not having proved it! It would have been well if Mr. E. had satisfied his own mind on the question of the dependence to be placed on the "Protestant Histories of England," and then he would have been spared the inconsistency of referring to them as *true*, in his first tract, and of blaming me for not proving them to be *false*, in his second.

But to go on. "He has not shown that Tresham (who was *Cecil's* tool, and had access to him at all hours, day and night) was not poisoned, though his medical attendant declared that he was." p. 25. For this statement Mr. E. gives no authority. Dodd, in his Church History (Vol. IV. p. 57), after saying that "the substance of the [usual] account," i. e. of the Gunpowder Plot, "is undeniable," goes on to observe that "*some*" believe that "*very probably* Mr. Tresham was privately dispatched in the Tower." p. 58. Now we often regard it to be "*very probable*" that some event has taken place, which has not taken place notwithstanding. And from what Mr. Charles Butler (a Romanist) says, there seems no proof of this assertion respecting the death of Tresham. For he, a man of such learning, would scarcely have been ignorant of it, if true; nor, if he believed it, would he have been slow to avail himself of it. And yet what is his language respecting this and other statements, reiterated by Mr. Egan? I beg to repeat the following words, which are a portion of an extract given in my previous

pamphlet. "If these intimations had been accompanied by any circumstances which tended to corroborate them, they might be entitled to attention; but *in the total absence of everything of this kind, they deserve little regard.* Because Tresham had access at all hours to Cecil, it does not follow that Tresham was Cecil's instrument in a conspiracy;—because Tresham died suddenly in prison, it does not follow that he was poisoned by Cecil's order." The arguments of Mr. Butler (who was a barrister, and therefore would naturally take an accurate view of the question, as a question of fact) are adopted by Mr. Tierney, another learned Romanist. These men, with the evidence before them, were satisfied that there was no proof against Cecil, either as to his being the author of the Plot, or the cause of Tresham's death. And with such men as these, and Dr. Lingard, I am disposed to agree, rather than with Mr. Egan, being satisfied that their view, in accordance with that of all sound writers, is the true one.

Mr. E. continues—"He has not attempted to prove his Bible to be a *true version*, nor disproved the corruptions attributed to it." In my first pamphlet (p. 8) I gave my reasons for saying nothing about the Scriptures, except that I regarded the testimony of the Catholic (but *not the later Roman*) Church as the only sure evidence for the Canon of Scripture. In my present pamphlet, however, (pp. 171—202) I have spoken at some length, both as to *versions* and *corruptions*. And with regard to the Canon, that will be further treated of in the Appendix.

Mr. E.'s next charge against me is—"He has not shown where his orders, mission, &c. were during the 800 years that his Homily tells us the whole world was drowned in superstition, &c." I can not see why I was expected to do this. Mr. E. indeed insinuated something about the Nag's Head consecration, but in such a way that it seemed as if he had written it merely to make *his readers* believe it,

without committing himself to any actual statements on the matter, or saying enough to prove that he believed it himself. I therefore naturally thought him, in common with all other (as I *then* thought) respectable Romanists of the present day, as not *really* a believer in that exploded fable, and said that if he wished to disprove the validity of our orders, he should have stated what is said to have happened then and proved it: but he made no attempt whatever to do this. I was indeed surprised to find that he really (in his second tract) professed to believe this fable: but if he reads the statements adduced in pp. 27—41 of this present pamphlet, with a candid mind, I trust he will no longer do so. Our orders having been transmitted validly through the period of the Reformation,* they are as valid now, as they were before that period; and as for the 800 years preceding, they were just where they are now,—in the Catholic Church of England. The “superstitions, &c.” which then existed, though much to be lamented, were not sufficient to extinguish the being of a Church, nor to invalidate the orders which had been transmitted in our Church since the coming of St. Augustine.

We come at length to Mr. Egan’s last charge against me: “He has given in his pamphlet *at the least* 200 false statements in sentences and pieces of sentences.” We have here a heavy charge indeed,—“*at the least* 200 false statements” in 55 pages; i. e. about 4 falsehoods on every page throughout my pamphlet! If I had really done such an abominable thing, why did not Mr. E. expose me? Has he *proved* the 200 false statements? Has he even told us what they are? To judge by his own language he *has*, for he says he *has answered* my pamphlet. Now he could not

* As this is a question which cannot be discussed in a few lines, I beg to refer the reader to a Sermon entitled “Christ’s Ministers to give attendance to reading,” &c. Appendix, pp. 50—58, and 62—64, or to the “Outline of the ecclesiastical transactions, &c. of the English Romanists,” published in the “Christian’s miscellany.”

answer my pamphlet, without exposing those 200 false statements. I believe that I made one numerical error, viz. when I put 270 for 217 (p. 3) as the number of bishops who were present at the Council of Carthage in 457. This I have explained at p. 42 of this present pamphlet. But that I made any *other* false statement (supposing that the one just mentioned deserves so harsh a name) I deny, and I dare Mr. Egan to prove it. He has indeed made sundry assertions in contradiction to various statements of mine, such as saying that the Church of England is not Catholic, that we have not the true Bible, nor Apostolical Tradition, nor Evangelical Doctrine, that Ælfric taught as Rome does now, &c., amounting to perhaps a dozen or thereabouts. Yet even herein he has not *proved* that I have made *one* false statement. What then becomes of his "*at least 200*"? Now, if Mr. Egan says that he has answered my pamphlet;—if he has asserted that I have made 200 false statements;—if he has made this assertion, not only without proving it, but without being able to prove it;—what, let me ask, must be the character of his own statement?

And now let me in turn allude to some of the things which we should have expected Mr. E. to have noticed, since he has (as he says) answered my pamphlet.

1. In p. 4. I spoke of the Forged Decretals which exaggerated to the highest degree the powers and privileges of the Popes; and I stated that the Popes made use of these forged documents for the extension of their authority. Mr. E. does not deny my assertion that the Papal power thus made use of forgery for its own increase, and, as he has "answered my pamphlet," I presume he is unable to defend his Church from this charge of forgery, and allows the truth of my assertion.

2. He has not cleared his Church from the charge of forging ridiculous miracles, such as what I adduced (pp. 4,

5). He does indeed say, and correctly (what I do not deny) that "the argument for miracles depends upon the evidence adduced in their favour," and he adds "Pope Urban 8th. sets us (Catholics) right on this subject," naturally implying that they had been wrong before. But in what way Roman Catholics had gone astray in the matter of miracles before the time of Urban 8th, he has failed to tell us. I presume it was that they were not accustomed to care for "evidence," but believed every foolish fable which superstition or knavery might invent.

3. He has said that I have not proved Llorente to be a "respectable Catholic." This (as I have said) I did not feel called upon to do, not being aware that his character was questioned. But, if Mr. E. expected this of me, how is it that he has omitted to show that his favourite author Cobbett was a "respectable Protestant"? Why did he not answer the charges which I adduced against him? And why has he not cleared the character of Dr. Milner, the fictitious Bishop of Castabala, from the aspersions thrown upon it by Southey, when he said that his bust should be made only in *bronze*, as "that 'undaunted metal' is the only material which can represent him to the life"? Surely, as he has "answered my pamphlet," he should have done all these things.

4. Why did he not contradict me, *if he could*, when I said that the Bible, in countries professedly Roman Catholic, was not so popular a book as he would have us believe? Nay, why did he not disprove the statement of Piazza, that in his time to have a Bible in the vulgar tongue was accounted in Italy a matter of the Inquisition? Surely, this is a great slur upon the Church of Rome. Is it true, or is it false? If it had been false, Mr. E. would have said so, since he says he has "answered my pamphlet," in which the assertion was made. As he has not denied it, he leaves us to conclude that he admits its truth.

5. In his first tract p. 5. he endeavours to support the Roman doctrine of image-worship by asserting that God ordered "graven images all around the Tabernacle." I have stated (p. 9) that no such command is to be found in the Bible, and I have shown that the inference which he would draw from this imaginary statement and from others, is altogether wrong. Mr. E. sets up no defence for himself, but passes by my charges and arguments in silence; and thus (since he has "answered my pamphlet") acknowledges himself to be in error.

6. I had stated that in the "Key of Heaven," (which had passed through 17 editions in 1834) the 2nd commandment was left out. Mr. E. asserts that it is in their First Catechism. So it is: but what of that? What I said was, that it was omitted in the "Key of Heaven." Why is it left out of *any* of their books?—and above all, of their most popular books? Why has he omitted to defend his Church's conduct, and to explain the omission which I had exposed? Is this what he calls answering my pamphlet?

7. He has not told us whether he believes in pictures of winking Madonnas, though from his language I presume he does; but, if so, he should have told us why it is that the pictures are like any others when brought close to the eye, and are not seen to wink except when placed at a distance from the spectator.

8. He says that the Invocation of Saints is clearly taught in Scripture and the Apostles' Creed. I ventured to dispute this, and said that (laying aside the question of Scripture) if it were to be found in the Creed, it would require a strong application of development to draw it out. And has he applied development for this purpose? No: he has passed the question over in silence, knowing that the thing could not be done, and that his statement could not be supported. Now, as he says he has "answered my pamphlet," I presume we are to conclude that he retracts his statement respecting the Invocation of Saints.

9. I quoted in p. 19. a prayer where the Virgin Mary is called by the Romanists "the only hope of those in despair." Now, it is all very well to say, as Mr. E. does, that "the language of prayer is figurative and poetical;" but, is that all? is there anything *real* about it? In other words, when people in the Roman Church say their prayers, do they *mean* what they say, or do they not? If not, how can they expect an answer to them? If they do,—is it well,—is it conducive to the honour of Almighty God for people to call the Virgin their "only hope"?—to say they "*entirely resign*" themselves to HER, and to ask HER to "restrain them from all sin? Mr. E.'s remarks on this subject are not at all satisfactory, when we consider the very extensive substitution of the Virgin in the place of Jehovah. By passing over in silence all allusion to the prayers I quoted, he admits the doctrine they contain. If he does *not* do this;—if he does not "entirely resign" himself to the Virgin Mary, and make her his "only hope," and ask her to "restrain him from all sin," he has avoided the question, and made (as I think will be generally allowed) a great mistake when he said he had "answered my pamphlet."

10. If Mr. E. has so satisfactorily "answered" me, how is it that he takes no notice of my remarks (p. 23) respecting communion in one kind? I ventured to express my belief that his arguments were of no value, as they would equally prove that the *Cup* only (and not merely the *Bread* only—as he contends) might be given to none but the officiating clergy. He has made no defence of his assertions or his arguments: the natural inference therefore is—that they are worth nothing.

11. He stated that the Spanish Inquisition was abolished by the Cortes nearly 70 years ago, which would be about 1780. On the other hand I quoted some statements by the English Editor of Llorente, showing that it was in existence in 1820. Though Mr. E. has "answered my pamphlet," he has not denied these statements, nor cleared up this con-

tradiction. I presume therefore that he allows he has made what he calls (in my case) a false statement, though unwilling to avow it.

12. He has not answered what I said respecting the objects of the Spanish Inquisition. I stated that it was instituted in a great measure to suppress Judaism (I might have said, as I have said a few pages above, to suppress all forms of faith but the Roman Catholic); and I stated that we had recorded the trials of seven archbishops, twenty bishops, many learned men (and among them *members of the Council of Trent,*) with several nuns and other females, who were burnt on the charge of Lutheranism. Mr. E. does not deny this; he only repeats his assertion that the Inquisition was a "political engine." In other words, that fearful tribunal was *not* called the "Holy Office," it did *not* take cognizance of religion as such, it was *not* instituted, and encouraged by Popes, mainly for the suppression of heresy. No: nothing of the sort. The Church had nothing to do with it; it was a mere creature of the state;—only a "political engine"!! When we have forgotten everything we have ever heard or read about the Inquisition,—*then* we may perhaps believe this; and then we may allow that Mr. E. has "answered my pamphlet."

13. He has given no reply to my question, what would the Pope and Roman Catholic Clergy say and do, if a Protestant Archbishop and Bishops were to be sent out from England to Italy, to divide that country into new dioceses, to assume territorial titles, exercise spiritual jurisdiction, and administer ecclesiastical "government" over the land. He is astonished at there being such a strong feeling in this country against the late Papal intrusions, but when I put the question how *his* Church would act under similar circumstances, he is silent. Does he call *this*, "answering my pamphlet"?*

* Some Romanists endeavour to throw dust into the eyes of Protestants by saying that the ecclesiastical divisions over which the Romish bishops preside

14. I will name but one omission more, but when we bear in mind the origin of this controversy, that omission is a very remarkable one. In the title of my pamphlet I had described the Communion to which he belongs as "THE ROMISH SCHISM," "with *no true mission, no succession, no jurisdiction.*" And in pp. 49, 50, I explained how it is that the Romish Communion in this country is a *mere Schism*, dating from the 11th year of Queen Elizabeth: I stated that for many years this Communion or Schism had no bishops whatever, and when the Pope sent one,—having no right to make him a bishop in the English Church,—he called him (by a humorous ecclesiastical fiction) bishop of a city in *Asia Minor!* I then alluded to the continuance of this ridiculous system till lately, when the Pope pretended to portion England into new dioceses and to give his bishops ordinary spiritual jurisdiction therein. But I said plainly that Cardinal Wiseman was no more Archbishop of Westminster (which is a portion of the diocese of London, and under the oversight of Bishop Blomfield) than he was Bishop of Melipotamus, and that he had just as much right to call himself king of Ireland. I said that he, and all the Romish bishops, being sent into dioceses already occupied by bishops of the Catholic Church, have "*no true mission*"; that they are a *new Communion*, having no connexion whatever with the old bishops before the reformation; and have therefore "*no succession*"; that being schismatics and intruders, they have no authority to exercise any ecclesiastical power, and have therefore "*no jurisdiction.*" And surely, if this is their

are of the same nature as the districts which the Wesleyans have made for the convenience of their preaching arrangements. Mr. E. however has not put forward this disingenuous assertion: indeed it would be difficult *now* to persuade people, that Dr. Brown (who, I understand, calls himself Bishop of Shrewsbury) aims at nothing more than superintending the clergy and the laity of his communion within the district. If he regards himself as a *Catholic bishop presiding over an actual diocese*, he well knows that he looks to something higher than being a superintendent of ministers. He believes that he has a *diocese to "govern;"* and he and his brethren in Schism will not be satisfied till this "*government*" is a reality, and till their right to *sole jurisdiction* is recognized.

real state, what pretensions can the Romanists here have to the name of a Church? Who ever heard of a Catholic Church in Schism, without canonical bishops,—without true mission, without succession,—without jurisdiction? Should there be some of my readers who do not understand these questions, Mr. E. is *not* one of these, and he knows perfectly well that such a communion as I have described *cannot* be regarded as a Catholic Church, or as a portion of the Catholic Church. Yet he has left my statements, made on the title page and explained in a subsequent one, *totally without answer*. He has said something about having “every day something new to learn”; which need not have been the case in this matter, if he had acquainted himself with the authors who have written on this subject (for my statements are not new); and he has also asked “whether I think that any one who knows how to read and reason will believe that what I call ‘the Romish Schism’ began in the 11th year of Elizabeth”; but, so far from *disproving*, he has not even *contradicted* my assertions; he has not even denied my position that *his Communion is not a Church, but a Schism*, or form of religious dissent;—he has not told us how we have *two bishops in one diocese*, or how Cardinal Wiseman comes to exercise spiritual jurisdiction in the diocese of London: he has not contradicted my statement that the said Cardinal has no more right to call himself Archbishop of Westminster than to call himself king of Ireland. He has not explained how it is that bishops have been from time to time sent into this country calling themselves (according to that amusing Roman practice) after cities supposed to exist somewhere among the infidels (*in partibus infidelium*), such as Ariopolis, Germanicia, Eretria, Cambysopolis, and the like. In short, he has not told us what spiritual right or authority the Pope has here at all, nor why we could not be allowed the peaceful exercise of our religion, without sowers of disaffection and

of religious discord being let loose upon us,—without disseminators of false—not to say—idolatrous doctrines and superstitious practices being sent into all parts of our land by a *foreigner*,—an *Italian prelate*,—who has as much right here as Bishop, as Napoleon had as Emperor.* Why, I repeat, has not Mr. Egan told us all these things? I maintain that if he had “answered my pamphlet” (*as he says he has*) he would have answered fully, and carefully, and distinctly, my charges against the state of his religion here in England. As he has not done this,—I must presume that he has no defence to make upon this head, and that he allows all my charges to be true and valid.

I am now come to the end of the omissions of which I complain in Mr. E.’s tract; the list might have been enlarged, but it is enough to show that he has made a hasty statement when he said that he has “answered my pamphlet.” It was for this purpose, and this only, that I have brought these omissions forward.

And now let me make the apology which is due to my readers for extending this pamphlet to such a wearisome length; but my object in doing so was to answer every argument which Mr. E. brought against me in his last tract, that he might not *again* charge me with having omitted anything. And I felt this the more needful from its being my purpose now to retire from this controversy, and not to reply to any answer which he may feel inclined to put forth.

* Of course it will be replied that Romanists everywhere must naturally acknowledge the Pope. No doubt they must, as long as they hold the error of the Papal Supremacy. But this doctrine is an error. All the inhabitants of this kingdom ought to be in communion with the Catholic Church of the country and in subjection to her bishops; and to obey a foreign bishop is in spiritual things like obeying a foreign prince in temporal. As for the Pope claiming authority over our Church because he sent missionaries to convert our forefathers, people might as well say that because England was conquered by William of Normandy, therefore we should still acknowledge the authority of France.

Perhaps it may be necessary to explain this resolution to preserve silence in future. It is not from fear: I trust what I have written will show that I am not afraid of Mr. Egan, and that I have not shrunk from meeting either his assertions or his arguments. No: so far as he deals in plain statements and honest reasoning, I am willing to cope with him: but there is one thing in which I cannot cope with him, and that is his *language*. It was this which made me have doubts about replying to him at all: but I felt that if I did not, I might afford him a triumph as if I were unable to do so.

I will explain more fully what I mean. Mr. Egan, in the opening of his tract, speaks of me as a "gentleman." I am glad that he does so; such I would fain be regarded. I hope I have the *feelings* of a gentleman, and I trust that I use the *language* of a gentleman. But if such be the case, surely I am engaged in an unequal contest with a writer who uses such language respecting me as the following:—

"A greater specimen of *bad faith and misrepresentation* than this pamphlet [my first] exhibits, I have seldom seen from the pen of a gentleman." p. 3.

"— when we see those whom we would fain respect forget themselves so far as to descend to UNWORTHY DODGES, DISINGENUOUS STATEMENTS, and VULGAR CALUMNY, we must express our disgust and censure." *Ib.*

"Mr. D. certainly has an eccentricity of *artful cavilling* pervading his whole pamphlet, *which pushes truth altogether aside*, and bewilders the untutored mind in the *mazes of scepticism*." p. 7.

"The arguments, if I may call them such, which the 'Perpetual Curate' brings against the Catholic doctrine of miracles, are but so many weapons taken from *the arsenal of sneering and ridicule*, to BE USED WITH EFFECT BY THE SCOFFER AND THE INFIDEL." p. 9.

"In wisdom superior to, and in a system of religion *more simplified*, than that of which the early Christians could boast, the 'Perpetual Curate' would, no doubt, turn off in disgust from *inanimate* 'winking Madonnas' of the one-sixteenth of an inch thickness, to discover the manifestation of divine truth under the more *animated* and substantial form of a missionary helpmate and some hundreds a-year. And while he would shudder at the idea of praying before (*not to*) the effigy of the Blessed Jesus, or of his highly privileged and sacred Mother, he would with all the tact *so peculiar to his cloth* [the italics are Mr. E.'s] pour out on bended knee the praises of *his living Idol*," &c. p. 10.

M M

In pp. 13, 14, Mr. E. gives a quotation from Zanchius, of which this is a portion—

“We have the impudence to deny things the most evident; we assert what is visibly false: the most impious doctrines we force on the people as the first principles of faith, and orthodox opinions we consider heretical: we torture the Scriptures till they agree with our own fancies;... to deceive, to calumniate, to abuse, is our familiar practice, nor do we care for anything, provided we can defend our cause, good or bad, right or wrong.”

On this quotation Mr. E. makes the following courteous remark:—“I am sorry to say that this is a most useful mirror in which Mr. D. may contemplate his pamphlet,”—implying that the character of my pamphlet resembles that of the party described by Zanchius: in other words, that I “have the impudence to deny what is most evident,” and “assert what is visibly false,” &c., that I “torture the Scriptures till they agree with my own fancies,”—that “to deceive, to calumniate, to abuse, is my familiar practice,” nor do I “care for anything, provided I can defend my cause, right or wrong.” I think I might well stop here; but I will give one, and only one passage more:—

“Do we not see wretched beings, who are as so many foul plague-spots on civilized society, fondly cherished, and encouraged to write and publish calumny, who, had they lived in a less enlightened age, clearly demonstrate that they would gladly have exchanged the pen for the deadly stiletto of the bravo? For this frightfully diseased state of the social body we are indebted to Mr. Darwall, and to men like him, who will spread fables instead of truth—‘will give a stone instead of bread,’ and deal out calumny instead of charity.” p. 25.

Now I appeal to my readers whether I can continue a controversy with a writer who uses language of this description. Whatever may be my opinion of Mr. Egan, I have at any rate abstained from charging him with “unworthy dodges, disingenuous statements, and vulgar calumny”; I have never accused him of “pushing truth altogether aside by artful cavilling, and thus bewildering untutored minds in the mazes of scepticism” or infidelity.* I have

* The title of Mr. E.’s tract is not remarkable for its courteousness. Professing to be written against me, it is called “The Church of Christ,” &c. “versus modern infidelity.”

never made any unseemly allusions to "the tact so peculiar to his cloth," nor have I had the want of charity to state that he "denies what is evidently true," and "asserts what is visibly false," that he "tortures the Scriptures to make them agree with his fancies," and that "to deceive, to calumniate, to abuse, is his familiar practice." Yet such have been his language and his insinuations towards myself. And he has asserted that to persons like myself "who will spread fables instead of truth," is owing the diseased state of the social body, which encourages men to write and publish calumny, who, in less enlightened times, would have been hired assassins.

I will honestly own that I cannot write in this style, so that I will yield in language, but nothing else, to Mr. Egan. I therefore bid him farewell, and leave him in possession of the field which he has won, and *well* won,—if not by the accuracy of his statements, if not by the convincing nature of his proofs, if not by the strength of his arguments,—yet, at any rate,—by the graceful propriety of his expressions, by the studied courteousness of his language, above all, by the display of what he calls that "gently breathing zephyr of charity," which rejoices to speak well even of an adversary, and to give him credit for the purest motives and the best intentions.

In pp. 13, 14, Mr. E. gives a quotation of which this is a portion—

"We have the impudence to deny things which are what is visibly false: the most impious do as the first principles of faith, and orthodoxy: we torture the Scriptures till they are made to deceive, to calumniate, to abuse, in any way, care for anything, provided we can get our ends or wrong."

On this quotation Mr. J. says:
 remark:—"I am sorry to see this as a mirror in which Mr. D. is looking, implying that the character of the party described
 "have the impudence to
 "assert what is false in the
 Scriptures till they
 deceive, to calumniate,
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APPENDIX.

No. I.

OF THE CANON OF SCRIPTURE.*

I will now proceed to fulfil my promise respecting the Canon of the English Church (p. 8), and to vindicate my assertion that I regard "the testimony of the Catholic Church, (but *not the later Roman*) as the only sure evidence of the Canon of Scripture."† In order to do this, it will be necessary to refer to the early Christian Fathers and Councils, from which it will appear that the English Canon is the same as that of the Primitive Church, while the Roman Church holds as Canonical several Books which were not so regarded by the Primitive Church, thereby having a different Canon from what the Catholic Church had in early times, and adding to what *she* regarded as the inspired Word of God.

Our chief attention will of course be directed to the Old Testament, since it is here that the additions have been made to the ancient Canon. As far as the New Testament is concerned, the Canon of both Churches is the same.

It may be well at the outset to say that the books to which the general title of "Scriptures" (i. e. writings) or "Sacred Scriptures" has been often accorded may be divided into three kinds, (1) those *strictly Canonical*, which alone are regarded as the inspired Word of God, and which have their name from being put into the list of books authorised by the Church, and recognised as the *Rule* (for so the word *Canon* signifies) of faith and practice; (2) *Ecclesiastical* books, which were not regarded as divinely inspired, but were nevertheless read in many Churches for the pious and moral lessons which they contained; and (3) *Apocryphal* books, i. e. those of doubtful authority, or of none whatever, including also spurious works, such as the Gospel of St. Andrew, the Revelation of St. Peter, &c. Of these three, the books of the 2nd order were sometimes called Apocryphal, as they were commonly by St. Jerome, and are now by the Church of England,—and, about his time, were also called Canonical, *in a lower sense*, as signifying books allowed to be read in Church for a *rule* of life, or (as we say

* For this sketch I am mainly indebted to Bishop Cosin's "Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture." Oxford, 1849.

† P. 8. of my first pamphlet; referred to by Mr. Egan, (p. 6, of his 2nd Tract.)

after him) "for example of life and instruction of manners," but not to establish any disputed doctrine.

My object will now be to show that the books of the Old Testament which *we* hold to be Canonical, *and none other*, were held to be so by the Primitive Church, *in the first, or strict sense*.

There needs not, I trust, any long argument to prove that the Church into whose keeping the Scriptures, or any part thereof, were given, is the Church to which we should naturally look for the Canon of Scripture. Thus, if we are in doubt about the books of the Old Testament, where should we look but to the Jewish Church which was the guardian thereof? And if we know with certainty what books she held as divine and Canonical, our enquiry so far (one would think) would have come to an end, for we may be satisfied that we have ascertained what books are really Canonical and inspired. This trust was one great glory of the Jewish Church. "What advantage hath the Jew?" (St. Paul imagines some objector to enquire) "or what profit is there in circumcision?" "Much every way" (he replies) "chiefly that *unto them were committed the Oracles of God.*" These "Oracles of God" were the Scriptures which the Jewish Church regarded as Canonical in the time of our Lord and his Apostles. With what particularity the Jews of old counted even the words and letters of the Scriptures we have seen (p. 171, n.); with what exactness they adhered to the number of books we shall see by and by. Suffice it here to say, that the Canon of the Old Testament which existed in the time of Christ and His Apostles is the Canon which and which only, was acknowledged by them. These Canonical Scriptures, comprising "the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms," are quoted, while no apocryphal book is, by the New Testament writers and by Christ,* who, among the many sins with which they charged the Jews, never imputed that of corrupting the Scriptures, which they certainly would have done, when speaking of the honourable trust which was committed to them—that of preserving the Holy Scriptures—if they had been unfaithful to their trust. Now, besides these Canonical books, there were several others in existence, and if these books were rejected by the Jewish Church as uninspired and not accounted a portion of their Canon,—if they were thus rejected by our blessed Lord and his Apostles, how could they ever *become* inspired and Canonical afterwards? No lapse of ages, no Church, no combination of Churches, no Pope, no power on earth could *make* a book Canonical, or give to it inspiration and divine authority which it did not possess at the first. These books

* If they *had* quoted them, it would not have proved them Canonical, (unless they had quoted them as such), for even heathen poets are quoted by St. Paul. But since they have *not*, it seems as if they passed them by on purpose to show the inferior value which they put upon them, and is a striking negative argument against their being regarded as Canonical and inspired.

therefore cannot possibly be regarded as Canonical *in the strict sense*, i. e. as divinely inspired, though they may be so in a *secondary* sense, as containing good moral lessons, and as being proper to be read in Church;—they cannot, I say, be regarded as strictly Canonical, without arraigning the ancient Church of God, without arraigning our blessed Lord Himself and the Apostles, with the crime of rejecting several Canonical and inspired books, i. e. of rejecting a portion of the true Word of God. And let me add, that if the Church of Rome does (as she decreed at Trent) hold these books as Canonical and inspired, which the Jewish Church and our Lord did not so regard, and if she proclaims an Anathema, as she did then, upon all who do not regard these Apocryphal books as of equal value with the inspired Word of God, upon whom does her sentence of excommunication fall, but (not now to speak of the Christian fathers) upon God's ancient Jewish Church, nay upon the head of our blessed Lord Himself and His inspired Apostles? Add to this, that the canonization of the Apocrypha is a great stumbling-block to the Jews, who, mistaking the Roman Church for the Christian Church, accuse Christians of adding to the Canon; and thus does she inflict a great injury on Jews as well as Christians.*

Let us now come to our authorities in confirmation of the truth of the argument above advanced.

My first shall be the learned Jewish historian Josephus, whose words are thus introduced by Eusebius:—

“In the first of these books [viz. that against Apion] he declares in these words the number of the sacred volumes of which the Old Testament consists, which with the Hebrews *were beyond dispute*, as being handed down by ancient tradition. ‘Among us,’ he says, ‘there are not myriads of disagreeing and contradictory volumes, but only two and twenty books, embracing the history of all preceding ages, which are rightly believed to be divine. Of these, five are the books of Moses, which contain the law and the history of events from the creation till his death. And from the death of Moses till Artaxerxes, king of the Persians after Xerxes, the prophets who succeeded Moses wrote what took place in their time in thirteen books. The remaining four comprise hymns to God, and precepts of life for men.† But from Artaxerxes to our time, certain books

* Wordsworth on the Canon, pp. 69—73, Ed. 1851.

† The twenty-two books are by Josephus divided thus:—(I.) The five books of *Moses*. (II.) *Prophets*, viz. (1) Joshua, (2) Judges, and Ruth, (3) Samuel, i. and ii. (4) Kings, i. and ii. (5) Isaiah, (6) Jeremiah and Lamentations, (7) Ezekiel, (8) Twelve lesser prophets, (9) Daniel, (10) Job, (11) Ezra and Nehemiah, (12) Esther, (13) Chronicles, i. and ii. (III.) *Psalms*, &c. (1) Psalms, (2) Proverbs, (3) Ecclesiastes, (4) Song of Solomon.

In order to comprehend the books of the Old Testament within the symbolical number of twenty-two, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, the Jews in

have been written, *but they are not judged worthy of the same belief as those written before them*, from there being no exact succession of prophets. And it is plain from the fact, how much we are attached to our own books, for although so long a period has elapsed, no one has dared to add anything, or to take away anything, or to change anything. But it is implanted in all Jews even from their birth to regard them as the oracles of God, and to remain constant to them, and if need were, willingly to die for them." (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. III. 9, 10.)

After the coming of Christ, it is plain that no Canonical books could be added to the *Old Testament*; what were written by the inspiration of God must henceforth be reckoned parts of the *New*. Evidently no *unbelieving Jew* could write a Canonical book; therefore, as I have said, the Canon of the *Old Testament* was closed; and what it was in our Lord's time, it must remain ever after. We have seen what it was then by the testimony of Josephus (who was born A.D. 37). We will now see how that is confirmed by the witness of the early Christian Fathers, and indeed by Divines all along down to the times of the Reformation.

Before St. John died, the Canon of the Scriptures was completed. About 60 years after his death there was some question made by certain men, concerning the exact number of the canonical books of Scripture. In order to settle this, Melito, then Bishop of Sardis [A.D. 160], of whom Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, said that he was guided in all he did by the Holy Ghost,—having been requested by Onesimus, made a perfect catalogue of all the books, that by common consent of the Eastern Christians were received as canonical parts of the *Old Testament*, for which purpose he made a journey into Palestine, where they were first proclaimed. Then follows the Catalogue, which contains (it is perhaps needless to state) *not one of the Apocryphal books now admitted into the Roman Canon.** See Euseb. H. E. IV. 26. Passing on to the

some cases, as we have seen, joined two books into one, as Judges and Ruth, 1 and 2 of Samuel, 1 and 2 of Kings, 1 and 2 of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, also called the 1st and 2nd book of Esdras. In other cases, the number by some of the Fathers is computed as twenty-four, corresponding with the number of the Elders in the Revelations, and this is done by reckoning Judges and Ruth as two books, and dividing Lamentations from the Prophecy of Jeremiah. Another way in which the Jews divided the *Old Testament* was (I.) Five books of *Moses*, (II.) Eight of the *Prophets*, viz. 1. Joshua, 2. Judges and Ruth, 3. Samuel, 4. Kings, 5. Isaiah, 6. Jeremiah, 7. Ezekiel, 8. Book of twelve lesser Prophets, (III.) The *Hagiographa* (called also the *Psalms*, from the first book) in nine books, viz. 1. *Psalms*, 2. *Proverbs*, 3. *Ecclesiastes*, 4. *Canticles*, 5. *Job*, 6. *Daniel*, 7. *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, 8. *Esther*, 9. *Chronicles*. It was to this manner of division which our Lord referred, when He spoke (St. Luke xxiv. 44.) of the things which were written of Him in the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Psalms*.

* In this Catalogue there is no mention of the book of *Esther*, but Cosin accounts for this by stating it to be comprehended, with *Nehemiah*, under *Ezra*, the supposed author of the book. See Cosin, p. 59, and notes.

next (the *Third*) Century, we come to *Origen*, a most diligent student of the Scriptures, and one who had taken more pains to set them forth both in the original and in their several translations than any besides that lived in his time or long before (Cosin, p. 37). He, coinciding with those who had gone before him, states in his preface upon the Psalms, that the books of the Old Testament, *as the Hebrews have handed them down*, are twenty-two; and he proceeds to reckon them according as we have them, adding that "*apart from these* are the Maccabees." He mentions indeed the Epistle of Jeremiah as forming one book with his Prophecy and Lamentations; but he evidently could not mean the spurious Epistle which forms chap. vi. of the Apocryphal book of Baruch, which was never written in Hebrew, and never formed part of the Hebrew Canon: unquestionably he intended the Epistle which forms chap. xxix. of the Prophecy. It is true also that he quotes some of the Apocryphal books under the general name of "Scriptures;" but so does the Church of England in her homilies (see especially that "Against Peril of Idolatry").—and yet she distinctly disclaims their being Canonical; and so does Origen, as we have seen above. We have therefore in him another witness to the correctness of the English Canon.

In the *Fourth Century*, we meet with the well-known Ecclesiastical historian *Eusebius*. He has not himself given a catalogue of the Canonical books; but from the manner in which he mentions the lists of Melito and Origen, it is plain that he agreed with them; and therefore we may add his testimony to theirs. Moreover he speaks of the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus, as books which are controverted, and therefore out of the Canon. Of the books of Maccabees he says that "they are not received among the divine Scriptures." See Cosin, pp. 46, 47.

This same century produced the great *Athanasius*, Archbishop of Alexandria. In one of his Paschal Epistles, having understood that certain Apocryphal writings went about under the name of sacred and divine scriptures, he gave a catalogue of the certain and undoubted books of the Old and New Testaments, in which he makes no mention whatever of any except the Canonical books. Of the Old Testament he names as usual (according to the Hebrew Canon adopted by the early Church) *twenty-two*; his catalogue of the New Testament is also the same as ours, and after the enumeration of both Testaments, he observes that these are the "fountains of salvation," and that from *these alone* the doctrine of piety is preached, adding "Let no one *add to these things*, nor take away anything from them." And, as if even this were not enough, he goes on to say that "there are other books apart from these," (naming Judith, Tobit, &c.) "*not Canonised* but appointed by the fathers to be read to those who have lately come to us, and wish to

be instructed in the way of piety.* Would he have said this, if he had held, as Rome now holds, that the Apocryphal books were inspired by God? Certainly not: he cuts them off from the rest which he called inspired, and distinctly says that they are *not Canonical*. We have in Athanasius then, another witness to the English Canon, another opponent of the Roman. †

Contemporary with Athanasius was *Hilary*, Bishop of *Poitiers* in France, "a man (says Cosin, p. 62.) highly honoured by Saint Augustine, and approved in all his writings by 70 Bishops met together at a Council at Rome." These two Fathers give the same number of the Canonical books of the Old Testament, and thus bear witness to the same Canon being prevalent in their age both in East and West. †

In the same century comes *Cyril of Jerusalem*. He was present at the Second General Council at Constantinople, (A.D. 381) and was reckoned for one of the chief. The Catalogue which he gave of the Canonical books of the Old Testament at Jerusalem, was the same as that which Origen and Athanasius gave at Alexandria, and Hilary in France. And he exhorted his hearers to "read the twenty-two books of the Old Testament, *which the Septuagint translated*," (Catech. iv. sec. 33, &c. ap. Cosin, p. 64). From which we see, that although *afterwards* the Apocryphal or Ecclesiastical books (written at first in Greek and introduced by the Hellenistic Jews) were put together with the Canonical,—as at present by Rome,—yet that in his time they were always careful to preserve the honour of the Hebrew Canon, which consisted of only twenty-two books divinely inspired, and accurately to distinguish them

* Ep. xxxix. Tom. I. par. ii. p. 961. Ed. Ben. 1698, as quoted in Cosin, p. 55-6.

† We have here again the Book of Esther omitted from the list of Canonical books (see note on p. 272); and, what may seem more singular, its name occurs in the list of *Apocryphal* books. This however is satisfactorily accounted for by the way in which Athanasius mentions it in the list, describing it as the book of Esther which begins with a dream which Mardocheus had in the second year of Artaxerxes, which is the Apocryphal book of Esther, and is to be found as such in our Bibles. Therefore *it could not be*, and *was not*, the Canonical book of Esther. The fact of a Canonical and an Apocryphal book bearing the same title seems to have produced a confusion of language with some ancient writers. In the passage from Origen above referred to, in which the Hebrew Canon is professedly given, Esther is ranked among the Canonical books next to Job. Let me add also that Baruch is mentioned by Athanasius among the Canonical books, not however separately, and therefore not the Apocryphal book, but as a part of Jeremiah,—thus "Jeremiah, and *with him Baruch*, his Lamentations and Epistle;" the two latter being those of Jeremiah, and the *Baruch* signifying most probably what passes as the last chapter of Jeremiah, which was supposed by some to have been written by Baruch.

‡ Hilary mentions *some* who added Tobit and Judith; so that it seems these books were beginning to acquire with *some* a position which they had not hitherto held in the Church. It is however of no consequence what *some* may think, when the voice of the Church is against them. Like Origen, Hilary reckons Esther as a separate book.

from the rest which had but an ecclesiastical sanction,—a distinction which the Church of England makes at the present day. We have thus in St. Cyril another witness to the truth and primitive character of our Old Testament Canon, in the rejection of the Apocrypha.

The next authority which demands our attention in this century is the Council held at Laodicea, in or about the year 364. In the 59th Canon of this Council is given a catalogue of the Canonical books, in which again we find the Apocrypha carefully excluded. The object of this Canon seemed to be to put a stop to the introduction of uninspired works, which appeared to be gradually becoming more read in the Church. Mention has before been made (p. 269) of the different classes into which books on sacred subjects were divided; and it is obvious that however instructive many human compositions might be, the admission of such works would become hurtful if not made with due discretion. The Council therefore, judging it expedient for that time, forbids any books to be read in Church except the Canonical books of the Old and New Testament, nay even one of these, the book of Revelations, is omitted, either on account of certain doubts which some might entertain respecting it, or perhaps (as Cosin says) from its being so full of mysteries, that it might not be thought profitable to be read to the people at large. And herein we find the Church of England acting in a very similar manner, as the book of Revelations never once occurs in our calendar, nor is there a single lesson taken from it. And, with the exception of *one verse* in the service of King Charles the Martyr, portions of it occur only four times in the course of the public service, viz. as Epistles for the Innocents' Day, All Saints', Saint Michael's, and Trinity Sunday. Now, the reason above given for the book of Revelations not being read in Church would not apply to any of what we call Apocryphal books; why then are they omitted? Surely, not because they are mysterious and difficult of comprehension. Nay, they were often recommended to be read for the instruction they conveyed. Therefore, we are to conclude that if the Council of Laodicea had judged them to be Canonical and inspired, it would have inserted them in the list of "Canonical books to be read in Church."

Concerning the book of Revelations, let me once for all make some remarks upon its reception by the Church. I have intimated that, owing probably to the mysterious nature of its contents, it was not always read in Church. This custom may have prevailed from early times, and, in the minds of some may have been a reason for doubting the genuineness and inspiration of it. That it was however the undoubted writing of Saint John and inspired, and was regarded as such by the Early Church, will appear by the following testimonies:

1. *Papias*, Bishop of *Hierapolis* (a city not far from *Laodicea*, one of the Seven Churches) was a disciple of Saint John, and

received the book of Revelations as his work. (see Irenæus, Hær. V. 33, as quoted by Dr. Wordsworth on the Canon, p. 319. n).

2. The next witness is *Justin Martyr*. About the middle of the second century, he came to *Ephesus* (another of the Seven Churches, and the residence of St. John,) where he held a two days' conference with Trypho the Jew. In this conference, he quoted the book of Revelations, asserting it to be written by Saint John the Apostle, (Euseb. H. E. IV. 18).

3. *Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis*, another of the Seven Churches. I have already referred to his testimony respecting the Old Testament, and to his having written a Commentary on the book of Revelations.

4. The last witness whom I will here name is *Irenæus*. He was a native of Asia Minor, and was made Bishop of Lyons towards the close of the second century. In his youth he had been acquainted with Polycarp, who was a disciple of St. John. In his work against Heresies, he quotes the Revelations no less than twenty times, he makes long extracts from it, and speaks of it in the most unhesitating manner as inspired Scripture, and as the work of Saint John (Wordsworth, p. 323).

It is needless to go lower down, and to enter into all the controversies respecting this book.* We have seen by the strongest testimony that could be brought, that from the earliest times, it was regarded as the work of Saint John, and therefore as inspired and Canonical. What surmises and doubts may have been entertained by *some* at a later period against the general voice of antiquity need not affect us. It may however be observed that the rejection of the Revelations was a distinguishing feature of certain heretics. Thus Tertullian says, (lib. IV. c. 5, con. Marcion., Cosin, p. 75,) about the close of the second century,—“We have also the Churches, which are the foster children of John. For *although Marcion rejects his Revelations*, yet the succession of bishops reckoned up to the beginning, will rest upon John as the author.” St. Augustine also (De Hæres. cap. 30, ap. Cosin, p. 75,) speaks of some heretics called *Alogi*, from not receiving the Divine Word (or Logos,) and says of them that they rejected the Gospel and the *Revelations* of Saint John, denying them to be his. Eusebius (H. E. III. 24,) alluding to the variety of opinions on the subject, says that the question will be decided at a suitable time “by the testimony of the ancients.” What this testimony is, we have seen above.†

* This book was chiefly disputed among the Greeks. For testimonies from Greek Fathers *in its favour*, see Cosin, pp. 74-5.

† The doubts which formerly existed respecting the book of Revelations show how unsafe it is to depend upon what is called *internal evidence*. It was from the *style and the nature of the contents* that many were led to have doubts respecting the authenticity of it, which they would not have entertained, if they had been satisfied with “the testimony of the ancients.”

Let us now return to the Council of Laodicea. Mr. Egan speaks of it slightly, as consisting of but few bishops, and being only a Provincial Council. I have already shown (p. 182) on the authority of Binius, that it consisted of a larger number of bishops than he stated, and that it was more than a Provincial Council,—nay, I shall be able to show that it had the force of a *General Council*. The first Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, a General Council, which met in 451, is as follows:—"We decree that the Canons of the Holy Fathers, made in every Synod to this present time, be in full force." (See Bin. tom. III. p. 440.) Now these Canons were those of the Councils of Nice, Ancyra, Neo-Cæsarea, Gangra, Antioch, and Laodicea.* And these, together with the Canons of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, composed the *Codex Canonum*, the Book or Body of Canons of the Ancient Church.† This then is enough to satisfy any "*Catholic*." And to satisfy even a Romanist, or *Roman Catholic*, let me adduce the letter of Pope Leo IV. (in his Epistle to the Bishops of Britain,) who, as stated by the learned author, quoted in the last note, preserves the same order in the enumeration which he makes of these Councils: "Servavit eum ordinem Pontifex Romanus Leo quartus in enumeratione quam facit horum conciliorum scribens ad episcopos Britanniae, can. De libellis. distin. 10.," (Justell. in Testimon. &c. prefixed to his *Codex Canonum*).

Thus then, the Council of Laodicea was adopted and confirmed by a General Council, that of Chalcedon (besides receiving the approbation of a Pope in after times); it had therefore the force of a General Council,—which was to be shown. And this Council, as we have seen, excludes the Apocryphal books, in conformity with the tradition of the Fathers of the Church, who before that time, as they did after, expressly stated that the books of Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Maccabees, &c. were *not in the Canon*. We have therefore the voice of the Universal Church in favour of the English Canon, and against the Roman.

In addition to these authorities of this century might be added the testimony of *Epiphanius*, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, of *Basil* of Cæsarea, of *Gregory Nazianzen*, of *Amphilochius*, Bishop of Iconium, and *Saint Chrysostom*, all of whom have in their writings informed us what books the Church of their day held to be Canonical, and how Tobias, &c. which the Church of Rome *now* holds to be Canoni-

* Johnson, (*Vade Mecum*, ii. 139,) who adds—"Those of Arles, Carthage, Eliberis, and even Sardica, were not admitted into the Code, and probably some of them [such as Sardica, for instance] never heard of by these Holy Fathers."

† See the ingenious Preface of Chr. Justell to his "*Codex Can. Eccl. Univ.*" Paris, 1610. Towards the end of his "*Testimonia*," &c., he says, "Constabat [i. e. Codex] omnino novem conciliis. Primum omnium erat *Nicænum*" [*Ancyranum Neocæsariense*]; "postea collocata erant tria diocæseon concilia, *Gangrense, Antiochenum, et Laodicense*: compagem claudabant tria posteriora concilia œcumenica *Constantinopolitanum* scilicet, *Ephesinum et Chalcedonense*."

cal were not so regarded by them. But let us come at once to *St. Jerome*, a man so highly esteemed both among us and by those of the Church of Rome, that it is difficult to find terms sufficiently expressive of the honour in which he is held. He was a connecting link between the *Fourth* and *Fifth* Centuries, having died in 420, and is a most unexceptionable witness to what the Church both in the East and West (for he was Secretary to Pope Damasus, and afterwards spent twenty years in Palestine) regarded as the Canonical books. From his holy retreat at Bethlehem, he sent forth from time to time, a Latin version of different portions of the Sacred Scriptures, carefully distinguishing the Canonical from the Apocryphal, and this so fully and repeatedly, that it is difficult to compress his testimony into moderate bounds. I will however bring it forwards as briefly as I can, consistently with its importance.

In his Epistle to Paulinus (prefixed to the Vulgate published at Venice, 1538) St. Jerome gives a list of the books of Holy Scripture, making a short remark on each. When he comes to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (which he puts after the prophets) *he makes no mention whatever of any Apocryphal books*, but continues, "I will briefly touch upon the New Testament." He then mentions the different books as we have them, saying of the Revelations, that it contains as many sacraments as words, and proceeds,—“I beseech you, dearest brother, to live among these, to meditate upon these, to know nothing else, to seek nothing else.” Would he have said this, if he had (as Rome does) held the Apocrypha to be Canonical and inspired, and to be received as a portion of the true Word of God? Of course not.

But Jerome not only passes by the Apocryphal books in silence; in other places he distinctly bears witness *against them*. Thus, in what he calls his "*Prologus galeatus*," prefixed to the First book of Kings (or, as we say, Samuel), he mentions the Canonical books of the Old Testament as before given, in number *twenty-two*, according to the number of the Hebrew letters, dividing them into the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Hagiographa* (see p. 272.); though he says that some put the books of Ruth and Lamentations among the latter, and think they ought to be counted by themselves, so as to make the number twenty-four, corresponding with the number of the Elders mentioned by Saint John in the Revelations. He goes on to say that this Prologue may suit all the books which he translated out of Hebrew into Latin, "that we may know that *whatever is apart from these is to be placed among the Apocrypha*. Therefore *Wisdom*, which is commonly called Solomon's, and the book of *Jesus the Son of Sirach*, and *Judith*, and *Tobias*, and the *Shepherd* [i. e. of Hermas], ARE NOT IN THE CANON."*

* He adds that he has found the first book of Maccabees in the Hebrew, (which however—says Bishop Gray, "Key to Old Testament, &c." p. 666. is now lost)—but, as we shall see, he does not regard it as Canonical.

In his Prologue or Preface to Jeremiah he says "The book of *Baruch* his secretary, which is neither read nor retained among the Hebrews, we have passed over." This proves, by the way, that the Baruch mentioned before as being in the Jewish Canon is not the same as this Apocryphal book.

In his Prologue to the book of Solomon he says,—“As therefore the Church reads indeed *Judith* and *Tobit*, and the books of *Maccabees*, but does not receive them among the Canonical books, so let her read these two volumes [i. e. *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Wisdom of Solomon*] for the edification of the people, not to confirm the authority of any doctrine of the Church.”

In his Prologue on *Daniel* he says that he has added the *history of Susanna*, the *Song of the three children*, and the *Fables of Bel and the Dragon*, though not in the Hebrew, because they are universally dispersed (prefixing at the same time a mark to give warning of their spuriousness) lest he should appear to the *unlearned** to cut off a great part of the volume.

As for the book of *Esther*, he gives indeed a Latin version of the whole, both of the Hebrew and of the Greek additions, of the Canonical and the Apocryphal; and where the former leaves off, i. e. after chap. X. v. 6. he puts his usual mark (*juxta nostram consuetudinem*) of disapprobation, viz. a spit (*obelo, id est veru prænotavimus,*) and distinctly states which are the portions added to the Hebrew original (the only Canonical part) which answer exactly to the portions regarded by us as Apocryphal;—though the Church of Rome regards these spurious additions as inspired and Canonical equally with the former chapters, which (I repeat) only are in the Hebrew, and which we, with the Jewish Church and Saint Jerome, regard as Canonical. Such is the testimony of Jerome, which is the more remarkable both on account of the high estimation in which he is held in the Church of Rome, and because she has prefixed these very Prefaces from which the above extracts are taken, to her own editions of the Bible, even up to the time of the Council of Trent. And yet this Father, whom Rome professes to hold in such high veneration for his learning in the Sacred Scriptures, and his labours in translating and illustrating them, this same Father gives his clear and explicit testimony in favour of the English Canon of Scripture, and against the Roman.

I will add but one witness more of this age, that of the learned Ruffinus, a presbyter of Aquileia, at first the friend, afterwards the adversary of Jerome. In his treatise on the Apostles' Creed (In Symb. Apost. sect. 35, 36, according to Cosin, p. 113), he speaks of the Bible as being written by the inspiration of God, continuing,

* What will learned Romanists say to this? Must they not feel ashamed for the want of learning displayed by those bishops at Trent, who (like certain ignorant persons in Jerome's time) confounded the Apocryphal books with the Canonical, because they were bound in the same Volume?

“And therefore it seems proper in this place to set down in a plain enumeration, as we have received them from the testimonies of the Fathers, what are the volumes of the Old and New Testaments, which, according to the tradition of our ancestors, are believed to be inspired by that Holy Spirit Himself, and handed down to the Church of Christ.” He then enumerates the books of the Old and New Testaments, as the Church of England at this day retains them, adding—“These are they which the Fathers included within the Canon, and by which they wished the declarations of our faith to stand.”* He proceeds—“It is to be known however, that there are other books *which are not Canonical*, but have been called by our forefathers *Ecclesiastical* [answering to our Apocryphal]; as is the *Wisdom of Solomon, Hermes, &c.* . . . all which indeed they wished to be read in the Churches, but not to be brought forward to confirm from them the authority of the Faith.”

We have thus seen the testimony which a cloud of witnesses of the *Four first centuries* have borne against the modern Roman Canon: a testimony from one end of the Christian world to the other,—from France, from Africa, from Palestine, from Asia Minor, nay, from Italy itself:—all with one voice distinguishing between the Canonical and Apocryphal books of Scripture;—therefore *all bearing witness to the truth of the English Canon,—all with one voice condemning the modern decree of Rome, which, in direct contradiction to the tradition of the Fathers, added six entire books, with portions of others, to the Canon of Sacred Scripture,—the writings of men to the Word of God,—and decreed that all were to be received as Canonical and inspired, under pain of an Anathema.*

Let us not however suppose that Rome has *nothing* in ancient times on which she grounds her innovations. It is by being mixed up with a certain portion of truth, or at least what looks like it, that her doctrines obtain so great prevalence. And so in this case, there is a certain appearance of truth in what Rome points to as the foundation of her Canon. I allude to the Council of Carthage, which is said to have taken place in 397. It has been already stated that in the 4th century the word Canonical was *sometimes* used in a wider sense than at first, as meaning books which were comprised in the list of Scriptures read in Church; and applying not only to what were strictly Canonical and inspired, but also to what were called Ecclesiastical or Apocryphal books. Bearing this

* From this and similar passages it is evident how vain are the dreams of the Romanists, that when the early Fathers recounted the Canonical books of the Old Testament as we do, they did not mean to give the Christian, but the Jewish Canon. People must be put to a hard shift when they argue in this way. Why, the Christian Canon *must* be the same as the Jewish; it cannot in the nature of things be otherwise (see pp. 270-1.); i. e. as far as inspiration goes; they might in a loose way call *any* book read in Church *Canonical*. In the earliest times, however, the word had not this meaning, and when the Fathers recited the Jewish Canon, they adopted it as their own also.

in mind we will now turn our attention to this Council, referred to by Mr. Egan (p. 17), and called by him, but erroneously, a *General Council*.*

In a canon said to have been made at this Council, but incorrectly (see note), and by some marked as the 24th, by others as the 47th (Bin. Con. I. 713, 717), is given a list of the books of Sacred Scripture. After saying that nothing shall be read in Church besides the Canonical books, it proceeds to enumerate them according to the order of the books hitherto regarded as Canonical, inserting among them Tobias, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and two books of Maccabees, *but making no mention of Baruch*.† Now St. Augustine, who was present at this Council and is the best expounder of its meaning, has spoken of these additional books in such a manner as to show that he did not regard them with the same veneration as the *inspired* Scriptures. This is proved at large by Bishop Cosin, to whose learned work on the Canon (pp. 125-133) I beg to refer. Let me however make one or two brief remarks. Speaking of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, Augustine says that "it has been the custom to call them Solomon's, on account of a certain resemblance of style, though the more learned have no doubt respecting their not being his." (De Civ. Dei. lib. xvii. cap. 20, ap. Cosin, p. 129). And he goes on to observe that those things which are not

* Mr. E. is not only mistaken in calling the 3rd Council of Carthage a General Council—indeed it did not even form a part of the *Codex Canonum* of the Catholic Church, which comprised several provincial Councils (see p. 277)—but in giving the date A.D. 397 for this canon, he has made a statement which he will find it difficult to make good. For the Council took place about the time of Pope *Siricius* ("circa tempora Siricii Papæ"—Bin. Conc. Tom. I. 709) to whom reference is made in the 48th canon (as is professed) of the same Council. Now *Siricius* was Pope from 384—398, which will suit well enough. But in this canon, the 47th, after the list of books to be read in Church, it is added—"Let this be made known to our brother and fellow-bishop [consacerdoti] *Bonifacius*, or [? and] to the other bishops of those parts, for the confirmation of this canon. Now *Boniface* was Pope from 418—423. Therefore according to this Council as it stands, the African Church was to consult at the same time with two Popes who lived at different times; and moreover, one of these Popes (*Boniface*) mentioned by name in this Council of 397, was not Pope at all till 418. Therefore this canon could not have been made in the third Council of Carthage in 397. *Binius* states that it was "a canon of some other (alterius ejusdem) Council of Carthage;" and says that in some trustworthy [certis] books of the Councils it is called the twenty-fourth canon of a Council celebrated after the consulship of *Honorius* and *Theodosius* (A.D. 418), the year of *Boniface* coming to the Papal throne. The canon in question is the twenty-fourth of the *Codex Ecclesiæ Africana*, published by Chr. Justell, and was probably made in the year 418 or 419.

† I omitted to say that in the Canon of *Laodicea*, *Baruch* is made one book with *Jeremiah*, together with his *Lamentations* and *Epistles*, as by *Athanasius*,—see page 274 n. To prove that this is the Apocryphal book of *Baruch*, let me add that they are all reckoned as one book (No. 20) in the Greek Catalogue; and in the Latin Version of *Isidore Mercator* (Bin. I. p. 305), and the ed. of Cologne, 1590, the word *Hieremias* only is to be found corresponding with *Jeremiah*, *Baruch*, &c

contained in the Jewish Canon are not produced against the adversary with so great a weight or confidence (*non tanta firmitate proferuntur quæ scripta non sunt in canone Judæorum*). This at once shows them not to be inspired; for who would hesitate to adduce *the true Word of God* in support of his assertions? How could we place *a lower degree of reliance* on any inspired book? How could anything proceeding from the Almighty supply us with only a *feeble argument* against an opponent? And this remark of St. Augustine applies to all the books (except those of the New Testament) not contained in the Jewish Canon,—they are wanting in “*firmitas* ;”—they may contain many good moral lessons, but they are not to be relied upon, they have no authority in any dispute respecting doctrine.

Thus we are spared the uncomfortable feeling which we should have, if we thought that the African Church in the beginning of the Fifth Century put itself in opposition to the Universal Church of the four previous ages. Different Churches at different times gave different lists of books to be read in public. Sometimes, as at Laodicea, they confined them to the inspired and strictly Canonical; while sometimes, as at Carthage, they enlarged the list so as to take in books of only ecclesiastical authority. The Church of England here displays her usual wisdom and regard for the practice of Antiquity. In her *Articles*, she gives a list of the books commonly known by the name of the Holy Scriptures, carefully distinguishing the Canonical from the Apocryphal. In her *Bible*, she places these Apocryphal books by themselves at the end of the Old Testament, thereby avoiding the confusion which would naturally arise in men's minds from seeing Canonical and Apocryphal books mixed together, as in the Latin Vulgate, the Douay Bible, and the later Septuagint. And as for the public *Lessons*, they are read on Sundays from the Canonical books only (which are thus signalized as worthy of the chief honour), while on other days, and on certain festivals, she hesitates not to read those books (*viz.*—the Ecclesiastical books, or Apocrypha) which were often read in ancient times “for example of life and instruction of manners.”

To remove all doubt respecting the meaning of the word *Canonical* as used by the Council of Carthage, *viz.*—that it is used in its large sense to signify books *read in Church*, I will give an extract from the celebrated Cardinal Cajetan in his commentary on Esther. “The six or seven following chapters” [i. e. the latter ones, which are not in our Canon] “are Apocryphal, and therefore we will not expound them. And in this place we terminate our commentaries on the Historical Books of the Old Testament; for the rest (*viz.*—the books of Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees” [for the book of Baruch, with Mr. Egan's leave, he had not heard of as a Canonical book in any sense,] are reckoned by St. Jerome apart from [*extra*] the Canonical books, and are placed in the Apocrypha, together

with the book of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, as is seen in his 'Prologus galeatus.' Nor should you be troubled anew if you find these books reckoned as Canonical, either in the sacred Councils or the holy doctors. For to the file (*limam*) of Jerome ought to be reduced the words both of Councils and doctors: and according to his judgment expressed to the bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus these books (and if there be any like them in the Canon of the Bible) *are not Canonical*, i. e. not supplying a rule (*regulares*) to confirm those things which belong to the faith: yet *they may be called Canonical*, i. e. supplying a rule for the edification of the faithful, as being *for this purpose received into the Canon of the Bible* and authorised. For with this explanation you will be able to distinguish both the sayings of Augustine in his second book concerning Christian doctrine, and what was written in the Council of Florence under Eugenius IV., and in the provincial Councils of Carthage and Laodicea, and by the Popes Innocent and Gelasius" (Cosin, pp. 135-6).

With this Roman comment as to the meaning of the word "Canonical" in the Council of Carthage, I will conclude my notice of this canon; only adding, that I cannot help thinking it unfortunate that it should have used a word which was liable to be misunderstood, and which most probably contributed to confuse the minds of the less learned upon this question respecting the Canonical books. That this canon, however, did not prevent succeeding Fathers from maintaining the integrity of the primitive Canon, I will now proceed to show. A few years after the passing of the canon of Carthage, which we have been discussing, i. e. A. D. 426, *Hilary* the famous Bishop of Arles, and some other French divines, took exception at a quotation brought forward by St. Augustine from the book of Wisdom, which they said "ought to be left out as *not being Canonical*."* Now, Augustine acknowledges that he had a great veneration for this book; nevertheless we have seen that he regarded it as inferior to the truly Canonical Scripture. The French divines, however, jealous for the purity of the Canon, could not let even this pass without a remonstrance; and it must be acknowledged that the language of S. Augustine is sometimes such as to require to be compared with his more accurate statements to avoid misapprehension.

In 451 was celebrated the great Œcumenical Council of *Chalcedon*, which, as we have seen (p. 277) making no allusion to the Council of Carthage, ratified the Council of Laodicea, and gave an additional sanction to the canon there framed. If therefore Mr. Egan would draw a comparison between the Councils of Laodicea and Carthage, and set the latter above the former (see pp. 16, 17,

* "Illud etiam testimonium quod posuisti 'Raptus &c.' tanquam non canonicum definiunt omittendum" (Ep. Hil. ad Aug., inter Ep. St. Aug. ap. Cosin, p. 160).

of his tract), he will unexpectedly find himself to know better than the Universal Church as represented in the Council of Chalcedon. The Carthaginian canons are indeed confirmed by the Constantinopolitan Council of *Trullo* (as it was called from the building where it was held) in 691.* But this Council also previously acknowledges the Council of Laodicea, which shows that they do not contradict one another, and that therefore the word "Canonical" as used at Carthage had a wider meaning than when used at Laodicea. If Romanists are unwilling to admit this, they must take the other alternative, and assert that the two Councils in question clash with one another; and if this be the case, of course the weaker (i. e. that of Carthage) falls to the ground. For this however there is no occasion; when properly understood, *its* canons may stand, as well as that of Laodicea.

In the *Sixth Century* we find *Primasius*, Bishop of Adermetum in Africa, and one who was present at the 5th General Council at Constantinople, saying in his Commentary on Revelations, Chap. IV., as follows:—"St. John, by the twenty-four wings intimates the books of the Old Testament which by the Canonical authority of the same number we receive, as it were the twenty-four Elders sitting upon thrones." (See Cosin, 173). He therefore either despised a Council of his own Church, and taught in opposition to it, or else he understood its teaching to be in unison with that of previous ages, with which (as we have seen) the *English* Church coincides, but which the *Roman* Church condemns;—I should rather say, by which she is condemned.

Let us now pass over to Constantinople. There we find *Leontius* of Byzantium numbering the Canonical books of the Old and New Testaments as we do. "Of the Old Testament (he says†) the books are *twenty-two*; partly historical, partly prophetic, partly preceptive, partly suited for singing." And then, having recounted them, and also the books of the New Testament, he adds,—“These are the books which are canonized in the Church, both ancient and modern, of which all the ancient ones are received by the Hebrews.” But he names no Apocryphal books; “And therefore, (says Cosin) the master of the Pope’s palace at Rome is very angry with this passage in Leontius, and putteth him into the Expurgatory Index with this censure, ‘That he did exceedingly ill, to make so short a catalogue of the old Divine Scriptures, and therein to omit the books of Tobit, Judith, Esther,‡ Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the Maccabees:’ which is clearly to confess that this testimony is

* Can. 2. Bin. Conc. Tom. V. p. 321.

† De Sectis, Act. ii. See Cosin, p. 175.

‡ This must be the Apocryphal portion, as Leontius professes to follow Epiphanius, who reckons the *genuine* book of Esther among the Canonical books. See Cosin, p. 81.

wholly for us, and full against the new Trent-canon." Cosin, p. 175, and Gibbing's Roman "Index Expurgatorius," p. 117.

Having adduced at such length the testimony of the earlier ages of the Church, I shall now proceed somewhat more rapidly. One witness from each Century will be enough to show the evidence borne all along against the novelties of Rome.

In the *Seventh Century* we find Pope *Gregory the Great* quoting from the book of Maccabees, and saying that it was *not Canonical*:—"De qua re cavenda non inordinate agimus, si ex libris, licet non *canonicis*, sed tamen ad ædificationem ecclesiæ editis, testimonium proferamus."* This Pope therefore, also comes under the Anathema of the Council of Trent.

In the *Eighth Century* we have *Venerable Bede*, a priest of our own Church, and one of the brightest lights of his age. Equally explicit is he with the more ancient Fathers respecting the number of the Canonical books. In his commentary on the Revelations (chap. IV.) he says,—“The six wings of the four animals, which are twenty-four, betoken the same number of books of the Old Testament, by which both the authority of the Evangelists is supported and the truth is proved.” See Cosin, p. 194.

In the *Ninth Century* I will adduce another countryman of our own, the famous *Alcuin*, who has already been quoted for his testimony respecting the Eucharist. In his book against Elipantus bishop of Toledo (who supported the heresy of the Adoptionists by a quotation from the book of Ecclesiasticus), Alcuin accused him of forging for himself a new prophet (*novum quendam prophetam*), since he could find no testimonies in the prophets of God which would suit his error. And he afterwards says of this book that “*St. Jerome and Isidore* [Bishop of Seville in the Seventh century] testify that it ought without doubt to be reckoned *among the Apocryphal* (i. e. *doubtful*) *Scriptures*. Which book also was *not written in the time of the Prophets*, but of the Priests, under Simon the High Priest, in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes.”† Now it had been before stated by Augustine (De Civ. Dei, xvii, 24. Cosin, p. 126) that the Jews had no prophets after their return from Babylon after Malachi, &c. and Ezra, till the coming of the Saviour, which was also remarked by Jerome. But it was during this period that the Apocryphal books were written. Therefore if Alcuin rejected one as inspired *on this ground*, he would *on the same ground*, reject all as such which were written when the gift of prophecy and inspiration was withdrawn from the Jewish Church. And by citing Jerome's testimony respecting *one* Apocryphal book, he would doubtless apply it to *all*. We have then the witness of Alcuin agreeing with that of his master, Bede, and representing the belief of his native

* Moral. Exposit. in Job, lib. xix., as quoted by Cosin, p. 178.

† Adv. Elip. lib. i. coll. 940-1. ap. Cosin, p. 196.

land, and also that of his adopted country, France, where he was in such high estimation, and where he possessed so much influence. Should this be doubted, the testimony of *Agobardus* bishop of Lyons, might be adduced, who states that all the Levites were twenty-two thousand, as there are twenty-two letters among the Hebrews, and *twenty-two books in the Old Testament of divine authority.*"*

We are now coming to the darkest period of the history of the Church,—the *Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*. Yet even here we are not destitute of evidence against the Roman Canon. About the year 910,† we have *Radulphus Flaviacensis* (or *Fuldensis*), a man, says Trithemius, of such learning and wisdom, that in all Germany, Italy, and France there was none like him, most learned in the Divine Scriptures, &c. And what says he of the Apocrypha? "Tobias, Judith, and the books of the Maccabees, although they are read for the instruction of the Church, yet they have not perfect authority." And though he speaks of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* as written in the like style with Proverbs and the Canticles, yet that does not invalidate his testimony, as it was said as far back as St. Augustine, and (being true) may be said by any one of us now, without thereby binding ourselves to believe them to be divinely inspired.

In the *Eleventh Century* we have Gilbertus (or Giselbeturs), Abbot of Westminster, the pupil of St. Anselm, who, in his book entitled "*Altercatio Synagogæ et Ecclesiæ*," fol. ii., says—"The series of the Old and New Testament is contained in thirty books, viz. *twenty-two of the Old*, and eight of the New. Each Testament is contained and distinguished in three orders; the Old into the

* *Rabanus Maurus* in this century, as did *Isidore* in the last, after reckoning the Jewish Canon as divided into three parts, added that the Christian Church had a fourth order of books, which, though not in the Hebrew Canon, are yet honoured by the Church among the divine books. (Cosin. I. p. 198.) By Alcuin's reference to *Isidore* it will be seen that neither he nor *Rab. Maurus* esteemed them as Canonical in the highest sense, or as of equal authority with the Hebrew Scriptures. See the various passages quoted by Cosin and his Oxford Editor, which are too long to insert here. One note however I cannot avoid inserting, as it shows so plainly how shamefully Rome will tamper with any document which she considers adverse to her. I must premise that the portion within brackets are the additions of the Editor of 1849. "*Isid. Hisp. de Eccl. Off. lib. i. cap. 11.*—*Constat autem eadem Sancta Scriptura ex Veteri Lege et Nova. Vetus Lex illa est, quæ data est primum Judæis per Moysen et Prophetas; quæ dicitur Vetus Testamentum autem dicitur, quia idoneis Testibus, utique a Prophetis, scriptum est atque signatum.* [This passage is omitted in the edition hitherto used, ed. Par. 1601. (Vid. p. 583.) Neither do the words occur in ed. Col. Agr. 1617. However, among the *Annotations* at the end of the book, a note still remains on the words "*Testamentum autem dicitur, quia idoneis testibus;*" and the entire passage is found in the earlier edit. *Madriti*, 1599.—*Some other passages have been omitted likewise in the later editions.*]" Cosin, p. 185.

† So says Cosin; but his Editor quotes *Cave* to show that this usual date is incorrect, and that it ought to be 1157.

Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa; the New into the Gospels, the Apostles, and the Holy Fathers.* Lastly, whatever things in the Scriptures are called Apocryphal, they are so either on account of the author being doubtful, or on account of their having no confirmation of any Synagogue or Church, on which reliance can be placed." Cosin, p. 202.

The *Twelfth Century* is more fruitful in men of learning, and therefore in our number of witnesses against the Roman Canon. One or two however will suffice. *Petrus Mauricius*, Abbot of Clugny, highly favoured by Pope Eugenius, and a special friend of St. Bernard, in his Epistle against the Petrobrusians, recounts the books of the Old and New Testament,—of the former reckoning no more than are in the Hebrew Canon, and specified in St. Jerome's Prologue. Of the rest he says—"There remain after these authentic books of Holy Scripture, six not to be passed over in silence, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, two books of Maccabees; which, although they cannot reach to the lofty dignity of the preceding, yet, on account of their laudable and very necessary instruction, deserve to be received by the Church."† Among others famous in this age who have written to the same purpose, and (by anticipation) against the Roman Canon, may be reckoned one of our own nation, though a French prelate, *John of Salisbury*, Bishop of Chartres, also *Hugh* and *Richard de S. Victore*, &c. See Cosin, pp. 207-215.

The testimony which I shall select for the *Thirteenth Century* is that of the *Ordinary Gloss* upon the Bible, which, though begun some time before, was by this time much augmented, and was "with the general consent and applause of all the pastors and doctors in the Western Churches, received as a work of special use and benefit, for the better knowledge and understanding of the Holy Scriptures," &c. (Cosin, † p. 217). In this Gloss there is a Preface, wherein it is said that *those who do not pay much attention to Scripture*, think that all books which are contained in the Bible are to be revered with equal veneration [as Modern Rome says they are], *not knowing how to distinguish between the Canonical and non-Canonical books*, which the Hebrews separate from the Canon, and the Greeks reckon among the Apocrypha; from which it happens that they frequently appear ridiculous in the presence of the learned; therefore we have here distinguished and numbered apart, first the

* It is not very clear how these books were divided so that the symbolical number *three* might prevail: there is no doubt however respecting the books, as none of them were then contested.

† Biblioth. Cluniacens., 1614, col. 1142, ap. Cosin, p. 206.

‡ As I profess only (for the most part) to give an abstract of Cosin's testimonies, I trust I shall be excused, if any inaccuracy should be discovered. Let me however state, to shield myself from criticism, that, according to Neander and Gieseler, the *Ordinary Gloss* was composed by Walafrid Strabo in the ninth century.

Canonical and afterwards the non-Canonical books, between which there is as great a difference as there is between what is certain and what is doubtful. For the Canonical books were framed (*confecti*) by the dictation of the Holy Spirit: but as for the non-Canonical, or Apocryphal, no one knows when or by whom they were compiled." And of these latter it says,—“The Church reads them and permits them to be read by the faithful for devotion and for instruction of manners; but their authority is not esteemed sufficient to prove those things which are doubtful or debated about, and to confirm the authority of the doctrines of the Church. Of the Old Testament they say the number of the books is twenty-two, and that what is beside these is to be placed among the Apocrypha. Moreover, before each book a distinct notice is given that it is not Canonical,—thus, “Here begins the book of Tobit, which however is not in the Canon.” “Here begins the book of Judith, which is not in the Canon.” And so of the 3rd and 4th books of Esdras, of Wisdom, of Ecclesiasticus, of Maccabees. “Which is (says Cosin)* to write this distinction that we now maintain with a pen of iron, that it might never be forgotten.” We have here then the judgment of all learned men, and the common belief of the Church, in those days; and if any individuals were of another mind, they are here *condemned of ignorance, and want of knowledge in the Scriptures.*

Further testimony from this period is surely needless. Nothing can be wanting after this decided, this (I may say) *sarcastic* condemnation of the Roman Canon of Trent.

My witness for the *Fourteenth Century* shall be Nicholas of Lyra, so well known for his Commentaries upon Holy Scripture. In his preface to the book of Tobit he says,—“When, by the help of God, I have written upon the Canonical books of Holy Scripture, beginning from the beginning of Genesis, and proceeding to the end of Revelations, trusting to His help, I intend to write upon the other books *which are not in the Canon*, viz. Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit and Maccabees.” †

In the *Fifteenth Century* occurred the ill-regulated Council of Florence, when a sort of temporary union was effected between the Eastern and Western Churches. At this Council, Pope Eugenius is *said* to have made a decree, stating what were the Canonical books of Scripture, the list of which much resembles that of Carthage, but as some of the articles of this decree (*including the list of books*) are shown by Cosin (pp. 242—4) to be *without authority*, it may be passed over without further notice. What more demands our

* P. 219, on which page, with the two preceding, will be found the original of the passages quoted above from the “Bibl. Sacr., una cum Gloss. Ordinar. et Interlin., ed. Basil, 1506, tom i. ad princip.

† Bibl. Sacr. ed. Duaci, 1617, tom. ii. col. 1499, ap. Cosin, p. 231.

attention is, that Antoninus, Archbishop of this same place, Florence, (who was sainted by Pope Adrian VI.) says that the Jews placed twenty-two authentic books in the Canon of the Old Testament, and that they called the 4th part the Apocrypha, i. e. Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and the Maccabees. "The holy Church however (he continues) receives the Apocryphal books as true, . . . and venerates them as useful and moral, *but as having no power to decide a question in a dispute about matters which concern the Faith.*"* What would Rome say of his teaching?

As we enter the *Sixteenth Century*, the witnesses against the Roman Canon become, if possible, more important. From them I shall select two, and these—men who had attained the highest dignity in the Church of Rome next to that of the Pope, and among the most famous of those who have reached that dignity,—I mean Cardinals Ximenes and Cajetan. The former of these, *Cardinal Ximenes*, was Archbishop of Toledo, and compiler of the great Complutensian Polyglott, printed at the University of Complutum, or Alcalá, in Spain; in which work he had not only the help of that University, but also the advice and assistance of many learned men abroad. And in the preface to this noble work he says that the books which are *out of the Canon*, which the Church receives *rather for the edification of the people than to confirm the authority of the doctrines of the Church*, were printed only in the Greek text, but with a double Latin interpretation."†

But this is not all. *This Bible and this preface to it were published by the authority and consent of Pope Leo X. to whom the whole work was dedicated.*‡ We have therefore this learned Cardinal setting forth in his own name, in the name of the University of Alcalá, in the name of many other learned men abroad—a statement approved and confirmed by the Pope,—that those books which the Church had all along read (in the language of Jerome) for the edification of the people, and not for the confirmation of doctrine, were **NOT IN THE CANON**. And now let us see what says the renowned *Cardinal Cajetan*, who was at this time, as Cosin says (p. 257), "the common oracle, to whom most of the divines in the Church of Rome had recourse, for their better resolution in any difficult or doubtful question that occurred about the Scriptures, and the public doctrine of the Schools." In his Epistle dedicatory to Pope Clement VII., prefixed to his Commentaries on the Old Testament, he says,—“The whole Latin Church is very much obliged to St. Jerome . . . on account of his distinguishing the Canonical books from those which are not Canonical. He has freed us verily from

* Sum. Hist. par. i. tit. iii. cap. 6, sec. 12, as quoted in Cosin, p. 246.

† Fr. Ximen. in Bibl. Complut. præf. ad Lector. ap. Cosin, 251.

‡ "Motu proprio, (says the Pope) et ex certa scientia nostra, opus præfatum comprobantes." Bibl. Complut. tom. i. prope princip. ap. Cosin, p. 252.

the reproach of the Hebrews, that of forging for ourselves books or parts of books as belonging to the ancient Canon, which they altogether reject" (*penitus carent*). Thus we see that Cardinal Cajetan regarded the *Christian* Canon as identical with the *Hebrew*. Respecting what he has further said about the Apocrypha, and how both the sayings of ancient doctors and the decrees of Councils are to be interpreted according to the rule of St. Jerome (i. e. not *his own* rule, but what he had received from the ancients, and had set forth so clearly.) see p. 283.

Thus then this famous Cardinal who died a few years before the assembling of the Council of Trent, and who, had he lived, would probably have succeeded Clement VII, as Pope of Rome (see Cosin, 259), *held opinions most clearly and most unequivocally opposed to the new Canon set forth by his Church* within a few years afterwards, and most clearly and most decidedly was his teaching on the Canon of Scripture *in accordance with that of the Church of England*.

Further remark will be needless: within a few years afterwards, viz. in 1546, during the sitting of that (so far as Rome is concerned) *unfortunate* Council of Trent, the question of the Canon of Scripture was discussed by a Committee of about 50 bishops, who decided, after much dispute, that the books hitherto regarded as Apocryphal and of inferior authority, viz. Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit, Baruch, 1st and 2nd of Maccabees, together with the latter or Apocryphal part of Esther, the Apocryphal part of Daniel, i. e. the Song of the Three Children, Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon, should be taken into the sacred Canon, and that *all* the books of the Old and New Testament, as God is the author of each, even, as was pretended, of these human additions, together with traditions relating both to faith and morals should be regarded *with equal reverence*. Such was the decree which was eventually passed in the fourth Session of this Council, which also goes on to say that "if any one shall not receive these entire books, *with all their parts*, as they have been accustomed to be read in the Catholic Church, and *as they are contained in the old Latin Vulgate Edition*, for sacred and Canonical, and shall knowingly and purposely despise the aforesaid traditions,—let him be *Anathema*,"—i. e. excommunicated, and shut out of the pale of Salvation. And thus did Rome at this time reverse the decision of the whole Catholic Church for fourteen centuries,—she made light of the teaching of the Fathers of all Christendom, whom she professed to follow,—she contradicted all, she anathematized all: and (what is more) by her claim to infallibility she cut off all place for repentance, she entangled herself in a net out of which there is no escape, and established herself in an unfortunate position from which there is no recovery.

I trust that I have now vindicated my assertions respecting the Canon of Scripture, and made it plain to all that the Church

of England has not, as Mr. Egan says, a "defalcated," i.e. an imperfect, Bible, but "THE TRUE BIBLE"; and, on the other hand, that the Canon of the Church of Rome is not, like ours, that of the Primitive Church, but "AN INTERPOLATED CANON."*

Before leaving this subject I have yet to notice the remarks of Mr. Egan, with regard to certain portions of the New Testament, respecting which doubts were entertained by some in early times. He says (p. 16) that I "must or ought to know . . . that many books were doubted at the time" (of the Council of Laodicea, in 364), "and the Epistle to the Hebrews, though in the Laodicean canon, was still rejected in the West." And then he quotes Dr. Bilson as saying that "the Scriptures were not fully received in all places in Eusebius's time," and "The Epistle of James, Jude, the 2nd of Peter, the 2nd and 3rd of John, are contradicted as not written by the Apostles." And again, "The Epistle to the Hebrews was for a while contradicted," adding, himself, "St. Jerome says the same." What St. Jerome says applies, of course, to the last quotation, as it is concerning the Hebrews that he mentions the existence of a doubt. We will therefore consider his testimony by and by.

As to the doubts entertained by some Christians in early times respecting the five smaller Epistles alluded to, I have no hesitation in acknowledging their existence. But, as Dr. Wordsworth well observes in his *Work on the Canon* (p. 270), "It is one thing for the authority of a book to be *doubted*, and another thing for it to be *rejected*. No doubt was entertained any where in the first century concerning the Apocryphal books of the *Old Testament*; they were *known* to be *not* inspired. But, concerning the Epistle of St. James, and the other four Catholic Epistles, which have been before mentioned, *doubts were* entertained by *some*; and the very fact of the doubt proves that they who doubted might have their doubts cleared up, and receive these books as inspired. And next, we know, that these doubts *were* cleared up. *All* these five Epistles *were* received *in course of time* by all who had once doubted concerning them.† Next, it is to be remembered, that, though *some* doubted, *others did not doubt*, but received all these five Epistles *from the beginning*;

* If further confirmation of the English Canon were needed, I might point to the Canon of the Modern Greek Church, which comprises *exactly the same books as our own*, referring to the Jewish Church as the authorised keeper of the books of the Old Testament. In proof of this, see the extracts given by Dr. Wordsworth, (on the Canon, p. 391) from "The Longer Catechism of the Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church, examined and approved by the most holy governing Synod." &c. Moscow, 1839; and translated and reprinted by the Rev. W. Blackmore, Aberdeen, 1845.

† I presume Dr. W. does not here mean that every *individual* who had doubts, had in due time his doubts removed, but that in every *place* where they were doubted of, these books were received after a while.

and the very doubts of those who *did* doubt are presumptive proofs that they who did *not* doubt had good reason for not doubting, and that they acted rightly in *receiving* these Epistles from the very first."

Nor did the universal reception of them depend upon any Council (though the decision of a Council would doubtless contribute very much that way), for—as Mr. Egan truly tells us—the Epistle to the Hebrews was doubted by some *after* the Council of Laodicea; this reception of them was rather owing to the conviction which the evidence of antiquity produced upon men's minds. As for these five Epistles, it is not necessary that I should here enter upon the question *why* there were doubts entertained respecting them; suffice it to say that with regard to the four smaller ones, the doubts existed chiefly in the East, as we should gather from Eusebius; and yet Origen, a presbyter in the Eastern Church, in Eusebius's age, acknowledges *all* these Epistles, and no one in his age was more qualified to decide than he. Respecting St. James, let me only add that his Epistle was quoted by St. Clement, Bishop of Rome (for though he names him not, he must have had him in mind when writing the 10th and 23rd chapters of his first Epistle to the Corinthians)—it is contained in the Peschito or Syriac Version of the New Testament in the Second Century, and was received in the same century in the Western Church, being cited (according to Dr. Wordsworth, p. 280) by Tertullian, "de Orat. c. 8, adv. Jud. 2."

Now let me add a few remarks on the Epistle to the Hebrews. The authorship was doubted by many on account of the style, from its not bearing St. Paul's name, and for other reasons. These objections however were satisfactorily answered, and the existence of them is another instance of the hindrance which the wit of man causes to the reception of the truth, when unwilling to admit the force of the authority of tradition, properly so called. This Epistle was quoted by St. Clement. Eusebius says (H. E., III. 38.) that "Since in his Epistle [to the Corinthians] he inserts many sentiments taken from it, and sometimes in the same words, it sufficiently shows that it is not a recent work." See, for instance, Chap. 36, which embodies a considerable part of Heb. I. And in book III., chap. 3, Eusebius plainly states its general reception, "The fourteen Epistles of Paul, are evident and certain. It ought to be known, however, that *some* have refused to acknowledge that to the Hebrews, *because*, as they say, *the Roman Churches have contradicted its being written by Paul.*" And so Jerome, while admitting without remark the other five Epistles we are speaking of, says of this, in his Epistle to Paulinus, "by most people it is placed out of the number" (*à plerisque extra numerum ponitur*). Yet this he says, not as representing his own belief, for in his Epistle to Dardanus,* he says that this Epistle, which is inscribed "To the Hebrews," is received

* Tom. II. p. 608, Ed. Ben., as quoted by Dr. Wordsworth, p. 370.

as Paul the Apostle's, not only by the Churches of the East, but by all Greek ecclesiastical writers hitherto, &c. And he proceeds to say—"What if the custom of the Latins does not receive it among the Canonical Scriptures, as the Greek Church acts with regard to the Apocalypse of John,* we however receive both, not by any means following the custom of this time, but *the authority of the ancient writers.*"

And now, what says St. Augustine on this matter? "*Some*" (De Peccator. meritis, i. 27, as quoted by Dr. Wordsworth, p. 255)—alluding to those of the Church of Rome,—"*Some* doubt concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews, but I am *more influenced* by the testimony of the *Eastern Churches* which receive it as Canonical." Now, put this by the side of the last quotation from Eusebius, and, bearing in mind what has been said before on this subject, we shall arrive at some singular results connected with the behaviour of Rome as regards the Canon. We shall have

1. The Church of Rome, represented by the majority thereof, anciently in error respecting St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews, and a great cause of its not being received by many.

2. We have an African bishop, Augustine, rejecting the belief and practice of the Church of Rome on this point, and preferring that of the Eastern Church.

3. We have the modern Church of Rome professing to take her Canon from an African Council of that period, wherein this same bishop took a prominent part, thereby acknowledging that the Roman Church of those days was obliged to go abroad to learn what were the Canonical books—for previously she had omitted one,—And

4. We have the modern Church of Rome *misunderstanding* the Canon she professes to follow; and, whereas once she fell short in regard to the number of the Canonical books, we find her afterwards exceeding in that particular, and (with a charity peculiar to herself) pronouncing an *Anathema* on all who would not receive her new rule.

Now, is a Church, which (in the majority of her members) did not receive an inspired Epistle of St. Paul, and which was therefore a cause why many did not receive that Epistle, who otherwise would have done,—a Church, whose opinion and practice was held in less esteem than that of the Eastern Church by a Bishop in the African Church, while after a time she adopted, in this particular, the judgment of both these Churches, the Eastern and the African,—and which, in after times, set at nought the judgment of *both* these Churches,—Is this Church (I ask) fit to decide upon the Canon

* I presume that Jerome here refers to its not being in the Laodicean Canon, since (as we have before seen) several of the most famous fathers of the Greek Church, as Athanasius and Epiphanius, in that age, together with Origen, in the preceding century, distinctly held it as inspired and Canonical.

of Scripture (for it was mainly the Italian party* who framed the decree at Trent)? And if not fit for this,—has she any right to say that what she holds to be Canonical all the world must hold Canonical, and that they who do not in this, as in other things, do her bidding, are cut off from the Church of Christ here, and the Kingdom of Heaven hereafter? Surely this can never be.

It was my purpose, as stated in p. 8, to have given in this Appendix some account of the English Versions of the Scriptures; but I trust that what I have already said (pp. 177—201) will be sufficient.

No. II.

OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF
THE BLESSED VIRGIN, *Page 17.*

IN alluding to this doctrine, my purpose was not so much to show its untruth, as to adduce it as one of the instances of uncertainty of belief which prevails and has prevailed in the Church of Rome. As for its untruth, that (one would think) must be evident to every one who has been accustomed to read in his Bible that “There is *none* righteous, *no, not one*,”—that “*All* have sinned and come short of the Glory of God,—that “The Scripture hath concluded *all* under sin,” &c. From these and other passages it is evident that (as our Church says) *all men* are conceived and born in sin.” Nor is there the least intimation in any part of Scripture that *any one* is exempt from this universal condemnation: no hint is anywhere given of any holiness residing exclusively in the Virgin Mary. As for her being “highly favoured,” or, as the Rhemish Testament has it, “full of grace,” which the Romanists make so much of,—these words do not give the idea of freedom from sin, either original or actual, any more than those which are applied to St. John the Baptist, that he should be “filled with the Holy Ghost,

* Cosin quotes Sleidan as saying that among the number were *two* French Bishops, *five* Spanish, *one* Illyrian, *all the rest were Italians*: “among whom,” (says Cosin) “divers were the Pope’s pensioners, and sent thither to out-balance other men’s voices; some of them titular, and some unlearned. And was it ever heard of in the world before, that forty Bishops of Italy, assisted peradventure half a score [eight] others, should make up a general council for all Christendom?” P. 277.

even from his mother's womb,"—or to the seven men (Acts VI. 3) who were to be "full of the Holy Ghost and Wisdom." And with respect to any *argument* on the question, as e. g. that in order to be a fit habitation for Christ, who was to be born from her without spot of sin, she must also *herself* be perfectly free from sin; the argument, to be good for anything, must be carried further back—to the Virgin's mother, who must herself be free from sin in order to give birth to a pure and spotless offspring; and this must be still carried back till we come to the beginning, even to the first mother of our fallen race: Eve herself, and every daughter of Eve, must, if this argument is worth anything, be free from the taint of Original sin. But the argument is good for nothing, *every* argument is good for nothing, which can be brought in favour of a doctrine opposed to the Word of God. But let that pass. Let us rather turn our attention to the manner in which the Church of Rome has dealt with this doctrine. I have already mentioned the two great parties in that Church who contended so bitterly respecting this question, and how Pope Sixtus IV. enjoined silence upon both parties, as each charged the other with heresy, and the infallible Church over which he presided was perplexed respecting the definition of the doctrine, and therefore left it to be regarded as a matter of opinion, as it could not be formed into an article of faith. Nevertheless, the Court of Rome and the generality of the people inclined more and more towards this doctrine; and from time to time strong indications of this feeling manifested themselves in different countries. Of this I will take notice by and by. Let us first, however, consider some of the testimonies against this doctrine.

Melchior Canus, Bishop of the Canary Islands, in his "*Loci communes*," p. 348, says "*All the Saints* who have made mention of this subject, *have asserted, with one mouth, that the Virgin Mary was conceived in Original sin.*" And then he instances *Ambrose*, and *Augustine*, and *Chrysostom*, and *Eusebius* of Emesa, and *Remigius*, and *Maximus*, and *Bede*, and *Anselm*, and *Bernard*, and *Antony* of Padua, and *Bonaventure*, &c. And this he says is the universal doctrine, "which none of the Saints have contravened."* Such was the belief of the Catholic Fathers and of the Romish Divines even in mediæval times. On what then does Rome build her doctrines? On the revelations (as it is asserted) of St. Bridget (!), to whom, they say, the Blessed Virgin revealed that she was conceived without sin. "On the other hand, it was affirmed by the Dominicans, who opposed the doctrine, that the Virgin had revealed to St. Catharine of Sienna, that she *was* conceived in original sin." See Wordsworth (p. 110), who adds that in modern times passages have been adduced by the Bishop of Langres from the Apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus, and from Proverbs (VIII. 22) which refer to Divine

* See Dr. Wordsworth's *Occasional Sermons*, Second Series, p. 109.

Wisdom, and that in justification of this misapplication of Scripture, the Bishop says, "This text, and all those which follow, have been put by the Church (of Rome) in the office of the Holy Virgin." This circumstance, however, will not convince the generality of thinking readers. "With regard to Catholic Antiquity," continues Dr. W. "he commences with a quotation from the Acts of St. Andrew, a book long since given up as a forgery, and condemned as such by the Church of Rome herself! (See GELASTIUS, in c. Sancta Romana Ecclesia, dist. 15; and Innocentius, in Epist. ad Exuperium, 3. 'Quæ sub nomine Andreæ scripta; non solum *repudianda* sed etiam *noveris damnanda*'). But 'a portion of these Acts has *now* been inserted in the Roman Breviary, authorised by Pius V.," says the Bishop, and therefore they ought to be received! Thus one Pope may pronounce a document to be forged, and another may pronounce it to be genuine, and both be infallible; and a forged document may *become* genuine, by being part in the Breviary! *** After all, these Acts themselves do *not* speak of the *Conception* as immaculate. And the Bishop, who is one of the most eminent controversialists of France, does not bring a single authority in support of his position, from a thousand years after Christ."

Let us now consider the testimonies of later Roman writers who have opposed this doctrine. Among the chief of these may be reckoned the Dominicans who took their origin from Dominic, a name familiarly, and painfully, associated with the religious history of the South of France in the early part of the 13th century. "This Order" says the learned Alban Butler (II. 203) "hath given the Church 5 Popes, 48 Cardinals, 23 Patriarchs, 1500 Bishops, 600 Archbishops 71 Masters of the Sacred Palace, and a great number of eminent doctors and writers." The Dominicans, therefore, represent a very considerable and a very influential portion of the Roman Church, and have comprised in their number some of her brightest lights. Surely then their opinions cannot be regarded as insignificant, and what they, and others of their time, taught, I will now proceed to show in their own words. First, however, let me give the testimony of an older writer, John Beleth, a theologian of Paris in the 12th century, who says "Some people have sometimes celebrated the feast of the Conception, and perhaps still celebrate it; but it is not authentic and approved; truly, indeed, it seems that it ought rather to be prohibited. *For she was conceived in sin.*" Gieseler, Text-book of Eccl. Hist. II. p. 344, n. See also p. 330. Hear next that most famous Schoolman and Dominican divine of the 13th century, Thomas Aquinas:—"The sanctification of the blessed Virgin cannot be understood as existing before her possession of a soul (*animationem*), for two reasons. First, because the sanctification of which we are speaking is nothing else but the cleansing from Original sin. But the sin cannot be cleansed except by grace, of which a rational soul alone is the subject. And

therefore the blessed Virgin was not sanctified before the infusion of a rational soul. Secondly, because—since a rational creature only is susceptible of sin—an offspring conceived before the infusion of a rational soul is not liable to commit sin. And thus, in whatever manner the blessed Virgin would have been sanctified before the possession of a soul, she would never have incurred the stain of Original sin, and therefore would not have stood in need of redemption and salvation, which flow through Christ. This, however, is inconsistent, that Christ should not be the Saviour of all mankind. *If the soul of the blessed Virgin had never been polluted by the contagion of Original sin, this would be derogatory to the dignity of Christ, in accordance with which he is the universal Saviour of all.*" Summa Theol. p. iii. Qu. 27, Art. 2, in Gieseler, Text-book, II. p. 345. So clearly opposed is the teaching of this great divine (*which Rome adopted as her own, by the act of canonizing him*) to that which is now in these latter days sought to be pronounced as an article of faith. To the same purpose is the teaching of the great ritualist Durandus, Bishop of Mende, in the same century. After mentioning the four festivals in honour of the Virgin, viz. the Annunciation, Assumption, Nativity, and Purification, he says, "Some also make a fifth festival, viz. that of the Conception of the blessed Mary, saying that as there is a celebration made of the death of the Saints, not on account of their death, but because they are then received in eternal marriage, in like manner may a feast for the Conception be celebrated, not on account of her being conceived, *for she was conceived in sin*, but because she was conceived (to be) the Mother of the Lord; asserting that this was revealed to a certain Abbot, when being shipwrecked, which, however, is without authority, whence it ought not to be approved, *since she was conceived in sin, &c.*" Rationale divin. off. Lib. vii. sec. De purificatione. He proceeds to draw a parallel between the Virgin and John the Baptist, saying that their nativity is properly observed, but not their Conception. Such is the testimony of the learned Romanist Durandus against the Roman festival, and the doctrine on which it rests.

I will next produce St. Bonaventure, who, though he regarded the Virgin with the highest possible veneration (not to say adoration),—though he was a Franciscan,*—yet still he did not believe in the

* The statement made on p. 15, about the Franciscans and Dominicans is expressed in general terms, and may perhaps seem to require some modification; since, although it was the Franciscans who were the main supporters of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception (as the Dominicans were of the opposite opinions), yet, as we have seen, it was not universally held by the Franciscans. The great upholder of it in that body was the famous Duns Scotus, who was called the Subtle doctor, as the great disputant on the Dominican side was the Angelical doctor, Thomas Aquinas; and it was principally between their followers in these two rival orders that the contest raged so fiercely.

Romish doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. He also has been canonized, and therefore his teaching was *once* regarded as orthodox Roman doctrine, though he will probably be soon stigmatized as a heretic, i. e. if the wishes of the great body of the modern Romanists can be fulfilled in making this doctrine an article of faith. "Some wish to affirm" says he "that in the soul of the glorious Virgin the grace of sanctification went before the taint of Original sin.—The position of others is that the sanctification of the Virgin followed the contraction of Original sin.—But this mode of speaking is *more common, and more reasonable, and more safe.*—Therefore, adhering to this position, *let us hold* according to what common opinion holds, that the sanctification of the Virgin took place *after the contraction of Original Sin.*" Bonav. Lib. III. Dist. 3. P. 1. Qu. 2., as quoted by Gieseler, Text-book, II. 345.

How much shocked at these statements of the Parisian theologian, of Durandus, of the Angelical and the Seraphic Doctors, must have been the learned Henry Spondanus, Bishop of Pamiers, and continuator of the Annals of Baronius, who, at the year 1350 (Annal. i. 509), relates the history of a certain monk of Cracow in Poland, Paul by name, who, "when he had dared in a sacred* discourse to the people to say that the Virgin Mother of God was conceived in Original sin, suddenly fell down and expired, without finishing his sermon; and that event struck great fear into many others, who disputed about the subject." The learned annalist, while expressing no surprise that this account should not be found in the work of a certain writer, who related things of less importance, proceeds to express his zeal for the doctrine of the Virgin's original purity in the strongest terms. "As for ourselves, we truly for the assertion of the most immaculate (*immaculatissima*) Conception of the Virgin Mother of God, and its defence, are most ready to pour forth our life, as often, if it were possible, as that doctrine should happen to be called in question. And this we write and profess with all our heart, on the very day of her festival, in the year of our Redemption one thousand six hundred and thirty-two."

How scandalized, when having in his mind this divine judgment, as he would regard it, upon the sin of this monk, would Spondanus have been at the temporizing conduct of Pope Gregory XV, ten years before this period. For this is the account which Alban Butler gives of the conduct of certain Popes with regard to this doctrine:—"St. Pius V. by his bull in 1570, forbade either the opinion which affirmed, or that which denied it, to be censured.

* The Latin is "sacra." I am not quite certain whether Spondanus intends to use it in its common meaning, as relating to a sacred subject, or whether in his horror at the monk's wickedness, he would have it signify his *accursed* sermon.

Paul V. in 1616, reiterated the same prohibition, and, in 1617, forbade any one to affirm in sermons, theses, or other like public acts, that the Blessed Virgin was conceived in Original sin. Gregory XV. in 1622, forbade any one to affirm this, even in private disputations; *except those to whom the holy see gives a special license to do it, WHICH HE GRANTED TO THE DOMINICANS, provided they do it privately, and only among themselves*: but he ordered that in the office or mass of this festival, no other title than simply that of the Conception should be used.* The Dominicans therefore had authority from the Pope to dispute against the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, *if they did it privately*. From which it is evident, either that the Pope himself did not believe in this doctrine, or else he gave permission to some (but *only to some*) people to maintain what he believed to be false, provided they did not make a disturbance, or trouble others with their belief. Prudent Pope!

Let us now return to the period we were before speaking of. Towards the end of this Century (the 14th) the belief in the new doctrine was becoming more and more prevalent, and the Dominicans in Paris having in 1384 opposed it with more warmth, both the University and populace rose up against them, and the former condemned the rejection of it as one of the *heresies* of the Dominican, John of Montesono, in 1387. He appealed to the Pope, but the University prevailed here also, and many of the Dominicans were obliged to retract their declarations against the doctrine; and a decree was made, which was withdrawn in 1403, that no one could hold any office in that body without assenting to the decision of the University in condemnation of those who rejected the Immaculate Conception.† The offensive propositions are given by Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris. T. IV. p. 620 (Gieseler, III. 116), and among them are the following. "Prop. 10. (To say) that not all persons except Christ contracted Original sin from Adam is *expressly contrary to the faith*. Prop. 11. That the Blessed Virgin Mary and Mother of God did not contract original sin is *expressly contrary to the faith*. Prop. 12. It is as much against the Holy Scripture that one man should be exempt from Original sin, except Christ, as if ten men in fact were considered as exempt." Among the expressions which these friars had to retract, it shall suffice to quote that of Fr. Joannes Ade,—“that the feast of the Conception of the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary ought not to be solemnized nor celebrated, and that he who should celebrate the said festival, would do ill rather than well.—Also, in preaching to

* Lives of the Saints, December 8th, Vol. II. p. 1016, n. where the conduct of several other Popes is given.

† Gieseler. Text-book, &c. III. pp. 116-17. and n.

the people, I blamed those who, to the praise of the Virgin Mary, maintained that she was not conceived in Original sin, upbraiding them and saying, '*En voulez-vous faire une Déesse ?*' Will you make a Goddess of her ?" Well, indeed, might he ask this question. Most justly might men burn with indignation at seeing Divine honour given to a mortal. Most justly might they ask, "*Will you make a Goddess of her ?*" And observe, this question was not asked by an ill-informed Protestant,—by one who was ignorant of Roman doctrine, and of the effect which this doctrine produced on men's minds. No: the preacher was a member of one of the most powerful Orders in the Church of Rome, which had (as we have seen above) produced Popes, and Patriarchs, and Bishops,—which had produced canonized Saints and able advocates in abundance,—of an Order, the members of which made preaching their particular employment, and therefore must be the best judges of the belief and tone of mind of the people at large. He knew then what he was saying, and he was justified in saying what he did, when he exclaimed, "*Will you make a Goddess of her ?*" He was justified, I repeat, in saying this, for (as the learned Canon of Westminster observes), "Even now the Blessed Virgin is invoked in Romish Liturgies as Queen of Heaven; even now she is solicited by supplications to *exercise authority* over her Divine Son; even now she is worshipped as Queen of Angels, and as higher than her Lord; even now she has been styled by a Roman Pontiff as giving completeness to the ever-blessed Trinity. If this new doctrine prevail, what form of adoration will be too exalted for her? Will not the Almighty appear almost to be banished from His own world, and a human being placed on the throne of the Universe?"*

And now, what are we to think of this attempt of Rome to make

* Dr. Wordsworth, "Occasional Sermons," Second series, pp. 113,114; where, among other authorities in support of the above statements, are the following: "Missale Paris. 1634

' O felix puerpera
Jura Matris IMPERA
REDEMPTORI."

Antidotum Animæ Sec. 1. chor. Augustin. commemor. B. Virgin. :

' Tu ancillam Jesu Christi
Te vocare voluisti.
Sed ut docet Lex divina
Tu *Illius es Domina* ;
Nam Lex jubet et ratio
Matrem præesse Filio.
Ergo ora suppliciter,
Et *præcipe sublimiter,*
Ut nos in mundi vespera
In regna ducat supera.'

Leo X. ap. Bembum, Epist. lib. viii. Ep. 17. 'Maria complementum Trinitatis est.'

the belief in the Immaculate Conception an article of faith? I have said indeed what grievous consequences have resulted from leaving the question undetermined, and we here see what a strait she is reduced to by having hampered herself by the fiction of Infallibility: she cannot confess herself to have been in the wrong. Although *both* doctrines have been taught and approved in the Church of Rome (*for both have been taught by writers whom she has canonized*), yet, for several centuries past, in opposition to primitive antiquity, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception has been regarded with greater favour by all classes, from the highest to the lowest. To confess that so many of her Popes, Bishops, Universities, &c. have been in the wrong for centuries (though some of those centuries have been among the darkest in history) would be too humiliating; and therefore, even if she wished the contrary—of which unfortunately there is no evidence—she is bound to adopt a doctrine which one of her greatest divines has declared to be *derogatory to the dignity of Christ*—that a daughter of fallen man should be *saved without a Saviour*,—a doctrine of which our Blessed Lord knew nothing, of which the inspired Apostles knew nothing, of which the Primitive Fathers knew nothing,—a doctrine which arose in an age of ignorance and superstition, and which (although—as falling in with the chivalrous feelings and sentiments of gallantry so prevalent in the middle ages*—it would naturally meet with the favour it did meet with) was opposed by numbers whom Rome holds in the highest honour. This doctrine (I repeat), this *new*, this *false*, this (by her own children) *reprobated* doctrine (if she adopts either alternative) she is bound to adopt, she has no choice. Nay, even in the office of the Festival, which she has appointed, she is reproved by some of her most venerated teachers—men by no

* “How much (says Gieseler, II. 342) the adoration of the Virgin partook of the spirit of chivalry, see in Wieland’s *Neuer deutscher Merkur*, &c. God the Father is made her *Minne* or knight; see Pescheck. . . The worship of Mary also assumed the character of a knightly service. See Wieland, l. c. See the *Minnelied* addressed to Mary by the Troubadour le Moine de Fossan in *Millot*, *Hist. des Troub. T. II. p. 224.*”

Let me add an anecdote which is related of St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure, the latter of whom (as has been said) carried his veneration for the Virgin to so great a height. “As they were once both entertained at the king of France’s table, Thomas sat studying some deep argument that was then in his mind, and at last exclaimed, ‘I have it; the Manichæans are heretics, and clearly in the wrong.’ Bonaventure gazed reverentially at the countenance of the queen, till the king asked him what his thoughts were. ‘O sire,’ he said, ‘if an earthly queen is so beautiful, what must be the beauty of the queen of heaven!’ If this is true, it shows who was the best politician, and may account in some degree, for the popularity of the Franciscans with the ladies.” (Churton, *Early English Church* p. 364).

For a view of the influence which Chivalry exercised on the minds of people in the middle ages, especially with reference to the sentiments which I have alluded to, see St. Palaye’s *Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry*.

means backward in their veneration for the Virgin. We have already seen what Durandus says; the following are the words of St. Bernard in an Epistle to the Canons of Lyons:—"I much wonder how it has seemed right to some of you at this time to wish to change your most excellent order,* by introducing a new celebration which the custom of the Church knows not—reason approves not—ancient tradition commends not. Are we more learned or more devout than our Fathers? It is with danger that we presume upon whatever their prudence in such things passed over. Nor is this a matter of such a kind as what, *unless it ought to be passed over*, would have escaped the diligence of the Fathers." In the course of the letter he alludes to some written revelation, which they pretended to have, on which to ground the celebration of the festival. But he says that any one could procure a writing, &c. and continues—"I easily persuade myself not to be moved by such writings, for which there is found to be neither sufficient reason nor certain authority. Although to some, few even, of the sons of men, it has been given to be born with holiness, *not, however, to be conceived also*; that to ONE truly might be preserved the prerogative of holy conception, who should sanctify all, and the *only one coming without sin* might make a purification from sins."†

We have now seen the theological difficulties which beset Rome on every side with respect to this doctrine. Opposed to Primitive Antiquity as all her peculiar doctrines are, that of the Immaculate Conception has, in addition, this remarkable feature of having been opposed by divines in her own bosom in continued succession, since the time it was first broached. Rejecting, therefore, pure Antiquity,—as is the custom, nay, the essential characteristic of

* Or "complexion," *optimum mutare colorem*, implying probably a charge of want of steadfastness, and of deserting their former principles.

† See Gieseler, II. 343. He translates "Canonicos Lugdunenses" by "Canons of Laon," but I think incorrectly. He regards them as the inventors of the doctrine in 1140. Alban Butler (II. 1018) says that St. Bernard reproves them, because, by their own private authority they celebrated a feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, without consulting the Roman see," adding that this festival was kept long before this time in the Eastern Church. It is not likely, however, that the festival should be kept before the doctrine was invented. And one would think that St. Bernard knew as much as Mr. B. about the antiquity of this festival. And if any one reads St. Bernard's words, he will see that Mr. Butler's explanation is plainly untrue, as St. Bernard says that *the Church knew nothing of this custom*, and that both reason and tradition were against it. And he asks whether they were more learned or devout than the Fathers, *who knew nothing of such a festival*. Taking these things into consideration, he says that the festival *ought not to be observed, especially as the Virgin was conceived in sin, the prerogative of holy conception being reserved to Him alone, who came to make a purification from sin*. What is there here about consulting the Roman see? And yet Mr. Butler says that the neglect of that is the reason why he reproved them. How sad it is that one never can trust a Romanist!

Rome,—she has now virtually decided in opposition to the uncondemned, nay, *approved*, teaching of some of her most illustrious, her most devoted children—of her Bernards, her Dominics, her Aquinases, her Bonaventures.* This she has done, and too far to retract, by authorizing services in which the doctrine is distinctly acknowledged. Such is the inconsistent, contradictory, conduct of this *infallible, unchangeable*, Church. This permission of using Offices in which the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is taught is not indeed new, as we shall see presently,—but it is new to allow them to such an extent as she has done, and to act as if the doctrine were by authority adopted as part of her system of belief.

Let us now turn from a theological to a popular view of the question. We have seen the statements and contentions of divines; let us now consider the effect this doctrine had upon the feelings and behaviour of the people. It has been already mentioned that the populace of Paris rose up against the Dominicans in the 14th century, when they declaimed against the excessive veneration paid to the Virgin: We will now see how warmly the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception has been adopted in Spain, that land pre-eminently the land of chivalry and gallantry. I quote from the interesting work of the late poet laureate, “Doblado’s Letters from Spain.”

In describing the various ways in which admittance into the houses is demanded, he says—“Peasants and beggars call out at the door, ‘Hail, spotless Mary!’ *Ave, Maria purisima!* The answer in that case, is given from within in the words *Sin pecado concebida*: ‘Conceived without sin.’ This custom is a remnant of the fierce controversy, which existed about three hundred years ago, between the Franciscan and the Dominican friars, whether the Virgin Mary had or had not been subject to the penal consequences of Original sin. The Dominicans were not willing to grant any exemption, while the Franciscans contended for the propriety of such a privilege. The Spaniards, and especially the Sevillians, with their characteristic gallantry, stood for the honour of our Lady, and embraced the latter opinion so warmly, that they turned the watch-word of their party into the form of address, which is still so prevalent in Andalusia. During the heat of the dispute, and before the Dominicans had been silenced by the authority of the Pope, the people of Seville began to assemble at various churches, and, sallying forth

* Romanists may say, that should the doctrine be made an article of faith, it will not be necessary to regard the old writers who taught differently, as heretics, since the doctrine was not then defined. But we have seen (p. 295) that the Bishop of Langres endeavours to support it by Scripture. Now if it is taught in the Bible, it not only must have been *always true*, but ought *always to have been believed*, without waiting for the decision of the Church. If not, we have here the clearest case of making the Word of God of none effect through man’s traditions, that ever was heard of.

with an emblematical picture of the *sinless* Mary, set upon a sort of standard, surmounted by a cross, they paraded the city in different directions, singing hymns to the *Immaculate Conception*, and repeating aloud their beads or rosary. These processions have continued to our times, and they constitute one of the nightly nuisances of this place. Though confined at present to the lower classes, they assume that characteristic importance and overbearing spirit, which attaches to the most insignificant religious associations in this country. Wherever one of the shabby processions presents itself to the public, it takes up the street from side to side, stopping the passengers, and expecting them to stand uncovered in all kinds of weather, till the standard is gone by. These awkward and heavy banners are called at Seville, *Sinpecados*, that is, "sinless," from the theological opinion, in support of which they were raised.

"The Spanish government, under Charles III., shewed the most ludicrous eagerness to have the *sinless purity* of the Virgin Mary added by the Pope to the articles of the Roman Catholic faith. The Court of Rome, however, with the cautious spirit which has at all times guided its spiritual politics, endeavoured to keep clear from a stretch of authority, which even some of their own divines would be ready to question; but splitting, as it were, the difference with theological precision, the censures of the church were levelled against such as should have the boldness to assert that the Virgin Mary had derived any taint from "her great ancestor;" and, having personified the *Immaculate Conception*, it was declared that the Spanish dominions in Europe and America were under the protecting influence of that mysterious event. This declaration diffused universal joy over the whole nation. It was celebrated with public rejoicings on both sides of the Atlantic. The King instituted an order under the emblem of the Immaculate Conception—a woman dressed in white and blue; and a law was enacted, requiring a declaration, upon oath, of a firm belief in the *Immaculate Conception*, from every individual, previous to his taking any degree at the Universities, or being admitted into any of the Corporations, civil and religious, which abound in Spain. This oath is administered *even to mechanics, upon their being made free of a Guild.*"

For further information on this subject; for a relation of the rejoicings which took place, and the equestrian games and tournaments which were celebrated, in honour of the Virgin Mary and her Immaculate Conception, see the Appendix to the interesting work from which that above quotation has been given.

Having referred to the Scapular of the Immaculate Conception, I will, as a conclusion to this portion of the Appendix, give some account of that and other Scapulars in use among the members of

the Church of Rome. Of these there appear to be five, (1) that of Mount Carmel, (2) of our Lady of Dolours, (3) the Immaculate Conception, (4) the Blessed Trinity, and (5) the Holy Scapular of the Passion.* Of these, the Scapular of Mount Carmel seems to

* These Scapulars "are each represented by two square pieces of woollen stuff of different colours, joined to each other by two strings, so that one piece may hang over the breast, and the other over the back,—the four may be sewn together, and suspended by only two strings. In this case the largest is usually the brown one, which represents the Scapular of the Order of our Lady of Mount Carmel. The second is a little smaller, black, representing that of our Lady of the Seven Dolours. The third is a little smaller still, blue, and represents that of the Immaculate Conception. Blue is the colour of Consecration to the Blessed Virgin, who is always represented with one of her garments of that colour. The fourth and smallest is white, with a cross of red and blue. It is that of the Most Holy Trinity. All these colours, as well as the cross, must be visible. The Redemptorist Fathers have the power of blessing all these four Scapulars." The Four Scapulars, p. 22.

The 5th Scapular, that of the Passion was invented in consequence of the following circumstance. "On the evening of the Octave of St. Vincent, the 26th of July, 1846, Sister W——, belonging to the community of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent of Paul, being in the chapel, felt convinced that our Lord there appeared to her in a vision: He held in His right hand a scarlet Scapular, suspended by two woollen strings of the same colour." On one side was a representation of Our Lord upon the Cross, and around the Crucifix were the words "Sacred Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, save us!" Upon the corresponding end of the Scapular was "a representation of His sacred heart and that of His Holy Mother. A cross placed between the two appeared to spring from both hearts, and encircling them were the words, 'Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, protect us!'" This sister, "who is inspired by our Lord constantly to meditate upon His sacred passion, added further, that our divine Saviour seemed also to express an exceedingly fervent desire to see this new Scapular immediately copied, and similar ones everywhere distributed in order to put men in remembrance of the cruel sufferings He endured for their sakes, and of the ardent love He bears them. The apparition of our Lord, holding in His hand the Scapular of His Passion, was several times repeated; it took place on the Day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in 1846, attended by this additional circumstance, viz. that Sister W—— thought she heard our Lord address to her these consoling words, 'Every one who wears this Scapular shall receive every Friday a great increase of faith, hope, and charity.'" This dream or delusion (not to say, deception) of "Sister W——" was authorized by the present Pope, Pius IX., in 1847, who granted among other Indulgences the following, "An Indulgence of two hundred days to all the faithful, who, kissing with devout contrition this same Scapular, shall recite this versicle: *Te ergo, &c.*" "We beseech Thee, O blessed Jesus, to save Thy servants, whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood."

"There can be no doubt" we are told "that particular blessings are reserved for the faithful who wear this Scapular in a pious spirit; more than ordinary devotion to the Passion of our Saviour, a very ardent love for Him, and a practical uniting of our sufferings with His, after the example of the Immaculate Mary, the mother of love and sorrow, seem to be the particular fruits of this new method of sanctification." Many persons, on the contrary, will entertain very grave doubts, whether two small pieces of scarlet cloth attached by two strings can confer such "particular blessings." But, though this is called the Scapular of the Passion, Jesus Christ cannot be spoken of as our sacrifice, without His blessed, but mortal, mother being thrust in also. Thus, a model of holy and devout love is offered

have been the most ancient. The confraternity was established by an English Saint, Simon Stock, who was born in Kent, in the 12th century. In 1215, he was made Vicar-general over all the Western Provinces of the Carmelite order. "He doubted not but that his mighty Patroness [the Virgin Mary] bestowed on him all the love which his zeal for her honour desired; nevertheless, he sighed for some sensible proof of her regard, and besought her to grant him some sign. After many years of tears and supplication, this good mother listened to the prayers of her servant. One day, towards the close of his long life, she appeared to him surrounded by blessed spirits, with a Scapular in her hand, which she put over his shoulders, with these gracious words: *Dilectissimo fili, &c.* 'My dearest child, receive the Scapular of your order, the sign of brotherhood with me, a privilege for yourself and for all Carmelites. Any one dying in this shall not suffer the eternal flames of hell. It is a sign of salvation, a safeguard in dangers, a pledge of peace, and of an everlasting covenant.' Simon immediately published everywhere the grace which he had received from the holy Virgin, and shewed, in proof of the vision, the Scapular, that she had left with him. He immediately commenced the Confraternity of the Scapular, and several sick persons were cured on receiving the holy habit from his hands. The fame of these miracles induced our great King Edward the First, St. Louis King of France, and

by Christ "in the transfigured heart of His DIVINE MOTHER, which we see placed side by side His own, and in the image of the little cross placed between them, as though it belonged equally to both." Doubtless, the Blessed Virgin was "a model of holy and devoted love," but Holy Scripture tells us but of ONE who endured the cross for us. Rome however couples together our Almighty Lord and St. Mary most inseparably. If she is not *above Him* (as they sometimes represent her to be); at any rate, she is one with Him. "The same charity unites them, THE SAME SACRIFICE IMMOLATES THEM; this it is which renders them inseparable." Scapular of the Passion, pp. 3, &c.

Let us now proceed to the remarks which follow after the description of the four Scapulars already given.

"If the Scapular is worn out or lost, *you may make another for yourself.* [Therefore the Priest's blessing and prayers are not essential to the efficacy of it.] Persons who through negligence, or even through impiety, have omitted to wear it, or have thrown it aside, may resume it with the same advantages and privileges, without having it newly blessed.

"These remarks do not apply to the Scapular of the most Blessed Trinity, which, as Pope Innocent XI. determined, must be blessed every time it is renewed." (Four Scapulars, p. 22.)

I will only add a portion of a prayer to the Virgin to be used on the day of admission into the Confraternity, &c.: "— Grant, by thy powerful intercession, that I may have a perfect zeal for thy honour, and that *this holy Scapular*, which I desire to carry during my whole life, as a witness of my dedication to thee, *may be a means of preserving me from the danger of eternal death, and conducting me in safety to everlasting life.* Amen."

See the accounts of these Scapulars lately (but without date) published by Burns, London.

nearly all the sovereigns of Europe, with their subjects of both sexes, to put on the habit. Such was the beginning of the great and famous Confraternity of the Scapular." After an extract from Gregory Thaumaturgus, adduced in confirmation of the probability of Simon Stock's vision, the little book proceeds—

"To come now to modern times. On the 20th of January, 1842, about one o'clock in the day, a young Jew, named Ratisbon, went into the church of St. Andrea delle Fratte at Rome, with a friend. He was at the time obstinate in his religion. As he was standing in the church, he suddenly felt a strange perturbation; he lifted up his eyes—the whole building seemed to have vanished, only one of the chapels shone with a brilliant light, and over the altar he saw the sublime and resplendent form of the Virgin Mary, full of majesty and of sweetness. She made a sign to him to kneel down, and he rose up a Christian."

Again, "In 1216, Master Reginald, who had just joined the order of St. Dominic, fell into a dangerous fever. The Blessed Virgin appeared to him, and anointed him, and brought him the habit of the order, *such as she wished it to be*. This vision was repeated three days after in the presence of St. Dominic himself."

But now, supposing we can believe these and other visions of the sort, the next thing we have to learn is "*How the Scapular can procure for those who wear it the privilege of escaping the flames of Hell.*" On this subject we are taught as follows:—"Many who would otherwise be convinced by the evidence just adduced, find a difficulty in giving credit to this vision, because the promises conveyed in it seem to them directly contrary to the words of Jesus Christ Himself. He teaches us that penance and a new life are the only means of salvation for the sinner. (St. Luke xiii. 5). Consequently, when a man dies in his sins, though he may wear the livery of Mary, he shall nevertheless be shut out from that holy city, into which nothing defiled can enter. (Apoc. xxi. 27.)

"Doubtless this is true. The soul that dies in mortal sin is eternally lost; but cannot the all-powerful intercession of Mary obtain for the dying sinner conversion of heart and time of penance? Do not Protestants themselves believe that, by the fervent prayers of his friends, a hardened sinner is sometimes suddenly converted? . . . And cannot the intercession of Mary, who holds in her hands all the graces and all the mercies of God, as St. Peter Damian says, '*In manu ejus sunt omnes miserationes Domini,*'—cannot her prayer obtain for the sinner some grace, winning and powerful, to change his heart, and fill it with compunction, and make him a saint instead of a sinner? Let no one suppose that he can pass from a licentious and careless life to the life of the blessed, except by the way of penance; but the divine mother knows how to conduct the soul into the narrow path, in spite of all difficulties. When he least thinks of it, she will cause a ray of

supernatural light to shine on his mind, which will in a moment undeceive him, and shew him the misery of a soul which is hateful to God; then he will be surprised at finding nothing but pleasure in what before appeared to him so painful, and at feeling horror and detestation at the things in which he sought for all his pleasure. It is, moreover, a proposition which has been defended by the most celebrated theologians and saints, that *no true servant of Mary is damned.*

“Yes, it may be said, that may be granted, yet how can this privilege be attached to a couple of pieces of woollen cloth over the shoulders? What efficacy can there be supposed to exist in a mere symbol thus placed like a charm on a person perhaps heedless of its presence?” What, indeed!—The question may well be asked; but it will be difficult to find a satisfactory answer (for the passage afterwards given from St. Augustine has nothing whatever to do with it), unless the Christian religion, like the heathen, is to consist in a great measure in a belief in charms and amulets and such like follies of the bygone ages of paganism. Well may the Romanist ask how any efficacy can be attached to “*a couple of pieces of woollen cloth over the shoulders?*” and this too “*on a person perhaps heedless of their presence!*” But besides one or two narratives which will be given by-and-by, let us see what indulgences the “sovereign Pontiffs have granted to those who wear” these bits of coloured cloth, without being aware of their presence.

“Four Plenary Indulgences to those who approach the Sacraments on the day they receive the four Scapulars.”

“A Plenary Indulgence on the Festival of our Lady of Mount Carmel (July 16), for those who approach the Sacraments, and pray *for the intentions of the Church* (for this purpose you may say five Paters and Aves, or the Litanies of the Blessed Virgin, or of the Holy Name, or any other equivalent prayer).”

“Five years and five quarantines [a quarantine is as much as if he had fasted a whole Lent, according to the custom] to those who communicate once a month, and pray for the usual intentions. To those who recite the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, one hundred days.”

“Three years and three quarantines to those who fulfil the same conditions on the festivals of our Blessed Lady.”

“Three hundred days to those who abstain from flesh meat on Wednesdays.”

“To those who say seven Paters and Aves in honour of the seven joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary, forty days.”

“These Indulgences are also applicable to the souls in Purgatory, by a constitution of Clement X. January 2, 1672.”

These are only a portion of the “Particular graces and indulgences enjoyed by those who wear the Scapular;” but they will serve as an exemplification of the system. And *what* a system it

is! To talk of saying the *Lord's Prayer* seven times over in honour of the seven joys of the *Virgin!*!—of praying to GOD in honour of A DEPARTED SAINT!! And if a man does this, and also the Hail Mary, &c. seven times, it will save him forty days suffering in Purgatory, provided that at the same time he wears two little square bits of coloured cloth over his shoulders. For herein lies the virtue, here is the charm. He might say the *Lord's Prayer* in honour of the *Virgin* 70 times, for aught we know, without diminishing by one day the suffering of the soul of one person in Purgatory; but when he has upon him these two little amulets, (even though he may be heedless of their presence), then the effects are wonderful indeed. Again I say (and may I not well say?)—What a system is this! What a system of degraded superstition, which one can hardly believe to exist among Christians even the darkest days! Yet we have now before us the words not of men who lived in the days when a little learning was taken for witchcraft, not in the days of the Dominics and the Stocks, but of men in the present age,—in little books published for the instruction and use of English Romanists in the 19th century! From these little books I must now give a few more extracts.

In order to show that the devoted servants of Mary cannot die while wearing her livery, as it is called, the following anecdote is related:—“Three days after the battle of Seneff, in 1674, a soldier was found among the wounded, holding in one hand a Scapular and in the other a Rosary,* and crying out for a Priest to hear his

* From this it seems doubtful whether the preservation of the man's life till he met with a priest to hear his confession is owing to the possession of the Scapular or the Rosary. The little book before us ascribes it to the former, but it seems the latter is equally efficacious. For the following relations in proof thereof are given by Southey, from *Possadas* and *Andrade*, in his learned and interesting “*Vindiciæ Eccles. Anglicanæ.*” “There was a damsel in Aragon, Alexandra by name, who, in consequence of Dominic's preaching, provided herself with a Rosary, and told her beads with sufficient regularity, but manifested no other amendment of life. Two rival suitors fought for her, and so unhappily that both were killed, in revenge for which the relations seized her, cut off her head, and threw it into a well. The Devils took possession of her soul, supposing they had a valid right to it; but therein they were deceived; for by using the Rosary she had obtained such favour in the eyes of the Virgin, that her soul was repleved and permitted to remain in the head and in the well, till an opportunity should offer for being confessed and shriven. Ere long the singular condition of this poor soul was revealed to Dominic, who incontinently repaired to the well and called upon Alexandra to come up. The bloody head rose, perched on the well side, and intreated his assistance, saying she must pass two hundred years in Purgatory, unless he and the Society of the Rosary would befriend her with their prayers. Then the head made confession, was absolved, and received the wafer; after which it continued by its discourses during two days to edify the people of Aragon. That done, it died, and at the end of fifteen days the soul appeared in glory to St. Dominic, and thanked him for having by the Rosary delivered her from the place of penance.” (*Vindiciæ*, p. 482). Another history is given in the same work, of an Italian bandit, who having received a rosary from St. Dominic himself,

confession: the man was covered with mortal wounds,—he had a great sabre-cut on his head, and a musket-shot had gone through it, so that his brains protruded on both sides. The searchers passed him over, thinking him to be dead; but he besought them to take him, as he wanted to make his confession. They took him up, and meeting a chaplain, he confessed, and after receiving absolution expired. But all must not expect a miracle to be worked in their favour. *Certainly, the names of those devoted to the service of Mary, and who wear her insignia, are, as St. Bonaventure says, written in the book of life.*

“But suppose, after all, the obstinate sinner will not repent; what then? Why then he will die in his sins; for God Himself, as St. Augustine says, cannot force the will of a sinner who is

said it regularly every day and commended himself to the Virgin, while he continued to rob and murder as usual. “He died, unhousselled in his sins, and was interred by his comrades in the fields, without any rites of burial. Two years afterward, when the Saint, with some of his disciples, was passing by, a voice was heard from the ground, saying, Father St. Dominic, have mercy upon me! All apprehended that it issued from a grave, though they knew not that any grave was there, and digging, as the Saint commanded them, where the voice was heard, they uncovered the robber, who arose from the grave in a state which can neither properly be called dead nor alive; for, though dead, his soul was still in his body, and he was in full possession of all his faculties. Prostrating himself before St. Dominic, he told him that, for the sake of that rosary which he had received from his hands, our Lady had kept him in this miraculous state of preservation till he should have an opportunity of confessing and being absolved; otherwise he must inevitably have gone straight to hell; and that what he had endured during the two years of his interment would serve him for his Purgatory. Accordingly he was shriven in due form, and went direct to heaven .. to the comfortable encouragement of all Italian robbers who carry a beadstring.” *Vindiciæ*, p. 500. So much for the advantages to be derived from the use of a rosary. Respecting this invention for the advancement of religion, there are some remarks in this same work, which seem too good to be omitted. “Of all the tools, trinkets or playthings of devotion, in whichever class we place it, the Rosary is certainly the happiest invention. Its mere picturesque effect might have brought it into general use, for beautiful it is, whether pendent from the neck of the young, or in the trembling hands of the aged. Nor is its use limited to the convenience of keeping a prayer account in decimals, and thus facilitating the arithmetic. If the *Ave Maria* were repeated the whole 150 times, or even a tenth part of those times, in uninterrupted succession, no human vigilance could prevent the words from being articulated without a thought of their meaning; but by this service, when ten *Aves* have been said, and ten of the smaller or *Ave* beads dropt to keep time with them, the *Pater* or large bead comes opportunely in to jog the memory: sufficient attention is thus excited to satisfy the conscience of the devotee, and yet no effort, no fervour, no feeling are required, the understanding may go wander, the heart may be asleep, while the lips with the help of the fingers perform the task; and the performer remains with a comfortable confidence of having added to his good works, and rests contented *opere operato*. The Priests of the Romish Church have been wise in their generation, and the structure which they have raised is the greatest monument of human art, as it is of human wickedness, .. so skillfully have they known how to take advantage of every weakness, and to practice upon every passion of human nature.” *Vindiciæ*, p. 474. &c.

determined to damn himself. But he will not die in the Scapular. Mary will find some means to strip him of her livery, rather than that the reprobate man should die in it. F. Claude la Colombière tells us of a man who had several times attempted to drown himself, but without success; he wondered what hindered him, and at last remembering he had a Scapular on, he threw it off, and then again threw himself into the water, and was drowned. Thus he died in mortal sin; *but he could not die, till he had stripped himself of that habit, 'IN WHICH ANY ONE DYING SHALL NOT SUFFER THE ETERNAL FLAMES OF HELL.'*" Four Scapulars, pp. 15—17.

And thus far for the Immaculate Conception and the Scapular.

No. III.

OF THE CANONS OF THE COUNCIL OF SARDICA.*

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THIS Council, held in 347, was called by the Emperors Constantius and Constans, for the purpose of hearing the cause of Athanasius who had been driven from Alexandria; and, as has been already remarked, it reinstated him in his see from which he had been unjustly expelled, which Julius Bishop of Rome, though desirous, was not able, to accomplish. None of the historians of that period mention the making of any canons at that Council, but early in the 5th century Pope Zosimus took advantage of one which he said was a Nicene canon, but which was *afterwards* said to have been made at Sardica, to vindicate to himself the right of appeals in a case of a dispute among the bishops of a province. This canon, the 5th in the Greek, and the 7th in the Latin, was to the following effect:—"It has pleased that if a bishop shall have been accused, and the bishops of that region being collected shall give judgment and degrade him, and the bishop shall think well to appeal and flee to the most blessed Bishop of the Roman Church, and should wish to be heard, and he should think it just that his examination should be renewed, let him condescend to write to the bishops who are in the neighbouring and adjoining province, that they may diligently search out all things, and decide according to

* For my arguments and authorities I am chiefly indebted to Dr. Geddes's "Essay on the Canons of the Council of Sardica," in Vol. iii. of his Tracts.

the faith of the truth. But if he desires that his cause be heard again, and shall by his request move the Bishop of Rome to send a presbyter from his side, it shall be in the power of the Roman Bishop to do what he wishes and what he thinks right. And if he shall decree that certain persons should be sent, who being present should give judgment with the bishops, having the authority of him by whom they were appointed, it shall be at his pleasure so to do. But if he shall believe that the bishops are sufficient to put an end to the business, he shall do what he shall judge right in his most wise counsel."*

This canon somewhat varies in the different copies, and is expressed with sufficient clumsiness; the drift however is plain, viz. to authorize appeals to the Bishop of Rome from other bishops and provinces, in contradiction to other canons by which they were ordered otherwise.

The history of Apiarius has been given above (p. 46, n.), together with an account of the advantage which the Roman Church endeavoured to take of the circumstances to establish her claim to hear appeals from other churches. In order to do this, Zosimus sent his legate, as has been related, with a canon professing to be a Nicene canon, which authorised this claim, to the astonishment of the African prelates: it turned out, however, to be nothing of the sort. It has been already proved that the canon in question was not a Nicene canon, but one of the Sardican canons, as was afterwards said. Now if it was a Sardican canon, why did not the Pope call it so, instead of remaining silent, when the African Church, after closely investigating the matter, had proved that it was not a Nicene. The Romish shift, repeated by Mr. Egan, that the Pope meant a *Sardican* canon when he said a *Nicene*, and that the Sardican Council was a continuation of that of Nice, is altogether inadmissible, because the question between Rome and Carthage was, whether this canon was among the Nicene canons, which, upon enquiry, it turned out that it was not. Besides, if (as many Romanists say) the Council of Nice was a General Council, and the Council of Sardica *also* a General Council, why should the Pope quote the canon of one General Council under the name of another?

Again, we read that there were thirty-six African bishops present at Sardica. Now, if this canon had been passed there, is it likely that they would have brought no tidings of it back with them? Is it likely that their Church would have gone on making laws (as at Milevi) in direct opposition to the canons of this *General Council*? Is it likely that in the time of Zosimus (about 70 years after) they should have forgotten all about it? Yes, says

* There was another canon produced as a Nicene canon which was afterwards found among the Sardican, but the controversy chiefly turned upon this.

the Romanist, they had forgotten all about it. The African Church of the fifth century knew *nothing whatever* of the laws which their bishops set their hands to at Sardica. Why? Because by the malice of the Arians and Donatists, the memory of the orthodox Council of Sardica was abolished. The African Church of the fifth century knew nothing of any Council of Sardica but the Arian Council of Philippopolis, which chose to call itself the Sardican Council. Strange indeed, that such should be the case, when they had nearly 40 bishops there, and this only 70 years, or thereabouts, before this time. But is not such a supposition out of the question? Is it likely—is it *possible*—that all these bishops from different parts of Africa, including Carthage, (for Gratus, Bishop of that city is said to have been there) should have been present at a Council so few years before, and that no record,—nay, no *memory* of their transactions should remain?—that the African Church should highly venerate (as it did) the Nicene canons, and yet should preserve no memorial whatever of a Council, that of Sardica, which took place twenty-two years afterwards? Add to this, that neither Athanasius, nor any other writer about that time, nor Pope Julius himself who was so great a friend to Athanasius, says anything about that Council's having made any such canon as this produced by Zosimus, or indeed, any canons at all. Neither is there a word of this Council's having made any canons, in either of its genuine letters which are in Athanasius, nor in that which was forged under its name to Pope Julius. (Geddes, p. 13). Nor was this canon of Zosimus, about 40 years after the Sardican Council, known the Western bishops, who wrote to the Emperor Theodosius, asking him to have a Council of the Eastern and Western bishops assembled to judge the cause of Maximus Bishop of Constantinople, who they thought had been unjustly deposed by his Eastern neighbours; for they make no allusion to this Sardican canon, they make no reference to any law of a Universal Council, or indeed of any Council, giving the last appeal to the Roman see; which they doubtless would have done if any such law had been enacted. On the contrary, the Italian bishops disclaim that authority which is lodged in the canon of Zosimus, saying, "We do not claim to ourselves the prerogative of an examination, but *the fellowship of a common arbitration.*" See in Gieseler, I. 260. The interference of these bishops, however, in favour of Maximus was entirely disregarded by the Eastern Church, nor had the Council of Constantinople, in its Ecclesiastical arrangements, any reference whatever to the Western Church, which they surely would have done, had there been any such universal law made at Sardica. (p. 259.) It is true that Palladius, in the 5th Century, said that the canon of Antioch which gave the power of appeals to bishops of a neighbouring province, was abrogated by the Sardican Council. He does not say, however, that this was done by a

canon made in that Council, but only, that the Council acted in contradiction to the Council of Antioch, in reviewing the cause of Athanasius, and judging him to have been unjustly excommunicated and deposed. (Geddes, p. 14).

Now all this silence about the Sardican canon is remarkable, and makes one strongly suspect that no such canon was ever made at that place, but that, on the contrary, it was ascribed to that Council after the time of the 6th Council of Carthage, to retrieve the credit of the Roman see, and of its claim to appeals. And as it would have looked strange for a Council to have made only one or two canons, the rest were probably devised to keep them in countenance, which is the more likely, because *after* the 6th Council of Carthage the Church of Rome endeavoured by numberless frauds to make the matter appear plausible.

1. The first of these frauds was by counterfeit writings to persuade the world that the Nicene Council had made more canons than the twenty which were in the copies of the Eastern and African Churches, and that these additional ones being lost, that which was sent by the Pope to authorize appeals to him was one of them.

Now, no man was a better witness of what was done at Nice than Athanasius, and therefore two letters were forged in his name, one to Pope Mark, another to Pope Felix. Moreover, two letters were forged under the name of Pope Julius, and one under the name of Pope Mark (Geddes, 16). In the letter to Pope Mark, Athanasius is made to say that 80 *chapters* were made at Nice, 40 by the Greeks which were published in Greek, and 40 by the Latins which were published in Latin. Besides this wonderful circumstance, some things are mentioned which happened *long after Pope Mark's death*; and indeed, there are so many blunders in it, that it is given up as a forgery both by Baronius and Bellarmine (Ibid).

The letter of Pope Felix, though regarded by Bellarmine as genuine, is as bad, for Athanasius is made to say that he was *consecrated at Rome by Felix's request*, whereas it is well known that he was consecrated at Alexandria, long before he and Felix were acquainted. (p. 17).

Pope Mark's letter to Athanasius affirms the Nicene Council to have made 70 canons, according to the number of the 70 disciples. But as that letter bears date *after Pope Mark's death*, and takes notice of things that happened *after it*, so Baronius is forced to give it up as a forgery. And as for the two letters under Pope Julius's name, when it is told that they belong to the collection of Decretal Epistles, enough is said to ruin their credit, even with Baronius, who, with Cardinal Bona, acknowledges them to be counterfeits. It is the same with Pope Damasus's letter to the African bishops, and the letter of three African Councils to Damasus, in which, *in contradiction to the Sixth Council of Carthage*, the right

of appeals is asserted to be lodged in the Bishop of Rome. And whereas St. Augustine had taken a great part in that Council which *withstood* Zosimus, a letter was counterfeited after his death, in which he is made to *approve* of appeals to Rome, which he had so much *opposed* in the Sixth Council of Carthage. (Geddes, p. 17, 18).

These are *some* of the forgeries which were perpetrated in order to make people believe that the Council of Nice had made more than the 20 canons which really were made there, and which alone were heard of in the early Church. And for what purpose were all these and other forgeries contrived? What,—but to make the world “believe a lie,”—the lie of the pretended right to domineer over other Churches which Rome usurped, upon pretence that it was granted by a General Council. When we see frauds and forgeries heaped one upon another, as in the case before us, we may be sure it was for no good purpose,—we may be sure it was to hide the truth, and make men acknowledge a claim which had no foundation but in falsehood.

II. When the Church of Rome found that the world was not to be persuaded that the Council of Nice made more than twenty canons, they had recourse to other frauds. It was asserted, that the Councils of Nice and Sardica were by the ancients regarded as one Council, and that *that* was the reason why Zosimus called the Sardican canons, canons of Nice. When that would not do (as the Bishops were for the most part different, as they were called by different Emperors, assembled at different places,—and this, with more than twenty years intervening) they began to call the Sardican Council a *General* Council, and of equal authority with the Nicene, if not indeed greater in the African Church, which had not near so many Bishops at Nice as at Sardica. (Geddes, 19).

These three shifts,—

1. That the Nicene Council made more than twenty canons,
2. That the Sardican Council is the same as the Nicene,
3. That the Sardican Council was a General Council,

—though paradoxical and inconsistent one with another, are all defended, but with very weak arguments, by the Romanists. Thus Baronius maintains that the Council of Sardica is one and the same with that of Nice, because the ancients, in reckoning up the general Councils, do not name that of Sardica, but put that of Constantinople next after the Nicene. Which certainly is true enough, but it would just as well prove that the Council of Antioch or Laodicea, or any other, is the same with that of Nice, as that the Council of Sardica is. Let us however grant for a moment that this feeble argument is worthy of notice; what becomes then of the next assertion, viz. that the Sardican Council was a General Council? Baronius, we have seen, allows that when the ancients enumerated the General Councils, they reckoned Constantinople next after Nice, *totally omitting all mention of Sardica*. Will any man in his senses

believe that they would have done this, if they had regarded it as a General Council? It certainly was a very odd way of giving a list of the Councils, and an equally odd way of concluding that that of Sardica was a General one,—*its not being mentioned*. But if the Council of Sardica was a General one, why should the ancients not only leave it out of all their lists, but even abstain from including its canons (together with those of Ancyra, &c.—see p. 277) in the “*Codex canonum*,” or Body of ecclesiastical laws, as it is notorious they did not? Certes, it was showing very small respect indeed to the canons of this Council, when they inserted those of the thirty-two (or twenty-two, if Mr. Egan will) Bishops assembled at Laodicea, and neglected *them*. Would they have done this, if the Council in question had been a general Council and had made canons? Of course not. For the Catholic Church to ignore the canons said to have been made at an *Œcumenical* Council, when they incorporated those made at divers provincial councils, was a very singular thing. And we may be *sure* of one thing, and *suspicious* of another; first, that the Council of Sardica was *not* a General Council,—and secondly, that its canons were *forged*.

As it is probable that Zosimus's canon was attributed to the Sardican Council *after* the Sixth Council of Carthage, so it is not improbable that it was not done till many years after, and would not have been thought of, if people would have been persuaded of the Council of Nice's having made more than twenty canons, and of that of Zosimus being one of those that were lost. For, it does not appear, as Dr. Geddes tells us, (p. 21) that there is any writer for many years after the Sixth Council of Carthage that speaks of the Sardican Council's having made any canons.* The first that this learned writer has found who mentions this is Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman Abbot, who lived about 200 years after the Council of Sardica, and 100 after the Sixth of Carthage. This was surely a long time for the canons of so noted a Council to have lain unnoticed, especially if that of Zosimus, which excited so much attention, had been one of that number. If it were certain that Dionysius was the first writer that ever spoke of any canons having been made by the Sardican Council, there would be just cause to suspect their genuineness, since he had no scruple to make use of frauds. Witness the Epistles published by him under the name of divers Popes; which Epistles, whether forged by him or not, were plainly too spurious for one of his (or of any) learning, not to have been conscious that they were forged. (Geddes, 21).

Ferrandus, an African Deacon, is the first writer quoted by Baronius as having published the Sardican Canons. But, as Baronius must have known that these Canons were published by Dionysius

* The First Council of Carthage will be alluded to by and by.

Exiguus who wrote *before* Ferrandus, so it is more than probable that he named the African Deacon rather than the Roman Abbot, because the latter had been long suspected of having been guilty of forging evidence for Papal usurpations. Be this as it may, neither in the East or West, was there known to be such a canon, or it was not regarded. As to the *East*, the bishops assembled at the General Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon, must either never have heard of it, or must have purposely slighted it,—(which was an evil thing to do, if it was a canon of a General Council, as Rome says)—the appeals of Ecclesiastics being by both those Councils lodged in the bishops of the neighbouring province, or in their several Patriarchs. And in the *West*, appeals were by the Council of Arles (if the Metropolitan neglects to do justice to any bishop that has twice appealed to him for it) lodged in a Council of the same Church, and by that Council his cause was to be finally decided. And in a Council at Lyons, after Dionysius's death, the Gallican Church orders all debates among bishops to be finally decided by their Metropolitans (Geddes, p. 25); *not* by the Bishop of Rome. Now, would this have been the case, if there had been a canon set forth to the contrary effect by a General Council? Of course not. Zosimus's canon had not been heard of as a Nicene or Sardican canon, or, if heard of as such, treated with the contempt which it deserved. Again, Martin, Archbishop of Braga, though he was born near Sardica, and lived after Dionysius, takes no notice of this canon of Zosimus in the collection of canons published by him; but sets down a canon of the Council of Antioch, which contradicts it, in not allowing any appeals to be carried beyond the Metropolitans and bishops of the neighbouring province. And in the middle of the ninth century, Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, surpassed by no man in acquaintance with the canons of the Church, takes no notice of this, or (as I understand) of any canon having been made by the Council of Sardica, *before he was told of it by Pope Nicholas*, a most suspicious quarter certainly to come from, and a man who had not a tithe of his reading or learning, (Geddes, pp. 25, 26).

There is also something very singular about the style of these canons. Unlike any other, except the African, they are not written and decreed as positive laws, but proposed—some by one bishop, some by another, but principally by Hosius, who was the leading man in the Sardican, as he was in the Nicene Council. This being the case, is it not strange, if the Sardican Council had made any canons, that they should not have been framed according to that great pattern rather than any other? And whereas in the acts of the Sixth Council of Carthage, Zosimus's first canon has now a "Placuit" before it, and his second, "Hosius Episcopus dixit," it is probable that these two prefaces were added to them by Dionysius Exiguus, or by some other Romanist equally unscrupulous. For

if these two canons had had these prefaces before them when sent by Zosimus into Africa, that alone would have shown them not to have been made by the Council of Nice, as he affirmed them to have been, as the African bishops must have known that the Nicene canons were not drawn up in that manner. And there is something suspicious in the fact of the second canon being called in the acts a canon of the Council of *Sardica*. Baronius thinks the word "Sardican" was written in the margin, and afterwards found its way into the text, turning out the original word "Nicene." Binius too, regards it as a later insertion. But may there not have been a meaning in this, when we consider an expression in the first Council of Carthage? In the fifth statute of that Council, the Bishop (Gratus) is made to refer to some rule which he remembers being passed in the Council of Sardica. In the exordium of this African Council it is spoken of as having taken place during the reign of Constantine; if this is correct, it must have taken place *before* the Council of Sardica; and upon this circumstance Dr. Geddes lays some stress, as if so, the allusion to the Sardican council must be a later insertion. But Binius has shown satisfactorily (see also Neander, under Constans) that Constantine is a misprint for Constans:—but notwithstanding this, I am disposed to think that Geddes is right with regard to the insertion; for the words of Gratus, in which the expression occurs, are only a remark upon a proposition made by Bishop Privatus, and might easily have been added afterwards. For if the words are genuine, we have this very great difficulty. In 348, as it is said, a Council took place at Carthage, in which reference is made to a canon said to have been passed at Sardica the year before, and this Council is called *a most holy Council*,—"in sanctissimo Concilio Sardicensi" (Bin. I. 566); and at this most holy Council it is said that thirty-six African bishops were present. Moreover, if we are to believe the Roman editions of the Councils, one of the bishops there present, Gratus of Carthage, remembered the year following what had taken place. It is much to be lamented that the memory of this Council should have so soon passed away. In the beginning of the fifth century a Council met at Carthage that knew nothing of these canons, nay, Augustine knew nothing of the council itself, which yet, the predecessor of his fellow bishop, Aurelius, remembered so well and spoke of as a most holy Council, and mentioned a statute publicly in an African Council. Now can we conceive the possibility of such a state of things? Can we conceive it possible that thirty-six bishops should have been present at this council, this *Œcumenical Council*, which made canons giving to Rome the right of hearing appeals from other Churches, in fact, of setting her up as an arbitrator and a judge, and which canons, being those of an Œcumenical Council, were *known* to all the Christian world, were *binding* on all the Christian world,—can we conceive that any such canons could

have been made, and not be known to such a Church as the African, after so short a time had expired,—nay, should not be known to *any* Church, East or West? The supposition is monstrous.

If it is true that the canon in question was made at Nice in 325;—if it is also true that it was made at Sardica in 347;—if two Councils called by different Emperors, gathered at different places, with an interval of more than twenty years apart, and consisting (for the most part) of different members,—are in fact *One Council*;—if these two Councils, *although one Council*, are *each* a General and Œcumenical Council;—if, although they are *each* Œcumenical Councils, and are *one* and *two* at the same time, it is correct to call a canon of *one* Council by the name of *another*;—if all these outrageous violences to common sense can harmonise in the Roman mind, it is well. But if, not satisfied with this, Rome must forge letters from bishops, from Councils, from Popes,—if she must make these latter talk of things which happened after their death, or never happened at all; if she must make men contradict all history, and, when dead, eat the words which they uttered when alive,—then, it is perfectly certain that some great forgery was being imposed upon the world;—and when all the circumstances connected with the Sardican canons are considered (of which only a portion has been here brought forward*), can any man who has well considered the subject, with all the accompanying historical facts, turn away from it without, if not being certain on the point, having at any rate very grave suspicions that, to the many acts of forgery committed by the Church of Rome, is to be added that of the forging of the canons of the Council of Sardica.

No. IV.

OF THE DISINGENUOUSNESS OF CHARACTER ENGENDERED BY ROMANISM.

Page 150.

IN the page referred to I have made some allusion to the fact, so often noticed, of the deterioration of character which very frequently takes place among converts from the Church of England to that of Rome, particularly as regards a want of honesty and uprightness. And how can we be surprised at this? When we

* For a fuller view of the subject see the Essay of Dr. Geddes.

consider that the Romish system is to so great a degree built upon forgeries, and is obliged to be propped by additional forgeries, and defended by falsehoods of the most unblushing character, what can we expect but that one of the prominent features of Romanism should be a spirit of disingenuousness and dishonesty, and that this spirit should particularly prevail among those who stand forth as advocates of Rome? And no one needs to be told that the principles of an Order in that Church, which has exercised such a wonderful influence throughout the world,—no one needs to be told that *Jesuitism* is universally regarded as only another name for artifice and craftiness and subtlety of the worst description. Of this fraudulent spirit I gave an exemplification in a previous publication,* where is related an account of a disgraceful act of deception practised by some Romanists at Bilston, who, having procured some covers of tracts circulated by the clergy of the place, inserted *their own tracts* into these covers, that thus they might insinuate their poison under the guise of Church teaching. Let me now bring forward the case of Mr. Gawthorn; for, although his name is sufficiently well known, yet it is desirable that his conduct should be here adduced, as it is such an excellent exemplification of the artfulness of character which I have spoken of as engendered by the Romish system. This person, whose name in full is William Rees Francis Gawthorn, was once, it seems, a Dissenter. He afterwards joined the English Church, and subsequently fell away to the Romish schism. While in this last stage of religious belief, i. e. *while a Romanist*, he addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated June 18, 1851, written in the tone of one who sympathized with the foreign Protestant Pastors, professing to be "*very sorry* to find by the public prints that Bishop Blomfield joins with the notorious Mr. Richards, [whom he elsewhere calls his *friend*] . . . in casting a slur upon the orders" of these Pastors; and requesting to be informed "whether it is really the sentiment of the Church of England, that these *excellent foreign clergymen* (whom *we* have most certainly led to believe that *we* acknowledge their orders) are not as truly Pastors of the Church of Christ as even the Bishops of the Established Church," or whether they were to be regarded as "mere laymen." In the course of his letter he says, "*I am myself a convert from Dissent to the Established Church* (and I trust, therefore, your Grace will excuse my troubling you on this point)," and concludes with subscribing himself

"Your Grace's most faithful [!] humble servant,
"W. FRANCIS."

Into the snare laid by the serpent-like wiles of this unhappy man the guileless Archbishop fell, and returned him a courteous and

* Visitation Sermon, p. 78.

confidential reply, marked "private," presuming that he was the kind of person he professed to be. Understanding, however, that his letter had been shown to several persons by an individual named "Gawthorn," he sent his chaplain to make enquiry, who found, on a second call, a letter prepared for him, addressed "For the Gentleman from Dr. Sumner," of which I subjoin the following portion :

"Sir,—I was informed, on my return home this evening, that a gentleman had called and enquired for Mr. Francis, and that he would come again to-morrow about half-past nine.

"As I am going out early in the morning, and as I think I know the object of your visit, I thought it best to leave a few lines, in order that the second call might not be altogether to no purpose.

"You no doubt wish to know if it was I who addressed Dr. Sumner lately, with respect to the sentiments of his brethren in regard to the 'foreign Pastors.'

"I beg to say that I did write to Dr. Sumner on that subject, with a view to the benefit of a relative whom I am trying to convert (FOR I AM MYSELF A CATHOLIC), and that I omitted my surname in the signature of my letter, in case it should defeat the object I had in view, for I thought it was possible that Dr. Sumner might have heard my name, and might know that I was a Catholic, which would probably have prevented his giving me the information I desired.

"I have also to add further, that all that I have said in my note was strictly true, &c.

* * * * *

"If it is thought that the course I pursued in this matter was unjustifiable, or 'doing evil that good may come,' I can only say that I did not think so, nor did others who are better able to judge. I have only shown the letter to personal friends, for whose conversion to the Church I am most anxious.

"I am Sir, your obedient servant,

"W. R. FRANCIS GAWTHORN."

We have here the avowal of this individual that he was the same person who wrote to the Archbishop, in the name of Francis, a note of the most artful description, in which he said that he was a convert from Dissent to the Established Church,—implying of course that *he was at that time a member of the Church of England*—and, under cover of his being an English Churchman, and one who inclined to what are called Low Church views, professing to be sorry that the orders of the foreign Protestant Pastors were not acknowledged by the Bishop of London, the "notorious Mr. Richards" and others,—we have this person using this language to the Archbishop, and endeavouring to draw from him an admission that the orders of these foreign Protestants are valid, under pretence that the contrary opinion was that of the Tractarians (which, of course, he thought would shock and alarm the Archbishop)—and adding that if this latter opinion, that of the invalidity of these orders, were the view of the Church of England, that that Church would not

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have "a particle of claim to" his "allegiance." We have this same person, this Mr. Francis, saying that his name is Gawthorn, and that he signed his Christian name, instead of Surname, lest he should be recognized by the Archbishop, which would defeat the object he had in view, that of the perversion of some of his friends, by making it appear that his grace did not think Episcopal ordination essential to the Christian ministry,—we find this same "convert from Dissent to the Established Church" now calling himself a "Catholic" i. e. a *Romanist*, and saying that all that he had said in his note to the Archbishop was "strictly true." That is, it is "strictly true" in his eyes, for a Romanist to call himself a member of the Church of England, to be "very sorry" that a slur is cast upon the orders of the "excellent foreign clergymen" whom all the while he regards as not ordained at all, but to be mere laymen;—it is "strictly true" for this person to identify himself with English Protestants in saying of these foreign Pastors, that "we have most certainly led them to believe that we acknowledge their orders;"—it is "strictly true" for this same Romanist to say that if the Church of England does not acknowledge the orders of these foreign Pastors, she would have no claim on his allegiance, implying (of course) that she *would have* this claim, if she believed these orders to be valid. It is "perfectly true" to say all this and more, and to entrap the Archbishop into making an admission which might commit the Church of England, with a view of causing a disgust against that Church, in the minds of some of his friends whom he was anxious to lead astray. Such conduct, agreeably to *Romish notions* of morality (to say nothing of honour) is strictly in accordance with truth and honesty! If so, surely I am justified in asserting that the tone of mind engendered by Romanism is one of the most artful hypocrisy, and of dishonourable and shameless fraud.

But to return to Mr. Gawthorn. It has been stated that the object which he had in writing to the Archbishop was to procure from him an admission which he hoped might damage the Church of England in the eyes of some whom he wished to lead over to Rome. Among these was the Rev. Cyril W. Page, to whom he wrote, offering to show him the letter. "I can show the above letter," he says, "to any one who wishes to see it; and you are at liberty to make any private use of the information I have given you, short of communicating it to Protestant *'bishops.'*" It is unnecessary to quote more of this letter, as its contents will be sufficiently understood from the masterly reply of Mr. Page, which is here subjoined.

"SIR,—I have received a letter, signed 'W. R. Gawthorn,' offering to show me, or any one who wishes to see it, a letter from 'Dr. J. B. Sumner,' marked 'private,' and also giving me leave to make any 'private' use of the information it contains, short of communicating it to Protestant 'Bishops.'

"I presume you are the same Mr. Gawthorn who resided for a short time in Dartmouth-street, and deserted the Church of England for that of Rome. I presume, also, that you are the same Mr. Gawthorn who, a short time afterwards, under the name of 'Rees,' sent a letter to the Bishop of London, accusing the clergy of St. Margaret's, Westminster, of altering the calendar and observing the Feast of the Annunciation on a wrong day, and who, when detected, declared that it was done with the object of driving some of the accused parties to Rome.*

"Such being the case, I have no hesitation about the answer which I ought to give to such a letter, coming from such a person. I refuse your offer, and I reject your confidence. I repudiate your claim to tie me down to a 'private' use of the information which you have unwarrantably forced upon me.

"I know not upon what principle a man who insults the Church of England and her Bishops, and who, upon his own showing, is willing to betray the confidence reposed in him, can claim to force his confidence and impose secrecy upon a priest of the Church which he is endeavouring to subvert, and whose chief pastors he calumniates.

"I, therefore, so far from acknowledging any such obligations to secrecy in this matter, have thought it my duty to send a copy of your letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and I shall feel myself at liberty not only to make the matter known to any one whom it may concern, but also to publish the correspondence if I think fit.

"As to the matter of the communication, I must simply say that I give very little credence to it. And as to the inference you would draw from it, though I am unwilling to enter into controversy with you, I will say this much, that, even supposing the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops alluded to did openly or secretly entertain principles inconsistent with the formularies of the Church of which they are chief guardians, I should not lose all faith or confidence in the Church of England; or even if I should be driven to such an extremity, *the absence of straightforwardness, the lamentable deterioration of religious character which I have too often witnessed in recent converts to Rome, would lead me to look out for some other system which should offer the attractions of honesty and love of truth.*

"Whether what you say of the Bishop of Durham 'and some of his brethren,' be true or not, I shall not stop now to enquire; nor have I any intention of discussing with you the propriety of their conduct, even if the statement should be vouched upon better testimony than mere hearsay, or your

* With reference to the letter to the Bishop of London above alluded to, as written by Mr. Rees, it is stated that in a subsequent letter he said that it was St. Margaret's, *Leicester*, to which his statements applied. If he meant *Leicester*, it is singular that he should have said *Westminster*, and have written to the Bishop of London on the subject, speaking as if the occurrence had taken place in his Lordship's diocese. It is also worthy of note that this letter was written in a feigned hand; at least such appears to have been the case, as Mrs. Gawthorn, when the letter was shown to her, denied any knowledge of the handwriting of her husband's communication.

professed knowledge; but I will suggest to you that instead of seeking to vilify the Bishops of England, your time might be more profitably occupied in studying the history of the Church of Rome. Do this, Sir, and when you have made yourself acquainted with the *flagrant delinquencies of Popes and Prelates of your own communion*, which you will find it difficult to deny or palliate, remember what is said in Holy Scripture about the mote in thy brother's eye.

"But one word more—I cannot 'excuse your hasty letter.' If ever hastiness should be avoided, it should be in writing such a letter upon such subjects. It is not the first time that the zeal of recent conversion has led you into writing a most indiscreet and hasty letter, little creditable to your judgment, and somewhat damaging to the cause which you espouse; it is for you to consider whether it had not better be the last.

"I remain, your's faithfully,

"CYRIL W. PAGE."

As a sequel to the above development of iniquity, I will adduce a passage from the account of the conversion of the Rev. G. Spencer (the present "Father Ignatius") to Romanism,* in which a person, acting as a sort of decoy-bird, is represented as behaving much in the same manner as Mr. Gawthorn.

"The first circumstance by which it pleased God in some degree to open my eyes, was a correspondence into which I entered with a person who *with-held his name, but who professed to be a young man of the Protestant Church*, who had been some time in a Catholic town abroad, where conversations he had had with some Catholics, and his observation of their worship and character had led him to doubt the truth of what he had been taught in his childhood about Popery and the Reformation. *He professed to be under great suspense and misery, and intreated me, as a well-informed Protestant, to satisfy him on a few questions which he proposed.* I entered with joy on this correspondence, which continued for six months. I expected easily to convince him that the Catholic Church was full of errors; but he answered my arguments, and I perceived that *he became more and more disposed to join it.* I discovered, by means of this correspondence, that I had never duly considered the principles of our Reformation; that my objections to the Catholic Church were prejudices adopted from the saying of others, not the result of my own observations. Instead of gaining the advantage in this controversy, I saw, and I owned to my correspondent, that a great change had been produced in myself. I no longer desired to persuade him to keep in the communion of the Protestant Church; but rather determined and promised to follow up the same enquiries with him, if he would make his name known to me, and only pause awhile before he joined the Catholics. But I heard no more of him

* Published under the superintendence of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain, Tract 11, pp. 7, 8,

till after my conversion and arrival at Rome, *when I discovered that my correspondent was a LADY, WHO HAD HERSELF BEEN CONVERTED A SHORT TIME BEFORE SHE WROTE TO ME.*"

Mr. Spencer has the honesty to add that he cannot say he "entirely approves of the stratagem to which she had recourse; but *her motive was good*, and God [?] gave success to her attempt." "God moved her" he says again "to desire and pray for my salvation, which also she undertook to bring about in the way I have related."

What Romanists in general may think of such conduct I am not aware: there are among them doubtless many upright and honourable men, *in spite of their system*; but far distant be the day when members of the English Church shall disgrace themselves and their religion by stooping to the wiles and crafty artifices which have been related. Far distant be the day when English Churchwomen shall feign themselves to belong to another faith, and under the guise of Romanists, *and of men*, endeavour by guile and stratagem to bring over converts to their religion. Far distant be the day when any member of our Church shall seek to spread the *truth* by speaking and by acting *lies*, and shall impute any conversions so made and success so achieved to the impulse and agency of Almighty God! Then indeed would her sun be set: then indeed would her glory be departed—the glory which results from worshipping God as a God of *truth*,—from seeking after the *truth*, and loving it, and embracing it openly, and with a pure and honest conscience,—from abhorring all hypocrisy and sophistry and deceit, which ought never to be employed except to maintain a bad cause; which never *can* be employed in a *good* one, except by unworthy advocates, who, in their indiscreet zeal, only bring disgrace and damage upon what they seek to recommend and to adorn.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Ann Askew, Page 7.

I find that Mr. Egan is not, as I had supposed, the author of the erroneous statement that this lady was "condemned to death by Cranmer." The circumstance is related by Dr. Milner, after Heylin ("Letters to a Prebendary," p. 206), and—as I have discovered to my surprise—by Collier, in his Church History, Vol. I. p. 291. It may perhaps be as well therefore to state the grounds on which I have asserted that she was "brought to the stake by means of *Gardiner* and *Bonner*," and not by *Cranmer*. For the part which *Gardiner* had in this business, the following narrative of Strype, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, I. 597, shall be my authority. "The persecution, by means of *Bishop Gardiner*, with whom sided the old Duke of Norfolk, *Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor, and *Sir Richard Rich*, and some more, in this and in the year 1546, being the last year of the King, grew exceeding hot; and that in the very Court itself. For there being many both men and women there that stood well affected to religion, it was thought expedient, for a terror to the rest, to begin with them. Of the women was no less than the Queen herself, *Katharine Par*, of whose great danger for her religion *Fox* hath made a relation: to whom I may add the Duchess of Suffolk, &c. ... and among the rest, *Mrs. Anne Ascue* or *Ascough*, sister to *Sir Francis Ascough*, and to *Mrs. Disney* of *Norton Disney* in *Lincolnshire*. Which *Anne Ascue* was taken up and put to death." So much for the share which *Gardiner*, according to Strype, had in her execution. He was moreover one of her examiners; for although I have spoken of *Bonner*, as "her insidious examiner," (and this he might well be called, not only from the principal part which he took in her examination, but also from his artful conduct in endeavouring to entice her into making a profession different from her real belief)—yet questions were also put to her by the Bishop of Winchester. Her examination by these two prelates and others is related at length by *Fox*, p. 1126, &c. in the folio Edn. of 1583, and her condemnation, p. 1128; but nowhere does the name of *Cranmer* occur, either in the setting on foot of the persecution, or in her examination, or in her condemnation. Whence then arose the story of his being the author of her condemnation? This we will now proceed to investigate.

The only shadow of evidence to prove that *Cranmer* had anything to do with the death of *Ann Askew* is found in the words of *Joan Bocher* or *Knell*, who was burnt in 1550, one of the members of the Council before whom she was tried being the Archbishop of Canterbury. "When she was condemned to die for her denial of *Christ's* taking flesh of the blessed Virgin, she said to the judges, 'It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It was not long ago since you burned *Anne Ascue* for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her. And now forsooth you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh,' &c. *Strype*, *Ecll. Mem.* I. 335. But this was not addressed

to *Cranmer*, it was "*to the Judges.*" Why should *he* be singled out from the other members of the Council? Evidently her charge was directed in general language to that Court, which had formerly condemned Anne Askew, and now had condemned herself, without implying (much less, *proving*) that the members who sat upon these two trials, were exactly the same individuals. Nay, it is a well known fact that all the members were not the same, and therefore this expression of Joan Bocher must be applied to the Court in general terms, as I have said, and proves nothing for the behaviour of any individual member, except it were corroborated by some other authority. But *such authority is altogether wanting. The name of Cranmer never occurs in the course of the trial of Anne Askew.* Therefore this indefinite expression proves nothing; and we have remaining as implicated in her death the names of *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, but *not* that of *Cranmer*, whom we can hardly imagine acting in concert with them (and without proof cannot believe it), in a matter of this kind, especially at such a time, when his opinions on the Eucharist were probably not far different from those of Anne Askew herself.

If Collier and Heylin should be adduced against me, I would say that the former brings no authority for his statement (which therefore proves nothing), and that though Heylin, as quoted by Milner, p. 207. says that Anne Askew addressed the expression in question to Cranmer, yet herein he contradicts Strype, a much higher authority than himself, who says that she spoke thus "*to the judges.*" But when a man makes a statement in contradiction to a good authority, that statement must needs be erroneous. And such is the character of that made by Heylin, by which Collier and Milner seem to have been misled.

Contradictory statements respecting Christ's Presence in the Eucharist,
Page 19.

It was observed in this place that there was a contradiction between the Catechism and the council of Trent respecting the nature of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament, the latter asserting that our Saviour ever sits at the right hand of the Father in heaven, *according to the natural mode of existence*, and yet is nevertheless *sacramentally* present to us in many other places in His own substance, Sess. xiii. chap. 1.—whereas the Trent Catechism teaches that He is present *upon earth* with the *real qualities of a human body, as bones and nerves*: which is very different from being *sacramentally* present, as the Council teaches in the place referred to. But we need not go to the Catechism to find a contradiction; it is to be found in the Council itself. We have just seen how it teaches that Christ is present in His natural body in heaven, but *sacramentally* present—i. e. *not* in His natural body—upon earth. Yet in Session xiii. chap. 3, it is stated that after consecration, "the true body and blood of Christ are present under the form of bread and wine, *together with His Soul and divinity*, and that this takes place by the power of that natural connexion and concomitancy, by which the parts of Christ our Lord, who is now raised from the dead to die no more, are united among themselves; the Divinity moreover, on account of that admirable hypostatical union of it with the body and the soul." This teaches that the body of Christ is not sacramentally but really present

according to its material substance in the Eucharist; and this, just as plainly, as if the words "bones and nerves" had been used. The Council therefore contradicts itself.

For the assertion that the words "bones and nerves" are omitted in the English translation of the Trent Catechism, I am indebted to Cramp's Text-book of Popery, 1839, p. 152.

Death of St. Augustine, &c. in Schism, Page 49.

There seems reason to suppose that the documents referred to are forged, but, however that may be, an instance of the like behaviour of Rome may be mentioned in the circumstance related by Bower, that Gelasius at a Council held at Rome in 495 "gave a remarkable instance of his mortal aversion to the Greeks; for before he would grant the wished for pardon to the penitent bishop [Misenus], he required him solemnly to protest and declare in the presence of the Council, that he condemned, anathematized, and for ever execrated, Dioscurus, Ælurus, Petrus Mongus, Petrus Fullo, Acacius, all their successors, accomplices, abettors, and all who communicated with them. This was cursing at once the better half of the Church, the Emperor himself, and what is more, many persons at this very time very eminent in the East for their sanctity, viz. St. Sabas, St. Theodosius, St. Elias, Bishop of Jerusalem, St. Daniel Stylites, the Thaumaturgus of his age, &c. These all flourished at this very time, had all communicated with Acacius, lived in the communion with his successors, died out of the communion, nay, under the curse of Rome, and yet (strange inconsistency of that Church!) they are now honoured by her as Saints of the first rate, and invoked by the successors of those by whom they were cursed." Lives of the Popes, Vol. II. p. 224.

On the title "Mother of God" applied to the Virgin Mary. Page 58.

The fearful blasphemy of which Romanists have been guilty in setting up the Blessed Virgin above her Son by virtue of her right of Mother to Him, the very objectionable language frequently used by old Romish writers when speaking of her, such as "God and His МОТНЕР,"—in a word, the Divine honour paid by Romanists (which there is no use in denying) to the Virgin Mary, have caused great numbers not only of Protestants in general, but also of the Church of England, to have a great dislike to the title "Mother of God," and to call it Popish, &c. I have myself remarked (p. 127) that I think it is to be regretted that the doctrine defined at Ephesus in 431 was not expressed in some other form,—that being the term used by a General Council we cannot but receive it "in the sense in which it was given by the Council,"—but that I fancy they would have adopted some other expression, could they have foreseen how it would have been abused. Since writing this, I have met with an ingenious letter on the subject in the British Magazine (Vol. xiv. p. 678), in which the writer endeavours to show that the Greek word used by the Council of Ephesus is incorrectly rendered by the Latin "Mater Dei," and the English "Mother of God." As this

is a subject of some interest, especially now that the Deification of the Virgin Mary is becoming so general among Romanists, I will here subjoin the writer's views on the subject. The word used by the Council of Ephesus to express the truth that the Virgin gave birth to Christ who was truly God, was *Θεοτόκος*. If "Mother of God" truly represents this word, then the rejection of this expression must be heresy. But it seems to imply more than the Greek word. "It seems to imply not simply *parturition*, but *generation or derivation of substance*," contrary to the doctrine defined in the Athanasian Creed.

"*Θεοτόκος*, it is true, may be strained to the same meaning. Schleusner supplies examples in which *τίκτειν* is used in the sense of *gigno* and of *concupio*; but such is not its usual, nor its proper, much less its necessary, meaning; and there is reason to believe that it was not that which the Ephesine fathers attached to it, in whose time a distinction between *Θεοτόκος* and *Θεοῦ μήτηρ* was observed, which can scarcely be other than that which has presented itself to me." He proceeds to quote Bishop Pearson as stating that "although *Θεοτόκος* may be *extended* [mark the word] to signify as much as the *Mother of God*, because *τίκτειν* doth sometimes denote as much as *γεννᾶν*, and therefore it hath been translated *Dei genetrix* as well as *Deipara*; yet those ancient Greeks who call the Virgin *Θεοτόκος* did not call her *μητέρα τοῦ Θεοῦ*. But the Latins translating *Θεοτόκος Dei genetrix*, and the Greeks translating *Dei genetrix*, *Θεοῦ μήτηρ*, they both at last plainly called her *Mother of God*. The first which the Greeks observed to style her so was Leo the Great, as was observed by Ephraim, Patriarch of Theopolis.—On the Creed, Art. III, *Born of the Virgin Mary*, note."

Hence we see that the word applied by the Council of Ephesus to the Virgin to express the doctrine that she gave birth to Our Lord, is not accurately translated by the expression "Mother of God," which taken in its strict meaning, rather implies a parental character in a higher sense than the Council intended, and, as has been shown (pp. 127 and 300), has been used by Rome to prove that the Virgin is greater than her Son. Although therefore, the expression may be used without offence, when taken in a large signification; yet, it is as well to know that it is not a strict translation of the term used by the Council of Ephesus, but the language of a later age, and therefore that the adoption of it is not binding upon us and may lead to corruption of doctrine and confirmation in most grievous error, nay in blasphemy itself, as we have seen in the case of Rome.

The forged Decretals, Page 68.

In my first pamphlet, p. 4. I mentioned that these spurious documents were forged in the *Eighth* century. In the present one I have quoted from a publication in which it is stated that they were produced in the *Ninth* century. Now as this may be charged upon me as an inconsistency, I subjoin the following passage from Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, which I trust will relieve me from this charge:—"They" [the decretal epistles] "were produced by the ingenuity of an obscure man, who falsely assumed the name of Isidore, a Spanish bishop. Some vestiges of these fabricated

epistles appeared in the preceding" [the 8th] "century; but they were first published, and appealed to in support of the claims of the Roman Pontiffs, in this" [i. e. the 9th] "century." Vol. II. p. 200. And the translator subjoins the following remark, "Fleury says of them, that 'they crept to light near the close of the 8th century.'"

Therefore, although in the publication quoted by me they are spoken of as the work of the 9th century, yet I have shown that there is foundation for my own statement; besides, in quoting a lengthened passage from an author, one is not always bound to adopt every expression or statement which he makes for one's own: I mean, it scarcely seems necessary to make a remark in case of a variation of date, as in the instance before us; I have said thus much, however, to anticipate criticism.

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Late introduction of the "Angelical salutation." Page 82.

It has been already shown that the latter part of the "Ave Maria," or "Hail, Mary"—viz. "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now and at the hour of our death. Amen,"—although stated by Mr. Egan to be the "Prayer of the Council of Ephesus," in the fifth century, had no place in any form of prayer till the sixteenth. I have however lately discovered from Mabillon that even the earlier or scriptural part of it was not in common use till the eleventh century. The account of this learned French Catholic seems sufficiently interesting to be inserted here. "In vulgari apud Fideles usu non videtur fuisse ante sæculum 11. In omnibus enim statutis, quæ cuique quid sciendum aut discendum sit explicant, sola *Oratio Dominica et Symbolum Apostolorum* proponuntur. *Eligius* in homiliis ad populum ab Audoenis relatis: '*Symbolum et Orationem Dominicam cum Fide et devotione dicite.*' Ita fere apud *Bedam* in Epistola ad *Egbertum* a *Waræo* edita, in libello *Pirminii Abbatis*, apud *Ahitonem* seu *Attonem* Basileensem, *Theodulfum* atque *Walterum* in suis capitularibus Aurelianenses sæculo 9 et 10 *Episcopos*; ita in sermone *Leonis* Papæ IV. '*Attendite ut parochianis vestris Symbolum Apostolorum, et Orationem Dominicam insinuetis:*' quæ verba repetit etiam *Ratherius* Veronensis *Episcopus* in sua *Synodica*. Denique non alio modo loquuntur *Concilia Cloveshoviense* in *Anglia* can. 10. et *Germanica, Francofordiense, Moguntinum* anni 813, et alia." And having thus produced authorities from England, France, Germany, and Rome itself, to prove that the use of the Angelical Salutation did not then prevail, he proceeds to answer the objection which might be raised, viz. that since the "Hail, Mary" is now subjoined to the Lord's Prayer, perhaps that Prayer was taken in a wide sense so as to include the "Hail, Mary," by saying that there is preserved in the library at Rheims a book of prayers belonging to Queen Emma, wife of Lotharius King of the Franks, in which the Lord's Prayer and Creed are given entire without this Salutation: as both are extant translated into German, in a MS. Psalter of *Nothar Balbulus*. And after showing from Bede that the Lord's Prayer and Creed only were repeated in English by the unlearned priests, he concludes with observing that this Salutation is not prescribed to lay and unlearned brothers in the statutes of *Guigo*, nor in the rules of the *Templars*, or *Carmelites*, or *Minorites*, or in the Testament of *St. Francis*,—nor, lastly, in the rites of the *Humiliati*, on the testimony of *John of Vitriacum*. See *Mabill. Præf. in Sæc. quint. Act. SS. Ord. Bened. VIII.* § vi. 119.

Address to the Holy Winding Sheet, Page 113.

In the quotations given from Picart's work, I have translated the French as it occurred in the text: as this is however not a strictly literal version of the Latin, which is given at the foot of the page, it may be more satisfactory to quote that also, which therefore I here subjoin, as adduced in the work referred to:—"O felix figura deduc nos ad videndam faciem quæ est Christi pura." The extract from the prayer to the Holy Winding Sheet of Bezançon, given by Chifflet in his treatise "*De linteis sepulchralibus Christi*," is as follows:—"O divina similitudo ejus quæ mutari non potest patris similitudinis. ... tecum loquor, tanquam cum re animata. ... conserva eum qui piè nobis imperat, &c."

"The practical working of the Church in Spain," Page 130.

This work, from which, while the earlier part of my pamphlet was passing through the press, I could only make extracts at second hand, is now reprinted, and will amply repay perusal, as it contains a most interesting account of the present state of religion in Spain. The popular belief respecting the Virgin Mary is brought forward in several parts of the volume, and I should have been tempted to have made many extracts from it, had I not already said so much on the subject. I must however avail myself of some portions of it, as it so strongly confirms the statements made by me respecting the Deification of the Virgin Mary. "I cannot" says Mr. Meyrick (p. 38) "get over the strong shock to my feelings that the honours to the blessed Virgin give me. I am sure the appearance of the Churches would make any unprejudiced person think they were meant for her honour." And he subjoins the following remarks in a note:—"It is a pregnant fact, that, in the district of Tinnevely, while the converts of the English Church are called *Christians*, those of the Roman Missionaries are termed *Mother-worshippers*. They of Antioch did not give themselves the name of Christians, they called each other Brethren and Saints, but the title was attached to them from without, because Christ was the object of their worship. So they of Tinnevely do not call themselves Mother-worshippers, but whereas the great object of their worship is the Mother of our Lord, the name has similarly been imposed upon them." Towards the end of the volume is an interesting document, viz. a translation of a "Novena of most holy Mary, under the title of the *Divine Shepherdess of souls*," authorized in 1851. This consists of prayers and meditations for nine days, every day having some "*Office of the Divine Shepherdess*," set forth for consideration. We here see the Offices of Christ usurped by the Virgin. Thus the first Office is "*Knowing her sheep*." The second is "*Leading her sheep to good pastures*." On the third day we have her as "*Driving away the wolves with her voice and crook*." The meditation on this office clearly exhibits the teaching of Rome, that it was the Virgin herself, (and not, as is represented, through Christ as being His Mother), who crushed the head of the serpent. After calling on the Christian to consider how the devil attacks him by various temptations, it proceeds,— "he would devour all, if our most kind *Shepherdess Mary* did not drive him away by her power, and did not warn us by her voice, to flee from his terrible assaults. This most mighty *Shepherdess*, from that happy instant

in which SHE *broke the head of the serpent in the abyss, of the wolf of hell, has never ceased to display her power for the benefit of souls,* &c. The fourth office of the Divine Shepherdess is "*Encouraging the feeble sheep:*" The fifth is "*Healing the sick sheep:*" The sixth, "*Seeking for the lost sheep.*" The Office for consideration on the seventh day is "*Bringing back the lost sheep to the fold:*" On the eighth, "*Assisting the sheep at their death:*" And the "ninth Office of the Divine Shepherdess," which is for meditation on the last day of the Novena, is "*Being an example to her sheep.*" Of the amount of blasphemy contained in this Novena, no idea can be formed but by a perusal. It will be evident however how she usurps the place of the Divine Persons of the Trinity, especially of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. "In theory," says Mr. Meyrick, "they seem to put her more in the place of the Third Person; in practice, in that of the Second." p. 219.

I will conclude my notice of the Novena with subjoining the three last of the "Mysteries of Glory" of the Divine Shepherdess, which are appended to this Office.

"The fifth is when the Father crowned Mary.

"The supreme majesty of the Father Who is the fount of eternal life puts the diadem on thy head, and adopts thee for His Daughter eternally: great happiness! but Thou, Lady, adornest it with the dress of a Shepherdess.

r. *Since thou art my Shepherdess, &c.*

"The Sixth is when the Son crowned Mary.

"The Son, who had been a Lamb IN THY GREAT FLOCK, glad and pleased presents thee with the crown that HE OWED THEE: the torrents of blood that He shed are rubies set in it.

r. *Since thou art my Shepherdess, &c.*

"The Seventh is when the Holy Ghost crowned Mary.

"The Holy Ghost enamoured shows [or boasts] Himself a faithful lover; burning with the flames of love he crowns thee as His bride: it is assuredly a garland DUE TO THEE, for thou wert the most brilliant Shepherdess.

r. *Since thou art my Shepherdess, I am thy sheep. Ave Maria."*

See pp. 376—404.

After reading this, no one can be surprised at hearing of a Spanish sermon ending with the words "Glory be to the Father, Glory be to the Son, Glory be to the Holy Ghost, Glory be to the most Sacred Virgin." p. 48. The blessed Virgin may well be called by Romanists "complementum Trinitatis;" for the Trinity would be incomplete without her. Ought not indeed the word Trinity to be discarded from Romish works of devotions, as the doctrine bids fair to be? Can there not some word be found to speak of the Four Divine Persons, instead of the Three?

Pope Pius V. and the Crucifix of Naples. Page 135.

What particular office this Pope held under the above Crucifix, which led to his being called "son Lieutenant," I cannot discover. Conversing with images, however, seems to have been a favourite occupation with him. In addition to this Crucifix, of which he seems to have been the guardian, we find mention of a figure of the Virgin, which used to favour him with the sound of its voice.

"The following article, says a London Newspaper,* "appeared in a recent number of the *Giornale di Roma* :—

"An ancient image of the Holy Virgin is venerated, under the title of *Salute degli infermi*, in the church of *Sancta Maria Maddalena*. According to various authors, it is that which belonged to the immortal Pontiff St. Pius V., and which, on several occasions, spoke to him (as we are assured by Caracci, in the second book of his *History of the Images of the Virgin at Rome*), and notably to announce to him the Victory of Lepanto. Given up to public worship by a noble Roman lady, miraculously influenced to take such a resolution, this image became an object of devotion to all Christians having either spiritual or corporeal necessities, and who never turned from it without having their prayers heard. This devotion had grown cold with time, and ended by falling into neglect. For some years past, however, the religious society who possess this image, as well as several persons animated with an holy zeal, have revived the devotion felt for it, and succeeded in making it resourish in a marvellous manner. The number of the faithful who flock to offer their prayers to the Mother of Salvation is incalculable, as are innumerable the extraordinary graces obtained by her intercession. Even during the last few days many of these have taken place; numerous offerings made upon her altar are a testimony of the fact."

On this the *Univers* remarks,—“Why should we fear to reproduce these recitals and to pay thus, as well as we can, our tribute of homage to the Madonna whom St. Pius V. venerated, and who revealed to him the secrets of God?”

“*Antichrist of Rome.*” Page 163.

No opinion is intended to be here expressed with reference to the question whether Rome is the “Antichrist of the Revelations.” I called Rome Antichrist as an opposer of Christ (which in many things she is), in the sense in which the word is used by St. John (1 Ep. II. 18), “As ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now there are many Antichrists.”

Treatment of Bertram, or Rattramn, by the Church of Rome. Page 225.

In addition to what has been already said upon this subject, let me quote the words of the learned Dr. Whittaker in his Letters to Dr. Wiseman :—“This work of Rattramnus, or Bertramus, I find prohibited entirely in the Spanish index to which I have above referred, in the second class of objectionable books; the entry being thus: BERTRAMUS, ejus liber, qui inscribitur: *De corpore et sanguine Christi*, prohib.’ (p. 106). Not so however in the Belgic index. The censure of Rattramnus's book there is ushered in by a judgment of the University of Doway, in which there is some admirable special pleading. The censors, after observing that the author had been ‘a Catholic priest and a monk of Corby,’ remark, that ‘in such old Catholic authors we may endure and extenuate and excuse a great

* The Guardian, October 6, 1852.

many errors, and often contradict them by contriving a comment so as to form a convenient sense for them." Their words are "*plurimos feramus errores, et extenuemus, excusemus, excogitato commento persæpe negemus, et commodum eis sensum affingamus, dum opponuntur in disputationibus, aut in confictionibus cum adversariis:*" and they proceed to say, they do not see why Bertram does not deserve the same treatment. Dr. Whittaker then proceeds to give the passages which are expunged by the compilers of the *Belgic Index expurgatorius*, for which I beg to refer to that author's volume, pp. 219—229; only adding that it gives us a singular insight into the workings of the Church of Rome, when one of her old writers is first of all condemned as a German heretic (see p. 225), and afterwards acknowledged (as by Mabillon) as a sound Catholic, while by others he is regarded as half-Catholic, half-heretic, and requiring many passages to be expunged before being thought worthy of being regarded as a faithful son of the Church. O the unanimity of Rome!

Alcuin on the Eucharist, Page 238.

I have not an opportunity of referring to the works of this writer, but, as I gather from a friend, my reference would be more correctly given as follows,—“Alcuin. Comment. in S. Joan, Evan. lib. III. c. 15, p. 490 col. 2.”

Prayers for the dead. Page 241.

The Prayer of St. Gregory which I have quoted, although (as was observed) preserved in the Roman Missal, is somewhat altered in character, by altering its general application to particular persons, thus—“*Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuorum N. et N. qui nos præcesserunt,*” &c. The doctrine of Purgatory is more plainly expressed in the following prayer, which I give (on the authority of a friend) from the “*Missæ pro defunctis,*” in the *Commune Sanctorum*, Edit. 1840, p. lxxxii. “*Præsta, quæsumus, Domine, ut animæ famulorum famularumque tuorum quorum anniversarium depositionis diem commemoramus, his purgata sacrificiis, indulgentiam pariter et requiem capiant sempiternam. Per Dominum.*”

THE END.

