A N

EXPOSITION

OF THE

Thirty-nine Articles

OF THE

CHURCH of *ENGLAND.*

Written by

GILBERT Biſhop of *SARUM.*

The Second Edition Corrected.

LONDON:

Printed by *R. Roberts*, for Ri. Chiswell, at the *Roſe and Crown* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. MDCC.

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EXPOSITION

TO THE KING.

SIR,

THE *Title of* Defender of the Faith, *the Nobleſt of all thoſe which belong to this Imperial* Crown, *that has received a New Luſtre by Your* MAJESTY's *carrying it, is that which You have ſo Glorioufly acquired, that if Your* MAJESTY *had not found it among them, what You have done muſt have ſe-*

cured it to Your Self by the Beſt of all Claims. We ſhould be as much aſhamed not to give it to Your MAJESTY, *as we were to give it to Thoſe who had been fatally led into the Deſign of Overturning That, which has been beyond all the Examples in Hiſtory preſerved and hitherto maintained by Your* MAJESTY.

The Reformation had its greateſt Support and Strength from the Crown *of* England; *while Two of Your* Renowned Anceſtors *were the Chief* Defenders *of it in Foreign Parts. The Blood of* England *mixing ſo happily with Theirs, in Your* Royal Perſon, *ſeemed to give the World a ſure Prognoſtick of what might be look'd for from ſo Great a Conjunction. Your* MAJESTY *has outdone all Expectations; and has brought Matters to a State far beyond all our Hopes.*

But amidſt the Lawrels that adorn You, and thoſe Applauſes that do every where follow You, Suffer me, GREAT SIR, *in all Humility to tell You, That Your Work is not yet done, nor Your Glory compleat, till You have employed that Power which God has put in Your hands, and before which nothing has been able hitherto to ſtand, in the ſupporting and ſecuring This Church, in the bearing down Infidelity and Impiety, in the healing the Wounds and Breaches that are made among thoſe who do in common profeſs this* Faith, *but are unhappily disjointed and divided by ſome Differences that are of leſs Importance: And above all things, in the raiſing the Power*

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and Efficacy of this Religion, *by a ſuitable* Reformation *of our Lives and Manners.*

How much ſoever mens Hearts are out of the Reach of Human Authority, yet their Lives and all outward Appearances are governed by the Example and Influences of their Sovereigns.

The effectual purſuing of theſe Deſigns, as it is the greateſt of all thoſe Glories of which Mortals are capable, ſo it ſeems to be the only thing that is now wanting, to finiſh the Brighteſt and Perfecteſt Character that will be in Hiſtory.

It was in order to the Promoting theſe Ends, that I undertook This Work; which I do now moſt humbly lay before Your MAJESTY, *with the Profoundeſt Reſpect and Submiſſion.*

May God Preſerve Your MAJESTY, *till You have glorioufly finiſhed what You have ſo wonderfully carried on. All that You have hitherto ſet about, how ſmall ſoever the Beginnings and Hopes were, has ſucceeded in Your Hands, to the Amazement of the whole World: The moſt deſperate Face of Affairs has been able to give You no Stop.*

Your MAJESTY *ſeems Born under an Aſcendant of Providence; and therefore how low ſoever all our Hopes are, either of raiſing the Power of Religion, or of Uni-*

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ting thoſe who profeſs it, yet we have often been taught to deſpair of nothing that is once undertaken by Your MAJESTY.

This will ſecure to You the Bleſſing of the preſent and of all ſucceeding Ages, and a full Reward in that Glorious and Immortal State that is before You: To which, That Your MAJESTY *may have a Sure, though a Late Admittance, is the Daily and moſt Earneſt Prayer of,*

May it pleaſe Your MAJESTY,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal,

moſt Obedient, and moſt

Devoted Subject and Servant,

GI. SARUM, *C. G.*

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THE PREFACE.

IT has been often reckoned among the things that were wanting, That we had not a full and clear Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles, which are the Sum of our Doctrine, and the Confeſſion of our Faith. The Modeſty of ſome, and the Caution of others, may have obliged them to let alone an Undertaking that might ſeem too aſſuming for any man to venture on, without a Command from thoſe who had Authority to give it. It has been likewiſe often ſuggeſted, That thoſe Articles ſeemed to be ſo plain a Tranſcript of S. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine, in thoſe much diſputed Points, concerning the *Decrees* of *God*, and the *Efficacy* of *Grace*, that they were not expounded by our Divines for that very reaſon; ſince the far greater Number of them is believed to be now of a different Opinion.

I ſhould have kept within the ſame bounds, if I had not been firſt moved to undertake this Work, by that *Great Prelate* who then ſate at the Helm: And after that, determined in it by a Command that was Sacred to Me by Reſpect, as well as by Duty. Our Late Primate lived long enough to ſee the Deſign finiſhed. He read it over with an Exactneſs that was peculiar to him. He imployed ſome Weeks wholly in peruſing it, and he corrected it with a Care that deſcended even to the ſmalleſt matters; and was ſuch as he thought became the Importance of this Work. And when that was done, he returned it to me with a Letter, and that as it was the laſt I ever had from him, ſo gave the Whole ſuch a Character, that how much ſoever that might raiſe its Value with true Judges, yet in Decency it muſt be ſuppreſſed by me, as being far beyond what any Performance of mine could deſerve. He gave ſo favourable an account of it to our Late BLESSED QUEEN, that She was pleaſed to tell me, She would find leiſure to read it: And the laſt time that I was admitted to the honour of waiting on Her, She commanded me to bring it to Her. But *She* was ſoon after that, carried to the Source, to the *Fountain of Life*, in whoſe *Light* ſhe now ſees both *Light* and

Truth. So great a Breach as was then made upon all our hopes, put a ſtop upon this, as well as upon much greater Deſigns.

This Work has lien by me ever ſince: But has been often not only reviewed by my ſelf, but by much better Judges. The late moſt Learned Biſhop of *Worceſter* read it very carefully. He marked every thing in it that he thought needed a review; and his Cenſure was in all points ſubmitted to. He expreſſed himſelf ſo well pleaſed with it, to my ſelf, and to ſome others, that I do not think it becomes me to repeat what he ſaid of it. Both the Moſt Reverend Archbiſhops, with ſeveral of the Biſhops, and a great many Learned Divines have alſo read it. I muſt indeed on many accounts own, That they may be inclined to favour me too much, and to be too partial to me; yet they looked upon this Work as a thing of that Importance, that I have reaſon to believe they read it over ſeverely: And if ſome ſmall Corrections may be taken for an Indication that they ſaw no occaſion for greater ones, I had this likewiſe from ſeveral of them.

Yet after all theſe Approbations, and many repeated Deſires to me to publiſh it, I do not pretend to impoſe this upon the Reader as the Work of Authority. For even our *Moſt Reverend Metropolitans* read it only as private Divines, without ſo ſevere a canvaſſing of all Particulars as muſt have been expected, if this had been intended to paſs for an Authoriſed Work under a Publick Stamp. Therefore my deſign in giving this Relation of the Motives that led me firſt to Compoſe, and now to Publiſh this, is only to juſtify my ſelf, both in the one and in the other, and to ſhew that I was not led by any Preſumption of my own, or with any deſign to dictate to others.

In the next place, I will give an account of the method in which I executed this Deſign. When I was a Profeſſor of Divinity Thirty Years ago, I was then obliged to run over a great many of the Syſtems and Bodies of Divinity that were writ by the Chief men of the ſeveral Diviſions of *Chriſtendom*. I found many things among them that I could not like: The ſtiffneſs of Method, the many dark Terms, the Niceties of Logick, the Artificial Definitions, the heavineſs as well as the ſharpneſs of Stile, and the diffuſive length of them, diſguſted me: I thought the whole might well be brought into leſs compaſs, and be made ſhorter and more clear, leſs laboured, and more ſimple. I thought many Controverſies might be cut off, ſome being only diſputes about Words, and founded on Miſtakes; and others being about matters of little conſequence, in which Errors are leſs criminal, and

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ſo they may be more eaſily born with. This ſet me then on compoſing a great Work in Divinity: But I ſtayed not long enough in that Station to go through above the half of it. I enter'd upon the ſame Deſign again, but in another method, during my ſtay at *London*, in the privacy that I then enjoyed, after I had finiſhed the Hiſtory of our Reformation. Theſe were advantages which made this Performance much the eaſier to me: And perhaps the Late Archbiſhop might from what he knew of the Progreſs I had made in them, judge me the more proper for this Undertaking. For after I have ſaid ſo much to juſtify my own engaging in ſuch a Work, I think I ought to ſay all I can to juſtify, or at leaſt to excuſe, his making choice of me for it.

When I had reſolved to try what I could do in this method, of following the Thread of our Articles, I conſidered that as I was to explain the Articles of this Church, ſo I ought to examine the Writings of the chief Divines that lived, either at the time in which they were prepared, or ſoon after it. When I was about the Hiſtory of our Reformation, I had laid out for all the Books that had been writ within the time comprehended in that Period: And I was confirmed in my having ſucceeded well in that Collection by a Printed Catalogue that was put out by one *Manſel* in the end of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, of all the Books that had been Printed from the time that Printing-Preſſes were firſt ſet up in *England* to that Year. This I had from the preſent Lord Archbiſhop of *York*; and I ſaw by it, that very few Books had eſcaped my ſearch. Thoſe that I had not fallen on, were not writ by men of Name, nor upon Important Subjects. I reſolved in order to this Work, to bring my Enquiry further down.

The firſt, and indeed the much beſt Writer of Q. *Elizabeth*'s time, was Biſhop *Juel*; the laſting honour of the See in which the Providence of God has put me, as well as of the Age in which he lived; who had ſo great ſhare in all that was done then, particularly in compiling the Second Book of *Homilies*, that I had great reaſon to look on his Works as a very ſure Commentary on our Articles, as far as they led me. From him I carried down my ſearch through *Reynolds*, *Humphreys*, *Whitaker*, and the other great men of that time.

Our Divines were much diverted in the end of that Reign from better Enquiries, by the *Diſciplinarian Controverſies*; and though what *Whitgift* and *Hooker* writ on thoſe Heads, was much better than all that came after them; yet they neither ſatisfied thoſe againſt whom they writ, nor ſtopt the Writings of their own ſide. But as Waters guſh in, when the Banks are once broken, ſo the

breach that these had made, proved fruitful. Parties were formed, Secular Interests were grafted upon them, and new Quarrels followed those that first begun the Dispute. The Contests in *Holland* concerning *Predestination*, drew on another Scene of Contention among us as well as them, which was managed with great heat. Here was matter for angry men to fight it out, till they themselves and the whole Nation grew weary of it. The Question about the Morality of the Fourth Commandment, was an unhappy Incident that raised a new strife. The Controversies with the Church of *Rome* were for a long while much laid down. The Archbishop of *Spalata*'s Works had appeared with great Pomp in King *James*'s Time, and they drew the Observation of the Learned World much after them, though his unhappy Relapse, and fatal Catastrophe made them to be less read afterwards, than they well deserved to have been.

When the Progress of the House of *Austria* began to give their Neighbours great Apprehensions, so that the Protestant Religion seemed to come under a very thick Cloud, and upon that Jealousies began to rise at home in King *Charles*'s Reign, this gave occasion to two of the best Books that we yet have. The one set out by Archbishop *Laud*, writ with great Learning, Judgment, and Exactness: The other by *Chillingworth*, writ with so clear a Thread of Reason, and in so lively a Stile, that it was justly reckoned the best Book that had been writ in our Language. It was about the nicest Point in Popery, that by which they had made the most Proselytes, and that had once imposed on himself, Concerning the Infallibility of the Church, and the Motives of Credibility.

Soon after that, we fell into the Confusions of *Civil War*, in which our Divines suffered so much, that while they were put on their own defence against those that had broke the Peace of the Church and State, few Books were written, but on those Subjects that were then in Debate among our selves, Concerning the Government of the Church, and our Liturgy and Ceremonies. The Disputes about the Decrees of God were again managed with a new heat. There were also great Abstractions set on foot in those times, concerning *Justification by Faith*; and these were both so subtile, and did seem to have such a tendency not only to *Antinomianism*, but to a *Libertine* course of Life, that many Books were writ on those Subjects. That Noble Work of the *Poliglot* Bible, together with the Collection of the Criticks, set our Divines much on the study of the Scriptures, and the Oriental Tongues, in which Dr. *Pocock*, and Dr. *Lightfoot* were singularly eminent. In all Dr. *Hammond*'s Writings one sees great Learning, and a solid Judgment:

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A juſt Temper in managing Controverſies; and above all, a Spirit of True and Primitive Piety, with great Application to the right underſtanding of the Scriptures, and the directing of all to practice. Biſhop *Pearſon* on the *Creed* as far as it goes, is the perfecteſt Work we have. His Learning was profound and exact, his Method good, and his Stile clear; he was equally happy both in the force of his Arguments, and in the plainneſs of his Expreſſions.

Upon the Reſtoration of the Royal Family, and the Church, the firſt Scene of Writing was naturally laid in the late Times, and with Relation to Conformity. But we quickly ſaw that Popery was a reſtleſs thing, and was the ſtanding Enemy of our Church: So as ſoon as that ſhewed it ſelf, then our Divines returned to thoſe Controverſies, in which no man bare a greater ſhare, and ſucceeded in it with more honour, than Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, both in his Vindication of Archbiſhop *Laud*, and in the long-continued Diſpute concerning the *Idolatry* of the *Church of Rome*. When the dangers of Popery came nearer us, and became ſenſible to all perſons, then a great Number of our Divines engaged in thoſe Controverſies. They writ ſhort and plain, and yet brought together in a great variety of ſmall *Tracts*, the ſubſtance of all that was contained in the Large Volumes, writ both by our own Divines, and by Foreigners. There was in theſe a Solidity of Argument mixed with an agreeableneſs in the way of Writing, that both pleaſed and edified the Nation: And did very much confound, and at laſt ſilence the few and weak Writers that were of the *Romiſh* ſide. The inequality that was in this Conteſt was too viſible to be denied, and therefore they who ſet it firſt on foot, let it fall: For they had other methods to which they truſted more, than to that Unſucceſsful one of Writing. In thoſe Treatiſes, the Subſtance of all our former Books is ſo fully contained, and ſo well delivered, that in them the Doctrines of our Church, as to all Controverted Points, is both clearly and copiouſly ſet forth.

The peruſing of all this was a large Field: And yet I thought it became me to examine all with a due meaſure of exactneſs. I have taken what pains I could, to digeſt every thing in the cleareſt method, and in the ſhorteſt compaſs, into which I could poſſibly bring it. So that in what I have done, I am as to the far greateſt part, rather an Hiſtorian and a Collector of what others have writ, than an Author my ſelf. This I have performed faithfully, and I hope with ſome meaſure of Diligence and Exactneſs: Yet if in ſuch a variety, ſome important mat-

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ters are forgot, and if others are miſtaken; I am ſo far from reckoning it an injury to have thoſe diſcovered, that I will gladly receive any advices of that kind: I will conſider them carefully, and make the beſt uſe of them I can, for the undeceiving of others, as ſoon as I am convinced that I have miſled them.

If men ſeek for Truth in the Meekneſs of Chriſt, they will follow this Method in thoſe private and Brotherly Practices recommended to us by our Saviour. But for thoſe that are contentious, and do not obey the Truth, I ſhall very little regard any Oppoſition that may come from them. I had no other Deſign in this Work, but firſt to find out the Truth my ſelf, and then to help others to find it out. If I ſucceed to any degree in this Deſign, I will bleſs God for it: And if I fail in it, I will bear it with the Humility and Patience that becomes me: But as ſoon as I ſee a better Work of this kind, I ſhall be among the firſt of thoſe who ſhall recommend That, and diſparage This.

There is no part of this whole Work, in which I have labour'd with more Care, and have writ in a more uncommon Method, than concerning *Predeſtination*. For, as my ſmall Reading had carried me further in that Controverſy, than in any other whatſoever, both with relation to Ancients and Moderns, and to the moſt eſteemed Books in all the different Parties, ſo I weighed the Article with that Impartial Care that I thought became me; and have taken a Method which is, for ought I know, new, of ſtating the Arguments of all Sides with ſo much Fairneſs, that thoſe who knew my own Opinion in this Point, have owned to me, That they could not diſcover it by any thing that I had written. They were inclined to think that I was of another Mind than they took me to be, when they read my Arguings of that ſide. I have not in the Explanation of that Article told what my own Opinion was; yet here I think it may be fitting to own, That I follow the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church, from which St. *Auſtin* departed, and formed a new Syſtem. After this declaration, I may now appeal both to St. *Auſtin*'s Diſciples, and to the *Calviniſts*, whether I have not ſtated both their Opinions and Arguments not only with Truth and Candor, but with all poſſible Advantages.

One reaſon among others, that led me to follow the Method I have purſued in this Controverſy, is to offer at the beſt means I can for bringing men to a better underſtanding of one another, and to a mutual Forbearance in theſe matters. This is at preſent the

the chief Point in difference between the *Lutherans* and the *Calviniſts*. Expedients for bringing them to an Union in theſe Heads, are Projects that can never have any good Effect: Men whoſe Opinions are ſo different, can never be brought to an Agreement: And the ſettling on ſome Equivocal Formularies, will never lay the Contention that has ariſen concerning them: The only poſſible way of a ſound and laſting Reconcilation, is to poſſeſs both Parties with a Senſe of the Force of the Arguments that lye on the other ſide; that they may ſee they are no way contemptible; but are ſuch as may prevail on wiſe and good men: Here is a Foundation laid for Charity: And if to this, men would add a juſt Senſe of the Difficulties in their own Side, and conſider that the ill Conſequences drawn from Opinions, are not to be charged on all that hold them, unleſs they do likewiſe own thoſe Conſequences; then it would be more eaſy to agree on ſome General Propoſitions, by which thoſe ill Conſequences might be condemned, and the Doctrine in general ſettled; leaving it free to the men of the different Syſtems to adhere to their own Opinions; but withal obliging them to judge charitably and favourably of others, and to maintain Communion with them, notwithſtanding that Diverſity.

It is a good Step even to the bringing men over to an Opinion, To perſuade them to think well of thoſe who hold it. This goes as it were half way; and if it is not poſſible to bring men quite to think as we do, yet a great deal is done both towards that, and towards the healing thoſe Wounds in which the Church lies a bleeding, when they come to join in the ſame Communion, and in ſuch Acts of Worſhip as do agree with their different Perſuaſions. For as in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, both *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* agreeing in the ſame Devotions and Acts of Worſhip, a mere Point of Speculation concerning the manner in which Chriſt is preſent, ought not to divide thoſe who agree in every thing elſe that relates to the Sacrament; every one may in that be left to the Freedom of his own Thoughts, ſince neither Opinion has any Influence on Practice, or on any part either of Publick Worſhip, or of Secret Devotion.

Upon the ſame account it may be alſo ſuggeſted, That when all Parties acknowledge that God is the Sovereign Lord of the Univerſe; That he governs it by a Providence from which nothing is hid, and to which nothing can reſiſt; and that he is likewiſe Holy and Juſt, True and Faithful, Merciful and Gracious in all his ways; thoſe who agree about all this, ſhould not differ, though

though they cannot fall into the ſame Methods of reconciling theſe together. And if they do all agree to bleſs God for all the good that they either do, or receive, and to accuſe themſelves for all the ill that they either do or ſuffer: If they agree that they ought to be humble, and to miſtruſt their own ſtrength, to pray earneſtly to God for aſſiſtance, and to depend on him, to truſt to him, and likewiſe to employ their own Faculties with all poſſible care and diligence, in the cleanſing their Hearts, and governing their Words and Actions; here the great Truths of both Sides are ſafe; every thing that has an Influence on Practice is agreed on; though neither Side can meet in the ſame ways of joining all theſe together.

In the Church of *Rome* the difference is really the ſame between St. *Auſtin*'s Diſciples, and the Followers of *Molina*: And yet how much ſoever they may differ and diſpute in the Schools, their Worſhip being the ſame, they do all join in it. We of this Church are very happy in this reſpect; we have all along been much divided, and once almoſt broken to pieces, while we diſputed concerning theſe matters; but now we are much happier; for tho we know one anothers Opinions, we live not only united in the ſame Worſhip, but in great Friendſhip and Love with thoſe of other Perſuaſions. And the Boldneſs of ſome among us, who have reflected in Sermons, or otherwiſe, on thoſe who hold *Calvin*'s Syſtem, has been much blamed, and often cenſured by thoſe, who though they hold the ſame Opinions with them, yet are both more charitable in their Thoughts, and more diſcreet in their Expreſſions.

But till the *Lutherans* abate of their Rigidity in cenſuring the Opinions of the *Calviniſts*, as charging God with all thoſe blaſphemous Conſequences that they think follow the Doctrine of Abſolute Decrees; and till the *Calviniſts* in *Holland*, *Switzerland*, and *Geneva*, abate alſo of theirs, in charging the others as Enemies to the Grace of God, and as guilty of thoſe Conſequences that they think follow the Doctrine of Conditionate Decrees, it is not poſſible to ſee that much-wiſh'd-for Agreement come to any good Effect.

He who believes that an ill Conſequence is juſtly drawn from any Opinion, is in the right, when he is by that determined againſt it. But becauſe he thinks he ſees that the Conſequence is clear, and cannot be avoided; he ought not for that to judge ſo ill of thoſe who hold the Opinion, but declare at the ſame time

time that they abhor the Conſequence; that they prevaricate in that declaration; and that they both ſee the Conſequence, and own it; though for decencies ſake they diſclaim it. He ought rather to think that either they do not ſee the Conſequence, but ſatisfy themſelves with ſome of thoſe diſtinctions with which it is avoided; or that though they do ſee it, yet they look on that only as an Objection which indeed they cannot well anſwer. They may think that a Point of Doctrine may be proved by ſuch convincing Arguments, that they may be bound to believe it, though there lye Objections againſt it which they cannot avoid, and Conſequences ſeem to follow on it which they abhor, and are ſure cannot be true, though they cannot clear the matter ſo well as they wiſh they could do. In that caſe, when a man is inclined by ſtrong Arguments to an Opinion, againſt which he ſees difficulties which he cannot reſolve, he ought either to ſuſpend his Aſſent, or if he ſees a Superitory of Argument of one ſide, he may be determined by that, though he cannot ſatisfy even himſelf in the Objections that are againſt it: In that caſe he ought to reflect on the Weakneſs and Defects of his Faculties, which cannot riſe up to full and comprehenſive Ideas of things, eſpecially in that which relates to the Attributes of God, and to his Counſels or Acts. If men can be brought once to apprehend this rightly, it may make Propoſitions for Peace and Union hopeful and practicable; and till they are brought to this, all ſuch Propoſitions may well be laid aſide; for mens minds are not yet prepared for that which can only reconcile this Difference, and heal this Breach.

I ſhall conclude this Preface with a Reply that a very Eminent Divine among the *Lutherans* in *Germany* made to me when I was preſſing this matter of Union with the *Calviniſts* upon him, with all the Topicks with which I could urge it, as neceſſary upon many accounts, and more particularly with relation to the preſent State of Affairs. He ſaid, He wonder'd much to ſee a Divine of the Church of *England* preſs that ſo much on him, when We, notwithſtanding the Dangers we were then in (it was in the Year 1686.) could not agree our Differences. They differed about Important Matters, concerning the Attributes of God, and his Providence; concerning the Guilt of Sin, whether it was to be charged on God, or on the Sinner; and whether men ought to make good uſe of their Faculties, or if they ought to truſt entirely to an Irreſiſtible Grace? Theſe were matters of great Moment: But, he ſaid, We in *England* differed only about Forms of

Government and Worſhip, and about things that were of their own nature indifferent; and yet we had been quarrelling about theſe for above an Hundred Years, and we were not yet grown wiſer by all the Miſchief that this had done us, and by the Imminent Danger we were then in. He concluded, Let the Church of *England* heal her own Breaches, and then all the reſt of the Reformed Churches will with great Reſpect admit of her Mediation to heal theirs. I will not preſume to tell how I anſwered this: But I pray God to enlighten and direct all men, that they may conſider well how it ought to be anſwered.

THE Articles of our Church were at the ſame time prepared both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*; ſo that both are equally Authentical: It is therefore proper to give them here in *Latin*, ſince the *Engliſh* of them is only inſerted in the following Work. This is the more neceſſary, becauſe many of the Collations ſet down at the End of the Introduction, relate to the *Latin* Text.

ARTICULI de quibus convenit inter Archiepiſcopos & Epiſcopos utriuſque Provinciæ, & Clerum Univerſum in Synodo, Londini, Anno 1562. *ſecundum computationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ad tollendam opinionum diſſentionem & conſenſum in vera Religione firmandum. Editi Authoritate ſereniſſimæ Reginæ.* Londini, apud Johannem Day, 1571.

De fide in ſacro ſanctam Trinitatem.

1. UNus eſt vivus, & verus Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, impaſſibilis, immenſæ potentiæ, ſapientiæ ac bonitatis, creator, & conſervator omnium, tum viſibilium, tum inviſibilium. Et in unitate hujus divinæ naturæ, tres ſunt perſonæ, ejuſdem eſſentiæ, potentiæ ac æternitatis, Pater, Filius, & Spiritus ſanctus.

De verbo, ſive Filio Dei, qui verus homo factus eſt.

2. FIlius, qui eſt verbum patris, ab æterno a patre genitus, verus & æternus Deus, ac patri conſubſtantialis, in utero beatæ virginis, ex illius ſubſtantia naturam humanam aſſumpſit: ita ut duæ naturæ, divina & humana, integre atque perfecte in unitate perſonæ fuerint inſeparabiliter conjunctæ, ex quibus eſt unus Chriſtus, verus Deus & verus homo, qui vere paſſus, crucifixus, mortuus, & ſepultus, ut patrem nobis reconciliaret, eſſetque hoſtia, non tantum pro culpa originis, verum etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis.

De Deſcenſu Chriſti ad Inferos.

3. QUemadmodum Chriſtus pro nobis mortuus eſt, & ſepultus, ita eſt etiam credendus ad Inferos deſcendiſſe.

De reſurrectione Chriſti.

4. CHriſtus vere a mortuis reſurrexit, ſuumque corpus cum carne, oſſibus, omnibuſque ad integritatem humanæ naturæ pertinentibus, recepit: cum quibus in cœlum aſcendit, ibique reſidet, quoad extremo die ad judicandos homines reverſurus ſit.

De

De Spiritu Sancto.

SPiritus ſanctus a patre & filio procedens ejuſdem eſt cum patre, & filio eſſentiæ, majeſtatis, & gloriæ, verus ac æternus Deus. 5.

De divinis Scripturis, quod ſufficiant ad ſalutem.

SCriptura ſacra continet omnia, quæ ad ſalutem ſunt neceſſaria, ita, ut quicquid in ea nec legitur, neque inde probari poteſt, non ſit a quonam exigendum, ut tanquam articulus fidei credatur, aut ad ſalutis neceſſitatem requiri putetur. 6.

Sacræ Scripturæ nomine, eos Canonicos libros veteris, & novi Teſtamenti intelligimus, de quorum authoritate, in Eccleſia nunquam dubitatum eſt.

De nomnibus, & numero librorum ſacræ Canonicæ Scripturæ veteris Teſtamenti.

Geneſis.	Prior liber Paralipom.
Exodus.	Secundus liber Paralipom.
Leviticus.	Primus liber Eſdræ.
Numeri.	Secundus liber Eſdræ.
Deuteron.	Liber Heſter.
Joſuæ.	Liber Job.
Judicum.	Pſalmi.
Ruth.	Proverbia.
Prior liber Samuelis.	Eccleſiaſtes vel Concionator.
Secundus liber Samuelis.	Cantica Solomonis.
Prior liber Regum.	4 Prophetæ Majores.
Secundus liber Regum.	12 Prophetæ Minores.

Alios autem libros (ut ait Hieronimus) legit quidem Eccleſia, ad exempla vitæ, & formandos mores: illos tamen ad dogmata confirmanda non adhibet, ut ſunt.

Tertius liber Eſdræ.	Baruch propheta.
Quartus liber Eſdræ.	Canticum trium puerorum.
Liber Tobiæ.	Hiſtoriæ Suſannæ.
Liber Judith.	De Bel & Dracone.
Reliquum libri Heſter.	Oratio Manaſſes.
Liber ſapientiæ.	Prior liber Machabeorum.
Liber Jeſu filii Sirach.	Secundus liber Machabeorum.

Novi Teſtamenti omnes libros (ut vulgo recepti ſunt) recipimus, & habemus pro Canonicis.

De veteri Teſtamento.

TEſtamentum vetus, novo contrarium non eſt, quandoquidem tam in veteri, quam in novo, per Chriſtum, qui unicus eſt Mediator Dei, & hominum, Deus & homo, æterna vita humano generi eſt propoſita. Quare male ſentiunt, qui veteres tantum in promiſſiones temporarias ſperaſſe confingunt. Quanquam lex a Deo data per Moſen (quoad ceremonias & ritus) Chriſtianos non aſtringat, neque civilia ejus præcepta in aliqua republica neceſſario recipi debeant, nihilominus tamen ab obedientia mandatorum (quæ moralia vocantur) nullis (quantumvis Chriſtianus) eſt ſolutus. 7.

De tribus Symbolis,

SYmbola tria, Nycœnum, Athanaſii, & quod vulgo Apoſtolorum appellatur, omnino recipienda ſunt, & credenda, nam firmiſſimis Scripturarum Teſtimoniis probari poſſunt. 8.

De peccato originali.

PEccatum originis non eſt (ut fabulantur Pelagiani) in imitatione Adami ſitum, ſed eſt vitium, & depravatio naturæ, cujuſlibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati: qua fit, ut ab originali juſtitia quam longiſſime diſtet, ad malum ſua natura propendeat, & caro ſemper adverſus ſpiritum concupiſcat, unde in unoquoque naſ- 9.

centium, iram Dei, atque damnationem meretur. Manet etiam in renatis hæc naturæ depravatio. Qua fit ut affectus carnis Græce Φρόνημα σαρκὸς, quod alii sapientiam, alii sensum, alii affectum, alii studium carnis interpretantur,) legi Dei non subjiciatur. Et quanquam renatis & credentibus, nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, peccati tamen in sese ratione habere concupiscentiam, fatetur Apostolus.

De libero arbitrio.

10. EA est hominis post lapsum Adæ conditio, ut sese naturalibus suis viribus, & bonis operibus, ad fidem, & invocationem Dei convertere, ac præparare non possit. Quare absque gratia Dei (quæ per)Christum est, nos præveniente, ut velimus, & cooperante, dum volumus, ad pietatis opera facienda, quæ Deo grata sunt, & accepta, nihil valemus.

De hominis justificatione.

11. TAntum propter meritum Domini, ac Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, per fidem, non propter opera, & merita nostra, justi coram Deo reputamur. Quare sola fide nos justificari doctrina est saluberrima, ac consolationis plenissima, ut in homilia de justificatione hominis, fusius explicatur.

De bonis operibus.

12. BOna opera quæ sunt fructus fidei, & justificatos sequuntur, quanquam peccata nostra expiare, & divini judicii severitatem ferre non possunt; Deo tamen grata sunt, & accepta in Christo, atque ex vera fide necessario profluunt, ut plane ex illis, æque fides viva cognosci possit, atque arbor ex fructu judicari.

De operibus ante justificationem.

13. OPera quæ fiunt, ante gratiam Christi, & spiritus ejus afflatum, cum ex fide Jesu Christi non prodeant, minime Deo grata sunt, neque gratiam (ut multi vocant) de congruo merentur. Immo cum non sunt facta, ut Deus illa fieri voluit & præcepit, peccati rationem habere non dubitamus.

De operibus supererogationis.

14. OPera quæ supererogationis appellant, non possunt sine arrogantia, & impietate prædicari. Nam illis declarant homines, non tantum se Deo reddere, quæ tenentur, sed plus in ejus gratiam facere, quam deberent, cum aperte Christus dicat; Cum feceritis omnia quæcunque præcepta sunt vobis, dicite, servi inutiles sumus.

De Christo qui solus est sine peccato.

15. CHristus in nostræ naturæ veritate, per omnia similis factus est nobis, excepto peccato, a quo prorsus erat immunis, tum in carne, tum in spiritu. Venit ut agnus, absque macula, qui mundi peccata per immolationem sui semel factam, tolleret, & peccatum (ut inquit Johannes) in eo non erat: sed nos reliqui etiam baptizati, & in Christo regenerati, in multis tamen offendimus omnes. Et si dixerimus, quod peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, & veritas in nobis non est.

De peccato post Baptismum.

16. NOn omne peccatum mortale post Baptismum voluntarie perpetratum, est peccatum in Spiritum sanctum, & irremissibile. Proinde lapsis a Baptismo in peccata, locus pœnitentiæ non est negandus, post acceptum spiritum sanctum possumus a gratia data recedere, atque peccare, denuoque per gratiam Dei resurgere, ac resipiscere: ideoque illi damnandi sunt, qui se quamdiu hic vivant, amplius non posse peccare affirmant, aut vere resipiscentibus, veniæ locum denegant.

De prædestinatione, & electione.

17. PRædestinatio ad vitam, est æternum Dei propositum, quo ante jacta mundi fundamenta, suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto constanter decrevit, eos quos in Christo

Christo elegit ex hominum genere, a maledicto & exitio liberare, atque (ut vasa in honorem efficta) per Christum, ad æternam salutem adducere. Unde qui tam præclaro Dei beneficio sunt donati, illi spiritu ejus, opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum ejus, vocantur, vocationi per gratiam parent, justificantur gratis, a doptantur in filios Dei, unigeniti ejus Jesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes, in bonis operibus sancte ambulant, & demum ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam fælicitatem.

Quemadmodum prædestinationis, & electionis nostræ in Christo pia consideratio, dulcis, suavis & ineffabilis consolationis plena est, vere piis, & his qui sentiunt in se vim spiritus Christi, facta carnis, & membra, quæ adhuc sunt super terram, mortificantem, animumque ad cœlestia, & superna rapientem. Tum quia fidem nostram de æterna salute consequenda per Christum plurimum stabilit, atque confirmat, tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum vehementer accendit. Ita hominibus curiosis, carnalibus, & Spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari prædestinationis Dei sententiam, pernitiosissimum est præcipitium, unde illos diabolus protrudit, vel in desperationem vel in æque pernitiosam impurissimæ vitæ securiatem, deinde promissiones divinas sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt, & Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in verbo Dei habemus, diserte revelatam.

De speranda æterna salute tantum in nomine Christi.

SUnt & illi Anathematizandi, qui dicere audent unumquemque in lege aut secta quam profitetur esse servandum, modo juxta illam, & lumen naturæ accurate vixerit, cum sacræ literæ tantum Jesu Christi nomen prædicent, in quo salvos fieri homines oporteat. 18.

De Ecclesia.

ECclesia Christi visibilis est cœtus fidelium, in quo verbum Dei purum prædicatur, & sacramenta, quoad ea quæ necessario exigantur, juxta Christi institutum recte administrantur. Sicut erravit Ecclesia Hierosolymitana, Alexandrina, & Antiochena, ita & erravit Ecclesia Romana, non solum quoad agenda & cæremoniarum ritus, verum in his etiam quæ credenda sunt. 19.

De Ecclesiæ Authoritate.

HAbet Ecclesia Ritus sive Cæremonias statuendi jus, & in fidei controversiis authoritatem; quamvis Ecclesia non licet quicquam instituere quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, nec unum scripturæ locum sic exponere potest, ut alteri contradicat. Quare licet Ecclesia sit divinorum librorum testis, & conservatrix, attamen ut adversus eos nihil decernere, ita præter illos, nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere. 20.

De authoritate Conciliorum generalium.

GEneralia Concilia, sine jussu, & voluntate Principum congregari non possunt, & ubi convenerint, qui ex hominibus constant, qui non omnes spiritu, & verbo Dei, reguntur, & errare possunt, & interdum errarunt etiam in his quæ ad Deum pertinent: ideoq; quæ ab illis constituuntur, ut ad salutem necessaria, neq; robur habent, neq; authoritatem, nisi ostendi possint e sacris literis esse desumpta. 21.

De Purgatorio.

DOctrina Romanensium de purgatorio, de indulgentiis, de veneratione, & adoratione, tum imaginum, tum reliquiarum nec non de invocatione sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, & nullis Scripturarum testimoniis innititur: immo verbo Dei contradicit. 22.

De Ministrando in Ecclesia.

NOn licet cuiquam sumere sibi munus publice prædicandi, aut administrandi Sacramenta in Ecclesia, nisi prius fuerit ad hæc obeunda legitime vocatus & missus. Atque illos legitime vocatos & missos existimare debemus, qui per homines, quibus potestas vocandi ministros, atque mittendi in vineam Domini publice concessa est in Ecclesia, co-optati fuerint, & asciti in hoc opus. 23.

De

De loquendo in Ecclesia lingua quam populus intelligit.

24. Lingua populo non intellecta, publicas in Ecclesia preces peragere, aut Sacramenta administrare, verbo Dei, & primitivæ Ecclesiæ consuetudini plane repugnat,

De Sacramentis.

25. Sacramenta a Christo instituta, non tantum sunt notæ professionis Christianorum, sed certa quædam potius testimonia, & efficacia signa gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei, per quæ invisibiliter ipse in nos operatur, nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat, verumetiam confirmat.

Duo a Christo Domino nostro in Evangelio instituta sunt Sacramenta, scilicet: Baptismus, & Cœna Domini.

Quinque illa vulgo nominata Sacramenta: scilicet, confirmatio, pœnitentia, ordo, matrimonium, & extrema unctio, pro Sacramentis Evangelicis habenda non sunt, ut quæ, partim a prava Apostolorum imitatione profluxerunt, partim vitæ status sunt in Scripturis quidem probati: sed Sacramentorum eandem cum Baptismo, & Cœna Domini rationem non habentes, ut quæ signum aliquod visibile, seu cæremoniam, a Deo institutam, non habeant.

Sacramenta non in hoc instituta sunt a Christo ut spectarentur, aut circumferentur, sed ut rite illis uterentur, & in his duntaxat qui digni percipiunt salutarem habent effectum: Qui vero indigne percipiunt, damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.

De vi institutionum divinarum quod eam non tollat malitia Ministrorum.

26. Quamvis in Ecclesia visibili, bonis mali semper sunt admixti, atque interdum ministerio verbi, & Sacramentorum administrationi præsint, tamen cum non suo, sed Christi nomine agant, ejusque mandato, & authoritate ministrent, illorum ministerio uti licet, cum in verbo Dei audiendo, tum in Sacramentis percipiendis. Neque per illorum malitiam, effectus institutorum Christi tollitur, aut gratia donorum Dei minuitur, quoad eos qui fide, & rite sibi oblata percipiunt, quæ propter institutionem Christi, & promissionem efficacia sunt licet per malos administrentur.

Ad Ecclesiæ tamen disciplinam pertinet, ut in malos ministros inquiratur, accusenturque ab his, qui eorum flagitia noverint, atque tandem justo convicti judicio deponantur.

De Baptismo.

27. Baptismus non est tantum professionis signum, ac discriminis nota, qua Christiani a non Christianis discernantur, sed etiam est signum regenerationis, per quod, tanquam per instrumentum, recte baptismum suscipientes, Ecclesiæ inseruntur, promissionis de remissione peccatorum, atque adoptione nostra in filios Dei per Spiritum sanctum visibiliter obsignantur, fides confirmatur, & vi divinæ invocationis gratia augetur.

Baptismus parvulorm omnino in Ecclesia retinendus est, ut qui cum Christi institutione optime congruat.

De Cœna Domini.

28. Cœna Domini non est tantum signum mutuæ benevolentiæ Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est Sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis.

Atque adeo, rite, digne, & cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi; similiter poculum benedictionis, est communicatio sanguinis Christi.

Panis & Vini Transubstantiatio in Eucharistia ex sacris literis probari non potest. Sed apertis Scripturæ verbis adversatur, Sacramenti naturam evertit, & multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

Corpus Christi datur, accipitur, & manducatur in Cœna, tantum cœlesti, & spirituali ratione. Medium autem quo corpus Christi accipitur, & manducatur in Cœna, fides est.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ, ex institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevebatur, nec adorabatur.

De

De manducatione corporis Chriſti, & impios illud non manducare.

IMpii, & fide viva deſtituti, licet carnaliter, & viſibiliter (ut Auguſtinus loquitur) corporis, & ſanguinis Chriſti Sacramentum, dentibus premant, nullo tamen modo Chriſti participes efficiuntur. Sed potius tantæ rei Sacramentum, ſeu Symbolum, ad judicium ſibi manducant, & bibunt. 29.

De utraque ſpecie.

CAlix Domini laicis non eſt denegandus, utraque enim pars Dominici Sacramenti, ex Chriſti inſtitutione, & præcepto, omnibus Chriſtianis ex æquo adminiſtrari debet. 30.

De unica Chriſti oblatione in cruce perfecta.

OBlatio Chriſti ſemel facta, perfecta eſt redemptio, propitiatio, & ſatisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus, quam actualibus. Neque præter illam unicam, eſt ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio, unde miſſarum ſacrificia, quibus, vulgo dicebatur, ſacerdotem offerre Chriſtum in remiſſionem pœnæ, aut culpæ, pro vivis & defunctis, blaſphema figmenta ſunt, & pernicioſæ impoſturæ. 31.

De conjugio Sacerdotum.

EPiſcopis, presbyteris, & diaconis nullo mandato divino præceptum eſt, ut aut cœlibatum voveant, aut a matrimonio abſtineant. Licet igitur etiam illis, ut cæteris omnibus Chriſtianis, ubi hic ad pietatem magis facere judicaverint, pro ſuo arbitratu matrimonium contrahere. 32.

De excommunicatis vitandis.

QUi per publicam Eccleſiæ denuntiationem rite ab unitate eccleſiæ præciſus eſt, & excommunicatus, is ab univerſa fidelium multitudine (donec per pœnitentiam publice reconciliatus fuerit arbitrio Judicis competentis) habendus eſt tanquam Ethnicus & publicanus. 33.

De traditionibus Eccleſiaſticis.

TRaditiones atque cæremonias eaſdem, omnino neceſſarium eſt eſſe ubique, aut prorſus conſimiles. Nam ut variæ ſemper fuerunt, & mutari poſſunt, pro Regionum, temporum & morum diverſitate, modo nihil contra verbum Dei inſtituatur. 34.

Traditiones, & cæremonias Eccleſiaſticas quæ cum verbo Dei non pugnant, & ſunt authoritate publica inſtitutæ, atque probatæ, quiſquis privato conſilio volens, & data opera, publice violaverit, is ut qui peccat in publicum ordinem Eccleſiæ, quique lædit authoritatem Magiſtratus, & qui infirmorum fratrum conſcientias vulnerat, publice ut cæteri timeant, arguendus eſt.

Quælibet Eccleſia particularis, ſive Nationalis, authoritatem habet inſtituendi, mutandi aut abrogandi Cæremonias, aut ritus Eccleſiaſticos, humana tantum authoritate inſtitutos, modo omnia ad ædificationem fiant.

De Homiliis.

TOmus ſecundus Homiliarum, quarum ſingulos titulos huic articulo ſubjunximus, continet piam & ſalutarem doctrinam, & his temporibus neceſſariam, non minus quam prior Tomus Homiliarum, quæ editæ ſunt tempore Edwardi ſexti: Itaque eas in Eccleſiis per miniſtros diligenter, & clare, ut a populo intelligi poſſint, recitandas eſſe judicavimus. 35.

De nominibus Homiliarum.

Of the right uſe of the Church.
Againſt peril of Idolatry.
Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.
Of good works.
Firſt, Of faſting.
Againſt gluttony and drunkenneſs.
Againſt exceſs of Apparel.
Of Prayer.
Of the place and time of Prayer.
That common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be miniſtred in a known tongue.
Of the reverent eſtimation of God's Word.

Of

Of Alms-doing.
Of the Nativity of Chriſt.
Of the Paſſion of Chriſt.
Of the Reſurrection of Chriſt.
Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt.
Of the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.
For the Rogation days.
Of the State of Matrimony.
Of Repentance.
Againſt Idleneſs.
Againſt Rebellion.

De Epiſcoporum & Miniſtrorum conſecratione.

36. LIbellus de conſecratione Archiepiſcoporum, & Epiſcoporum, & de ordinatione presbyterorum, & diaconorum, editus nuper temporibus Edwardi VI. & authoritate Parliamenti illis ipſis temporibus confirmatus, omnia ad ejuſmodi conſecrationem, & ordinationem neceſſaria continet, & nihil habet, quod ex ſe ſit, aut ſuperſtitioſum, aut impium: itaque quicunque juxta ritus illius libri conſecrati, aut ordinati ſunt, ab anno ſecundo prædicti regis Edwardi, uſque ad hoc tempus, aut impoſterum juxta eoſdem ritus conſecrabuntur, aut ordinabuntur, rite atque ordine, atque legitime ſtatuimus eſſe, & fore conſecratos & ordinatos.

De civilibus Magiſtratibus.

37. REgia Majeſtas in hoc Angliæ regno, ac cæteris ejus dominiis, ſummam habet poteſtatem, ad quam, omnium ſtatuum hujus regni, ſive illi Eccleſiaſtici ſint, ſive civiles, in omnibus cauſis, ſuprema gubernatio pertinet, & nulli externæ juriſdictioni eſt ſubjecta, nec eſſe debet.

Cum Regiæ Majeſtati ſummam gubernationem tribuimus, quibus titulis intelligimus, animos quorundam calumniatorum offendi, non damus Regibus noſtris, aut verbi Dei, aut Sacramentorum adminiſtrationem, quod etiam Injunctiones ab Elizabetha Regina noſtra, nuper editæ, apertiſſime teſtantur. Sed eam tantum prærogativam, quam in ſacris Scripturis a Deo ipſo, omnibus piis Principibus, videmus ſemper fuiſſe attributam: hoc eſt, ut omnes ſtatus, atque ordines fidei ſuæ a Deo commiſſos, ſive illi Eccleſiaſtici ſint, ſive civiles, in officio contineant, & contumaces, ac delinquentes gladio civili coerceant.

Romanus pontifex nullam habet juriſdictionem in hoc regno Angliæ.

Leges Regni poſſunt Chriſtianos propter capitalia, & gravia crimina, morte punire.

Chriſtianis licet, ex mandato Magiſtratus, arma portare & juſta bella adminiſtrare.

De illicita bonorum communicatione.

38. FAcultates & bona Chriſtianorum non ſunt communia, quoad jus & poſſeſſionem (ut quidam Anabaptiſtæ falſo jactant) debet tamen quiſque de his quæ poſſidet, pro facultatum ratione pauperibus eleemoſynas benigne diſtribuere.

De jure jurando.

39. QUemadmodum juramentum vanum, & temerarium a Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto, & Apoſtolo ejus Jacobo, Chriſtianis hominibus interdictum eſſe fatemur: ita Chriſtianorum Religionem minime prohibere cenſemus, quin jubente magiſtratu in cauſa fidei, & charitatis jurare liceat modo id fiat juxta Prophetæ doctrinam, in juſtitia, in judicio, & veritate.

Confirmatio Articulorum.

40. HIC liber antedictorum Articulorum jam denuo approbatus eſt, per aſſenſum & conſenſum Sereniſſimæ Reginæ Elizabethæ Dominæ noſtræ, Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Reginæ defenſoris fidei, &c. retinendus, & per totum Regnum Angliæ exequendus. Qui Articuli, & lecti ſunt, & denuo confirmati, ſubſcriptione D. Archiepiſcopi & Epiſcoporum ſuperioris domus, & totius Cleri inferioris domus in Convocatione Anno Domini, 1571.

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AN

AN EXPOSITION OF THE XXXIX ARTICLES OF THE Church of England.

TITLE.

Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces and the whole Cleargie, in the Convocation holden at London **in the yeare of our Lorde** GOD 1562. **according to the computation of the Church of** Englande, **for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for the stablishing of consent touching true Religion. Put forth by the Queens authoritie.**

The INTRODUCTION.

THE Title of these Articles leads me to consider, 1. The Time, the Occasion, and the Design of Compiling them. *2dly.* The Authority that is stampt upon them both by Church and State, and the Obligation that lies upon all of our Communion to Assent to them, and more particularly the Importance of the Subscription to which the Clergy are obliged. As to the *1st*, It may seem somewhat strange to see such a Collection of Tenets made the Standard of the Doctrine of a Church, that is deservedly valued by reason of her Moderation: This seems to be a departing from the Simplicity of the First Ages, which yet we pretend to set up for a Pattern. In those times, the owning the Belief of the Creeds then received, was thought sufficient: And when some Heresies had occasioned great Enlargements to be made in the Creeds, the Third General Council thought fit to set a Bar against all further Additions; and yet all those Creeds, one of which goes far beyond the *Ephesine* Standard, make but One Article of the Thirty nine of which this Book consists. Many of these do also relate to subtile and abstruse Points, in which it is not easy to form a clear Judgment; and much less can it be convenient to Impose so great a Collection of Tenets upon a whole Church, to Excommunicate such as affirm any of them to be erroneous, and to reject those from the Service of the Church, who cannot Assent to every one of them. The Negative

Articles of No Infallibility, No Supremacy in the Pope, No Tranſubſtantiation, No Purgatory, and the like, give yet a further Colour to Exceptions; ſince it may ſeem that it was enough, not to have mentioned theſe, which implied a tacit rejecting of them. It may therefore appear to be too rigorous, to require a poſitive condemning of thoſe Points; for a very high degree of Certainty is required, to affirm a Negative Propoſition.

In order to the explaining this matter, it is to be confeſſed, that in the beginnings of Chriſtianity, the Declaration that was required even of a Biſhop's Faith, was conceived in very general Terms. There was a Form ſetled very early in moſt Churches. This St. *Paul* in one place calls, *The Form of Doctrine that was delivered*; in another place *The Form of Sound Words*, which thoſe who were fixed by the Apoſtles in particular Churches, had received from them. Theſe words of his do import a Standard, or *fixed Formulary*, by which all Doctrines were to be examined. Some have inferred from them, that the Apoſtles delivered that Creed which goes under their Name, every where in the ſame Form of Words. But there is great reaſon to doubt of this, ſince the firſt Apologiſts for Chriſtianity, when they deliver a ſhort Abſtract of the Chriſtian Faith, do all vary from one another, both as to the Order, and as to the Words themſelves; which they would not have done, if the Churches had all received one ſetled Form from the Apoſtles. They would all have uſed the ſame Words, and neither more nor leſs. It is more probable, That in every Church there was a *Form* ſetled, which was delivered to it by ſome Apoſtle, or Companion of the Apoſtles, with ſome Variation; of which at this diſtance of time, conſidering how defective the Hiſtory of the Firſt Ages of Chriſtianity is, it is not poſſible, nor very neceſſary for us to be able to give a clear Account. For Inſtance; In the whole Extent or Neighbourhood of the *Roman* Empire, it was at firſt of great Uſe to have this in every Chriſtian's mouth, That our Saviour *ſuffered under Pontius Pilate*; becauſe this fixed the Time, and carried in it an Appeal to Records and Evidences, that might then have been ſearched for. But if this Religion went at firſt far to the *Eaſtward*, beyond all Commerce with the *Romans*, there is not that reaſon to think that this ſhould have been a part of the ſhorteſt Form of this Doctrine; it being enough that it was related in the Goſpel. Theſe Forms of the ſeveral Churches were preſerved with that Sacred Reſpect that was due to them: This was eſteemed the *Depoſitum* or Truſt of a Church, which was chiefly committed to the keeping of the Biſhop. In the Firſt Ages, in which the Biſhops or Clergy of the ſeveral Churches could not meet together in Synods to examine the Doctrine of every new Biſhop, the Method upon which the Circumſtances of thoſe Ages put them, was this; The New Biſhop ſent round him, and chiefly to the Biſhops of the more Eminent Sees, the Profeſſion of his Faith, according to the Form that was fixed in his Church: And when the Neighbouring Biſhops were ſatisfied in this, they held Communion with him, and not only owned him for a Biſhop, but maintained ſuch a Commerce with him, as the ſtate of that Time did admit of.

Rom. 6. 17.
1 Tim. 4. 6. —— 6. 3.
2 Tim. 1. 13.

But as ſome Hereſies ſprung up, there were Enlargements made in ſeveral Churches, for the condemning thoſe, and for excluding ſuch as held

held them from their Communion. The Council of *Nice* examined many of thoſe Creeds, and out of them they put their Creed in a fuller Form. The Addition made by the Council of *Conſtantinople*, was put into the Creeds of ſome particular Churches ſeveral Years before that Council met. So that though it received its Authority from that Council, yet thoſe Fathers rather confirmed an Article which they found in the Creeds of ſome Churches, than made a New one. It had been an unvaluable Bleſſing, if the Chriſtian Religion had been kept in its firſt Simplicity. The Council of *Epheſus* took care that the Creed by which men profeſs their Chriſtianity, ſhould receive no new Additions, but be fixed according to the *Conſtantinoplitan* Standard; yet they made Decrees in Points of Faith; and the following Councils went on in their ſteps, adding ſtill new Decrees, with Anathematiſms againſt the contrary Doctrines; and declaring the Aſſerters of them to be under an *Anathema*, that is, under a very heavy Curſe of being totally excluded from their Communion, and even from the Communion of Jeſus Chriſt. And whereas the New Biſhops had formerly only declared their Faith, they were then required beſides that to declare, That they received ſuch Councils, and rejected ſuch Doctrines, together with ſuch as favoured them; who were ſometimes mentioned by Name. This increaſed daily. We have a full Account of the ſpecial Declaration that a Biſhop was obliged to make, in the Firſt Canon of that which paſſeth for the Fourth Council of *Carthage*. But while by reaſon of new Emergencies this was ſwelling to a vaſt Bulk, General and more Implicit Formularies came to be uſed, the Biſhops declaring that they received and would obſerve all the Decrees and Traditions of Holy Councils and Fathers. And the Papacy coming afterwards to carry every thing before it, a Formal Oath, that had many looſe and indefinite words in it, which were very large and comprehenſive, was added to all the Declarations that had been formerly eſtabliſhed. The Enlargements of Creeds were at firſt occaſioned by the Prevarications of Hereticks; who having put Senſes favouring their Opinions, on the ſimpler Terms in which the Firſt Creeds were propoſed, it was thought neceſſary to uſe more expreſs words. This was abſolutely neceſſary as to ſome Points; for they being obliged to ſhew that the Chriſtian Religion did not bring in that Idolatry which it condemned in Heathens, it was alſo neceſſary to ſtate this matter ſo, that it ſhould appear that they worſhipped no Creature; but that the Perſon to whom all agreed to pay Divine Adoration was truly God: And it being found that an Equivocation was uſed in all other words except that of the **ſame Subſtance**, they judged it neceſſary to fix on it, beſides ſome other words that they at firſt brought in, but which were afterwards made more doubtful by the Gloſſes that were put on them. At all times it is very neceſſary to free the Chriſtian Religion from the Imputation of Idolatry; but this was never ſo neceſſary, as when Chriſtianity was engaged in ſuch a Struggle with Paganiſm: And ſince the main Article then in diſpute with the Heathens was Idolatry, and the Lawfulneſs of worſhipping any beſides the Great and Eternal God, it was of the laſt Importance to the Chriſtian Cauſe, to take care that the Heathens might have no reaſon to believe that they worſhipped a Creature. There was therefore juſt reaſon given to ſecure this main

Point, and to put an end to Equivocation, by eſtabliſhing a Term, which by the Confeſſion of all Parties did not admit of any. It had been a great Bleſſing to the Church, if a Stop had been put here; and that thoſe nice Deſcantings that were afterwards ſo much purſued, had been more effectually diſcouraged than they were. But men ever were, and ever will be men. Factions were formed, and Intereſts were ſet up. Hereticks had ſhewed ſo much Diſſimulation when they were low, and ſo much Cruelty when they prevailed, that it was thought neceſſary to ſecure the Church from the Diſturbances that they might give them: And thus it grew to be a Rule to enlarge the Doctrines and Deciſions of the Church. So that in ſtating the Doctrines of this Church ſo copiouſly, our Reformers followed a Method that had been uſed in a courſe of many Ages.

There were, beſides this common Practice, two particular Circumſtances in that time, that made this ſeem to be the more neceſſary. One was, That at the breaking out of that Light, there ſprang up with it many impious and extravagant Sects, which broke out into moſt violent Exceſſes. This was no extraordinary thing, for we find the like happened upon the firſt ſpreading of the Goſpel; many deteſtable Sects grew up with it, which tended not a little to the defaming of Chriſtianity, and the obſtructing its Progreſs. I ſhall not examine what Influence Evil Spirits might have both in the one and the other: But one viſible occaſion of it was, That by the firſt Preaching of the Goſpel, as alſo upon the opening the Reformation, an Enquiry into the Matters of Religion being then the Subject of mens Studies and Diſcourſes, many men of warm and ill-govern'd Imaginations, preſuming on their own Talents, and being deſirous to ſignalize themſelves, and to have a Name in the World, went beyond their Depth in Study, without the neceſſary degrees of Knowledge, and the yet more neceſſary diſpoſitions of Mind for arriving at a right underſtanding of Divine Matters. This happening ſoon after that the Reformation was firſt ſet on foot, thoſe whoſe Corruptions were ſtruck at by it, and who both hated and perſecuted it on that account, did not fail to lay hold of and to improve the Advantage which theſe Sects gave them. They ſaid, That the Sectaries had only ſpoke out what the reſt thought; and at laſt they held to this, That all Sects were the Natural Conſequences of the Reformation, and of ſhaking off the Doctrine of the Infallibility of the Church. To ſtop thoſe Calumnies, the Proteſtants in *Germany* prepared that Confeſſion of their Faith which they offered to the Diet as *Ausburg*, and which carries its name. And after their Example, all the other Churches which ſeparated from the *Roman* Communion, publiſhed the Confeſſions of their Faith, both to declare their Doctrine for the Inſtruction of their own Members, and for covering them from the Slanders of their Adverſaries.

Another reaſon that the firſt Reformers had for their deſcending into ſo many Particulars, and for all theſe Negatives that are in their Confeſſions, was this: They had ſmarted long under the Tyranny of Popery, and ſo they had reaſon to ſecure themſelves from it, and from all thoſe who were leavened with it. Thoſe here in *England* had ſeen how many had complied with every Alteration both in King *Henry* and King *Edward*'s Reign, who not only declared themſelves to have been

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all the while Papiſts, but became bloody Perſecutors in Q. *Mary*'s Days: Therefore it was neceſſary to keep all ſuch out of their Body, that they might not ſecretly undermine and betray it. Now ſince the Church of *Rome* owns all that is poſitive in our Doctrine, there could be no Diſcrimination made, but by condemning the moſt important of thoſe additions that they have brought into the Chriſtian Religion, in expreſs words: It is true that in Matters of Fact, or in Theories of Nature, it is not ſafe to affirm a Negative, becauſe it is ſeldom poſſible to prove it; yet the Fundamental Article upon which the whole Reformation, and this our Church depends is this, " That the whole " Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion are contained in the Scripture, " and that therefore we are to admit no Article as a part of it till it is " proved from Scripture. This being laid down, and well made out, it is not at all unreaſonable to affirm a Negative upon an Examination of all thoſe places of Scripture that are brought for any Doctrine, and that ſeem to favour it, if theſe are found not at all to ſupport it, but to bear a different and ſometimes a contrary ſenſe to that which is offered to be proved by them. So there is no weight in this cavil, which yet may look plauſible to ſuch as cannot diſtinguiſh common Matters from Points of Faith. This may ſerve in general to juſtify the largeneſs, and the particularities of this Confeſſion of our Faith. There were ſome ſteps made to it in K. *Henry*'s Time, in a large Book that was then publiſhed under the Title of **The Neceſſary Gruoition**, that was a Treatiſe ſet forth to inſtruct the Nation. Many of the Errors of Popery were laid open and condemned in it: but none were obliged to aſſent to it, or to Subſcribe it. After that, the Worſhip was Reformed, as being that which preſſed moſt: And in that a Foundation was laid, for the Articles that came quickly after it. How or by whom they were prepared, we do not certainly know. By the remains of that time it appears, that in the alterations that were made, there was great precaution uſed, ſuch as indeed matters of that Nature required, Queſtions were framed relating to them, theſe were given about to many Biſhops and Divines, who gave in their ſeveral Anſwers; thoſe were collated and examined very carefully, all ſides had a free and fair hearing before Concluſions were made.

In the fermentation that was working over the whole Nation at that time, it was not poſſible that a thing of that nature could have paſſed by the methods that are more neceſſary in Regular Times: And therefore they could not be offered at firſt to Synods or Convocations. The Corruptions complained of were ſo beneficial to the whole Body of the Clergy, that it is juſtly to be wonder'd at, that ſo great a number was prevailed with, to concur in Reforming them: But without a Miracle they could not have been agreed to by the Major part. They were prepared, as is moſt probable, by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, and publiſhed by the Regal Authority. Not as if our Kings had pretended to an Authority to judge in Points of Faith, or to decide Controverſies: But as every private man muſt chuſe for himſelf, and believe according to the convictions of his Reaſon and Conſcience (which is to be examined and proved in its proper place) ſo every Prince (or Legiſlative Power) muſt give the publick Sanction and Authority according to his own Perſuaſion; this makes indeed ſuch a Sanction to become a Law, but does not alter the Nature of Things,

nor

nor oblige the Conſciences of the Subjects, unleſs they come under the ſame Perſuaſions. Such Laws have indeed the Operation of all other Laws, but the Doctrines Authoriſed by them have no more truth than they had before, without any ſuch Publication. Thus the part that our Princes had in the Reformation was only this, that they being ſatisfied with the Grounds on which it went, received it themſelves; and enacted it for their People. And this is ſo plain and ſo juſt a conſequence of that liberty which every man has of believing and acting according to his own Convictions, that when the one is well made out, there can be no colour to queſtion the other. It was alſo remarkable, that the Law which ſtood firſt in *Juſtinian*'s Code, was an Edict of *Theodoſius*'s; who finding the *Roman* Empire under great diſtractions, by the diverſity of Opinions in Matter of Religion, did appoint that Doctrine to be held which was received by *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria*; ſuch an Edict as that being put in ſo conſpicuous a part of the *Law*, was a full and ſoon-obſerv'd Precedent for our Princes to act according to it.

The next Thing to be examined is the Uſe of the Articles, and the Importance of the Subſcriptions of the Clergy to them. Some have thought that they are only *Articles of Union and Peace*; that they are a Standard of *Doctrine* not to be contradicted, or diſputed; that the Sons of the Church are only bound to acquieſce ſilently in them; and that the Subſcription to them amounts only to a general Compromiſe upon thoſe Articles, that ſo there may be no diſputing nor wrangling about them. By this means they reckon, that though a man ſhould differ in his Opinion from that which appears to be the clear ſenſe of any of the Articles; yet he may with a good Conſcience ſubſcribe it, if the Article appears to him, to be of ſuch a nature, that though he thinks it wrong, yet it ſeems not to be of that conſequence, but that it may be born with, and not contradicted. I ſhall not now examine whether it were more fit to leave men to the due freedom of their thoughts, and that the Subſcription did run no higher, it being in many caſes a great hardſhip to exclude ſome very deſerving perſons from the Service of the Church, by requiring a Subſcription to ſo many particulars, concerning ſome of which they are not fully ſatisfied. I am only now to conſider what is the Importance of the Subſcriptions required among us, and not what might be reaſonably wiſht that it ſhould be.

As to the Laity, and the whole Body of the People, certainly to them theſe are only the Articles of Church-Communion; ſo that every perſon, who does not think that there is ſome propoſition in them that is Erroneous to ſo high a degree, that he cannot hold Communion with ſuch as profeſs it, may and is obliged to continue in our Communion: For certainly there are many Opinions held in Matters of Religion, which a man may believe to be falſe, and yet he may eſteem them to be of ſo little Importance to the chief deſign of Religion, that he may well hold Communion with thoſe whom he thinks to be ſo miſtaken. Here a neceſſary diſtinction is to be remembred between Articles of Faith, and Articles of Doctrine: The one are held neceſſary to Salvation, the other are only believed to be true; that is, to be revealed in the Scriptures, which is a ſufficient Ground for acknowledging them true. *Articles of Faith* are Doctrines that are ſo neceſſary

ceſſary to Salvation, that without believing them no man has a fœderal Right to the Covenant of Grace: Theſe are not many, and in the Eſtabliſhment of any Doctrine for ſuch, it is neceſſary both to prove it clearly from Scripture, and to prove its being neceſſary to Salvation, as a mean ſetled by the Covenant of Grace in order to it. We ought not indeed to hold Communion with ſuch as make Doctrines that we believe not to be true, to paſs for Articles of Faith; though we may hold Communion with ſuch as do think them true, without ſtamping ſo high an Authority upon them. To give one Inſtance of this in an undeniable particular. In the days of the Apoſtles there were Judaiſers of two ſorts; ſome thought the *Jewiſh* Nation was ſtill obliged to obſerve the Moſaical Law; but others went further, and thought that ſuch an Obſervation was indiſpenſably neceſſary in all men to Salvation: Both theſe Opinions were wrong, but the one was tolerable, and the other was intolerable: Becauſe it pretended to make that a neceſſary condition of Salvation, which God had not commanded. The Apoſtles complied with the Judaiſers of the firſt ſort, as *they became all things to all men, that ſo they might gain ſome* of every ſort of men: Yet they declared openly againſt the other, and ſaid, that if men were *Circumciſed*, or were willing to come under ſuch a Yoke, *Chriſt profited them nothing*; and upon that ſuppoſition he had *died in vain*. From this plain Precedent we ſee what a difference we ought to make between the holding Errors in Doctrinal Matters, and the Impoſing them as Articles of Faith. We may live in Communion with thoſe who hold Errors of the one ſort, but muſt not with thoſe of the other. This alſo ſhews the Tyranny of that Church, which has impoſed the belief of every one of her Doctrines on the Conſciences of her Votaries, under the higheſt pains of Anathema's, and as Articles of Faith. But whatever thoſe at *Trent* did, This Church very carefully avoided the laying that weight upon even thoſe Doctrines which ſhe received as true; and therefore though ſhe drew up a large Form of Doctrine; yet to all her Lay-Sons, this is only a Standard of what ſhe teaches, and the Articles are to them only Articles of Church-Communion. The Citations that are brought from thoſe two great Primates, *Laud*, and *Bramhall*, go no further than this: They do not ſeem to relate to the Clergy that ſubſcribe them, but to the Laity and Body of the People. The People who do only join in Communion with us, may well continue to do ſo, though they may not be fully ſatisfied with every Propoſition in them; Unleſs they ſhould think that they ſtruck againſt any of the Articles or Foundations of Faith; and as thoſe Great men truly obſerve, there is a great difference to be obſerved in this particular between the Imperious Spirit of the Church of *Rome*, and the modeſt freedom which ours allows.

1 Cor. 9. 19, *to* 23. 5. Gal. 3. 2. Gal. 21.

But I come in the next place to conſider what the Clergy is bound to by their Subſcriptions. The meaning of every Subſcription is to be taken from the deſign of the Impoſer, and from the words of the Subſcription it ſelf. The Title of the Articles bears, That they were agreed upon in Convocation, **For the avoiding of diverſities of Opinions, and for the ſtabliſhing conſent touching true Religion.** Where it is evident, that *a Conſent in Opinion* is deſigned. If we in the next place conſider the Declaration that the Church has made in the Canons, we ſhall find, that though by the Fifth Canon, which relates to the

the whole Body of the People, ſuch are only declared to be Excommunicated *ipſo facto*, who ſhall affirm any of the Articles to be *Erroneous*, or ſuch as he may not with a good Conſcience Subſcribe to; yet the 36*th* Canon is expreſs for the Clergy, requiring them to Subſcribe *willingly*, and *ex animo*; and *acknowledge all and every Article to be agreeable to the word of God*: Upon which Canon it is that the Form of the Subſcription runs in theſe words, which ſeem expreſly to declare a man's own Opinion, and not a bare conſent to an Article of Peace, or an Engagement to ſilence and ſubmiſſion. The Statute of the 13*th* of Queen *Elizabeth*, *cap.* 12. which gives the Legal Authority to our requiring Subſcriptions, in order to a man's being capable of a Benefice, requires that every Clergyman ſhould read the Articles in the Church where he is to ſerve, with a Declaration of his *Unfeigned Aſſent to them.* Theſe things make it very plain, that the Subſcriptions of the Clergy muſt be conſidered as a Declaration of their own Opinion, and not as a bare Obligation to ſilence. There aroſe in K. *James* the Firſt's Reign, great and warm Diſputes concerning the Decrees of God, and thoſe other Points that were ſetled in *Holland* by the Synod of *Dort* againſt the *Remonſtrants.* Divines of both ſides among us appealed to the Articles, and pretended they were favourable to them: For though the firſt appearance of them ſeems to favour the Doctrine of Abſolute Decrees, and the Irreſiſtibility of Grace; yet there are many expreſſions that have another face, and ſo thoſe of the other Perſuaſion pleaded for themſelves from theſe. Upon this a Royal Declaration was ſet forth, in which after that mention is made of *thoſe* Diſputes, *and that the men of all ſides did take the Articles to be for them; order is given for ſtopping thoſe Diſputes for the future: and for ſhutting them in God's promiſes, as they be generally ſet forth in the Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the* Church of England, *according to them; and that no man thereafter ſhould put his own Senſe or Comment to be the meaning of the Article, but ſhould take it in the Literal and Grammatical Senſe.* In this there has been ſuch a general acquieſcing, that the fierceneſs of theſe Diſputes has gone off, while men have been left to Subſcribe the Articles according to their Literal and Grammatical Senſe. From which two Things are to be inferred: The one is, that the Subſcription does import an Aſſent to the Article; and the other is, that an Article being conceived in ſuch general words, that it can admit of different Literal and Grammatical Senſes, even when the Senſes given are plainly contrary one to another, both ſides may Subſcribe the Article with a good Conſcience, and without any Equivocation. To make this more ſenſible, I ſhall give an inſtance of it in an Article concerning which there is no Diſpute at preſent.

The Third Article concerning Chriſt's *deſcent into Hell* is capable of Three different Senſes, and all the Three are both Literal and Grammatical. The Firſt is, that Chriſt deſcended locally into Hell, and preached to the *Spirits there in priſon*; and this has one great advantage on its ſide, that thoſe who firſt prepared the Articles in K. *Edward*'s Time were of this Opinion, for they made it a part of it, by adding in the Article thoſe words of St. *Peter* as the Proof or Explanation of it. Now though that period was left out in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Time; yet no Declaration was made againſt it: ſo that this Senſe was once in poſſeſſion, and was never expreſly rejected: Beſides

that

that it has great ſupport from the Authority of many Fathers who underſtood the *deſcent into Hell*, according to this Explanation. A Second Senſe of which that Article is capable, is, That by *Hell* is meant the *Grave*, according to the Signification of the Original Word in the *Hebrew*; and this is ſupported by the words of *Chriſt's deſcending into the lower parts of the Earth*; as alſo by this, That ſeveral Creeds that have this Article, have not that or Chriſt's being buried: and ſome that mention his Burial, have not this of his Deſcent into Hell. A Third Senſe is, That by Hell, according to the Signification of the *Greek* Word, is to be meant the Place or Region of Spirits ſeparated from their Bodies: So that by Chriſt's *deſcent into Hell* is only to be meant, that his Soul was really and entirely diſunited from his Body, not lying dead in it as in an Apoplectical Fit, nor hovering about it, but that it was tranſlated into the Seats of departed Souls. All theſe Three Senſes differ very much from one another, and yet they are all Senſes that are Literal and Grammatical; ſo that in which of theſe ſoever a man conceives the Article, he may Subſcribe it, and he does no way prevaricate in ſo doing. If men would therefore underſtand all the other Articles in the ſame largeneſs, and with the ſame equity, there would not be that occaſion given for unjuſt Cenſure that there has been. Where then the Articles are conceived in large and general words, and have not more ſpecial and reſtrained terms in them, we ought to take that for a ſure Indication, that the Church does not intend to tie men up too ſeverely to particular Opinions, but that ſhe leaves all to ſuch a liberty as is agreeable with the Purity of the Faith. And this ſeems ſufficient to explain the Title of the Articles, and the Subſcriptions that are required of the Clergy to them.

The laſt thing to be ſetled is the true Reading of the Articles; for there being ſome ſmall diverſity between the Printed Editions, and the Manuſcripts that were ſigned by both Houſes of Convocation; I have deſired the aſſiſtance both of Dr. *Green*, the preſent Worthy Maſter of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Cambridge*, and of ſome of the Learned Fellows of that Body; That they would give themſelves the trouble to collate the Printed Editions, and their Manuſcripts, with ſuch a ſcrupulous exactneſs as becomes a Matter of this Importance; which they were pleaſed to do very minutely. I will ſet down Both the Collations as they were tranſmitted to me; beginning with that which I had from the Fellows four Years ago.

ARTICLE III.

Of the going down of Chriſt into Hell.

AS Chriſt Died for us, and was Buried; ſo alſo it is to be believ'd, That he went down into Hell. ["For his Bo-"dy lay in the Grave till his "Reſurrection; but his Soul "being ſeparate from his Bo-"dy remain'd with the Spi-"rits which were detain'd in "Priſon; that is to ſay, in Hell, "and there preached unto "them.] CAR-

Theſe words, ſaid to be left out, are found in the Original Articles, Sign'd by the Chief Clergy of Both Provinces, now extant in the Manuſcript Libraries of C. C. C. C. *in the Book call'd* Synodalia: *but diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt with Lines of* Minium; *which Lines plainly appear to have been done afterwards, becauſe the Leaves and Lines of the Original are exactly numbred at the end; which number without theſe Lines were manifeſtly falſe.*

ARTICLE VI.

In the Original these words only are found, Testamentum vetus novo contrarium non est, quandoquidem, &c.

The Old Testament is not to be rejected as if it were contrary to the New, but to be retained. Forasmuch, &c.

ARTICLE IX.

The Latin of the Original is, Et quanquam renatis & credentibus nulla propter Christum est condemnatio.

And although there is no Condemnation to them that believe, and are Baptiz'd, &c.

ARTICLE X.

Of Grace.

This Article is not found in this Original.

The Grace of Christ, or the Holy Ghost, which is given by Him, doth, &c.

ARTICLE XVI.

Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.

This is not found.

The Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is then committed when, &c.

ARTICLE XIX.

This is not found.

All men are bound to keep the Precepts of the Moral Law, although the Law given from God, &c.

ARTICLE XX.

Of the Authority of the Church.

This Article agrees with the Original; but these words, The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith, *suppos'd to begin the Article, are not found in any part thereof.*

It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Words written, &c.

ARTICLE

In the fourteenth Line of this Article, immediately after theſe words, (**But yet have not like nature with Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper**) *follows*, quomodo nec penitentia, *which being mark'd underneath with* Minium *is left out in the Tranſlation.*

ARTICLE XXVI.

Of the Sacraments.

Sacraments Ordain'd of Chriſt, &c.

This Article agrees with the Original, as far as theſe words (**and hath given occaſion to many Superſtitions**) *where follows*, Chriſtus in cœlum aſcendens, corpori ſuo immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abſtulit, humanæ enim naturæ veritatem (juxta Scripturas) perpetuo retinet, quam uno & definito loco eſſe, & non in multa vel omnia ſimul loca diffundi oportet; quum igitur Chriſtus in cœlum ſublatus, ibi uſque ad finem ſæculi ſit permanſurus, atque inde, non aliunde (ut loquitur *Auguſtinus*) venturus ſit, ad judicandum vivos & mortuos non debet quiſquam fidelium, carnis & ejus & ſanguinis realem, & corporalem (ut loquuntur) præſentiam in Euchariſtia vel credere vel profiteri. *Theſe words are mark'd and ſcrawl'd over with* Minium, *and the words immediately following*, (Corpus tamen Chriſti datur, accipitur, & manducatur in cœna, tantum cœleſti & ſpirituali ratione) *are inſerted in a different Hand juſt before them, in a line and half left void, which plainly appears to be done afterwards, by reaſon the ſame Hand has alter'd the firſt number of Lines, and for* Viginti quatuor, *made* quatuordecem.

ARTICLE XXIX.

Of the Lord's Supper.

The Supper of the Lord's is not only a Sign of, &c.

The Three laſt Articles, Viz. *The* 39th, *Of the Reſurrection of the Dead*; *the* 40th, *That the Souls of men do neither periſh with their Bodies*, (neque otioſi dormiant) *is added in the Original. And the* 42d, *That all ſhall not be ſaved at laſt, are found in the Original, diſtinguiſh'd only with a Marginal Line of* Minium: *But the* 41ſt *of the* Millenarians *is wholly left out.*

The number of Articles does not exactly agree, by reaſon ſome are inſerted, which are found only in King Edward's *Articles, but none are wanting that are found in the Original.*

Corpus Chriſti Col. *Feb. 4th*, 169⅞.

UPON Examination we judge theſe to be all the material differences, that are unobſerv'd, between the Original Manuſcripts, and the B. of *Salisbury*'s Printed Copy. *Witneſs our Hands.*

Jo. Jaggard,
Rob. Moſſe, } Fellows of the ſaid College.
Will. Lunn,

After I had procured this, I was desirous likewise to have the Printed Editions Collated with the Second Publication of the Articles in the Year 1571. in which the Convocation reviewed those of 1562. and made some small Alterations: And these were very lately procured for me by my Reverend Friend, Dr. *Green*; which I will set down as he was pleased to communicate them to me.

[*Note*, MS. *stands for* Manuscript, *and* Pr. *for* Print.]

Art. 1. *MS.* and true God, and he is everlasting, without Body.
Pr. and true God, everlasting, without Body.
Art. 2. *MS.* but also for all actual sins of men.
Pr. but also for actual sins of men.
Art. 3. *MS.* so also it is to be believed.
Pr. so also is it to be believed.
Art. 4. *MS.* Christ did truly arise again.
Pr. Christ did truly rise again.
MS. until he return to judge all men at the last day.
Pr. until he return to judge men at the last day.
Art. 6. *MS.* to be believed as an Article of the Faith.
Pr. to be believed as an Article of Faith.
MS. requisite as necessary to Salvation.
Pr. requisite or necessary to Salvation.
MS. In the name of holy Scripture.
Pr. In the name of the holy Scripture.
MS. but yet doth it not apply.
Pr. but yet doth not apply.
MS. *Baruch.*
Pr. Baruch the Prophet.
MS. and account them for Canonical.
Pr. and account them Canonical.
Art. 8. *MS.* by most certain warranties of Holy Scripture.
Pr. by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture.
Art. 9. *MS.* but it is the fault.
Pr. but is the fault.
MS. whereby man is very far gone from his original righteousness.
Pr. whereby man is far gone from original righteousness.
MS. in them that be regenerated.
Pr. in them that are regenerated.

Art. De Gratia, non habetur in MS.

Art. 10. *MS.* a good will and working in us.
Pr. a good will and working with us.
Art. 14. *MS.* cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety.
Pr. cannot be taught without arrogancy and iniquity.
MS. we be unprofitable Servants.
Pr. we are unprofitable Servants.
Art. 15. *MS.* sin only except.
Pr. sin only excepted.

MS. to

MS. to be the Lamb without ſpot.
Pr. **to be a Lamb without ſpot.**
MS. but we the reſt, although baptized, and born again, in Chriſt, yet we all offend.
Pr. **but all we the reſt, although baptized, and if born in Chriſt, yet offend.**

Art. De Blaſphemia in Sp. Sanct. non eſt in MS.

Art. 16. *MS.* wherefore the place for Penitence.
Pr. **wherefore the grant of Repentance.**
Art. 17. *MS.* ſo excellent a benefit of God given unto them, be called according.
Pr. **ſo excellent a benefit of God, be called according.**
MS. as becauſe it doth fervently kindle their love.
Pr. **as becauſe it doth frequently kindle their love.**

Art. Omnes Obligantur, &c. non eſt in MS.

Art. 18. *MS.* to frame his life according to the Law and the light of Nature.
Pr. **to frame his life according to that Law, and the light of Nature.**
Art. 19. *MS.* congregation of faithful men in the which the pure Word.
Pr. **congregation of faithful men in which the pure Word.**
Art. 20. *MS.* The Church hath Power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of Faith. And yet.
Theſe words are not in the Original MS.
MS. ought it not to enforce any thing.
Pr. **it ought not to enforce any thing.**
Art. 21. *MS.* and when they be gathered together (foraſmuch.
Pr. **and when they be gathered (foraſmuch.**
Art. 22. *MS.* is a fond thing vainly invented.
Pr. **is a fond thing vainly feigned.**
Art. 24. *MS.* in a Tongue not underſtanded of the People.
Pr. **in a Tongue not underſtood of the People.**
Art. 25. *MS.* and effectual ſigns of grace and God's good will towards us.
Pr. **and effectual ſigns of grace and God's will towards us.**
MS. and extream annoyling.
Pr. **and extream unction.**
Art. 26. *MS.* in their own name, but do miniſter by Chriſt's Commiſſion and authority.
Pr. **in their own name, but in Chriſt's, and do miniſter by his Commiſſion and authority.**
MS. and in the receiving of the Sacraments.
Pr. **and in the receiving the Sacraments.**

MS. and

	MS.	and rightly receive the Sacraments.
	Pr.	**and rightly do receive the Sacraments.**
Art. 27.	*MS.*	from others that be not christned, but is also a sign.
	Pr.	**from others that be not christned, but it is also a sign.**
	MS.	forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption.
	Pr.	**forgiveness of sin, of our adoption.**
Art. 28.	*MS.*	to have amongst themselves.
	Pr.	**to have among themselves.**
	MS.	the bread which we break is a Communion of the body of Christ.
	Pr.	**the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ.**
	MS.	and likewise the Cup of blessing is a Communion of the blood of Christ.
	Pr.	**and likewise the Cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.**
	MS.	or the change of the Substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood cannot be proved by holy Writ, but is repugnant.
	Pr.	**or the change of the substance of bread and wine in the supper of the Lord cannot be proved by holy Writ, but it is repugnant.**
	MS.	but the mean whereby the body of Christ is received.
	Pr.	**and the mean whereby the body of Christ is received.**
	MS.	lifted up or worshipped.
	Pr.	**lifted up and worshipped.**
Art. 31.	*MS.*	is the perfect redemption.
	Pr.	**is that perfect redemption.**
	MS.	to have remission of pain or guilt were forged Fables.
	Pr.	**to have remission of pain and guilt were blasphemous Fables.**
Art. 33.	*MS.*	that hath authority thereto.
	Pr.	**that hath authority thereunto.**
Art. 34.	*MS.*	diversity of countries, times, and mens manners.
	Pr.	**diversity of countries and mens manners.**
	MS.	and be ordained and appointed by common autority.
	Pr.	**and be ordained and approved by common authority.**
	MS.	the consciences of the weak brethren.
	Pr.	**the consciences of weak brethren.**
Art. 35.	*MS.*	of Homilies, the Titles whereof we have joined under this Article, do contain.
	Pr.	**of Homilies, the several Titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain.**
	MS.	wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for this time, as doth the former book which was set forth.
	Pr.	**wholesome Doctrine, necessary for these times, as doth the former book of Homilies which were set forth.**

MS. and

MS. and therefore are to be read in our Churches by the Miniſters, diligently, plainly, and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtanded of the people.

Pr. **and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Miniſters, diligently and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtood of the people.**

MS. miniſtred in a tongue known.

Pr. **miniſtred in a known tongue.**

Art. De Libro Precationum, &c. non eſt in MS.

Art. 36. *MS.* in the time of the moſt noble K. *Edward* the Sixth.

Pr. **in the time of** Edward **the Sixth.**

MS. ſuperſtitious or ungodly.

Pr. **ſuperſtitious and ungodly.**

Art. 37. *MS.* whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or not.

Pr. **whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil.**

MS. the minds of ſome ſlanderous folks to be offended.

Pr. **the minds of ſome dangerous folks to be offended.**

MS. we give not to our Princes.

Pr. **we give not our Princes.**

MS. or of Sacraments.

Pr. **or of the Sacraments.**

MS. the Injunctions alſo lately ſet forth.

Pr. **the Injunctions alſo ſet forth.**

MS. and ſerve in the Wars.

Pr. **and ſerve in lawful Wars.**

Art. 38. *MS.* every man oughteth of ſuch things.

Pr. **every man ought of ſuch things.**

Art. 39. *Edw.* 6. *& qui ſequuntur, non ſunt in MS.*

WE *Th' archbiſhops and Biſhops of either Province of this Realm of* England, *lawfully gathered together in this Provincial Synod holden at* London *with Continuations and Prorogations of the ſame, do receive, profeſs and acknowledge the* xxxviii *Articles before written in* xix *Pages going before, to contain true and ſound doctrine, and do approve and ratify the ſame by the ſubſcription of our hands the* xi^th *day of* May *in the year of our Lord* 1571. *and in the year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady* Elizabeth *by the Grace of God of* England, France *and* Ireland, *Queen, Defender of the Faith,* &c. *the thirteenth.*

Matthue Cantuar.
Rob. Winton.
Jo. Heref.
Richarde Ely.
Nic. Wigorn.
Jo. Sarisburien.
Edm. Roffen.
N. Bangor.
Ri. Ciceſtren.
Thom. Lincoln.
Willhelmus Exon.

From

From theſe Diverſities a great difficulty will naturally ariſe about this whole Matter. The Manuſcripts of *Corpus Chriſti* are without doubt Originals.

The hands of the Subſcribers are well known, they belonged to Archbiſhop *Parker*, and were left by him to that College, and they are Signed with a particular care; for at the end of them there is not only a Sum of the number of the Pages, but of the Lines in every Page. And though this was the Work only of the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*; yet the Archbiſhop of *York*, with the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *Cheſter*, Subſcribed them likewiſe, and they were alſo Subſcribed by the whole Lower Houſe. But we are not ſure that the like care was uſed in the Convocation *Anno* 1571. for the Articles are only Subſcribed by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Ten Biſhops of his Province; nor does the Subſcription of the Lower Houſe appear. Theſe Articles were firſt Printed in the Year 1563. conform to the preſent Impreſſions which are ſtill in uſe among us. So the Alterations were then made while the thing was freſh and well known, therefore no Fraud nor Artifice is to be ſuſpected, ſince ſome Objections would have been then made, eſpecially by the great Party of the Complying Papiſts, who then continued in the Church: They would not have failed to have made much uſe of this, and to have taken great advantages from it, if there had been any occaſion or colour for it; and yet nothing of this kind was then done.

One Alteration of more Importance was made in the Year 1571. Thoſe words of the 20*th* Article, *The Church hath power to Decree Rites or Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith*, were left out both in the Manuſcripts, and in the Printed Editions, but were afterwards reſtored according to the Articles Printed *Anno* 1563. I cannot find out in what Year they were again put in the Printed Copies. They appear in two ſeveral Impreſſions in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, which are in my hands: It paſſes commonly that it was done by Archbiſhop *Laud*; and his Enemies laid this upon him among other things, That he had corrupted the Doctrine of this Church by this addition; but he cleared himſelf of that, as well he might; and in a Speech in the Star-Chamber, appealed to the Original, and affirmed theſe words were in it.

The true account of this difficulty is this. When the Articles were firſt ſetled, they were Subſcribed by Both Houſes upon Paper; but that being done, they were afterward Ingroſſed in Parchment, and made up in Form to remain as Records. Now in all ſuch Bodies, many Alterations are often made after a minute or firſt Draught is agreed on before the matter is brought to full Perfection; ſo theſe Alterations as moſt of them are ſmall and inconſiderable, were made between the time that they were firſt Subſcribed, and the laſt Voting of them. But the Original Records, which if extant would have cleared the whole matter, having been burnt in the Fire of *London*, it is not poſſible to Appeal to them; yet what has been propoſed, may ſerve, I hope, fully to clear the difficulty.

I now go to conſider the Articles themſelves.

ARTICLE

Art. 1.

ARTICLE I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

There is but one living and true God, everlasting without bodie parts or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker and preserver of all things both visible and invisible; and in the unity of this godhead there be three persons of one substance, power and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

THE Natural Order of Things required, That the First of all Articles in Religion should be concerning the Being and Attributes of God: For all other Doctrines arise out of this. But the Title appropriates this to the Holy Trinity; because that is the only part of the Article which peculiarly belongs to the Christian Religion; since the rest is Founded on the Principles of Natural Religion.

There are Six Heads to be Treated of, in order to the full opening of all that is contained in this Article.

1. That there is a God.
2. That there is but One God.
3. Negatively, That this God hath neither Body, Parts, nor Passions.
4. Positively, That he is of Infinite Power, Wisdom, and Goodness.
5. That he at first Created, and does still Preserve all things, not only what is Material and Visible, but also what is Spiritual and Invisible.
6. The Trinity is here Asserted.

These being all Points of the highest consequence, it is very necessary to state them as clearly, and to prove them as fully as may be.

The First is, *That there is a God.* This is a Proposition which in all Ages has been so universally received and believed, some very few Instances being only assigned of such as either have denied or doubted of it, that the very consent of so many Ages and Nations, of such different Tempers and Languages, so vastly remote from one another, has been long esteemed a good Argument, to prove that either there is somewhat in the Nature of Man, that by a secret sort of Instinct does dictate this to him; or that all Mankind has descended from one common Stock; and that this belief has passed down from the first Man to all his Posterity. If the more Polite Nations had only received this, some might suggest, that wise men had introduced it as a mean to govern human Society, and to keep it in order: Or if only the more barbarous had received this, it might be thought to be the effect of their Fear, and their Ignorance; but since all Sorts, as well as all Ages of men, have received it, this alone goes a great way to assure us of the Being of a God.

Art. 1. To this Two things are Objected, 1*ſt*. That ſome Nations, ſuch as *Soldania*, *Formoſa*, and ſome in *America*, have been diſcovered in theſe laſt Ages that ſeem to acknowledge no Deity. But to this, Two things are to be oppoſed: 1*ſt*. That thoſe who firſt diſcovered theſe Countries, and have given that account of them, did not know them enough, nor underſtand their Language ſo perfectly as was neceſſary to enable them to comprehend all their Opinions: And this is the more probable, becauſe others that have writ after them, aſſure us, that they are not without all ſenſe of Religion, which the firſt diſcoveries had too haſtily affirmed: Some prints of Religion begin to be obſerved among thoſe of *Soldania*, though it is certainly one of the moſt degenerated of all Nations. But a 2d Anſwer to this, is, That thoſe Nations of whom theſe Reports are given out, are ſo extremely ſunk from all that is wiſe or regular, great and good in human Nature, ſo rude and untractable, and ſo incapable of Arts and Diſcipline, that if the Reports concerning them are to be believed, and if that weakens the Argument from the common conſent of Mankind of the one hand, it ſtrengthens it on another, while it appears that Human Nature, when it wants this Impreſſion, it wants with it all that is great or orderly in it; and ſhews a brutality almoſt as low and baſe as is that of Beaſts. Some men are born without ſome of their Senſes, and others without the uſe of Reaſon and Memory: And yet thoſe exceptions do not prove that the imperfections of ſuch perſons are not irregularities againſt the common courſe of Things: The monſtrouſneſs as well as the miſeries of perſons ſo unhappily born, tend to recommend more effectually the perfection of human Nature. So if theſe Nations which are ſuppoſed to be without the belief of a God, are ſuch a low and degenerated piece of human Nature, that ſome have doubted whether they are a perfect Race of Men, or not; this does not derogate from, but rather confirms the force of this Argument, from the general conſent of all Nations.

A Second Exception to this Argument is, That men have not agreed in the ſame Notions concerning the Deity: Some believing Two Gods, a Good and Bad, that are in a perpetual conteſt together: Others holding a vaſt number of Gods, either all equal or ſubaltern to one another: And ſome believing God to be a corporeal Being, and that the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and a great many other Beings are Gods: Since then, though all may acknowledge a Deity in general, they are yet ſubdivided into ſo many different conceits about it, no Argument can be drawn from this ſuppoſed Conſent, which is not ſo great in reality, as it ſeems to be. But in Anſwer to this we muſt obſerve, That the conſtant ſenſe of Mankind agreeing in this, That there is a Superior Being that governs the World, ſhews that this fixed Perſuaſion has a deep Root: Though the weakneſs of ſeveral Nations being practiſed upon by deſigning men, they have in many things corrupted this Notion of God. That might have ariſen from the Tradition of ſome true Doctrines vitiated in the conveyance. Spirits made by God to govern the World by the Order, and under the Direction of the Supreme Mind, might eaſily come to be lookt on as ſubordinate Deities: Some evil and lapſed Spirits might in a courſe of ſome Ages paſs for evil Gods. The Apparitions of the Deity under ſome Figures might make theſe Figures to be adored: And

God

God being conſidered as the Supreme Light, this might lead men to Worſhip the Sun as his chief Vehicle: And ſo by degrees he might paſs for the Supreme God. Thus it is eaſy to trace up theſe miſtakes to what may juſtly be ſuppoſed to be their firſt Source and Riſe. But ſtill the Foundation of them all, was a firm belief of a Superior Nature that govern'd the World. Mankind agreeing in that, an occaſion was given thereby to bad and deſigning men to graft upon it ſuch other Tenets as might feed Superſtition and Idolatry, and furniſh the Managers of thoſe Impoſtures with advantages to raiſe their own Authority. But how various ſoever the ſeveral Ages and Nations of the World may have been as to their more ſpecial Opinions and Rites; yet the General Idea of a God remain'd ſtill unalter'd, even amidſt all the changes that have happened in the particular Forms and Doctrines of Religion. *Art.* 1.

Another Argument for the Being of God, is taken from the Viſible World, in which there is a vaſt variety of Beings curiouſly framed, and that ſeem deſigned for great and noble ends. In theſe we ſee clear Characters of God's Eternal Power, and Wiſdom. And that is thus to be made out. It is certain, that nothing could give Being to it ſelf; ſo the things which we ſee, either had their Being from all Eternity, or were made in time: And either they were from all Eternity in the ſame State, and under the ſame Revolutions of the Heavens, as they are at preſent, or they fell into the Order and Method in which they do now rowl, by ſome happy chance; out of which all the Beauty and Uſefulneſs of the Creation did ariſe. But if all theſe ſuppoſitions are manifeſtly falſe, then it will remain, That if things neither were from all Eternity as they now are, nor fell into their preſent State by chance, then there is a Superior Eſſence, that gave them Being, and that moulded them as we ſee they now are. The Firſt Branch of this, That they were not as now they are from all Eternity, is to be proved by two ſorts of Arguments; the one Intrinſical, by demonſtrating this to be impoſſible; the other Moral, by ſhewing that it is not at all credible. As to the firſt, it is to be conſidered, that a ſucceſſive duration made up of Parts, which is called *Time*, and is meaſured by a ſucceſſive Rotation of the Heavens, cannot poſſibly be Eternal. For if there were Eternal Revolutions of *Saturn* in his courſe of Thirty Years, and Eternal Revolutions of Days as well as Years, of Minutes as well as Hours, then the one muſt be as infinite as the other; ſo that the one muſt be equal to the other, both being infinite; and yet the latter are ſome Millions of times more than the other; which is impoſſible. Further; Of ev'ry paſt duration, as this is true, That once it was preſent; ſo this is true, That once it was to come; This being a neceſſary affection of every thing that exiſts in time: If then all paſt durations were all once future, or to be, then we cannot conceive ſuch a Succeſſion of Durations Eternal, ſince once every one of them was to come. Nor can all this, or any part of it, be turned againſt us, who believe that ſome Beings are immortal, and ſhall never ceaſe to be; for all thoſe future durations have never actually been, but are ſtill produced of new, and ſo continued in being. This Argument may ſeem to be too ſubtile, and it will require ſome attention of mind to obſerve and diſcover the force of it; but after we have turned it over and over again, it will be found to

Art. 1. be a true demonſtration. The chief Objection that lies againſt it, is, That in the Opinion of thoſe who deny that there are any indiviſible points of Matter, and that believe that Matter is infinitely diviſible, it is not abſurd to ſay, That one Infinite is more than another: For the ſmalleſt crumb of Matter is Infinite, as well as the whole Globe of the Earth: And therefore the Revolutions of *Saturn* may be infinite as well as the Revolutions of Days, though the one be vaſtly more numerous than the other. But there is this difference betwixt the Succeſſion of Time, and the Compoſition of Matter; That thoſe who deny Indiviſibles, ſay, That no one Point can be aſſigned: For if Points could be aſſigned or number'd, it is certain that they could not be Infinite: For an infinite Number ſeems to be a contradiction; but if the Series of Mankind were Infinite, ſince this is viſibly divided into ſingle Individuals, as the Units in that Series, then here ariſes an Infinite Number compoſed of Units or Individuals, that can be aſſigned. The ſame is to be ſaid of Minutes, Hours, Days, and Years: Nor can it be ſaid with equal reaſon, that every portion of Time is diviſible to Infinity, as well as every parcel of Matter. It ſeems evident, that there is a preſent time; and that paſt, preſent and to come, cannot be ſaid to be true of any thing all at once: Therefore the Objection againſt the aſſigning points in Matter, does not overthrow the truth of this Argument. But if it is thought that this is rather a ſlight of Metaphiſicks that intangles one, than a plain and full conviction; Let us turn next to ſuch Reaſonings as are more obvious, and that are more eaſily apprehended.

The other Moral Arguments are more ſenſible as well as they are of a more complicated Nature; and proceed thus. The Hiſtory of all Nations, of all Governments, Arts, Sciences, and even inſtituted Religions; the peopling of Nations, the progreſs of Commerce and of Colonies, are plain Indications of the Novelty of the World: No ſort of Trace remaining by which we can believe it to be Ancienter than the Books of *Moſes* repreſent it to be: For though ſome Nations, ſuch as the *Egyptians* and the *Chineſes* have boaſted of a much greater Antiquity; yet it is plain, we hear of no ſeries of Hiſtory for all thoſe Ages; ſo that what they had relating to them, if it is not wholly a Fiction, might have been only in Aſtronomical Tables, which may be eaſily run backwards as well as forward. The very few Eclipſes which *Ptolomy* could hear of, is a remarkable inſtance of the Novelty of Hiſtory; ſince the obſerving ſuch an extraordinary Accident in the Heavens, in ſo pure an Air, where the Sun was not only obſerved, but adored, muſt have been one of the firſt eſſects of Learning or Induſtry. All theſe Characters of the Novelty of the World have been ſo well conſidered by *Lucretius*, and other Atheiſts, that they gave up the Point, and thought it evident that this preſent frame of Things had certainly a beginning.

The Solution that thoſe men who found themſelves driven from this of the World's being Eternal, have given to this difficulty, by ſaying that all things have run by chance into the Combinations and Channels in which we ſee Nature run, is ſo abſurd, that it looks like men who are reſolved to believe any thing, how abſurd ſoever, rather than to acknowledge Religion. For what a ſtrange conceit is it, to think that Chance could ſettle on ſuch a regular and uſeful frame of things, and

continue ſo fixed and ſtable in it; and that Chance could do ſo much at once, and ſhould do nothing ever ſince? The Conſtancy of the Celeſtial Motions; the Obliquity of the Zodiack, by which different Seaſons are aſſigned to different Climates; the Diviſions of this Globe into Sea and Land, to Hills and Vales; the Productions of the Earth, whether latent, ſuch as Mines, Minerals, and other Foſſils; or viſible, ſuch as Graſs, Grain, Herbs, Flowers, Shrubs, and Trees; the ſmall beginnings, and the curious Compoſitions of them: The Variety and curious Structure of Inſects; the diſpoſition of the Bodies of perfecter Animals; and above all, the Fabrick of the Body of Man, eſpecially the curious Diſcoveries that Anatomy and Microſcopes have given us; the ſtrange beginning and progreſs of thoſe; the Wonders that occur in every Organ of Senſe, and the amazing Structure and Uſe of the Brain, are all ſuch things, ſo Artificial, and yet ſo regular, and ſo exactly ſhap'd and fitted for their ſeveral Uſes, that he who can believe all this to be Chance, ſeems to have brought his mind to digeſt any Abſurdity. *Art.* 1.

That all Men ſhould reſemble one another in the main things, and yet that every Man ſhould have a peculiar Look, Voice, and way of Writing, is neceſſary to maintain Order and Diſtinction in Society: By theſe we know men if we either ſee them, hear them ſpeak in the dark, or receive any Writing from them at a diſtance; without theſe, the whole Commerce of Life would be one continued courſe of Miſtake and Confuſion. This, I ſay, is ſuch an Indication of Wiſdom, that it looks like a Violence to Nature to think it can be otherwiſe.

The only Colour that has ſupported this monſtrous Conceit, That things ariſe our of Chance, is, That it has long paſſed current in the World, That great Varieties of Inſects do ariſe out of corrupted Matter. They argue, That if the Sun's ſhining on a Dunghil can give Life to ſuch Swarms of curious Creatures, it is but a little more extraordinary to think that Animals and Men might have been formed out of well-diſpoſed Matter, under a peculiar Aſpect of the Heavens. But the exacter Obſervations that have been made in this Age by the help of Glaſſes, have put an end to this Anſwer, which is the beſt that *Lucretius* and other Atheiſts found to reſt in. It is now fully made out, That the Production of all Inſects whatſoever, is in the way of Generation: Heat and Corruption do only hatch thoſe Eggs, that Inſects leave to a prodigious quantity every where. So that this, which is the only ſpecious thing in the whole Plea for Atheiſm, is now given up by the Univerſal Conſent of all the Enquirers into Nature.

And now to bring the force of this long Argument to a head: If this World was neither from all Eternity in the ſtate in which it is at preſent, nor could fall into it by Chance or Accident, then it muſt follow, That it was put into the ſtate in which we now ſee it, by a Being of vaſt Power and Wiſdom. This is the great and ſolid Argument on which Religion reſts; and it receives a vaſt acceſſion of ſtrength from this, That we plainly ſee Matter has not Motion in or of it ſelf: Every part of it is at quiet till it is put in motion, that is not natural to it, for many Parts of Matter fall into a ſtate of reſt and quiet; ſo that Motion muſt be put in them by ſome Impulſe or other. Matter, after it has paſs'd through the higheſt Refinings and Rectifyings poſſible, becomes only more capable of Motion than it was

Art. 1. was before, but ſtill it is a Paſſive Principle, and muſt be put in Motion by ſome other Being. This has appeared ſo neceſſary even to thoſe who have tried their utmoſt Force to make God as little needful as is poſſible in the Structure of the Univerſe, that they have yet been forced to own, That there muſt have been once a vaſt Motion given to Matter by the Supreme Mind.

A Third Argument for the Being of a God, is, That upon ſome great Occaſions, and before a vaſt Number of Witneſſes, ſome Perſons have wrought Miracles: That is, they have put Nature out of its Courſe, by ſome Words or Signs, that of themſelves could not produce thoſe extraordinary Effects: And therefore ſuch Perſons were aſſiſted by a Power ſuperior to the Courſe of Nature; and by conſequence there is ſuch a Being, and That is God. To this the Atheiſts do Firſt ſay, That we do not know the ſecret Virtues that are in Nature; The Loadſtone and Opium produce wonderful Effects; therefore unleſs we knew the whole Extent of Nature, we cannot define what is Supernatural and Miraculous, and what is not ſo. But though we cannot tell how far Nature may go, yet of ſome things we may without heſitation ſay they are beyond Natural Powers. Such were the Wonders that *Moſes* wrought in *Egypt* and in the Wilderneſs, by the ſpeaking a few Words, or the ſtretching out of a Rod. We are ſure theſe could not by any Natural Efficiency produce thoſe Wonders. And the like is to be ſaid of the Miracles of Chriſt, particularly of his raiſing the Dead to life again, and of his own Reſurrection. Theſe we are ſure did not ariſe out of Natural Cauſes. The next thing Atheiſts ſay to this, is to diſpute the Truth of the Facts: But of that I ſhall treat in another place, when the Authority of Revealed Religion comes to be proved from thoſe Facts. All that is neceſſary to be added here, is, That if Facts that are plainly Supernatural, are proved to have been really done, then here is another clear and full Argument, to prove a Being ſuperior to Nature, that can diſpoſe of it at pleaſure: And that Being muſt either be God, or ſome other Inviſible Being, that has a Strength ſuperior to the ſetled Courſe of Nature. And if Inviſible Beings, ſuperior to Nature, whether good or bad, are once acknowledged, a great Step is made to the Proof of the Supreme Being.

There is another famed Argument taken from the Idea of God; which is laid thus: That becauſe one frames a Notion of Infinite Perfection, therefore there muſt be ſuch a Being, from whom that Notion is conveyed to us. This Argument is alſo managed by other Methods, to give us a Demonſtration of the Being of a God. I am unwilling to ſay any thing to derogate from any Argument that is brought to prove this Concluſion; but when he who inſiſts on this, lays all other Arguments aſide, or at leaſt ſlights them as not ſtrong enough to prove the Point, this naturally gives Jealouſy, when all thoſe Reaſons that had for ſo many Ages been conſidered as ſolid Proofs, are neglected, as if this only could amount to a Demonſtration. But beſides, this is an Argument that cannot be offered by any to another Perſon, for his Conviction; ſince if he denies that he has any ſuch Idea, he is without the reach of the Argument. And if a man will ſay that any ſuch Idea which he may raiſe in himſelf, is only an Aggregate that he makes of all thoſe Perfections, of which he can form a

Thought,

Thought, which he lays together, ſeparating from them every Im- *Art.* 1.
perfection that he obſerves to be often mixed with ſome of thoſe
Perfections: If, I ſay, a Man will affirm this, I do not ſee that the In-
ference from any ſuch Thought that he has formed within himſelf,
can have any great force to perſuade him that there is any ſuch Being.
Upon the whole, it ſeems to be fully proved, That there is a Being
that is Superior to Matter, and that gave both Being and Order to it,
and to all other things. This may ſerve to prove the Being of a God:
It is fit in the next place to conſider with all humble Modeſty, what
Thoughts we can or ought to have of the Deity.

That Supreme Being muſt have its Eſſence of it ſelf neceſſarily and
Eternally; for it is impoſſible that any thing can give it ſelf Being;
ſo it muſt be Eternal. And though Eternity in a Succeſſion of Deter-
minate Durations was proved to be impoſſible, yet it is certain that
ſomething muſt be Eternal; either Matter, or a Being ſuperior to it
that has not a Duration defined by Succeſſion, but is a ſimple Eſſence,
and Eternally was, is, and ſhall be the ſame. There is nothing con-
tradictory to it ſelf in this Notion: It is indeed above our Capacity
to form a clear Thought of it; but it is plain it muſt be ſo, and that
this is only a defect in our Nature and Capacity, that we cannot diſtinct-
ly apprehend that which is ſo far above us. Such a Being muſt have
alſo neceſſary Exiſtence in its Notion; for whatſoever is infinitely per-
fect, muſt neceſſarily exiſt; ſince we plainly perceive, that neceſſary
Exiſtence is a Perfection, and that contingent Exiſtence is an Imper-
fection, which ſuppoſes a Being that is produced by another, and
that depends upon it: And as this Superior Being did exiſt from all
Eternity, ſo it is impoſſible it ſhould ceaſe to be; ſince nothing that
once has actually a Being, can ever ceaſe to be, but by an Act of a
Superior Being annihilating it. But there being nothing ſuperior to
the Deity, it is impoſſible that it ſhould ever ceaſe to be: What was
ſelf-exiſtent from all Eternity, muſt alſo be ſo to all Eternity; and it
is as impoſſible that a ſimple Eſſence can annihilate it ſelf, as that it
can make it ſelf.

So much concerning the Firſt and Capital Article of all Religion,
The Exiſtence and Being of a God; which ought not to be proved by
any Authorities from Scripture, unleſs from the Recitals that are given
in it concerning Miracles, as was already hinted at. But as to the
Authority of ſuch Paſſages in Scripture, which affirm, That there is
a God; it is to be conſidered, that before we can be bound to ſubmit
to them, we muſt believe Three Propoſitions antecedent to that.
1. That there is a God. 2. That all his Words are true. 3. That
theſe are his Words. What therefore muſt be believed before we
acknowledge the Scriptures, cannot be proved out of them. It is
then a ſtrange Aſſertion, to ſay, That the Being of a God cannot be
proved by the Light of Nature, but muſt be proved by the Scriptures;
ſince our being aſſured, That there is a God, is the Firſt Principle up-
on which the Authority of the Scriptures depends.

The Second Propoſition in the Article is, That *there is but one God.*
As to this, the common Argument by which it is proved, is the or-
der of the World; from whence it is inferred, That there cannot be
more Gods than one, ſince where there are more than one, there muſt
happen diverſity and confuſion. This is by ſome thought to be no

good

Art. 1. good reaſon; for if there are more Gods, that is, more Beings infinitely perfect, they will always think the ſame thing, and be knit together with an intire love. It is true, in things of a Moral Nature this muſt ſo happen: For Beings infinitely perfect muſt ever agree: But in Phyſical things, capable of no Morality, as in creating the World ſooner or later, and the different Syſtems of Beings, with a thouſand other things that have no Moral Goodneſs in them, different Beings infinitely perfect might have different Thoughts. So this Argument ſeems ſtill of great force to prove the Unity of the Deity. The other Argument from Reaſon to prove the Unity of God, is from the Notion of a Being infinitely perfect. For a Superiority over all other Beings comes ſo naturally into the Idea of infinite Perfection, that we cannot ſeparate it from it. A Being therefore, that has not all other Beings inferior and ſubordinate to it, cannot be infinitely perfect; whence it is evident, That there is but one God. But beſides all this, the Unity of God ſeems to be ſo frequently and ſo plainly aſſerted in the Scripture, that we ſee it was the chief Deſign of the whole Old Teſtament, both of *Moſes* and the *Prophets* to eſtabliſh it, in oppoſition to the falſe opinions of the Heathen, concerning a diverſity of Gods. This is often repeated in the moſt ſolemn Words, as *Hear*
6. Deut 4. *O Iſrael, the Lord our God is one God.* It is the Firſt of the Ten Commandments, *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods but me.* And all things in Heaven and Earth are often ſaid to be made by this one God.
44. Iſa. 6, 8. Negative words are alſo often uſed, *There is none other God but one: beſides me there is none elſe, and I know no other;* the going after other Gods is reckon'd the higheſt, and the moſt unpardonable act of Idolatry. The New Teſtament goes on in the ſame ſtrain. Chriſt ſpeaks of the only *true God*, and that he alone ought to be worſhipped and
17. Joh 3 ſerved; all the Apoſtles do frequently affirm the ſame thing: They
4. Mat. 10. make the believing of one God in oppoſition to the many Gods of the
1 Cor. 8. 5, 6. Heathens, the chief Article of the Chriſtian Religion; and they lay down this as the chief ground of our Obligation to mutual Love and
4. Eph. 4. 5, 6. Union among our ſelves, That *there is one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm.* Now ſince we are ſure that there is but one Meſſias and one Doctrine delivered by him, it will clearly follow, that there muſt be but one God.

So the Unity of the Divine Eſſence is clearly proved both from the Order and Government of the World, from the Idea of Infinite Perfection, and from thoſe expreſs Declarations that are made concerning it in the Scriptures; which laſt is a full proof to all ſuch as own and ſubmit to them.

The Third Head in this Article, is that which is negatively expreſſed, That *God is without Body, Parts,* or *Paſſions.* In general, all theſe are ſo plainly contrary to the Ideas of Infinite Perfection, and they appear ſo evidently to be Imperfections, that this part of the Article will need little Explanation. We do plainly perceive that our Bodies are clogs to our Minds: And all the uſe that even the pureſt ſort of Body in an Eſtate conceived to be glorified, can be of to a Mind, is to be an Inſtrument of local Motion, or to be a repoſitory of Ideas for Memory and Imagination: But God, who is every where, and is one pure and ſimple Act, can have no ſuch uſe for a Body. A Mind dwelling in a Body, is in many reſpects ſuperior to it; yet in ſome

reſpects

reſpects is under it. We who feel how an Act of our Mind can ſo direct the Motions of our Body, that a thought ſets our Limbs and Joints a-going, can from thence conceive, how that the whole extent of Matter, ſhould receive ſuch Motions as the Acts of the Supreme Mind give it: But yet not as a Body united to it, or that the Deity either needs ſuch a Body, or can receive any trouble from it. Thus far the apprehenſion of the thing is very plainly made out to us. Our thoughts put ſome parts of our Body in a preſent Motion, when the Organization is regular, and all the parts are exact; and when there is no Obſtruction in thoſe Veſſels or Paſſages through which that heat, and thoſe Spirits do paſs that cauſe the motion. We do in this perceive, that a thought does command matter; but our Minds are limited to our Bodies, and theſe do not obey them, but as they are in an exact diſpoſition and a fitneſs to be ſo moved. Now theſe are plain Imperfections; but removing them from God, we can from hence apprehend that all the Matter in the Univerſe may be ſo intirely ſubject to the Divine Mind, that it ſhall move and be whatſoever, and whereſoever he will have it to be. This is that which all men do agree in. *Art.* 1.

But many of the Philoſophers thought that Matter, though it was moved and moulded by God, at his pleaſure, yet was not made by him, but was ſelf-exiſtent, and was a Paſſive Principle, but coexiſtent to the Deity, which they thought was the Active Principle: From whence ſome have thought, that the belief of two Gods, one good and another bad, did ſpring: Though others imagine that the belief of a bad God did ariſe from the corruption of that Tradition concerning fallen Angels, as was before ſuggeſted. The Philoſophers could not apprehend that things could be made out of nothing, and therefore they believed that Matter was co-eternal with God. But it is as hard to apprehend how a Mind by its Thought ſhould give Motion to Matter, as how it ſhould give it Being. A Being not made by God, is not ſo eaſily conceivable to be under the acts of his Mind, as that which is made by him. This conceit plainly deſtroys infinite Perfection, which cannot be in God, if all Beings are not from him, and under his Authority; beſides that ſucceſſive duration has been already proved inconſiſtent with Eternity. This Opinion of the World's being a Body to God, as the Mind that dwells in it, and actuates it, is the foundation of Atheiſm: For if it be once thought that God can do nothing without ſuch a Body; then, as this deſtroys the Idea of Infinite Perfection, ſo it makes way to this conceit, That ſince Matter is Viſible, and God Inviſible, there is no other God, but the vaſt extent of the Univerſe: It is true God has often ſhewed himſelf in viſible Appearances; but that was only his putting a ſpecial quantity of Matter into ſuch Motions, as ſhould give a great and aſtoniſhing Idea of his Nature, from that Appearance: Which was both the effect of his Power, and the ſymbol of his Preſence. And thus what glorious Repreſentations ſoever were made either on Mount *Sinai*, or in the Pillar of the Cloud, and Cloud of Glory, thoſe were no Indications of God's having a Body; but were only Manifeſtations, ſuited to beget ſuch thoughts in the Minds of Men, that dwelt in Bodies, as might lay the Principles and Foundations of Religion deep in them: The Language of the Scriptures ſpeaks to the

Art. 1. Capacities of men, and even of rude men in dark times, in which moſt of the Scriptures were writ: But though God is ſpoke of as having a face, eyes, ears, a ſmelling, hands and feet, and as coming down to view Things on Earth, all this is expreſſed after the manner of men, and is to be underſtood in a way ſuitable to a pure Spirit. For the great care that was uſed even under the moſt imperfect State of Revelation, to keep men from framing any Image or Similitude of the Deity, ſhewed that it was far from the meaning of thoſe expreſſions, that God had an Organized Body. Theſe do therefore ſignify only the ſeveral Varieties of Providence. When God was pleaſed with a Nation, his *face* was ſaid to *ſhine* upon it; for ſo a man looks towards thoſe whom he loves. The particular care he takes of them, and the anſwering their Prayers, is expreſſed by Figures borrowed from *Eyes* and *Ears*: The peculiar Diſpenſations of Rewards and Puniſhments are expreſſed by his *hands*; and the exactneſs of his Juſtice and *Wiſdom*, is expreſſed by *coming down* to view the State of human Affairs. Thus it is clear that God has no Body: Nor has he *Parts*, for we can apprehend no Parts but of a Body: So ſince it is certain that God has no Body, he can have *no Parts*: Something like Parts does indeed belong to Spirits, which are their Thoughts diſtinct from their Being, and they have a Succeſſion of them, and do oft change them. But Infinite Perfection excludes this from the Idea of God; ſucceſſive Thoughts as well as ſucceſſive Duration, ſeem inconſiſtent both with Eternity, and with Infinite Perfection. Therefore the Eſſence of God is one perfect Thought, in which he both views and wills all Things: And though his Tranſient Acts that paſs out of the Divine Eſſence, ſuch as Creation, Providence, and Miracles, are done in a Succeſſion of time; yet his Immanent Acts, his Knowledge and his Decrees are one with his Eſſence. Diſtinct Thoughts are plainly an Imperfection, and argue a Progreſs in Knowledge, and a Deliberation in Council, which carry Defect and Infirmity in them. To conceive how this is in God, is far above our Capacity: Who though we feel our imperfection in ſucceſſive Acts; yet cannot apprehend how all things can be both ſeen and determined by one ſingle Thought. But the Divine Eſſence being ſo infinitely above us, it is no wonder if we can frame no diſtinct Act concerning its Knowledge or Will.

There is indeed a vaſt difficulty that ariſes here; for thoſe Acts of God are ſuppoſed free; ſo that they might have been otherwiſe than we ſee they are: And then it is not eaſy to imagine how they ſhould be one with the Divine Eſſence; to which neceſſary Exiſtence does certainly belong. It cannot be ſaid that thoſe acts are neceſſary, and could not be otherwiſe: For ſince all God's Tranſient Acts are the certain Effects of his Immanent ones, if the Immanent ones are neceſſary, then the Tranſient muſt be ſo likewiſe, and ſo every thing muſt be neceſſary: A Chain of neceſſary Fate muſt run through the whole Order of Things: And God himſelf then is no free Being, but acts by a neceſſity of Nature. This ſome have thought was no Abſurdity: God is neceſſarily juſt, true, and good, not by any extrinſick Neceſſity, for that would import an outward limitation, which deſtroys the Idea of God; but by an Intrinſick Neceſſity that ariſes from his own Infinite Perfection; ſome have from hence thought that

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ſince God acts by Infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs, things could not have been otherwiſe than they are: For what is infinitely wiſe or good cannot be altered, or made either better or worſe. But this ſeems on the other hand very hard to conceive: For it would follow from thence that God could neither have made the World ſooner nor later, nor any other way than as now it is: Nor could he have done any one thing otherwiſe than as it is done. This ſeems to eſtabliſh Fate, and to deſtroy Induſtry, and all Prayers and Endeavours. Thus there are ſuch great difficulties on all hands in this matter, That it is much the wiſeſt and ſafeſt courſe to adore what is above our Apprehenſions, rather than to enquire too curiouſly, or determine too boldly in it. It is certain that God Acts both freely and perfectly: Nor is he a Being ſubject to change, or to new acts; but *he is what he is*, both Infinite and Incomprehenſible: We can neither apprehend how he made, nor how he executes his Decrees. So we muſt leave this difficulty, without pretending that we can explain it, or anſwer the Objections that ariſe againſt all the ſeveral ways by which Divines have endeavoured to reſolve it. *Art.* 1.

The Third thing under the Head I now conſider, is, God's being *without Paſſions*. That will be ſoon explained. Paſſion is an Agitation that ſuppoſes a Succeſſion of Thoughts, together with a Trouble for what is paſt, and a fear of miſſing what is aimed at. It ariſes out of a Heat of Mind, and produces a Vehemence of Action: Now all theſe are ſuch manifeſt imperfections, that it does plainly appear they cannot conſiſt with Infinite Perfection. Yet after all this, there are ſeveral Paſſions, ſuch as *Anger*, *Fury*, *Jealouſy*, and *Revenge*, *Bowels of Mercy*, *Compaſſion and Pity*, *Joy* and *Sorrow*, that are aſcribed to God in the common Forms of Speech, that occur often in Scripture, as was formerly obſerved, with relation to thoſe Figures that are taken from the Parts of a Human Body. Paſſion produces a Vehemence of Action; So when there is in the Providences of God ſuch a Vehemence as according to the manner of men would import a Paſſion, then that Paſſion is aſcribed to God: When he puniſhes men for Sin, he is ſaid to be *Angry*: when he does that by ſevere and redoubled Strokes, he is ſaid to be full of *Fury* and *Revenge*: When he puniſhes for Idolatry, or any diſhonour done himſelf, he is ſaid to be *Jealous*: When he changes the Courſe of his Proceedings, he is ſaid to *Repent*: When his Diſpenſations of Providence are very gentle, and his Judgments come ſlowly from him, he is ſaid to have *Bowels*. And thus all the Varieties of Providence come to be expreſſed by all that Variety of Paſſions, which among men might give occaſion to ſuch a Variety of Proceeding.

The Fourth Head in this Article is concerning the *Power*, *Wiſdom*, *and Goodneſs*, of God, that he is *Infinite* in them. If he can give Being to things that are not, and can alſo give all the poſſibilities of Motion, Size and Shape, to Beings that do exiſt, here is Power without bounds. A Power of Creating muſt be Infinite; ſince nothing can reſiſt it. If ſome things are in their own nature impoſſible, that does not ariſe from the want of Power in God, which extends to every thing that is poſſible: But that which is ſuppoſed to be impoſſible of its own nature, cannot actually be: Otherwiſe a thing might both be and not be; and it is perceptible to every man that this is impoſſible. It is not want of

Art. 1. Power in God that he cannot lye nor ſin: It is the Infinite Purity of the Divine Nature that makes this impoſſible, by reaſon of his Infinite Perfection. Nor is it a want of Power in God, That the Truth of Propoſitions concerning things that are paſt, as that Yeſterday once was, is unalterable. Among Impoſſibilities, one is, To take from any Being that which is eſſential to it. God can annihilate every Being at his Pleaſure; for as he gave Being with a Thought, ſo he can deſtroy it with another: And this does fully aſſert the Infinite Power of God. But if he has made Beings with ſuch peculiar Eſſences, as that Matter muſt be extended and impenetrable, and that it is capable of peculiar Surfaces and other Modes, which are only its different Sizes and Shapes, then Matter cannot be and yet not be extended; nor can theſe Modes ſubſiſt, if the Matter of which they are the Modes, is withdrawn. The Infinite Power of God is fully believed by thoſe who acknowledge both his Power of Creating and Annihilating; together with a Power of diſpoſing of the whole Creation, according to the poſſibilities of every Part or Individual of it; though they cannot conceive a poſſibility of ſeparating the eſſential Properties of any Being from it ſelf; that is to ſay, That it may both be, and not be, at the ſame time; ſince an eſſential Property is that which cannot be without that Subſtance to which it belongs.

The Wiſdom of God conſiſts firſt in his ſeeing all the poſſibilities of things, and then in his knowing all things that either are, or ever were or ſhall be: The former is called the knowledge of ſimple *Intelligence* or *Apprehenſion*; the other is called the knowledge of *Viſion*. The one ariſes from the Perfection of the Divine Eſſence, by which he apprehends whatever is poſſible; the other ariſes from his own Decrees, in which the whole Order of things is fixed. But beſides theſe two Ideas that we can frame of the Knowledge of God, ſome have imagined a third Knowledge; which becauſe it is of a middle Order betwixt *Intelligence* and *Viſion*, they have called a *middle Knowledge*; which is the knowing certainly how, according to all the poſſibilities of Circumſtances in which Free Agents might be put, they ſhould chuſe and act. Some have thought that this was a vain and needleſs Conceit; and that it is impoſſible that ſuch Knowledge ſhould be certain, or more than conjectural; and ſince Conjecture implies Doubt, it is an Imperfect Act, and ſo does not become a Being of Infinite Perfection. But others have thought, that the Infinite Perfection of the Divine Mind muſt go ſo far as to foreſee certainly what Free Creatures are to do; ſince upon this Foreſight only they imagine that the Juſtice or Goodneſs of God in his Providence can be made out or defended. It ſeemed fit to mention this upon the preſent occaſion; but it will be then proper to enquire more carefully about it, when the Article of *Predeſtination* is explained.

It is neceſſary to ſtate the Idea of the Goodneſs of God moſt carefully; for we naturally enough frame great and juſt Ideas of Power and Wiſdom, but we eaſily fall into falſe Conceits of Goodneſs. This is that of all the Divine Perfections in which we are the moſt concerned, and ſo we ought to be the moſt careful to frame true Ideas of it: It is alſo that, of all God's Attributes, of which the Scriptures ſpeak moſt copiouſly. Infinite Goodneſs is a Tendency to communicate the Divine Perfections to all created Beings, according to their ſeveral Capacities.

ties. God is Original Goodneſs, all perfect and happy in himſelf, acting and ſeeing every thing in a perfect Light; and he having made Rational Beings capable of ſome degrees of his Light, Purity, and Perfection, the firſt and primary Act of Goodneſs is to propoſe to them ſuch Means as may raiſe them to theſe, to furniſh them with them, to move them oft to them, to accept and to aſſiſt their ſincere Endeavours after them. A ſecond Act of Goodneſs, which is but in order to the firſt, is to pity thoſe Miſeries into which men fall as long as there is any Principle or Poſſibility left in them of their becoming good; to pardon all ſuch ſins as men have committed, who turn to the purpoſes of becoming ſeriouſly good, and to paſs by all the fralities and errors of thoſe who are truly and upon the main good, though Surprize and ſtrong Temptations prove often too hard for them. Theſe two give us as full an Idea as we can have, of perfect Goodneſs; whoſe firſt Aim muſt be the making us good, and like to that Original Goodneſs; Pity and Pardon coming in but in a ſubſidiary way, to carry on the main deſign of making men truly good. Therefore the chief Act and Deſign of Goodneſs, is the making us truly good; and when any perſon falls below that poſſibility, he is no more the Object of Pity or Pardon, becauſe he is no more capable of becoming good. Pardon is offered on deſign to make us really good; ſo it is not to be ſought for, nor reſted in, but in order to a further End, which is the reforming our Natures, and the making us Partakers of the Divine Nature. We are not therefore to frame Ideas of a feeble Goodneſs in God, that yields to importunate Cries, or that melts at a vaſt degree of Miſery. Tenderneſs in Human Nature is a great Ornament and Perfection, neceſſary to diſpoſe us to much Benignity and Mercy: But in the common Adminiſtration of Juſtice, this Tenderneſs muſt be reſtrained; otherwiſe it would ſlacken the Rigor of Puniſhment too much, which might diſſolve the Order and Peace of Human Societies. But ſince we cannot ſee into the truth of mens hearts, a charitable Diſpoſition and a compaſſionate Temper are neceſſary, to make men ſociable and kind, gentle and human. God, who ſees our hearts, and is ever aſſiſting all our Endeavours to become truly good, needs not this Tenderneſs, nor is he indeed capable of it; for after all its Beauty with relation to the State wherein we are now put, yet in it ſelf it implies Imperfection. Nor can the Miſeries and Howlings of wicked Beings, after all the Seeds and Poſſibilities of Goodneſs are utterly extinguiſhed in them, give any Pity to the Divine Being: Theſe are no longer the Objects of the Primary Act of his Goodneſs, aud therefore they cannot come under its Secondary Acts. It is of ſuch great Conſequence to ſettle this Notion right in our minds, that it well deſerves to be ſo copiouſly opened; ſince we now ſee in what reſpects God's Goodneſs is without bounds, and Infinite; that is, it reaches to all men, after all Sins whatſoever, as long as they are capable of becoming good. It is not a Limitation of the Divine Goodneſs to ſay, that ſome Men and ſome States are beyond it; no more than it is a Limitation of his Power, to ſay that He cannot ſin, or cannot do Impoſſibilities: For a Goodneſs towards Perſons not capable of becoming good, is a Goodneſs that does not agree with the Infinite Purity and Holineſs of God. It is ſuch a Goodneſs, that if it were propoſed to the World, it would encourage men

Art. 1.

Art. 1. men to live in Sin, and to think that a few Acts of Homage offered to God, perhaps in our laſt Extremities, could ſo far pleaſe him, as to bribe and corrupt him.

This is that which makes Idolatry ſo great a Sin, ſo often forbid by God, and ſo ſeverely puniſhed, not only as it is injurious to the Majeſty of God, but becauſe it corrupts the Ideas or Notions of God. Thoſe Ideas rightly formed, are the Baſis upon which all Religion is built. The Seeds and Principles of a new and a Godlike nature ſpring up in us, as we form our ſelves upon the true Ideas or Notions of God. Therefore when God is propoſed to be adored by us under a Viſible Shape or Image, all the Acts of Religion offered to it are only ſo many pieces of Pageantry, and end in the flatterings and the magnifyings of it, with much Pomp, Cruelty, or Laſciviouſneſs, according to the different Genius of ſeveral Nations. So the forming a falſe Notion of the Goodneſs of God, as a Tenderneſs that is to be overcome with Importunities and Howlings, and other Submiſſions, and not to be gained only by becoming like him, is a Capital and Fundamental Error in Religion.

The next Branch of this Article is, God's *creating and preſerving of all things*; and that both Material Subſtances, which are Viſible, and Immaterial and Spiritual Subſtances, which are Inviſible. God's creating all things, has been already made out: If Matter could neither be Eternal, nor give it ſelf a Being, then it muſt have its Being from God. Creating does naturally import Infinite Power; for that Power is clearly without bounds, that can make things out of nothing: A bounded Power, which can only ſhape and mould Matter, muſt ſuppoſe it to have a Being, before it can work upon it. We cannot indeed form a diſtinct Thought of Creation, for we cannot apprehend what nothing is. The neareſt approach we can bring our ſelves to a true Idea of this, is the conſidering our own Thoughts; eſpecially our Ideas of Mathematical Proportions, and the other Affections of Bodies: Thoſe Ideas are the Modes of a Spiritual Subſtance; and there is no likeneſs nor reſemblance between them, and the Modes of Material Subſtances, which are only the occaſions of our having thoſe Ideas, and not in any wiſe the Matter out of which they are formed. Here ſeems to be a ſort of Beings brought out of nothing; but after all, this is vaſtly below Creation, and is only a faint reſemblance of it.

With the Power of Creating we muſt alſo join that of Annihilating, which is equal to it, and muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed to be in God, becauſe we plainly perceive it to be a Perfection. The recalling into Nothing, a Being brought out of Nothing, is a neceſſary conſequence of Infinite Power, when it thinks fit ſo to exert it ſelf. There is a common Notion in the World; That things would fall back into Nothing of themſelves, if they were not preſerved by the ſame Infinite Power that made them: But without queſtion it is an Act of the ſame Infinite Power to reduce a Being to Nothing, that it is to bring a Being out of Nothing: So whatever has once a Being, muſt of its Nature continue ſtill to be, without any new Cauſality or Influence. This muſt be acknowledged, unleſs it can be ſaid, That a Tendency to Annihilation is the Conſequent of a Created Being: But as this would make the Preſervation of the World to be a continued Violence to a Natual

Natural Tendency that is in all things; ſo there is no more reaſon to imagine that Beings have a Tendency to Annihilation, than that Nothing had a Tendency to Creation. It is abſurd to think that any thing can have a Tendency to that which is eſſentially oppoſite to it ſelf, and is deſtructive of it. *Art.* 1.

The Preſervation of things, is the keeping the Frame of Nature and the Order of the Univerſe in ſuch a ſtate as is ſuitable to the Purpoſes of the Supreme Mind. It is true, Natural Agents muſt ever keep the Courſe in which they are once put; and the great Heavenly Orbs, as well as all ſmaller Motions, muſt ever have rowled on in one conſtant Channel, when they were once put into it; ſo in this reſpect it may ſeem that Conſervation by a ſpecial Act is not neceſſary. But we perceive a Freedom in our own Natures, and a Power that our Minds have, not only to move our own Bodies, but by them, and by the help of ſuch Engines as we can invent, we make a vaſt change in this Earth from what it would be, if it were left unwrought. In a courſe of ſome Ages, the whole World, by the Natural Progreſs of things, would be a Foreſt: Both Earth and Air are very much different from what they would be, if Men were not Free Agents, and did not cultivate the Earth, and thereby purify the Air. The working of Mines, Minerals, and other Foſſils, makes alſo a great change in its Bowels; it gives Vent to ſome Damps which might much affect the Air, and it frees the Earth from Earthquakes. Thus the Induſtry of Man has in many reſpects changed both Earth and Air very ſenſibly from what it would have been, if the World had not thoſe Inhabitants in it. Nor do we know what Natural Force other Spirits inhabiting in or about it, or at leaſt uſing ſubtiller Bodies, may have, or in what Influences or Operations they may exert that Force on Material Subſtances. Upon all theſe accounts it is, that the World could not be preſerved in a conſtant and regular ſtate, if the Supreme Mind had not a direction both of mens Wills and Actions, and of the Courſe of Nature: For unleſs it is thought that Man is really no Free Agent, but acts in a Chain as certainly as other Natural Agents do, it muſt be acknowledged, that by the Interpoſition of mens Minds, together with their Power over Matter, the Courſe of the firſt Motion that was given to the Univerſe, is ſo changed, that if there is not a conſtant Providence, the Frame of Nature muſt go out of the Channel into which God did at firſt put it. The Order of Things on this Earth, takes a great Turn from the Wind, both as to the Fruitfulneſs of the Earth, and to the Operations on the Sea, and has likewiſe a great Influence on the Purity of the Air, and by conſequence on mens good or ill Health; and the Wind, or the Agitation of the Air, turns ſo often and ſo quick, that it ſeems to be the great Inſtrument of Providence, upon which an unconceivable variety of things does naturally depend. I do not deny, but that it may be ſaid, that all thoſe Changes in the Air ariſe from Certain and Mechanical, though to us unknown Cauſes; which may be ſupported from this, That between the Tropicks, where the Influence of the Heavenly Bodies is ſtronger, the Wind and Weather are more Regular; though even that admits of great Exceptions: Yet it has been the common Senſe of Mankind, That beſides the Natural Cauſes of the Alterations in the Air, they are under a particular Influence and Direction of Providence: And it is in

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Art. 1. it ſelf highly probable, to ſay no more of it. This may either be managed immediately by the Acts of the Divine Mind, to which Nature readily obeys, or by ſome ſubaltern Mind or Angel, which may have as Natural an Efficiency over an Extent of Matter proportioned to its Capacity, as a Man has over his own Body, and over that compaſs of Matter that is within his reach. Which way ſoever God governs the World, and what Influence ſoever he has over Mens Minds, we are ſure that the governing and preſerving his own Workmanſhip is ſo plainly a Perfection, that it muſt belong to a Being infinitely perfect: And there is ſuch a Chain in things, thoſe of the greateſt conſequence ariſing often from ſmall and inconſiderable ones, that we cannot imagine a Providence, unleſs we believe every thing to be within its Care and View.

The only difficulty that has been made in apprehending this, has ariſen from the Narrowneſs of Mens Minds, who have meaſured God rather by their own Meaſure and Capacity, than by that of Infinite Perfection, which as ſoon as it is conſidered, will put an end to all further doubtings about it. When we perceive that a vaſt Number of Objects enter in at our Eye by a very ſmall Paſſage, and yet are ſo little jumbled in that Crowd, that they open themſelves regularly, though there is no great ſpace for that neither; and that they give us a diſtinct apprehenſion of many Objects that lye before us, ſome even at a vaſt diſtance from us, both of their Nature, Colour, and Size; and by a ſecret Geometry, from the Angles that they make in our Eye, we judge of the diſtance of all Objects both from us, and from one another. If to this we add the vaſt Number of Figures that we receive and retain long, and with great order in our Brains, which we eaſily fetch up either in our Thoughts or in our Diſcourſes; we ſhall find it leſs difficult to apprehend how an Infinite Mind ſhould have the Univerſal View of all things ever preſent before it. It is true, we do not ſo eaſily conceive how Free Minds are under this Providence, as how Natural Agents ſhould always move at its direction. But we perceive that one Mind can work upon another: A man raiſes a ſound of Words, which carry ſuch ſigns of his inward Thoughts, that by this Motion in the Air another Man's Ear is ſo ſtruck upon, that thereby an impreſſion is made upon his Brain, by which he not only conceives what the other Man's Thought was, but is very powerfully inclined to conſent to it, and to concur with it. All this is a great way about, and could not be eaſily apprehended by us, if we had not a clear and conſtant Perception of it. Now ſince all this is brought about by a Motion upon our Brains, according to the force with which we are more or leſs affected, it is very reaſonable for us to apprehend that the Supreme Mind can, beſides many other ways to us leſs known, put ſuch Motions in our Brain, as may give us all ſuch Thoughts as it intends to impreſs upon us, in as ſtrong and effectual a manner, as may fully anſwer all its purpoſes.

The great Objection that lies againſt the Power and the Goodneſs of Providence, from all that Evil that is in the World, which God is either not willing, or not able to hinder, will be more properly conſidered in another place; at preſent it is enough in general to obſerve, That God's Providence muſt carry on every thing according to its Nature; and ſince he has made ſome Free Beings capable of Thought, and

and of Good and Evil, we must believe, That as the Course of Nature is not oft put out of its Channel, unless when some extraordinary thing is to be done, in order to some great End; so in the Government of free Agents, they must be generally left to their liberty, and not put too oft off of their Bias: This is a hint to resolve that difficulty by, concerning all the Moral Evil which is, generally speaking, the occasion of most of the Physical Evil that is in the World. A Providence thus setled, that extends it self to all things both natural and free, is necessary to preserve Religion, to engage us to Prayers, Praises, and to a dependence on it, and a submission to it. Some have thought it was necessary to carry this further, and so they make God to be the first and immediate cause of every Action or Motion. This some Modern Writers have taken from the Schools, and have drest it in new Phrases of General Laws, Particular Wills, and Occasional Causes; and so they express or explain God's producing every Motion that is in Matter, and his raising every Sensation, and by the same parity of Reason, every Cogitation in Minds: This they think arises out of the Idea of Infinite Perfection, and fully answers these words of the Scriptures, That *in God we live, move, and have our being.* To others all this seems first unnecessary; for if God has made Matter capable of Motion, and capable of receiving it from the Stroke or Impulse that another piece of Matter gives it, This comes as truly from God, as if he did immediately give every Motion by an act of his own Will. It seems more suitable to the Beauty of his Workmanship, to think that he has so framed things that they hold on in that course in which he has put them, than to make him perpetually produce every new Motion. And the bringing God immediately into every thing, may by an Odd Reverse of Effects, make the World think that every thing is done as much without him, as others are apt to imagine that every thing is done by him. And though it is true that we cannot distinctly apprehend how a Motion in our Brain should raise such a Thought as Answers to it in our Minds; yet it seems more reasonable to think that God has put us under such an Order of Being from which that does naturally follow, than that he himself should interpose in every Thought. The difficulty of apprehending how a thing is done, can be no prejudice to the belief of it, when we have the Infinite Power of God in our Thoughts, who may be as easily conceived to have once for all put us in a method of receiving such Sensations, by a general Law or Course of Nature, as to give us new ones at every Minute. But the greatest difficulty against this is, That it makes God the first Physical cause of all the Evil that is in the World: Which as it is contrary to his Nature, so it absolutely destroys all Liberty, and this puts an end to all the distinctions between Good and Evil, and consequently to all Religion. And as for those large Expressions that are brought from Scripture, every word in Scripture is not to be stretched to the utmost Physical sense to which it can be carried: It is enough if a sense is given to it, that agrees to the Scope of it: Which is fully Answered by acknowledging, That the Power and Providence of God is over all things, and that it directs every thing to Wise and Good Ends, from which nothing is hid, by which nothing is forgot, and to which nothing can resist. This Scheme of Providence fully agrees with the Notion of a Being Infinitely perfect, and with all that the

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Art. 1. Scriptures affirm concerning it; and it lays down a firm Foundation for all the Acts and Exerciſes of Religion.

As to the Power and Providence of God with relation to Inviſible Beings, we plainly perceive that there is in us a Principle capable of Thought and Liberty, of which, by all that appears to us, Matter is not at all capable; After its utmoſt Refinings by Fires and Furnaces, it is ſtill paſſive, and has no Self-Motion, much leſs Thought in it. Thought ſeems plainly to ariſe from a ſingle Principle, that has no Parts, and is quite another thing than the Motion of one ſubtle piece of Matter upon another can be ſuppoſed to be. If Thought is only Motion, then no part of us thinks, but as it is in Motion: So that only the moving Particles, or rather their Surfaces, that ſtrike upon one another, do think: But ſuch a Motion muſt end quickly, in the Diſſipation and Evaporation of the whole thinking-Subſtance; nor can any of the quieſcent Parts have any Perception of ſuch Thoughts, or any Reflection upon them. And to ſay that Matter may have other Affections unknown to us beſides Motion, by which it may think, is to affirm a thing without any ſort of Reaſon: It is rather a flying from an Argument, than an Anſwering it: No man has any reaſon to affirm this, nor can he have any. And beſides, all our Cogitations of Immaterial Things, Proportions, and Numbers, do plainly ſhow that we have a Being in us diſtinct from Matter, that riſes above it, and commands it: We perceive we have a freedom of Moving and Acting at pleaſure. All theſe Things give us a clear Perception of a Being that is in us diſtinct from Matter, of which we are not able to form a compleat Idea: We having only four Perceptions of its Nature and Operations. 1. That it thinks. 2. That it has an inward Power of Choice. 3. That by its Will it can move and command the Body. And 4. That it is in a cloſe and intire Union with it, That it has a dependance on it, as to many of its Acts, as well as an Authority over it in many other Things. Such a Being that has no Parts muſt be immortal in its Nature, for every ſingle Being is immortal. It is only the Union of Parts that is capable of being diſſolved; that which has no parts, is indiſſoluble. To this Two Objections are made: One is, That Beaſts ſeem to have both Thought and Freedom, though in a lower Order; if then Matter can be capable of this in any Degree, how low ſoever, a higher Rectification of Matter may be capable of a higher Degree of it. It is therefore certain, That either Beaſts have no Thought or Liberty at all, and are only pieces of finely Organiſed Matter, capable of many ſubtile Motions, that come to them from Objects without them, but that they have no Senſation nor Thought at all about them; or, ſince how prettily ſoever ſome may have dreſſed up this Notion, it is that which Human Nature cannot receive or bear; there being ſuch evident Indications of even high degrees of Reaſon among the Beaſts; it is more reaſonable to imagine, That there may be Spirits of a lower order in Beaſts, that have in them a capacity of Thinking and Chuſing; but that ſo intirely under the Impreſſions of Matter, that they are not capable of that largeneſs either of Thought or Liberty, that is neceſſary to make them capable of Good or Evil, of Rewards and Puniſhments: And that therefore they may be perpetually rouling about from one Body to another. Another Objection to the belief of an Immaterial Subſtance in us, is, That

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we feel it depends ſo intirely on the Fabrick and State of the Brain, that a Diſorder, a Vapour, or Humour in it, defaces all our Thoughts, our Memory, and Imagination; and ſince we find that which we call *Mind*, ſinks ſo low upon a diſorder of the Body, it may be reaſonable to believe, That it Evaporates, and is quite Diſſipated upon the Diſſolution of our Bodies: So that the Soul is nothing but the livelier Parts of the Blood, called the Animal Spirits. In Anſwer to this, we know that thoſe Animal Spirits are of ſuch an Evanid and Subtile Nature, that they are in a perpetual Waſte, new ones always ſucceeding as the former go off; but we perceive at the ſame time that our Soul is a Stable and Permanent Being, by the ſteddineſs of its Acts and Thoughts: We being for many Years plainly the ſame Beings, and therefore our Souls cannot be ſuch a Looſe and Evaporating Subſtance, as thoſe Spirits are. The Spirits are indeed the inward Organs of the Mind, for Memory, Speech, and bodily Motion; and as theſe flatten or are waſted, the Mind is leſs able to Act: As when the Eye or any other Organ of Senſe is weakned, the Senſations grow feeble on that ſide: And as a Man is leſs able to work when all thoſe Inſtruments he makes uſe of are blunted; ſo the Mind may ſink upon a decay or diſorder in thoſe Spirits, and yet be of a Nature wholly different from them. How a Mind ſhould work on Matter, cannot, I confeſs, be clearly comprehended. It cannot be denied by any that is not a direct Atheiſt, That the Thoughts of the Supreme Mind give Impreſſions and Motions to Matter. So our Thoughts may give a Motion, or the Determination of Motion to Matter, and yet riſe from Subſtances wholly different from it. Nor is it unconceivable, That the Supreme Mind ſhould have put our Minds likewiſe under ſuch a Subordination to ſome material Motions, that out of them peculiar Thoughts ſhould ariſe in us. And though this Union is that which we cannot diſtinctly conceive; yet there is no difficulty in it, equal to that of our imagining that Matter can think or move it ſelf. We perceive that we our ſelves, and the reſt of Mankind have thinking Principles within us; ſo from thence it is eaſy enough to us to apprehend, That there may be other thinking Beings, which either have no Bodies at all, but act purely as Intellectual Subſtances; or if they have Bodies, that they are ſo ſubtiliſed as to be capable of a vaſt quickneſs of Motion, ſuch in proportion as we perceive to be in our Animal Spirits, which in the Minute that our minds command them, are raiſing Motions in the remoteſt parts of our Bodies. Such Bodies may alſo be ſo thin as to be inviſible to us; and as among Men ſome are Good and ſome Bad, and of the Bad ſome ſeem to be determinedly, and as to all appearance, incurably Bad: ſo there may have been a Time and State of Liberty, in which thoſe Spirits were left to their choice, whether they would continue in their Innocency, or fall from it; and ſuch as continued, might be for ever fixed in that State, or Exalted to higher Degrees in it: And ſuch as fell from it might fall irrecoverably into a ſtate of utter Apoſtacy from God, and of Rebellion againſt him. There is nothing in this Theory that is incredible: Therefore if the Scriptures have told us any thing concerning it, we have no reaſon to be prejudiced againſt them upon that account: Beſides that, there are innumerable Hiſtories in many ſeveral Countries and Ages of the World, of extraordinary Apparitions, and other unaccountable Per-

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Art. 1. formances that could only have been done by Inviſible Powers. Many of thoſe are ſo well atteſted, that it argues a ſtrange pitch of Obſtinacy, to refuſe to believe a Matter of Fact when it is well vouched, and when there is nothing in reaſon to oppoſe it, but an unwillingneſs to believe Inviſible Beings. It is true, this is an Argument in which a fabulous Humour will go far, and in which ſome are ſo credulous as to ſwallow down every thing: Therefore all wiſe men ought to ſuſpend their belief, and not to go too faſt; but when things are ſo undeniably atteſted, that there is no reaſon to queſtion the exactneſs or the credit of the Witneſſes, it argues a Mind unreaſonably prepoſſeſſed to reject all ſuch Evidence.

All thoſe Inviſible Beings were created by God, and are not to be conſidered as Emanations or Rays of his Eſſence, which was a groſs Conceit of ſuch Philoſophers as fancied that the Deity had Parts. They are Beings Created by him, and are capable of paſſing through various Scenes, in Bodies more or leſs refined: In this Life the State of our Minds receives vaſt Alterations from the State of our Bodies, which ripen gradually: And after they are come to their full growth, they cannot hold in that condition long, but ſink down much faſter than they grew up; ſome Humours or Diſeaſes diſcompoſing the Brain, which is the Seat of the Mind ſo entirely, that it cannot ſerve it, at leaſt ſo far as to Reflex Acts. So in the next State it is poſſible that we may at firſt be in a leſs perfect condition by reaſon of this, that we may have a leſs perfect Body, to which we may be united between our Death, and the General Reſurrection; and there may be a time in which we may receive a vaſt Addition and Exaltation in that State, by the raiſing up of our former Bodies, and the reuniting us to them, which may give us a greater compaſs, and a higher Elevation.

Theſe things are only propoſed as Suppoſitions, that have no Abſurdity in them: So that if they ſhould happen to be the Parts of a Revealed Religion, there is no reaſon to doubt of it, or to reject it on ſuch an Account.

The Laſt Branch of this Article is, The Aſſertion of that great Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion concerning the Trinity, or Three Perſons in one Divine Eſſence. It is a vain attempt to go about to prove this by Reaſon: For it muſt be confeſſed, That we ſhould have had no cauſe to have thought of any ſuch thing, if the Scriptures had not Revealed it to us. There are indeed Prints of a very Ancient Tradition in the World, of Three in the Deity; called the *Word*, or *the Wiſdom*, and the *Spirit*, or the *Love*, beſides the Fountain of both theſe, God: This was believed by thoſe from whom the moſt Ancient Philoſophers had their Doctrines. The Author of the Book of *Wiſdom*, *Philo*, and the *Chaldee* Paraphraſts, have many things that ſhew that they had received thoſe Traditions from the former Ages; but it is not ſo eaſy to determine what gave the firſt riſe to them.

It has been much argued, whether this was Revealed in the Old Teſtament or not; ſome from the Plural Termination of *Elohim*, which is joined to Singular Verbs, and from that of the Lord Raining Fire from the Lord upon *Sodom* (*Jehovah* from *Jehovah*); from the Deſcription of the Wiſdom of God in the 8*th* of the *Proverbs*, as a perſon

perſon with God from all Eternity; and from the mention that is often made of the Spirit, as well as the Word of God that came to the Prophets; they have, I ſay, from all theſe places, and ſome others, concluded, that this is contained in the Old Teſtament. Others have doubted of this, and have ſaid, that the Name *Elohim*, though of a Plural Termination, being often joined to a Singular Verb, makes it reaſonable to think it was a Singular: which by ſomewhat peculiar to that Language, might be of a Plural Termination. Nor have they thought, That ſince Angels carry the Name of God, when they went on ſpecial Deputations from him, the Angels being called *Jehovah*, could be very confidently urged: That Sublime Deſcription of the *Wiſdom* of God in the Proverbs, ſeems not to them to be a full proof in this Matter: For the Wiſdom there mentioned ſeems to be the Wiſdom of Creation and Providence, which is not perſonal, but belongs to the Eſſence: Nor do they think that thoſe places in the Old Teſtament, in which mention is made of the *Word*, or of the *Spirit* of God, can ſettle this Point; for theſe may only ſignify God's Revealing himſelf to his Prophets. Therefore whatever ſecret Tradition the *Jews* might have had among them concerning this, from whom perhaps the *Greeks* might have alſo had it; yet many do not pretend to prove this from paſſages in the Old Teſtament alone: Though the Expoſitions given to ſome of them in the New Teſtament prove to us who acknowledge it, what was the true meaning of thoſe Paſſages; yet take the Old Teſtament in it ſelf without the New, and it muſt be confeſſed, That it will not be eaſy to prove this Article from it. *Art.* 1.

But there are very full and clear proofs of it in the New Teſtament; And they had need be both full and clear before a Doctrine of this Nature can be pretended to be proved by them. In order to the making this Myſtery to be more diſtinctly Intelligible, different Methods have been taken. By **one Subſtance** many do underſtand a Numerical or Individual Unity of Subſtance; and by **Three Perſons** they underſtand Three diſtinct Subſiſtences in that Eſſence. It is not pretended by theſe, that we can give a diſtinct Idea of **Perſon** or **Subſiſtence**, only they hold it imports a real diverſity in one from another, and even ſuch a diverſity from the Subſtance of the Deity it ſelf, that ſome things belong to the Perſon, that do not belong to the Subſtance: For the Subſtance neither begets, nor is begotten; neither breathes, nor proceeds. If this carries in it ſomewhat that is not agreeable to our Notions, nor like any thing that we can apprehend; to this it is ſaid, That if God has Revealed that in the Scripture which is thus expreſſed, we are bound to believe it, though we can frame no clear apprehenſion about it. God's Eternity, his being all one ſingle Act, his Creating and Preſerving all things, and his being every where, are things that are abſolute riddles to us: We cannot bring our Minds to conceive them, and yet we muſt believe that they are ſo; becauſe we ſee much greater Abſurdities muſt follow upon our conceiving that they ſhould be otherwiſe. So if God has declared this inexplicable thing concerning himſelf to us, we are bound to believe it, though we cannot have any clear Idea how it truly is. For there appear as ſtrange and unanſwerable difficulties in many other things, which yet we know to be true; ſo if we are once well aſſured, that God has Revealed this Doctrine to us, we muſt ſilence all Objections againſt

Art. 1. againſt it, and believe it: Reckoning that our not underſtanding it, as it is in it ſelf, makes the difficulties ſeem to be much greater than otherwiſe they would appear to be if we had light enough about it, or were capable of forming a more perfect Idea of it while we are in this depreſſed State.

Others give another view of this Matter, that is not indeed ſo hard to be apprehended: But that has an Objection againſt it, that ſeems as great a prejudice againſt it, as the difficulty of apprehending the other way is againſt that: It is this; They do hold, That there are Three Minds: That the firſt of theſe Three, who is from that called the Father, did from all Eternity by an Emanation of Eſſence beget the Son, and by another Emanation that was from Eternity likewiſe, and was as Eſſential to him as the former, both the firſt and the ſecond, did jointly breathe forth the Spirit; and that theſe are Three diſtinct Minds, every one being God, as much as the other: Only the Father is the Fountain, and is only ſelf-originated. All this is in a good degree Intelligible, but it ſeems hard to reconcile it both with the Idea of Unity, which ſeems to belong to a Being of Infinite Perfection; and with the many expreſs Declarations that are made in the Scriptures concerning the Unity of God. Inſtead of going farther into Explanations of that which is certainly very far beyond all our apprehenſions, and that ought therefore to be let alone; I ſhall now conſider what Declarations are made in the Scriptures concerning this Point.

The Firſt and the Chief is in that Charge and Commiſſion which our Saviour gave to his Apoſtles, to go and make Diſciples to him among all Nations, *baptizing them in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.* By *Name* is meant either an Authority derived to them, in the virtue of which all Nations were to be Baptized: Or that the Perſons ſo Baptized are Dedicated to the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghoſt.* Either of theſe Senſes, as it proves them all to be *Perſons*; ſo it ſets them in an equality, in a thing that can only belong to the *Divine Nature.* Baptiſm is the receiving Men from a State of Sin and Wrath, into a State of Favour, and into the Rights of the Sons of God, and the Hopes of Eternal Happineſs, and a calling them by the Name of God. Theſe are things that can only be offered and aſſured to Men in the Name of the Great and Eternal God; and therefore ſince without any Diſtinction or Note of Inequality, they are all Three ſet together as Perſons in whoſe Name this is to be done, they muſt be all Three the True God; otherwiſe it looks like a juſt Prejudice againſt our Saviour, and his whole Goſpel, That by his expreſs Direction the firſt entrance to it, which gives the Viſible and Fœderal Right to thoſe great Bleſſings that are offered by it, or their Initiation into it, ſhould be in the Name of Two Created Beings (if the one can be called properly ſo much as a Being, according to their Hypotheſis) and that even in an equality with the Supream and Increated Being. The plainneſs of this Charge, and the great occaſion upon which it was given, makes this an Argument of ſuch Force and Evidence, that it may juſtly determine the whole Matter.

Mat. 28. 19.

A Second Argument is taken from this, That we find St. *Paul* begins or ends moſt of his Epiſtles with a Salutation in the Form of a Wiſh, which is indeed a Prayer or a Benediction in the Name of thoſe who are ſo Invocated; in which he wiſhes the Churches *Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; which is an Invocation of Chriſt in conjunction with the Father, for the greateſt Bleſſings of *Favour* and *Mercy*: That is a ſtrange Strain, if he was only a Creature; which yet is delivered without any mitigation or ſoftning in the moſt remarkable parts of his Epiſtles. This is carried further in the Concluſion of the Second Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*; *The Grace of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Love of God, and the Fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt be with you.* It is true, this is expreſſed as a Wiih, and not in the nature of a Prayer, as the common Salutations are: But here Three great Bleſſings are wiſhed to them as from Three Fountains, which imports that they are Three different Perſons, and yet equal: For though in order the Father is firſt, and is generally put firſt; yet here Chriſt is firſt named, which ſeems to be a ſtrange reverſing of things, if they are not equal as to their Eſſence or Subſtance. It is true, the Second is not named here, *The Father*, as elſewhere, but only *God*; yet ſince he is mentioned as diſtinct from Chriſt and the Holy Ghoſt, it muſt be underſtood of the *Father*; for when the *Father* is named with *Chriſt*, ſometimes he is called *God* ſimply, and ſometimes *God the Father*.

Rom. 1. 7. Rom. 16. 20, 24. 1 Cor. 16. 23. 1 Cor. 1. 3. 2 Cor. 1. 3. Gal. 1. 3. Gal 6. 18. Eph. 1. 2. Eph. 6. 23. Phil. 1. 2. Phil. 4. 23. Col. 1. 2. 1 Theſ. 1. 1. 1 Theſ 5. 28. 2 Theſ. 1. 2. 2 Theſ. 3 18. 1 Tim. 1. 2. 2 Tim. 1. 2. Tit. 1. 4. Philem 3. 25. 2 John 1. 3.

2 Cor. 13. 14.

This Argument from the Threefold Salutation, appears yet ſtronger, in the Words in which St. *John* addreſſes himſelf to the Seven Churches in the beginning of the *Revelations*: *Grace and Peace from him which is, which was, and which is to come; and from the ſeven Spirits which are before his Throne; and from Jeſus Chriſt.* By the *Seven Spirits* muſt be meant one or more Perſons, ſince he wiſhes or declares *Grace and Peace* from them: Now either this muſt be meant of Angels, or of the Holy Ghoſt. There are no where Prayers made, or Bleſſings given, in the Name of Angels: This were indeed a worſhipping them; againſt which there are expreſs Authorities not only in the other Books of the New Teſtament, but in this Book in particular. Nor can it be imagined that Angels could have been named before *Jeſus Chriſt*: So then it remains, that *Seven* being a Number that imports both Variety and Perfection, and that was the Sacred Number among the *Jews*, this is a Myſtical Expreſſion; which is no extraordinary thing in a Book that is all over myſterious: And it imports one Perſon from whom all that variety of Gifts, Adminiſtrations, and Operations that were then in the Church, did flow: And this is the *Holy Ghoſt*: But as to his being put in order before Chriſt, as upon the ſuppoſition of an Equality, the going out of the common order is no great matter; ſo ſince there was to come after this a full Period that concerned Chriſt, it might be a natural way of Writing, to name him laſt. Againſt all this it is objected, That the Deſignation that is given to the firſt of theſe in a Circumlocution that imports Eternity, ſhews that the Great God, and not the Perſon of the Father, is to be meant: But then how could St. *John*, writing to the Churches, wiſh them *Grace* and *Peace* from the other Two? A few

Rev. 1. 4, 5.

Verſes

Art. 1. Verſes after this, the ſame Deſcription of Eternal Duration is given to Chriſt, and is a ſtrong Proof of his Eternity, and by conſequence of his Divinity: So what is brought ſo ſoon after as a Character of the Eternity of the Son, may be alſo here uſed to denote the Eternal Father. Theſe are the Chief Places in which the Trinity is mentioned all together.

1 Joh. 5. 7. I do not inſiſt on that conteſted Paſſage of St. *John*'s Epiſtle: There are great doubtings made about it: The main ground of doubting being the Silence of the Fathers, who never made uſe of it in the Diſputes with the *Arians* and *Macedonians*. There are very conſiderable things urged on the other hand, to ſupport the Authority of that Paſſage; yet I think it is ſafer to build upon ſure and undiſputable grounds; So I leave it to be maintained by others who are more fully perſuaded of its being Authentical. There is no need of it. This matter is capable of a very full Proof, whether that Paſſage is believed to be a part of the Canon, or not.

It is no ſmall Confirmation of the Truth of this Doctrine, that we are certain it was univerſally received over the whole Chriſtian Church long before there was either a Chriſtian Prince to ſupport it by his Authority, or a Council to eſtabliſh it by Conſent: And indeed the Council of *Nice* did nothing but declare what was the Faith of the Chriſtian Church, with the addition only of the Word *Conſubſtantial*: For if all the other Words of the Creed ſettled at *Nice* are acknowledged to be true, that of the Three Perſons being of one Subſtance will follow from thence by a juſt conſequence. We know both by what *Tertullian* and *Novatian* writ, what was the Faith both of the *Roman* and the *African* Churches. From *Irenæus* we gather the Faith both of the *Gallican* and the *Aſiatick* Churches. And the whole proceedings in the Caſe of *Samoſatenus*, that was the ſolemneſt buſineſs that paſt while the Church was under Oppreſſion and Perſecution, give us the moſt convincing Proof poſſible, not only of the Faith of the *Eaſtern* Churches at that time, but of their Zeal likewiſe in watching againſt every Breach that was made in ſo Sacred a part of their *Truſt and Depoſitum*.

Theſe things have been fully opened and enlarged on by others, to whom the Reader is referred: I ſhall only deſire him to make this Reflection on the ſtate of Chriſtianity at that time: The Diſputes that were then to be managed with the Heathens, againſt the Deifying or Worſhipping of Men, and thoſe extravagant Fables concerning the Genealogies of their Heroes and Gods, muſt have obliged the Chriſtians rather to have ſilenced and ſuppreſt the Doctrine of the Trinity, than to have owned and publiſhed it: So that nothing but their being aſſured that it was a Neceſſary and Fundamental Article of their Faith, could have led them to own it in ſo publick a manner; ſince the Advantages that the Heathen would have taken from it, muſt be too viſible not to be ſoon obſerved. The Heathens retorted upon them their Doctrine of a Man's being a God, and of God's having a Son: And every one who engaged in this Controverſy, framed ſuch Anſwers to theſe Objections, as he thought he could beſt maintain: This, as it gave the Riſe to the Errors which ſome brought into the Church, ſo it furniſhes us with a Copious Proof of the common Senſe of the Chriſtians of thoſe Ages, who all agreed in general to the Doctrine, though they had many different, and ſome very Erroneous ways of explaining it among them.

I now

I now come to the ſpecial Proofs concerning each of the Three Perſons: But there being other Articles relating to the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, the Proofs of theſe Two will belong more properly to the Explanation of thoſe Articles: Therefore all that belongs to this Article is to prove that the Father is truly God; but that needs not be much inſiſted on, for there is no diſpute about it: None deny that he is God; many think that he is ſo truly God, that there is no other that can be called God beſides him, unleſs it be in a larger ſenſe of the word: And therefore I will here conclude all that ſeems neceſſary to be ſaid on this firſt Article; on which if I have dwelt the longer, it was becauſe the ſtating the Idea of God right, being the Fundamental Article of all Religion, and the Key into every part of it, this was to be done with all the Fulneſs and Clearneſs poſſible. *Art.* 1.

In a word, to recapitulate a little what has been ſaid; The livelieſt way of framing an Idea of God, is to conſider our own Souls, which are ſaid to be made after the *Image of God.* An attentive Reflection on what we perceive in our ſelves, will carry us further than any other thing whatſoever, to form juſt and true Thoughts of God. We perceive what Thought is, but with that we do alſo perceive the advantage of ſuch an eaſy Thought as ariſes out of a Senſation, ſuch as Seeing or Hearing, which gives us no trouble; we think without any trouble of many of the Objects that we ſee all at once, or ſo near all at once, that the progreſſion from one Object to another is ſcarce perceptible; but the labour of Study, and of purſuing Conſequences wearies us; though the Pleaſure or the Vanity of having found them out, compenſates for the Pain they gave us, and ſets men on to new Enquiries. We perceive in our ſelves a love of Truth, and a vexation when we ſee we are in Error, or are in the dark; and we feel that we act the moſt perfectly, when we act upon the cleareſt Views of Truth, and in the ſtricteſt purſuance of it; and the more preſent and regular, the more calm and ſteady that our Thoughts of all things are, that lye in our compaſs to know, preſent, paſt, or to come, we do plainly perceive that we do thereby become perfecter and happier Beings. Now out of all this we can eaſily riſe up in our Thoughts to an Idea of a Mind that ſees all things by a clear and full Intuition, without the poſſibility of being miſtaken; and that ever acts in that Light, upon the ſureſt Proſpect, and with the perfecteſt Reaſon; and that does therefore always rejoice in every thing it does, and has a conſtant Perception of all Truth ever preſent to it. This Idea does ſo genuinely ariſe from what we perceive both of the Perfections and the Imperfections of our own Minds, that a very little Reflection will help us to form it to a very high degree.

The Perception alſo that we have of Goodneſs, of a deſire to make others good, and of the pleaſure of effecting it; of the joy of making any one wiſer or better, of making any one's Life eaſy, and of raiſing his Mind higher, will alſo help us in the forming of our Ideas of God. But in this we meet with much difficulty and diſappointment. So this leads us to apprehend how diffuſive of it ſelf Infinite Goodneſs muſt needs be; and what is the Eternal Joy that Infinite Love has, in bringing ſo many to that exalted ſtate of endleſs Happineſs. We do alſo feel a Power iſſuing from us by a Thought, that ſets our Bodies in motion: The Varieties in our Thoughts create a vaſt Variety

Art. 1. in the ſtate of our Bodies; but with this, as that Power is limited to our own Bodies, ſo it is often check'd by Diſorders in them, and the Soul ſuffers a great deal from thoſe painful Senſations that its Union with the Body ſubjects it to. From hence we can eaſily apprehend how the Supreme Mind can by a Thought ſet Matter into what Motions it will, all Matter being conſtantly ſubject to ſuch Impreſſions as the Acts of the Divine Mind give it. This Abſolute Dominion over all Matter makes it to move, and ſhapes it according to the Acts of that Mind; and Matter has no Power by any Irregularity it falls into, to reſiſt thoſe Impreſſions which do immediately command and govern it, nor can it throw any uneaſy Senſations into that Perfect Being.

This conduces alſo to give us a diſtinct Idea of Miracles. All Matter is uniform; and it is only the variety of its Motions and Texture, that makes all the variety that is in the World. Now as the Acts of the Eternal Mind gave Matter its firſt Motion, and put it into that Courſe that we do now call the Courſe of Nature; ſo another Act of the ſame Mind can either ſuſpend, ſtop, or change that Courſe at pleaſure, as he who throws a Bowl may ſtop it in its Courſe, or throw it back if he will; this being only the altering that Impulſe which himſelf gave: So if one Act of the Infinite Mind puts things in a regular Courſe, another Act interpoſed may change that at pleaſure. And thus with Relation to God, Miracles are no more difficult than any other Act of Providence: They are only more amazing to us, becauſe they are leſs ordinary, and go out of the Common and Regular Courſe of Things. By all this it appears how far the Obſervation of what we perceive concerning our ſelves, may carry us to form livelier and clearer Thoughts of God.

So much may ſuffice upon the Firſt Article.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE II.

Of the Word or Son of God, which was made very Man.

The Son which is the Word of the Father, begotten from Everlasting of the Father; the very and Eternal God, of One Substance with the Father, took Man's Nature in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin of her Substance; so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is, the Godhead and Manhood were joined together in one Person; never to be divided: whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man; who truly suffered, was dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice not only for Original guilt, but also for actual Sins of Men.

THERE are in this Article Five Heads to be Explained:

I. That the Son or Word is of the same Substance with the Father, begotten of him from all Eternity.

II. That he took Man's Nature upon him in the Womb of the Blessed Virgin, and of her Substance.

III. That the Two Natures of the Godhead and Manhood, both still perfect, were in him joined in one Person never to be divided.

IV. That Christ truly suffered, was Crucified, Dead and Buried.

V. That he was our Sacrifice to Reconcile the Father to us, and that not only for Original Guilt, but for Actual Sins.

The first of these leads me to prosecute what was begun in the former Article: And to prove, That the *Son* or *Word*, was from all Eternity begotten of the same Substance with the *Father*. It is here to be noted, That Christ is in Two respects the *Son*, and *the only begotten Son of God*. The one is, As he was Man; the Miraculous overshadowing of the B. Virgin by the H. Ghost, having without the ordinary course of Nature, formed the first beginnings of Christ's Human Body in the Womb of the Virgin. Thus that Miracle being instead of a Natural begetting, he may in that respect be called the *begotten*, and *the only begotten Son of God*. The other sense is, That the *Word* or the Divine Person was in and of the Substance of the Father, and so was truly God. It is also to be considered, That by the Word *one Substance*, is to be understood that this second Person is not a Creature of a Pure and Excellent Nature, like God, Holy and Perfect as we are called to be; but is truly God as the *Father* is. *Begetting* is a term that naturally signifies the Relation between the *Father* and the *Son*: But what it strictly signifies here is not possible for us to understand till we comprehend this whole Matter: nor can we be able to assign a Reason why the Emanation of the *Son*, and not that of the *H. Ghost* likewise is called *begetting*. In this we use the Scrip-

Art. 2. ture Terms, but muſt confeſs we cannot frame a diſtinct Apprehenſion of that which is ſo far above us. This *begetting* was from all Eternity: If it had been in time, the *Son* and *H. Ghoſt* muſt have been Creatures; but if they are truly God, they muſt be Eternal, and not produced by having a Being given them, but educed of a Subſtance that was Eternal, and from which they did Eternally ſpring. All theſe are the Natural Conſequences of the main Article that is now to be proved, and when it is once proved clearly from Scripture, theſe do follow by a natural and neceſſary deduction.

John. 1. 1, 2, 3. The firſt and great proof of this is taken from the words with which St. *John* begins his Goſpel. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, the ſame was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.* Here it is to be obſerved, That theſe words are ſet down here, before St. *John* comes to ſpeak of Chriſt's being made in our Nature: This paſſage belongs to another Precedent Being that he had. The *beginning* alſo here is ſet to import, That it was before Creation or Time: Now a Duration before Time is Eternal. So this *beginning* can be no other than that Duration which was before *all things that were made.* It is alſo plainly ſaid over and over again, That *all things were made* by this *Word:* A Power to Create muſt be Infinite; for it is certain, That a Power which can give Being, is without Bounds. And although the Word *make* may ſeem capable of a larger Senſe, yet as in other places of the New Teſtament, the ſtricter Word *Create* is uſed and applied to Chriſt, as the *Maker* of *all things in Heaven and Earth, Viſible and Inviſible;* ſo the Word *Make,* is uſed through the whole Old Teſtament for *Create;* ſo that God's *making the Heaven and the Earth* is the Character frequently given of him to diſtinguiſh him from Idols and falſe Gods. And of this *Word* it is likewiſe ſaid, That *he was with God,* and *was God.* Theſe words ſeem very plain, and the place where they are put by St. *John,* in the Front of his Goſpel, as it were an Inſcription upon it, or an Introduction to it, makes it very evident, That he who of all the Writers of the New Teſtament has the greateſt Plainneſs and Simplicity of Stile, would not have put words here, ſuch as were not to be underſtood in a plain and literal Signification, without any Key to lead us to any other ſenſe of them. This had been to lay a Stone of Stumbling in the very Threſhold; particularly to the *Jews,* who were apt to cavil at Chriſtianity; and were particularly jealous of every thing that ſavoured of Idolatry, or of the Plurality of Gods: And upon this occaſion I deſire one thing to be obſerved, with relation to all thoſe Subtile Expoſitions which thoſe who oppoſe this Doctrine put upon many of thoſe places by which we prove it: That they repreſent the Apoſtles as magnifying Chriſt in words that at firſt ſound ſeem to Import his being the True God; and yet they hold that in all theſe they had another Senſe, and a Reſerve of ſome other Interpretation, of which their words were capable. But can this be thought fair dealing? Does it look like honeſt Men to write thus; not to ſay, Men Inſpired in what they Preached and Writ? and not rather like Impoſtors, to uſe ſo many Sublime and Lofty Expreſſions concerning Chriſt as God, if all theſe muſt be taken down to ſo low a Senſe, as to ſignify only that he was miraculouſly Formed, and Endued with

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an Extraordinary Power of Miracles, and an Authority to deliver a New Religion to the World. And that he was in conſideration of his Exemplary Death which he underwent ſo patiently, raiſed up from the Grave, and had Divine Honours conferred upon him. In ſuch an Hypotheſis as this, the World going in ſo naturally to the exceſſive Magnifying, and even the Deifying of Wonderful Men, it had been neceſſary to have prevented any ſuch miſtakes, and to have guarded againſt the belief of them; rather than to have uſed a continued ſtrain of Expreſſions, that ſeem to carry Men violently into them, and that can hardly, nay very hardly be ſoftened by all the Skill of Criticks, to bear any other Senſe. It is to be conſidered further, That when St. *John* writ his Goſpel, there were Three ſorts of Men particularly to be conſidered. The *Jews*, who could bear nothing that ſavoured of Idolatry; ſo no Stumbling-block was to be laid in their way, to give them deeper Prejudices againſt Chriſtianity. Next to theſe were the *Gentiles*; who having Worſhipped a variety of Gods, were not to be indulged in any thing that might ſeem to favour their Polytheiſm: In Fact we find particular caution uſed in the New Teſtament, againſt the Worſhipping Angels or Saints: How can it therefore be imagined, That words would have been uſed, that in the plain Signification that did ariſe out of the firſt hearing of them, imported that a Man was God, if this had not been ſtrictly true? The Apoſtles ought, and muſt have uſed a particular care to have avoided all ſuch Expreſſions, if they had not been literally true. The Third ſort of Men in St. *John's* Time were thoſe of whom Intimation is frequently given through all the Epiſtles, who were then endeavouring to corrupt the Purity of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and to accommodate it ſo, both to the *Jew*, and to the *Gentile*, as to avoid the Croſs and Perſecution upon the account of it. Church-Hiſtory, and the Earlieſt Writers after St. *John* aſſure us, That *Ebion* and *Cerinthus* denied the Divinity of Chriſt, and aſſerted that he was a mere Man. Controverſy naturally carries men to ſpeak exactly; and among Human Writers thoſe who let things fall more careleſly from their Pens, when they apprehend no danger or difficulty, are more correct both in their Thoughts, and in their Expreſſions, when things are diſputed; therefore if we ſhould have no other regard to St. *John*, but as an ordinary, cautious, and careful man, we muſt believe that he weighed all his words in that Point, which was then the Matter in Queſtion; and to clear which, we have good Ground to believe both from the Teſtimony of Ancient Writers, and from the Method that he purſues quite through it all, that he Writ his Goſpel: And that therefore every part of it, but this Beginning of it more ſignally, was Writ, and is to be underſtood in the Senſe which the Words naturally Import: That the *Word which took Fleſh*, and aſſumed the Human Nature, had a Being *before the worlds were made*, and that this *Word was God*, and *made the World.*

Art. 2.

Another eminent Proof of this is in St. *Paul's* Epiſtle to the *Philippians*; in which when he is exhorting Chriſtians to Humility, he gives an Argument for it from our Saviour's Example. He begins with the dignity of his Perſon, expreſſed thus; *That he was in the form of God, and that he thought it no robbery to be equal with God:* Then his Humiliation comes, That he *made himſelf of no reputation, but took on him the*

Phil. 2. 6. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

Art. 2. *the form of a ſervant* (the ſame *Word* with that uſed in the former Verſe); after which follows his Exaltation, and a *Name* or Authority *above every Name* or Authority is ſaid to be given him; ſo that *all in Heaven, Earth, and under the Earth* (which ſeems to Import Angels, Men, and Devils) *ſhould bow at his Name, and confeſs that he is the Lord.* Now in this Progreſs that is made in theſe words, it is plain That the Dignity of Chriſt's Perſon is repreſented as Antecedent both to his Humiliation, and to his Exaltation. It was that which put the value on his Humiliation, as his Humiliation was rewarded by his Exaltation. This Dignity is expreſſed firſt, That he was in *the Form of God*, before he humbled himſelf: He was certainly in the *form of a Servant*, that is, really a Servant as other Servants are: He was obedient to his Parents, he was under the Authority both of the *Romans*, of *Herod*, and of the *Sanhedrim*: Therefore ſince his being really a Servant is expreſſed by his being in *the form of a Servant*, his being in the *form of God*, muſt alſo import, That he was truly *God*, But the following words, That *he thought it not robbery to be equal*, or *be held equal* (for ſo the word may be rendred) *with God*, carry ſuch a natural Signification of his being neither a Made nor Subordinate *God*, and that his Divinity is neither precarious, nor by conceſſion, that fuller words cannot be deviſed for expreſſing an entire Equality. Thoſe who deny this, are aware of it; and therefore they have put another ſenſe on the words, *in the form of God.* They think, That they ſignify his appearing in the World, as one ſent in the Name of God, repreſenting him, Working Miracles, and delivering a Law in his Name: and the words rendred, *he thought it no robbery*, they render, he did not *catch at*, or *vehemently deſire to be held in equal honour with God.* And ſome Authorities are found in Eloquent *Greek* Authors, who uſe the words rendred, *he thought it not robbery*, in a figurative ſenſe, for the earneſtneſs of deſire, or the purſuing after a thing greedily, as Robbers do for their Prey. This rendring repreſents St. *Paul*, as Treating ſo ſacred a Point in the Figures of a high and ſeldom-uſed Rhetorick, which one would think ought to have been expreſſed more exactly. But if even this ſenſe is allowed, it will make a ſtrange Period, and a very odd ſort of an Argument, to enforce Humility upon us, becauſe Chriſt, though Working Miracles, did not deſire or ſnatch at Divine Adorations, in an Equality with God. The Sin of *Lucifer*, and the cauſe of his Fall, is commonly believed to be his deſire to be equal to God; and yet this ſeems to be ſuch an extravagant piece of pride, that it is ſcarce poſſible to think, That even the Sublimeſt of Created Beings ſhould be capable of it. To be next to God, ſeems to be the utmoſt heigth, to which even the Diabolical Pride could aſpire: So that here by the Senſe which the *Socinians* put on thoſe words, they will import, That we are perſuaded to be humble from the Example of Chriſt, who did not affect an Equality with God: The bare repeating of this ſeems ſo fully to expoſe and overthrow it, that I think it is not neceſſary to ſay more upon this place.

Acts 20. 28. 1 Joh. 3. 16. 1 Joh. 5. 20. Tit. 2. 13. Jam. 2. 1.

The next head of Proof is made up of more particulars. All the Names, the Operations, and even the Attributes of God, are in full and plain words given to Chriſt. He is called God; his Blood is ſaid to be *the Blood of God*; *God is ſaid to have laid down his life for us*;

us; Christ is called the *true God*, the *great God*, the *Lord of Glory*, the *King of Kings*, and *the Lord of Lords*; and more particularly the Name *Jehovah* is ascribed to him in the same word in which the LXX Interpreters had Translated it throughout the whole Old Testament. So that this constant Uniformity of Stile between the *Greek* of the New, and that Translation of the Old Testament which was then received, and was of great Authority among the *Jews*, and was yet of more Authority among the first *Christians*, is an Argument that carries such a weight with it, that this alone may serve to determine the Matter. The Creating, the Preserving, and the Governing of all things, is also ascribed to Christ in a variety of places, but most remarkably, when it is said, That *by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, Visible and Invisible: Whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers; all things were created by him, and for him: And he is before all things, and by him all things consist.* He is said to have *known what was in man, to have known mens secret thoughts*, and *to have known all things:* That *as the Father was known of none, but of the Son; so none know the Son but the Father.* He *pardons Sin, sends the Spirit, gives Grace* and *Eternal Life*, and *he shall raise the dead at the last day.* When all these things are laid together in that variety of Expressions in which they lie scattered in the New Testament, it is not possible to retain any reverence for those Books, if we imagine that they are writ in a Stile so full of approaches to the Deifying of a mere Man, that without a very Critical studying of Languages and Phrases, it is not possible to understand them otherwise. Idolatry, and a Plurality of Gods, seem to be the main things that the Scriptures warn us against; and yet here is a pursued Thread of Passages and Discourses, that do naturally lead a man to think that Christ is the *True God*, who yet according to these men, only acted in his Name, and has now a high Honour put on him by him.

Art. 2.

Rev. 1. 8. Rev. 19. 16.

Col 1. 16. 17. John 2. 25. Mat. 11 27. Mat. 9. 6. Joh. 15. 26. Joh. 14. 13. Joh. 5. 25, 26. Joh. 6. 39, 40.

This carries me to another Argument to prove that the *Word* that was *made Flesh*, was truly God. Nothing but the True God can be the proper Object of Adoration. This is one of those Truths that seems almost so evident, that it needs not to be proved. Adoration is the humble Prostration of our selves before God, in Acts that own our dependance upon him, both for our Being, and for all the Blessings that we do either enjoy or hope for, and also in earnest Prayers to him for the continuance of these to us. This is testified by such outward Gestures and Actions as are most proper to express our Humility and Submission to God: All this has so clear and so inseparable a Relation to the only True God, as its proper Object, that it is scarce possible to apprehend how it should be separated from him, and given to any other. And as this seems evident from the Nature of things, so it is not possible to imagine how any thing could have been prohibited in more express and positive, and in more frequently-repeated Words, and longer Reasonings, than the offering of Divine Worship or any part of it to Creatures. The chief design of the *Mosaical* Religion was to banish all Idolatry and Polytheism out of the Minds of the *Jews*, and to possess them with the Idea of One God, and of One Object of Worship. The Reasons upon which those Prohibitions are founded, are universal; which are, The Unity of God's Essence, and his Jealousy in not giving his Honour to another. It is not said that they should not worship

Art. 2. ſhip any as God, till they had a Precept or Declaration for it. There is no Reſerve for any ſuch time; but they are plainly forbid to worſhip any but the Great God, becauſe he was One, and was Jealous of his Glory. The New Teſtament is writ in the ſame Strain: Chriſt when tempted of the Devil, anſwered, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.* The Apoſtles charged all Idolaters *to forſake thoſe Idols, and to ſerve the living God.* The Angel refuſed St. *John*'s Worſhip, commanding him to *worſhip God.* The Chriſtian Faith does in every particular raiſe the Ideas of God and of Religion to a much greater Purity and Sublimity than the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation had done; ſo it is not to be imagined that in the chief Deſign of Revealed Religion, which was the bringing men from Idolatry to the Worſhip of One God, it ſhould make ſuch a Breach, and extend it to a Creature. All this ſeems fully to prove the firſt Propoſition of this Argument, That God is the only proper Object of Adoration. The next is, That Chriſt is propoſed in the New Teſtament as the Object of Divine Worſhip. I do not in proof of this urge, the Inſtances of thoſe who fell down at Chriſt's Feet and worſhipped him, while he was on Earth; for it may be well anſwered to that, That a Prophet was worſhipped with the civil Reſpect of falling down before him, among the *Jews*; as appears in the Hiſtory of *Elijah* and *Eliſha*; nor does it appear that thoſe who worſhipped Chriſt, had any apprehenſion of his being God; they only conſidered him as the Meſſias, or as ſome eminent Prophet. But the mention that St. *Luke* makes in his Goſpel, of the Diſciples worſhipping Chriſt at his Aſcenſion, comes more home to this matter. All thoſe Salutations in the beginning and concluſion of the Epiſtles, in which *Grace, Mercy, and Peace* are wiſhed *from God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, are implied Invocations of him. It is alſo plain, that it was to him that St. *Paul prayed*, when he was under the Temptations of the Devil; as they are commonly underſtood; *Every knee muſt bow to him: The Angels of God worſhip him: All the hoſts in heaven* are repreſented in St. *John*'s Viſions, as falling down proſtrate before him, and worſhipping him *as they worſhip the Father.* He is propoſed as the Object of our Faith, Hope, and Love; as the Perſon whom we are to obey, to pray to, and to praiſe; ſo that every Act of Worſhip, both External and Internal, is directed to him as to its proper Object. But the Inſtance of all others that is the cleareſt in this Point, is in the laſt Words of St. *Stephen*, who was the firſt Martyr, and whoſe Martyrdom is ſo particularly related by St. *Luke*: He then in his laſt Minutes ſaw Chriſt *at the right hand of God*; and in his laſt Breath he worſhipped him in two ſhort Prayers, that are upon the matter the ſame with thoſe in which our Bleſſed Saviour worſhipped his Father on the Croſs; *Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit: Lord, lay not this ſin to their charge.* From this it ſeems very evident, that if Chriſt was not the True God, and Equal to the Father, then this Protomartyr died in two Acts that ſeem not only Idolatrous, but alſo Blaſphemous; ſince he worſhipped Chriſt in the ſame Acts in which Chriſt had worſhipped his Father. It is certain from all this deduction of Particulars, That his Human Nature cannot be worſhipped; therefore there muſt be another Nature in him, to which Divine Worſhip is due, and on the account of which he is to be worſhipped.

Matth. 4. 10.

Acts 14. 15.

Acts 17. 29.

1 Theſ. 1. 9.

Rev. 19 10.

Luke 24. 52.

2 Cor. 12. 8, 9

Phil. 2. 10.

Heb. 1. 5.

Rev. 5. 8, *to the end*

Acts 7. 59, 60

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It is plain that when this Religion was firſt publiſhed, together with theſe Duties in it as a part of it, the *Jews*, though implacably ſet againſt it, yet never accuſed it of Idolatry; though that Charge of all others had ſerved their purpoſes the beſt, who intended to blacken and blaſt it. Nothing would have been ſo well heard, and ſo eaſily apprehended, as a juſt Prejudice againſt it, as this. The Argument would have appeared as ſtrong as it was plain: And as the *Jews* could not be ignorant of the Acts of the Chriſtian Worſhip, when ſo many fell back to them from it, who were offended at other parts of it; ſo they had the Books in which it was contained, in their hands. Notwithſtanding all which, we have all poſſible reaſon to believe that this Objection againſt it was never made by any of them, in the Firſt Age of Chriſtianity: Upon all which, I ſay, it is not to be imagined that they could have been ſilent on this head, if a mere Man had been thus propoſed among the Chriſtians as the Object of Divine Worſhip. The Silence of the Apoſtles in not mentioning nor anſwering this, is ſuch a Proof of the Silence of the *Jews*, that it would indeed diſparage all their Writings, if we could think that while they mentioned and anſwered the other Prejudices of the *Jews*, which in compariſon to this are ſmall and inconſiderable matters, they ſhould have paſſed over this, which muſt have been the greateſt and the plauſibleſt of them all, if it was one at all. Therefore as the Silence of the Apoſtles is a clear Proof that the *Jews* were ſilent alſo, and did not object this; and ſince their ſilence could neither flow from their Ignorance, nor their undervaluing of this Religion, it ſeems to be certain that the firſt opening of the Chriſtian Doctrine did not carry any thing in it that could be called the Worſhiping of a Creature. It follows from hence that the *Jews* muſt have underſtood this part of our Religion in ſuch a manner as agreed with their former Ideas. So we muſt examine theſe: They had this ſettled among them, That God dwelt in the Cloud of Glory, and that by virtue of that Inhabitation, Divine Worſhip was paid to God as dwelling in the Cloud; that it was called *God*, *God's Throne*, *his Holineſs*, *his Face*, *and the Light of his Countenance:* They went up to the Temple to worſhip God, as dwelling there *bodily*, that is, ſubſtantially, ſo *bodily* ſometimes ſignifies, or in a Corporeal Appearance: This ſeems to have been a Perſon that was truly God, and yet was diſtinct from that which appeared and ſpake to *Moſes*; for this ſeems to be the Importance of theſe words: *Behold, I ſend an Angel before thee to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee to the place which I have prepared: Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your tranſgreſſions; for my Name is in him.* Theſe words do plainly import a Perſon to whom they belong; and yet they are a pitch far above the Angelical Dignity. So that Angel muſt here be underſtood in a large ſenſe, for one ſent of God; and it can admit of no ſenſe ſo properly, as, That the Eternal Word which dwelt afterwards in the Man Chriſt Jeſus, dwelt then in that Cloud of Glory: It was alſo one of the Prophecies received by the *Jews*, *That the Glory of the ſecond Temple was to exceed the Glory of the firſt.* The chief Character of the Glory of the firſt, was that Inhabitation of the Divine Preſence among them; from hence it follows that ſuch an Inhabitation of God in a Creature, by which that Creature was not only called God, but that Adoration was due to it upon that account, was a No-

Art. 2.

Exod. 23. 20.

2 Hag. 7.

Art. 2. tion that could not have ſcandalized the *Jews*, and was indeed the only Notion that agreed with their former Ideas, and that could have been received by them without difficulty or oppoſition. This is a ſtrong Inducement to believe that this great Article of our Religion was at that time delivered and underſtood in that ſenſe.

If the *Son* or *Word* is truly God, he muſt be from all Eternity, and muſt alſo be of the ſame Subſtance with the Father, otherwiſe he could not be God; ſince a God of another Subſtance, or of another Duration, is a Contradiction.

The laſt Argument that I ſhall offer, is taken from the beginning of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*: To the apprehending the Force of which, this muſt be premiſed, That all thoſe who acknowledge that Chriſt ought to be honoured and worſhipped as the Father, muſt ſay that this is due to him either becauſe he is truly God, or becauſe he is a Perſon of ſuch a high and exalted Dignity, that God has upon the conſideration of that appointed him to be ſo worſhipped. Now this ſecond Notion may fall under another diſtinction; that either he was of a very ſublime Order by Nature, as ſome Angelical Being, that though he was created, yet had this high Priviledge beſtowed upon him; or that he was a Prophet illuminated and authorized in ſo particular a manner beyond all others, that out of a regard to that, he was exalted to this Honour of being to be worſhipped. One of theſe muſt be choſen by all who do not believe him to be truly God: And indeed one of theſe was the *Arian*, as the other is the *Socinian* Hypotheſis. For how much ſoever the *Arians* might exalt him in words, yet if they believed him to be a Creature made in time, ſo that once he was not; all that they ſaid of him can amount to no more, but that he was a Creature of a Spiritual Nature, and this is plainly the Notion which the Scripture gives us of Angels. *Artemon*, *Samoſatenus*, *Photinus*, and the *Socinians* in our days, conſider our Saviour as a great Prophet and Lawgiver, and into this they reſolve his Dignity. In oppoſition to both theſe, that Epiſtle begins with Expreſſions that are the more ſevere, becauſe they are Negative, which are to be underſtood more ſtrictly than Poſitive words. Chriſt is not only preferred to Angels, but is ſet in oppoſition to them, as one of another Order of Beings.

Heb. 1. *Made ſo much better than angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a*
4, 5, *more excellent name than they. For unto which of the Angels ſaid he at*
6, *any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee? When he bring-*
eth in the firſt-begotten into the world, he ſaith, And let all the angels of
7, *God worſhip him. Of the angels he ſaith, Who maketh his angels ſpirits,*
8, *and his miniſters a flame of fire. But unto the Son he ſaith, Thy throne,*
10, *O God, is for ever and ever. And, Thou Lord in the beginning haſt laid*
the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of thy hands.
12, *Thou art the ſame, and thy years ſhall not fail. But to which of the an-*
13, 14. *gels ſaid he at any time, Sit on my right hand, till I make thine enemies*
thy footſtool? Are they not all miniſtring ſpirits, ſent forth to miniſter for
them who ſhall be heirs of ſalvation? This oppoſition is likewiſe carried on through the whole ſecond Chapter; one Paſſage in it being moſt expreſs to ſhew both that his Nature had a Subſiſtence before his Incarnation, and that it was not of an Angelical Order of Beings, ſince he

Chap. 2. *took not on him the nature of Angels, but the ſeed of Abraham.* Thus in
16. a great variety of Expreſſions, the Conceit of Chriſt's being of an

Ange-

Angelical Nature, is very fully condemned. From that the Writer goes next to the Notion of his being to be honoured, becauſe he was an Eminent Prophet; on which he enters with a very ſolemn Preface, inviting them to *conſider the Apoſtle and High-prieſt of our Profeſſion*: Then he compares *Moſes* to him, as to the point of being *faithful to him who had appointed him*: But how eminent ſoever *Moſes* was, above all other Prophets, and how harſhly ſoever it muſt have ſounded to the *Jews* to have ſtated the difference in terms ſo diſtant as that of a *Servant* and a *Son*, of *one who built the houſe, and of the Houſe it ſelf*: yet we ſee the Apoſtle does not only prefer Chriſt to *Moſes*, but puts him in another Order and Rank; which could not be done according to the *Socinian* Hypotheſis. From all which this Concluſion naturally follows, That if Chriſt is to be worſhipped, and that this Honour belongs to him neither as an Angel, nor as a Prophet, That then it is due to him becauſe he is truly God. *Art.* 2. Chap. 3. 11.

The Second Branch of this Article is, That he **took man's Nature upon him in the Womb of the Bleſſed Virgin, and of her Subſtance.** This will not need any long or laboured Proof, ſince the Texts of Scripture are ſo expreſs, that nothing but wild Extravagance can withſtand them. Chriſt was in all things like unto us, except his miraculous Conception by the Virgin: He was the Son of *Abraham* and of *David*. But among the Frantick Humours that appeared at the Reformation, ſome in oppoſition to the Superſtition of the Church of *Rome*, ſtudied to derogate as much from the Bleſſed Virgin on the one hand, as ſhe had been over-exalted on the other; So they ſaid, that Chriſt had only gone through her. But this Impiety ſunk ſo ſoon, that it is needleſs to ſay any thing more to refute it.

The Third Branch of the Article is, That **theſe two Natures were joined in one Perſon, never to be divided.** What a Perſon is that reſults from a cloſe Conjunction of Two Natures, we can only judge of it by conſidering Man, in whom there is a Material and a Spiritual Nature joined together. They are Two Natures as different as any we can apprehend among all created Beings; yet theſe make but One Man. The Matter of which the Body is compoſed, does not ſubſiſt by it ſelf, is not under all thoſe Laws of Motion to which it would be ſubject, if it were mere inanimated Matter; but by the Indwelling and Actuation of the Soul, it has another Spring within it, and has another Courſe of Operations. According to this then, to ſubſiſt by another, is when a Being is acting according to its Natural Properties, but yet in a conſtant dependance upon another Being; ſo our Bodies ſubſiſt by the Subſiſtence of our Souls. This may help us to apprehend how that as the Body is ſtill a Body, and operates as a Body, though it ſubſiſts by the Indwelling and Actuation of the Soul; ſo in the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt the Human Nature was entire, and ſtill acted according to its own Character; yet there was ſuch an Union and Inhabitation of the Eternal Word in it, that there did ariſe out of that a Communication of Names and Characters as we find in the Scriptures. A man is called Tall, Fair, and Healthy, from the ſtate of his Body; and Learned, Wiſe, and Good, from the qualities of his Mind: So Chriſt is called holy, harmleſs, and undefiled; is ſaid to have died, riſen, and aſcended up into Heaven, with relation to his Human Nature: He is alſo ſaid to be in *the form of God, to have created all things, to* Phil. 2. 6. Col. 1. 16.

Art. 2. *to be the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person,* with relation to his Divine Nature. The Ideas that we have
Heb. 1. 3. of what is Material and what is Spiritual, lead us to distinguish in a Man those descriptions that belong to his Body, from those that belong to his Mind; so the different apprehensions that we have of what is created and uncreated, must be our Thread to guide us into the Resolution of those various Expressions that occur in the Scriptures concerning Christ.

The design of the Definition that was made by the Church concerning Christ's having one Person, was chiefly to distinguish the nature of the *Indwelling* of the Godhead in him, from all Prophetical Inspirations. The Mosaical degree of Prophecy was in many respects superior to that of all the subsequent Prophets: Yet the difference is stated between Christ and *Moses*, in terms that import things quite of another nature; the one being mentioned as a Servant, the other as the Son that built the House. It is not said that God appeared to Christ, or that he spoke to him; but God was ever with him, and in
Joh. 1. 14. him; and while *the Word was made flesh*, yet still *his glory was as the glory of the only begotten Son of God.* The Glory that *Isaiah* saw, was called *his Glory*; and on the other hand God, is said to have purchased his Church with his own Blood. If *Nestorius* in opposing this, meant only, as some think it appears by many Citations out of him, that the Blessed Virgin was not to be called simply *the Mother of God*, but *the Mother of him that was God*; and if that of making Two Persons in Christ, was only fasten'd on him as a Consequence, we are not at all concerned in the Matter of Fact, whether *Nestorius* was misunderstood and hardly used, or not; but the Doctrine here asserted is plain in the Scriptures, That though the Human Nature in Christ acted still according to its proper Character, and had a peculiar Will; yet there was such a constant Presence, Indwelling, and Actuation on it from the Eternal *Word*, as did constitute both Human and Divine Nature one *Person.* As these are thus so entirely united, so they are never to be separated. Christ is now exalted to the highest degrees of Glory and Honour; and the Characters of Blessing, Honour, and Glory, are represented in St. *John's*
Rev. 5. 13. Visions as offered *to the Lamb for ever and ever.* It is true, St. *Paul* speaks as if Christ's Mediatory Office and Kingdom were to cease after the Day of Judgment, and that then he was to deliver up all to the Father. But though when the full number of the Elect shall be gathered, the full End of his Death will be attained; and when these Saints shall be glorified with him and by him, his Office as Mediator will naturally come to an end; yet his own Personal Glory shall never cease: And if every Saint shall inherit an everlasting Kingdom, much more shall he who has merited all that to them, and has conferred it on them, be for ever possessed of his Glory.

The Fourth Branch of the Article is concerning the Truth of Christ's Crucifixion, his Death and Burial. The Matter of Fact concerning the Death of Christ is denied by no Christian; the *Jews* do all acknowledge it; the first Enemies to Christianity did all believe this, and reproached his Followers with it. This was that which all Christians gloried in and avowed; so that no question was made of his Death, except by a small number called *Docetæ*, who were not esteemed Christians, till *Mahomet* denied it in his *Alcoran*, who pre-

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tends that he was withdrawn, and that a *Jew* was crucified in his ſtead. But this corruption of the Hiſtory of the Goſpel came too late afterwards, to have any ſhadow of credit due to it; nor was there any ſort of Proof offered to ſupport it. So this Doctrine concerning the Death of Chriſt is to be received as an unqueſtionable Truth. There is no part of the Goſpel writ with ſo copious a Particularity, as the Hiſtory of his Sufferings and Death; as there was indeed no part of the Goſpel ſo important as this is. *Art.* 2.

The Fifth Branch of the Article is, That he was a **true Sacrifice to reconcile the Father to us, and that not only for Original, but for Actual Sins.** The Notion of an Expiatory Sacrifice, which was then, when the New Teſtament was writ, well underſtood all the World over, both by *Jew* and *Gentile*, was this, That the Sin of one Perſon was transferred on a Man or a Beaſt, who was upon that devoted and offered up to God, and ſuffered in the room of the offending Perſon; and by this Oblation the Puniſhment of the Sin being laid on the Sacrifice, an Expiation was made for Sin, and the Sinner was believed to be reconciled to God. This, as appears through the whole Book of *Leviticus*, was the deſign and effect of the *Sin* and *Treſpaſs-Offerings* among the *Jews*, and more particularly of the Goat that was offered up for the Sins of the whole People on the day of Atonement. This was a piece of Religion well known both to *Jew* and *Gentile*, that had a great many Phraſes belonging to it, ſuch as the Sacrifices being offered *for*, or *inſtead of Sin*, and *in the name*, or on the account of the Sinner; *its bearing of* Sin, and *becoming* Sin, or the *Sin-offering*; its being the *Reconciliation*, the *Atonement*, and the *Redemption* of the Sinner, by which the Sin was no more *imputed*, but *forgiven*, and for which the Sinner was *accepted*. When therefore this whole ſet of Phraſes in its utmoſt extent, is very often, and in a great variety, applied to the Death of Chriſt, it is not poſſible for us to preſerve any Reverence for the New Teſtament, or the Writers of it, ſo far as to think them even honeſt men, not to ſay Inſpired men, if we can imagine, That in ſo Sacred and Important a Matter they could exceed ſo much as to repreſent that to be our Sacrifice which is not truly ſo: This is a Point that will not bear Figures and Amplifications; it muſt be treated of ſtrictly, and with a juſt exactneſs of Expreſſion. Chriſt is called *the lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world*; he is ſaid *to have born our ſins on his own body*; *to have been made ſin for us*; it is ſaid, That *he gave his life a ranſom for many*. That *he was the propitiation for the ſins of the whole world*: and that *we have redemption through his blood, even the remiſſion of our ſins*: It is ſaid That *he hath reconciled us to his Father in his croſs, and in the body of his fleſh through death*: That he by *his own blood entred in once into the Holy place, having obtained Eternal Redemption for us*: That *once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away ſin, by the ſacrifice of himſelf*: That *he was once offered to bear the ſins of many*; That *we are ſanctified by the offering of the body of Chriſt once for all*: And, That *after he had offered one ſacrifice*

John 1.29. 1 Pet. 2.24. 2 Cor. 5. 21. Matth. 20. 28. Rom. 3. 25. 1 Joh 2. 1. Eph 1. 7. Col. 1. 14, 20, 21. Heb. 9. 11, 12, 13, 14, 26, 28.

Art. 2. *crifice for ſin, he ſate down for ever at the right hand of God.* It is ſaid, That *we enter into the holieſt by the blood of Chriſt, That is the blood of the New Covenant, by which we are ſanctified:* That *he hath ſanctified the people with his own blood: and was the great ſhepherd of his people, through the blood of the everlaſting Covenant:* That *we are redeemed with the precious blood of Chriſt, as of a Lamb without blemiſh, and without ſpot.* And, That *Chriſt ſuffered once for ſins, the juſt for the unjuſt, that he might bring us to God.* In theſe and a great many more paſſages that he ſpread in all the parts of the New Teſtament, it is as plain as words can make any thing, That the Death of Chriſt is propoſed to us as our Sacrifice and Reconciliation, our Atonement and Redemption. So it is not poſſible for any man, that conſiders all this, to imagine, That Chriſt's Death was only a Confirmation of his Goſpel, a Pattern of a holy and patient ſuffering of Death, and a neceſſary preparation to his Reſurrection; by which he gave us a clear proof of a Reſurrection, and by conſequence of Eternal Life, as by his Doctrine he had ſhewed us the way to it. By this all the high commendations of his Death, amount only to this, That he by dying has given a vaſt Credit and Authority to his Goſpel, which was the powerfulleſt mean poſſible to redeem us from Sin, and to reconcile us to God: But this is ſo contrary to the whole deſign of the New Teſtament, and to the true Importance of that great variety of Phraſes, in which this Matter is ſet out, that at this rate of Expounding Scripture, we can never know what we may build upon, eſpecially when the great Importance of this thing, and of our having right Notions concerning it, is well conſidered. St. *Paul* does, in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, ſtate an oppoſition between the Death of Chriſt, and the Sin of *Adam*; the ill effects of the one being removed by the other; but he plainly carries the Death of Chriſt much further, than that it had only healed the Wound that was given by *Adam's* Sin; *for as the judgment was of one (ſin) to Condemnation, the free gift is of many offences to juſtification*; but in the other places of the New Teſtament, Chriſt's Death is ſet forth ſo fully, as a Propitiation for the Sins of the whole World, that it is a very falſe way of arguing to inferr, That becauſe in one place That is ſet in oppoſition to *Adam's* Sin, that therefore the virtue of it was to go no further, than to take away that Sin. It has indeed removed that, but it has done a great deal more beſides.

Heb. 10. 10, 12, 14, 19, 29. Heb. 13. 12. 20. 1 Pet. 1. 19. 1 Pet. 2. 24. 1 Pet. 3. 18. Rom. 5. 12. *to the end.*

Thus it is plain, That Chriſt's Death was our Sacrifice, The meaning of which is this, That God intending to reconcile the World to himſelf, and to encourage Sinners to repent and turn to him, thought fit to offer the pardon of Sin, together with the other Bleſſings of his Goſpel, in ſuch a way as ſhould demonſtrate both the Guilt of Sin, and his Hatred of it; and yet with that, his love of Sinners, and his compaſſions towards them. A free Pardon without a Sacrifice had not been ſo agreeable neither to the Majeſty of the Great Governor of the World, nor the Authority of his Laws, nor ſo proper a method to oblige men to that ſtrictneſs and holineſs of Life that he deſigned to bring them to: And therefore he thought fit to offer his Pardon, and thoſe other Bleſſings through a Mediator, who was to deliver to the World this new and holy Rule of Life, and to confirm it by his own unblemiſht Life:

And

And in concluſion, when the Rage of Wicked men who hated him for the Holineſs both of his Life, and of his Doctrine, did work them up into ſuch a fury, as to purſue him to a moſt Violent and Ignominious Death, he in compliance with the ſecret deſign of his Father, did not only go through that diſmal ſeries of Sufferings, with the moſt intire Reſignation to his Father's Will, and with the higheſt Charity poſſible towards thoſe who were his moſt Unjuſt and Malicious Murderers; but he at the ſame time underwent great Agonies in his Mind; which ſtruck him with ſuch an Amazement and Sorrow even to the Death, that upon it he did ſweat great drops of Blood, and on the Croſs he felt a withdrawing of thoſe comforts, that till then had ever ſupported him, when he cried out, *My God, My God, Why haſt thou forſaken me?* It is not eaſy for us to apprehend in what that Agony conſiſted: For we underſtand only the Agonies of Pain, or of Conſcience, which laſt ariſe out of the Horror of Guilt, or the Apprehenſion of the Wrath of God; It is indeed certain, That he who had no Sin could have no ſuch horror in him; and yet it is as certain, That he could not be put into ſuch an Agony only through the Apprehenſion and Fear of that violent Death, which he was to ſuffer next day: Therefore we ought to conclude, That there was an inward Suffering in his Mind, as well as an outward viſible one in his Body. We cannot diſtinctly apprehend what that was, ſince he was ſure both of his own ſpotleſs Innocence, and of his Father's unchangeable love to him. We can only imagine a vaſt ſenſe of the heinouſneſs of Sin, and a deep Indignation at the Diſhonour done to God by it, a melting Apprehenſion of the Corruption and Miſeries of Mankind by reaſon of Sin, together with a never-before-felt withdrawing of thoſe Conſolations that had always filled his Soul. But what might be further in his Agony, and in his laſt Dereliction, we cannot diſtinctly apprehend; only this we perceive, That our Minds are capable of great pain as well as our Bodies are. Deep horror, with an inconſolable ſharpneſs of Thought, is a very intolerable thing. Notwithſtanding the Bodily or Subſtantial Indwelling of the fulneſs of the Godhead in him; yet he was capable of feeling vaſt pain in his *Body*: So that he might become a compleat Sacrifice, and that we might have from his Sufferings, a very full and amazing apprehenſion of the Guilt of Sin; all thoſe Emanations of joy with which the Indwelling of the *Eternal Word* had ever till then filled his Soul, might then when he needed them moſt be quite withdrawn, and he be left merely to the firmneſs of his Faith, to his patient Reſignation to the Will of his heavenly Father, and to his willing readineſs of drinking up that Cup which his Father had put in his hand to drink. *Art.* 2.

There remains but one thing to be remembred here, though it will come to be more ſpecially Explained, when other Articles are to be opened; which is, That this Reconciliation which is made by the Death of Chriſt, between God and Man, is not abſolute and without conditions. He has Eſtabliſhed the Covenant, and has performed all that was Incumbent on him, as both the Prieſt and the Sacrifice, to do and to ſuffer; and he offers this to the World, that it may be cloſed with by them, on the terms on which it is propoſed; and if they do not accept of it upon theſe conditions, and perform what is enjoined them, they can have no ſhare in it.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE III.

Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died for us and was buried, so also is it to be believed, that he went down into Hell.

THIS was much fuller when the Articles were at first prepared and published in King *Edward*'s Reign: For these words were added to it, *That the body of Christ lay in the Grave untill his Resurrection; but his Spirit which he gave up, was with the Spirits which were detained in Prison, or in Hell, and preached to them, as the place in St.* Peter *testifieth.* Thus a determined sense was put upon this Article, which is now left more at large, and is conceived in words of a more general Signification. In order to the explaining this, it is to be premised, That the Article in the Creed, of Christ's *descent* into *Hell* is mentioned by no Writer before *Ruffin*, who in the beginning of the Fifth Century does indeed speak of it: But he tells us, That it was neither in the Symbol of the *Roman*, nor of the Oriental Churches; and that he found it in the Symbol of his own Church at *Aquileia*. But as there was no other Article in that Symbol that related to Christ's Burial; so the words which he gives us, *descendit ad Inferna, he descended to the lower parts*, do very naturally signify *Burial*, according to these words of St. *Paul*, *He ascended; what is it but that he also descended first to the lower parts of the Earth?* and *Ruffin* himself understood these words in that sense.

Eph. 4. 9.

None of the Fathers in the first Ages, neither *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens*, nor *Origen*, in the short Abstracts that they give us of the Christian Faith, mention any thing like this: And in all that great variety of Creeds that was proposed by the many Councils that met in the Fourth Century, this is not in any one of them, except in that which was agreed to at *Arimini*, and was pretended, though falsly, to have been made at *Sirmium*: In that it is set down in a *Greek* word that does exactly answer *Ruffin*'s *Inferna*, Καταχθονια: And it stood there instead of **Buried.** When it was put in the Creed that carries *Athanasius*'s Name, tho' made in the Sixth or Seventh Century, the word was changed to ἁδης, or **Hell**: But yet it seems to have been understood to signify Christ's Burial, there being no other word put for it in that Creed: Afterwards it was put into the Symbol of the *Western* Church: That was done at first in the words in which *Ruffin* had expressed it, as appears by some Ancient Copies of Creeds which were published the Great Primate *Usher*. We are next to consider, what the Importance of these words in themselves is; for it is plain that the use of them in the Creed is not very Ancient nor Universal. We have a most unquestionable Authority for this, that our Saviour's *Soul was in Hell.* In the Acts of the Apostles, St. *Peter* in the first Sermon that was preached after the wonderful Effusion of the Spirit at *Pentecost*, applies these words of *David*, concerning *God's not leaving his Soul in Hell, nor suffering his Holy one to see corruption*, to the Resurrection of Christ. Now since in the composition of a Man, there is a Body and a Spirit, and since it is plain that the raising of

Christ

Christ on the Third day, was before that his Body in the course of Nature was corrupted. The other Branch seems to relate to his *Soul*; though it is not to be denied, but that in the Old Testament *Soul* in some places stands for a *dead Body*: But if that were the sense of the word, there will be no opposition in the two Parts of this period: The one will be only a redundant repetition of the other: Therefore it is much more natural to think, that this other Branch concerning Christ's Soul's being left in *Hell*, must relate to that which we commonly understand by Soul; if then his *Soul was not to be left in Hell*, then from thence it plainly follows, that once it was in *Hell*, and by consequence that Christ's Soul descended into *Hell*. *Art.* 3.

Some very Modern Writers have thought, that this is to be understood Figuratively of the Wrath of God due for Sin, which Christ bore in his Soul, besides the Torments that he suffered in his Body: And they think, that these are here mentioned by themselves, after the Enumeration of the several steps of his bodily Sufferings: And this being equal to the Torments of *Hell*, as it is that which delivers us from them, might in a large way of Expression be called *a descending into Hell*. But as neither the word *descend*, nor *Hell*, are to be found in any other place of Scripture in this sense, nor in any of the Ancients, among whom the Signification of this Phrase is more likely to be found, than among Moderns; So this being put after *Buried*, it plainly shews that it belongs to a period subsequent to his Burial: There is therefore no regard to be had to this Notion.

Others have thought, That by Christ's *descent into Hell*, is to be understood his continuing in the State of the Dead for some time: But there is no Ground for this conceit neither, these words being to be found in no Author in that Signification.

Many of the Fathers thought, That Christ's Soul went locally into *Hell*, and preached to some of the *Spirits* there in *Prison*; that there he *triumphed over Satan, and spoiled him*, and carried some Souls with him into Glory. But the account that the Scriptures give us of the Exaltation of Christ, begins it always at his Resurrection: Nor can it be imagined, That so memorable a Transaction as this, would have been passed over by the Three first Evangelists, and least of all by St. *John*, who coming after the rest, and designing to supply what was wanting in them, and intending particularly to magnify the Glory of Christ, could not have passed over so wonderful an Instance of it. We have no reason to think, that such a matter would have been only insinuated in general words, and not have been plainly related. The Triumph of Christ over Principalities and Powers, is ascribed by St. *Paul* to his Cross, and was the Effect and Result of his Death. The place of St. *Peter* seems to relate to the Preaching to the *Gentile* World, by virtue of that Inspiration that was derived from Christ; which was therefore called *his Spirit*; and the *Spirits in Prison* were the *Gentiles*, who were shut up in Idolatry as *in Prison*, and so were under the Power of the *Prince of the Power of the Air*, who is called the *God of this World*; that is, of the *Gentile* World; It being one of the ends for which Christ was Anointed of his Father, *to open the prisons to them that were bound*. So then, though there is no harm in this Opinion, yet it not being Founded on any part of the History of the Gospel, and it being supported only by passages

1 Pet. 3. 19.

Eph. 2. 1. 2 Cor. 4. 4. Isa. 61. 2.

Art. 3. that may well bear another sense, we may lay it aside, notwithstanding the Reverence we bear to those that asserted it; and that the rather, because the first Fathers that were next the Source, say nothing of it.

Another Conceit has had a great course among some of the latest Fathers and the Schoolmen: They have fancied that there was a place, to which they have given a peculiar name, *Limbus Patrum*, a sort of a Partition in Hell, where all the Good Men of the Old Dispensation, that had died before Christ, were detained; and they hold that our Saviour went thither, and emptied that Place, carrying all the Souls that were in it, with him to Heaven. Of this the Scriptures say nothing; not a word either of the Patriarchs going thither, or of Christ's delivering them out of it: And though there are not in the Old Testament expres Declarations and Promises made concerning a Future State, *Christ having brought life and immortality to light through his Gospel*; yet all the Hints given of it, shew that they looked for an Immediate Admission to Blessedness after death. So *David*, *Thou wilt shew me the path of life, in thy presence is fulness of joy, and at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore. Thou shalt guide me here by thy counsel, and afterwards receive me to glory.* *Isaiah* says, That *the righteous when they dye enter into peace.* In the New Testament there is not a Hint given of this; for though some Passages may seem to favour Christ's delivering some Souls out of *Hell*, yet there is nothing that by any management can be brought to look this way.

Psal. 16. 11. Acts 2.31. Psal. 73. 24. Isa. 57. 2.

There is another Sense of which these words [*descended into Hell*] are capable: by *Hell* may be meant the Invisible Place to which departed Souls are carried after their death: For though the *Greek* word so rendred, does now commonly stand for the Place of the Damned, and for many Ages has been so understood; yet at the time of writing the New Testament it was among *Greek* Authors used indifferently for the place of all departed Souls, whether good or bad; and by it were meant the Invisible Regions where those Spirits were lodged: So if these words are taken in this large sense, we have in them a clear and literal account of our Saviour's *Soul* descending into *Hell*; it imports that he was not only dead in a more common acceptation, as it is usual to say a man is dead when there appear no signs of life in him; and that he was not as in a deep Extasy or Fit that seemed Death, but that he was truly dead; that his Soul was neither in his Body, nor hovering about it, ascending and descending upon it, as some of the *Jews* fancied Souls did for some time after death; but that his Soul was really removed out of his Body, and carried to those unseen Regions of departed Spirits, among whom it continued till his Resurrection. That the Regions of the Blessed were known then to the *Jews* by the name of *Paradise*, as Hell was known by the name of *Gehenna*, is very clear from Christ's last Words, *To day thou shalt be with me in Paradise*; and *into thy hands do I commend my spirit.* This is a plain and full account of a good Sense that may be well put on the Words; though after all, it is still to be remembred, That in the first Creeds that have this Article, that of Christ's Burial not being mentioned in them, it follows from thence, as well as from *Ruffin*'s own Sense of it, that they understood this only of Christ's Burial.

See Bishop Person on the Creed,

Luke 23. 43, 46.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Reſurrection of Chriſt.

Chriſt did truly riſe again from Death, and took again his Body, with Fleſh, Bones, and all things appertaining to the Perfection of Man's Nature, wherewith he aſcended into Heaven, and there ſitteth, until he return to judge all Men at the Laſt Day.

THere are Four Branches of this Article: The Firſt is concerning the Truth of Chriſt's Reſurrection. The Second concerning the Compleatneſs of it, That he took to him again his whole Body. The Third is concerning his Aſcenſion and Continuance in Heaven. And the Fourth is concerning his returning to judge all men at the Laſt Day. Theſe things are all ſo expreſly affirmed, and that in ſo particular a manner in the New Teſtament, that if the Authority of that Book is once well proved, little doubting will remain concerning them.

It is punctually told in it, That the Body of Chriſt was laid in the Sepulchre: That a Stone was laid to the Mouth of it: That it was rolled away, and upon that Chriſt aroſe and left the Death-Cloaths behind him: That thoſe who viewed the Sepulchre, ſaw no Body there: That in the ſame Body Chriſt ſhewed himſelf to his Diſciples, ſo that they all knew him, he talked with them, and they did eat and drink with him, and he made *Thomas* feel to the Print of the Nails and Spear. It is as plainly told, That the Apoſtles look'd on, and ſaw him aſcend up to Heaven, and that a Cloud received him out of their ſight. It is alſo ſaid very plainly, that he ſhall come again at the Laſt Day, and judge all men both the Quick and the Dead. So that if the Truth of the Goſpels is once fully proved, it will not be neceſſary to inſiſt long upon the ſpecial Proof of theſe Particulars: Somewhat will only be neceſſary to be ſaid in Explanation of them.

The Goſpel was firſt Preached, and ſoon after put in Writing; in which theſe Particulars are not only delivered, but are ſet forth with many Circumſtances relating to them. The Credit of the Whole is put on that Iſſue concerning the Truth of Chriſt's Reſurrection; ſo that the overthrowing the Truth of That, was the overturning the whole Goſpel, and ſtruck at the Credit of it all. This was tranſacted as well as firſt publiſhed at *Jeruſalem*, where the Enemies of it had all poſſible Advantages in their hands; their Intereſt was deeply concerned, as well as their Malice was much kindled at it. They had both Power and Wealth in their hands, as well as Credit and Authority among the People. The *Romans* left them at full liberty, as they did the other Nations whom they conquered, to order their own Concerns as they pleaſed. And even the *Romans* themſelves began quickly to hate and perſecute the Chriſtians: They became the Objects of Popular Fury, as *Tacitus* tells us. The *Romans* look'd upon Chriſt as one that ſet on the *Jews* to thoſe Tumults that were then ſo common among them, as *Suetonius* affirms: Which ſhews both how ignorant they were of the Doctrine of Chriſt, and how much they were prejudiced againſt it. Yet this Goſpel did ſpread it ſelf, and was believed by great multitudes both at *Jeruſalem* and in all *Judea*; and from thence

Art. 4. it was propagated in a very few Years to a great many remote Countries.

Among all Chriſtians the Article of the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of Chriſt was always look'd on as the Capital one, upon which all the reſt depended. This was atteſted by a conſiderable number of men, againſt whoſe Credit no Objection was made; who affirmed that they all had ſeen him, and converſed frequently with him after his Reſurrection; that they ſaw him aſcend up into Heaven; and that according to a Promiſe he had made them, they had received extraordinary Powers from him to work Miracles in his Name, and to ſpeak in divers Languages. This laſt was a moſt amazing Character of a Supernatural Power lodged with them; and was a thing of ſuch a nature, that it muſt have been evident to every man whether it was true or falſe: So that the Apoſtles relating this ſo poſitively, and making ſuch frequent Appeals to it, that way of proceeding carries a ſtrong and undeniable Evidence of Truth in it. Theſe Wonders were gathered together in a Book, and publiſhed in the very Time in which they were tranſacted: The *Acts of the Apoſtles* were writ two Years after St. *Paul* was carried Priſoner to *Rome*; and St. *Luke* begins that Book with the mention of the Goſpel that he had formerly writ, as that Goſpel begins with the mention of ſome other Goſpels that were writ before it. Almoſt all the *Epiſtles* ſpeak of the Temple of *Jeruſalem* as yet in being; of the *Jews* as then in Peace and Proſperity, hating and perſecuting the Chriſtians, every where: They do alſo frequently intimate the Aſſurance they had of a great Deliverance that was to happen quickly to the Chriſtians, and of terrible Judgments that were to be poured out on the *Jews*; which was ſoon after that accompliſh'd in the moſt ſignal manner of any thing that is recorded in Hiſtory.

Theſe things do clearly prove, That all the Writings of the New Teſtament were both Compoſed and Publiſhed in the Age in which that Matter was tranſacted: The *Jews*, who from all the places of their Diſperſion went frequently to *Jeruſalem*, to keep the great Feſtivities of their Religion there, had occaſion often to examine upon the place, the Truth of the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of Chriſt, and of the Effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt: Yet even in that Infancy of Chriſtianity, in which it had ſo little viſible Strength, no Proof was ſo much as ever pretended in oppoſition to thoſe great and eſſential Points; which being Matters of Fact, and related with a great Variety of Circumſtances, had been eaſily confuted, if there had been any ground for it. The great Darkneſs at the time of Chriſt's Death, the rending the Veil of the Temple in two, as well as what was more publick, the renting of the Rocks at his death: His being laid in a new Sepulchre, and a Watch being ſet about it; and the Watchmen reporting, That while they ſlept, the Body of Chriſt was carried away: The Apoſtles breaking out all of the ſudden into that variety of Tongues on *Pentecoſt*; the Miracles that they wrought, and the proceedings of the *Sanhedrim* with them, were all things ſo publickly done, that as the diſcovery of Falſhood in any one of theſe was in the power of the *Jews*, if any ſuch was; ſo That alone had moſt effectually deſtroyed the Credit of this Religion, and ſtopt its Progreſs.

The Writings of the New Teſtament were at that time no Secrets, they were in all mens hands, and were copied out freely by every one that deſired it. We find within an Hundred Years after

after that time, both by the Epiſtle of the Church of *Smyrna*, by *Juſtin*, and *Irenæus*, not to mention *Clemens* of *Rome*, who lived in that time, or *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*, who lived very near it; That the Authority of theſe Writings was early received and ſubmitted to; That they were much read, and well known; and that they began very ſoon to be read at the Meetings of the Chriſtians for Worſhip; and were eſteemed by the ſeveral Churches as the great Truſt and *Depoſitum* that was lodged with them. So that though by the Negligence of Copiers ſome ſmall Variations might happen among ſome of the Copies; yet as they do all agree in the main, and moſt ſignally in thoſe Particulars that are mentioned in this Article; ſo it was not poſſible for any that ſhould have had the wickedneſs to ſet about it, to have corrupted the New Teſtament by any Additions or Alterations; it being ſo early ſpread into ſo many hands, and that in ſo many different places. *Art.* 4.

When all this matter is laid together, it appears to have as full an Evidence to ſupport it, as any Matter of Fact can poſſibly have. The Narration gave great ſcope to a variety of Enquiries; it raiſed much Diſputing, Oppoſition, and Perſecution; and yet nothing was ever pretended to be proved, that could ſubvert its Credit: Great Multitudes received this Doctrine, and died for it in the Age in which the Matters of Fact upon which its Credit was built, were well atteſted, and in which the Truth or Falſhood of them might have been eaſily known; which it is reaſonable to believe that all men would carefully examine, before they embraced and aſſented to that which was like to draw on them Sufferings that would probably end in Death. Thoſe who did ſpread this Doctrine, as well as thoſe who firſt received it, had no Intereſt beſide that of Truth to engage them to it. They could expect neither Wealth nor Greatneſs from it: They were obliged to Travel much, and to Labour hard; to wreſtle through great Difficulties, and to endure many Indignities. They ſaw others die on the account of it, and had reaſon to look for the like uſage themſelves.

The Doctrine that they preached related either to the Facts concerning the Perſon of Chriſt, or to the Rules of Life which they delivered. Theſe were all pure, juſt, and good; they tended to ſettle the World upon the Foundations of Truth and Sincerity, and that ſublime Pitch of Righteouſneſs, of doing as they would be done by; they tended to make men Sober and Temperate, Chaſte and Modeſt, Meek and Humble, Merciful and Charitable; ſo that from thence there was no Colour given for ſuſpecting any Fraud or Deſign in it. The Worſhip of God in this Religion was Pure and Simple, free from Coſt or Pomp, from Theatrical Shews, as well as Idolatrous Rites, and had in it all poſſible Characters becoming the Purity of the Supreme Mind. When therefore ſo much concurs to give Credit to a Religion, there ought to be evident Proofs brought to the contrary, before it can be disbelieved or rejected. So many men forſaking the Religion in which they were born and bred, which has always a ſtrong Influence even upon the greateſt Minds; and there being ſo many particular Prejudices both upon *Jews* and *Gentiles*, by the Opinions in which they had been bred, and the Impreſſions which had gone deep in them, it could be no ſlight matter that could overcome all that.

The *Jews* expected a Conqueror for their Meſſias, who ſhould have raiſed both the Honour of their Law and their Nation, and ſo were much

Art. 4. much possessed against one of a mean Appearance; and when they saw that their Law was to be superseded, and that the *Gentiles* were to be brought in to equal Privileges with themselves, they could not but be deeply prejudiced both against the Person and Doctrine of Christ.

The Philosophers despised Divine Inspiration, and secret Assistances, and had an ill Opinion of Miracles: And the Herd among the *Gentiles* were so accustomed to Pomp and Shew in their Religious Performances, that they must have nauseated the Christian Simplicity, and the corruption of their Morals must have made them uneasy at a Religion of so much strictness. All sorts of men lay under very strong Prejudices against this Religion; nor was there any one Article or Branch of it, that flattered any of the Interests, Appetites, Passions, or Vanities of Men, but all was very much to the contrary. They were warned to prepare for Trials and Crosses, and in particular for a severe and fiery Trial that was speedily to come upon them.

There was nothing of the way or manner of Impostors that appeared in the Methods in which the Gospel was propagated. When the Apostles saw that some were endeavouring to lessen them and their Authority, they took no fawning ways: They neither flattered nor spared those Churches that were under their care: They charged them home with their faults, and asserted their own Character in a strain that shewed they were afraid of no discoveries. They appeal'd to the Miracles that they had wrought, and to those Gifts and Divine Virtues of which they were not only possessed themselves, but which were by their Ministry conferred on others. The *demonstration*
1 Cor. 2. 4. *of the Spirit*, or Inspiration that was in them, appeared in the *power*, that is, in the Miracles which accompanied it, and those they wrought openly in the sight of many Witnesses. An uncontested Miracle is the fullest Evidence that can be given of a Divine Commission.

A Miracle is a Work that exceeds all the known Powers of Nature, and that carries in it plain Characters of a Power Superior to any Human power. We cannot indeed fix the bounds of the Powers of Nature; but yet we can plainly apprehend what must be beyond them. For Instance, We do not know what secret Virtues there may be in Plants and Minerals; But we do know that bare words can have no Natural Virtue in them to cure Diseases, much less to raise the Dead: We know not what force Imagination or Credulity may have in Critical Diseases; but we know that a Dead man has no Imagination: We know also, That Blindness, Deafness, and an Inveterate Palsey, cannot be cured by Conceit: Therefore such Miracles as the giving Sight to a Man born Blind, Speech to the Deaf and Dumb, and Strength to the Paralytick; but most of all, the giving Life to the Dead, and that not only to Persons laid out as Dead, but to one that was carried out to be Buried, and to another that had been four days Dead, and in his Grave; all this was done with a bare Word, without any sort of External Application; This, I say, as it is clearly above the Force of Imagination, so it is beyond the Powers of Nature.

These things were not done in the dark, nor in the presence of a few, in whom a particular confidence was put; but in full day-light, and in the sight of great Numbers, Enemies as well as Friends, and some of those Enemies were both the most enraged, and the most capable of making all possible Exceptions to what was done. Such were the Rulers

lers of the Synagogues, and the *Phariſees* in our Saviour's Time: And yet they could neither deny the Facts, nor pretend that there was any Deceit or Juglary in them. We have in this all poſſible reaſon to conclude, That both the things were truly done as they are related, and that no juſt Exception was or could be made to them. *Art.* 4.

If it is pretended, That thoſe wonderful things were done by the Power of an Evil Spirit; That does both acknowledge the Truth of the Relation, and alſo its being Supernatural. This Anſwer taken from the Power of Evil Spirits, is ſometimes to be made uſe of, when extraordinary things are well atteſted, and urged in proof of that which upon other Reaſons we are aſſured is falſe. It is certain, That as we have a great power over vaſt quantities of groſs and heavy Matter, which by the motion of a very ſubtile Body, our Animal Spirits we can maſter and manage: So Angels Good, or Bad, may by virtue of ſubtile Bodies, in which they may dwell, or which upon occaſion they may aſſume, do many things vaſtly above either our Force to do, or our Imagination to apprehend how it is done by them. Therefore an Action, that exceeds all the known Powers in Nature, may yet be done by an Evil Spirit that is in Rebellion againſt its Maker, and that deſigns to impoſe upon us by ſuch a mighty performance. But then the meaſure by which we muſt judge of this, is by conſidering what is the End or Deſign driven at in ſuch a wonderful Work: If it is a good one, if it tends to reform the Manners of Men, to bring them off from Magick, Idolatry and Superſtition, to the Worſhip of one Pure and Eternal Mind: And if it tends to Reform their Actions, as well as their Speculations, and their Worſhip; to turn them from Immorality, Falſehood, and Malice, to a Pure, a Sincere, and a Mild Temper; if it tends to Regulate Society, as well as to Perfect the Nature and Faculties of every ſingle man; Then we may well conclude, That no evil Spirit can ſo far depart from its own Nature, as to join its Forces, and co-operate in ſuch a Deſign: For then the *Kingdom of Satan could not ſtand, if he were thus divided againſt himſelf*, according to what our Saviour ſaid, when this was Objected againſt the Miracles that he wrought. Mat. 12. 25, 26.

Theſe are all the General Conſiderations that concur to prove the Truth of the Hiſtory of the Goſpel, of which the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of Chriſt are the Two main Articles; for they being well proved, give Authority to all the reſt. As to the Reſurrection in particular, it is certain the Apoſtles could not be deceived in that matter: They ſaw Chriſt frequently after he Roſe from the Dead; they met him once with a great Company of Five hundred with them: They heard him Talk and Argue with them; he opened the Scriptures to them with ſo peculiar an Energy, that they felt their Hearts ſet on fire, even when they did not yet perceive that it was He himſelf: They did not at firſt either look for his Reſurrection, nor believe thoſe who reported him riſen: They made all due Enquiry, and ſome of them went beyond all reaſonable bounds in their doubting: So far were they from an eaſy and ſoon-impoſed-on Credulity. His Sufferings and their own Fears had ſo amazed them, that they were contriving how to ſeparate and diſperſe themſelves, when he at firſt appeared to them. Men ſo full of Fears and ſo far from all Hope, are not apt to be eaſy in believing. So it muſt be concluded, That either

Art. 4. either the account which the Apostles gave the World of Christ's Resurrection is true, or they were gross Impostors: since it is clear, That the Circumstances and Numbers mentioned in that History, shew there could be no deception in it. And it is as little possible to conceive, that there could be any Imposture in it: For not to repeat again, what has been already said, That they were under no Temptations to set about any such Deceit, but very much to the contrary; and that there is no reason to think they were either bad enough to enter upon such a design, or capable and skilful enough to manage it; they being many of 'em illiterate Fishermen of *Galilee*, who had no Acquaintance at *Jerusalem* to furnish them with that which might be necessary for executing such a contrivance. The Circumstances of that Transaction are to be well examined, and then it will appear, that no Number of bold and dextrous men, furnished with all Advantages whatsoever, could have effected this matter.

Great Numbers had been engaged in the procuring our Saviour to be Crucified: The whole *Sanhedrim*, besides Multitudes of the People, who upon all occasions are easily drawn in to engage in Tumultuary Commotions: All these were concerned to examine the Event of this matter. He was Buried in a New Sepulchre lately hewed out of a Rock, so that there was no coming at it by any secret ways: A Watch was set; and all this at a time, in which the Full-Moon gave a great Light all the Night long: And *Jerusalem* being very full of People, who were then there in great Numbers to keep the Passover, that being the second Night of so vast a Rendevouz, it is reasonable to think, That great Numbers were walking in the Fields, or at least might be so, some later, and some earlier. Now if an Imposture was to be set about, the Guard was to be frighted or mastered, which could not be done without giving the Alarm, and that must have quickly brought a Multitude upon them. Christ's Body must have been disposed of: Some other Tomb was to be lookt for to lodge it in: The Wounds that were in it would have made it to be soon known if found.

Here a bold Attempt was to be undertaken, by a company of poor irresolute Men, who must trust one another intirely, otherways they knew all might be soon discovered. One of their Number had betrayed Christ a few days before: Another had forsworn him, and all had forsaken him: And yet these men are supposed all of the sudden so firm in themselves, and so sure of one another, as to venture on the most daring thing that was ever undertaken by men, when not a Circumstance could ever be found out to fix upon them the least suspicion. The *Priests* and the *Pharisees* must be thought a strange stupid sort of Creatures, if they did not examine where the Apostles were all that Night: Besides many other particulars, which might have been a thread to lead them into strict Inquiries, unless it was because they believed the Report that the Watch had brought them of Christ's Rising again. When they had this certain reason to believe it, and yet resolved to oppose it, the only thing they could do, was to seem to neglect the Matter, and only to decry it in general as an Imposture, without going into Particulars; which certainly they would not have done, if they themselves had not been but too sure of the Truth of it.

When all this is laid together, it is the most unreasonable thing imaginable, to think that there was an Imposture in

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this Matter, when no Colour nor ſhadow of it ever appeared, and when all the Circumſtances, and not only probabilities, but even Moral poſſibilities are ſo full to the contrary. *Art.* 4.

The Aſcenſion of Chriſt has not indeed ſo full a proof: Nor is it capable of it, neither does it need it; for the Reſurrection well proved, makes that very credible. For this we have only the Teſtimony of the Apoſtles, who did all atteſt that they ſaw it, being all together in an open Field: When Chriſt was Walking and Diſcourſing with them; and when he was Bleſſing them, he was parted from them: They ſaw him Aſcend, till a Cloud received him, and took him out of their ſight. And then Two Angels appeared to them, and aſſured them, That *he ſhould come again in like manner as they had ſeen him Aſcend.* Here is a very particular Relation, with many Circumſtances in it, in which it was not poſſible for the Apoſtles to be miſtaken: So that there being no reaſon to ſuſpect their Credit, this reſts upon that Authority. But Ten days after, it received a much clearer Proof: When the Holy Ghoſt was poured out on them in ſo viſible a manner, and with moſt remarkable effects. Immediately upon it they ſpoke with divers Tongues, and wrought many Miracles, and all in the Name of Chriſt. They did often and ſolemnly diſclaim their doing any of thoſe wonderful things by any power of their own: They owned that all that they had or did was derived to them from *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, of whoſe Reſurrection and Aſcenſion they were appointed to be the Witneſſes. Acts 1. 11. Acts 3. 12, 16.

Chriſt's coming again to judge the World at the laſt day, is ſo often affirmed by himſelf in the Goſpel, and is ſo frequently mentioned in the Writings of his Apoſtles, that this is a main part of his Doctrine: So that his Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, together with the Effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, having in general proved his Miſſion, and his whole Doctrine, this is alſo proved by them. Enough ſeems to be ſaid in Proof of all the parts of this Article; it remains only that ſomewhat ſhould be added in Explanation of them.

As to the Reſurrection, it is to little purpoſe to Enquire, whether our Saviour's Body was kept all the while in a compleat Organiſation, that ſo by this Miracle it might be preſerved in a Natural State for his Soul to re-enter it: Or whether by the Courſe of Nature the vaſt Number of the inward Conveyances that are in the Body were ſtopt; and if all of a ſudden, when the time of the Reſurrection came, all was again put in a vital State, fit to be animated by his Soul. There muſt have been a Miracle either way: So it is to little purpoſe to enquire into it. The former, though a continued Miracle, yet ſeemes to agree more fully to theſe words, *Thou wilt not ſuffer thy Holy One to ſee corruption.* It is to as little purpoſe to enquire how our Saviour's new Body was ſupplied with Blood; Since he had loſt the greateſt part of it on the Croſs. Whether that was again by the power of God brought back into his Veins, or whether as he himſelf had formerly ſaid, That *Man lives not by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God*, Blood was ſupplied by Miracle: Or whether his Body that was then of the Nature of a Glorified Body, though yet on Earth, needed the ſupplies of Blood to furniſh new Spirits, for ſerving the natural Functions; He Eating and Drinking ſo ſeldom, that we may well believe it was done rather to ſatisfy his

Art. 4. Apoſtles, than to anſwer the Neceſſities of Nature: Theſe are Curioſities that ſignify ſo little, if we could certainly reſolve them, that it is to no purpoſe to enquire about them, ſince we cannot know what to determine in them. This in general is certain, that the ſame Soul returned back to the ſame Body; ſo that the ſame Man who died, roſe again; and that is our Faith. We need not trouble our ſelves with enquiring how to make out the Three Days of Chriſt's being in the Grave; Days ſtand in the common acceptation, for a Portion of a Day. We know the *Jews* were very exact to the Reſt on the Sabbath, ſo the Body was without queſtion laid in the Grave before the Sun-ſet on *Friday*; ſo that was the Firſt day; the Sabbath was a compleat one; and a good part of the Third day, that is, the Night, with which the *Jews* began to count the day, was over before he was raiſed up.

As for his ſtay on Earth forty days, we cannot pretend to give an account of it; whether his Body was paſſing through a ſlow and Phyſical Purification, to be meet for Aſcending; or whether he intended to keep a proportion between his Goſpel and the Law of *Moſes*; that as he ſuffered at the time of their killing the Paſſover, ſo the Effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt was fixed for *Pentecoſt*, and that therefore he would ſtay on Earth till that time was near, not to put his Apoſtles upon too long an expectation without his Preſence; which might be neceſſary to animate them, till they ſhould be endued with Power from on high. As to the manner of his Aſcenſion, it is alſo queſtioned whether the Body of Chriſt as it aſcended, was ſo wonderfully changed, as to put on the Subtility and Purity of an Ethereal Body; or whether it retains ſtill the ſame Form in Heaven that it had on Earth; or if it put on a new one: It is more probable that it did; and that the wonderful Glory that appeared in his Countenance and whole Perſon at his Tranſfiguration, was a manifeſtation of that more permanent Glory to which it was to be afterwards exalted. It ſeems probable from what St. *Paul* ſays, (*That fleſh and blood ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God*, which relates to our glorified Bodies, when *we ſhall bear the Image of the ſecond* and *the heavenly Adam*) that Chriſt's Body has no more the modifications of Fleſh and Blood in it; and that the Glory of the Celeſtial Body is of another Nature and Texture than that of the Terreſtrial. It is eaſily imagined how this may be, and yet the Body to be numerically the ſame: For all Matter being uniform, and capable of all ſort of Motion, and by conſequence of being either much groſſer or much purer, the ſame Portion of Matter that made a thick and Heavy Body here on Earth, may be put into that Purity and Fineneſs as to be no longer a fit Inhabitant of this Earth, or to breath this Air, but to be meet to be tranſplanted into Ethereal Regions.

1 Cor. 15. 50.

Ver. 40.

Chriſt as he went up into Heaven, ſo he had the whole Government of this World put into his hands, and the whole Miniſtry of Angels put under his Command, even in his Human Nature. So that *all things are now in ſubjection to him.* All Power and Authority is derived from him, and he does whatſoever he pleaſes both in Heaven and Earth. *In him all fulneſs dwells.* And as the *Moſaical* Tabernacle being filled with Glory, the Emanations of it did by the *Urim* and *Thummim* enlighten and direct that People; ſo out of that Fulneſs that dwelt Bodily in Chriſt, there is a conſtant Emanation of his Grace and Spirit deſcending on his Church. He does alſo intercede for us

1 Cor. 15. 27, 28.

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at his Father's Right-hand, where he is preparing a place for us. The meaning of all which is this, That as he is veſted with an unconceivable high degree of Glory, even as Man, ſo the Merit of his Death is ſtill freſh and entire; and in the virtue of that, the Sins of all that come to God through him, claiming to his Death as to their Sacrifice, and obeying his Goſpel, are pardoned, and they are *ſealed by his Spirit until the day of Redemption*. In concluſion, when all God's deſign with this World is accompliſhed, it ſhall be ſet on Fire, and all the great Parts of which it is compoſed, as of Elements, ſhall be melted and burnt down; and then when by that Fire probably the Portions of Matter which was in the Bodies of all who have lived upon Earth, ſhall be ſo far refined and fixed, as to become both Incorruptible and Immortal, then they ſhall be made meet for the Souls that formerly animated them, to re-enter every one into his own Body, which ſhall be then ſo moulded as to be a Habitation fit to give it everlaſting Joy or everlaſting Torment. *Art.* 4.

Then ſhall Chriſt appear viſibly in ſome very conſpicuous Place, in the Clouds of Heaven, where every Eye ſhall ſee him; He ſhall appear in his *own glory*, that is, in his Human glorified Body: He ſhall appear in the *glory of his angels*, having vaſt Numbers of theſe about him, attending on him: But which is above all, he ſhall appear in *his Father's glory*, that is, there ſhall be then a moſt wonderful Manifeſtation of the Eternal Godhead dwelling in him; and then ſhall he paſs a final Sentence upon all that ever lived upon Earth, according to all that they have done in the Body, whether it be good or bad. The Righteous ſhall aſcend as he did, and ſhall meet him in the Clouds, and be for ever with him; and the Wicked ſhall ſink into a ſtate of Darkneſs and Miſery, of unſpeakable Horror of Mind, and everlaſting Pain and Torment. Luk. 9.26.

ARTICLE V.

Of the Holy Ghoſt.

The Holy Ghoſt proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Subſtance, Majeſty, and Glory with the Father and the Son, very and Eternal God.

IN order to the explaining this Article, we muſt conſider, *Firſt*, The Importance of the Term *Spirit*, or *Holy Spirit*. *Secondly*, His *Proceſſion* from the *Father* and the *Son*. And *Thirdly*, That he is truly God, of the ſame *Subſtance* with the *Father* and the *Son*. Spirit ſignifies Wind or Breath, and in the Old Teſtament it ſtands frequently in that Senſe: The Spirit of God, or Wind of God, ſtands ſometimes for a high and ſtrong Wind; but more frequently it ſignifies a ſecret Impreſſion made by God on the Mind of a Prophet: So that the *Spirit of God*, and *the Spirit of Prophecy* are ſet in oppoſition to the vain Imaginations, the falſe Pretences, or the Diabolical Illuſions of thoſe who aſſumed to themſelves the Name and the Authority of a Prophet, without a true Miſſion from God: But when God made Repreſentations either in a Dream, or in an Extaſy, to any Perſon, or imprinted a ſenſe of his Will on their Minds, together with ſuch neceſſary Characters as gave it Proof and Authority, this was an Illapſe from God, as a Breathing from him on the Soul of the Prophet.

In the New Teſtament this word *Holy Ghoſt* ſtands moſt commonly for that wonderful Effuſion of thoſe Miraculous Virtues that was poured out at *Pentecoſt* on the Apoſtles; by which their Spirits were not only exalted with extraordinary degrees of Zeal and Courage, of Authority and Utterance, but they were furniſhed with the Gifts of Tongues and of Miracles. And beſides that firſt and great Effuſion, ſeveral Chriſtians received particular Talents and Inſpirations, which are moſt commonly expreſſed by the word *Spirit* or *Inſpiration*. Thoſe inward Aſſiſtances, by which the Frame and Temper of Mens Minds are changed and renewed, are likewiſe called *the Spirit*, or *the Holy Spirit*, or *Holy Ghoſt*.

John 3. 3, 5, 6. Lu. 11. 18. So Chriſt ſaid to *Nicodemus*, That *except a man was born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot ſee the kingdom of God*; and that *his heavenly Father would give the Holy Spirit to every one that asked him*. By theſe it is plain, that extraordinary or miraculous Inſpirations are not meant, for theſe are not every Chriſtian's Portion; there is no queſtion made of all this.

The main queſtion is, Whether by *Spirit*, or *Holy Spirit*, we are to underſtand one Perſon, that is the Fountain of all thoſe Gifts and Operations; or whether by *One Spirit* is only to be meant the Power of God flowing out and ſhewing it ſelf in many wonderful Operations. The Adverſaries of the Trinity will have the *Spirit* or *Holy Spirit* to ſignify no Perſon, but only the Divine Gifts or Operations. But in oppoſition to this it is plain, that in

John 14. 16, 26. our Saviour's laſt and long Diſcourſe to his Diſciples, in which he promiſed to ſend them his Spirit, he calls him *another Comforter*, to be ſent in his ſtead, or to ſupply his Abſence; and the whole Tenor

John 16. 8, 13. of the Diſcourſe runs on him as a *Perſon*: *He ſhall abide with you*: *He ſhall guide you into all truth*; *and ſhew you things to come*: *He ſhall bring all things into your remembrance*: *He ſhall convince the world of ſin, of righteouſneſs, and of judgment*. In all thoſe places he is ſo plainly ſpoken of

of, not as a Quality or Operation, but as a Perſon; and that without any Key or Rule to underſtand the Words otherwiſe, that this alone may ſerve to determine the matter now in diſpute. Chriſt's Commiſſion to *Preach* and *Baptize* in the Name of *the Father*, *the Son*, and *the Holy Ghoſt*, does plainly make him a Perſon, ſince it cannot be ſaid that we are to be called by the Name of a Virtue or Operation. St. *Paul* does alſo in a long Diſcourſe upon the Diverſity of Gifts, Adminiſtrations, and Operations, aſcribe them all to *one Spirit*, as their Author and Fountain; of whom he ſpeaks as of a Perſon, diſtributing theſe in order to ſeveral Ends, and in different Meaſures. He ſpeaks of the Spirit's *ſearching all things*, *of his interceeding for us*, of our *grieving the Spirit*, *by which we are ſealed*. This is the Language uſed concerning a Perſon, not a Quality. *All theſe*, ſays he, *worketh that one and the ſelf-ſame Spirit*, *dividing to every man ſeverally as he will*. Now it is not to be conceived, how that both our Saviour and his Apoſtles ſhould uſe the Phraſe of a Perſon ſo conſtantly in ſpeaking of the *Spirit*, and ſhould ſo critically and in the way of Argument purſue that Strain, if he is not a Perſon: They not only inſiſt on it, and repeat it frequently, but they draw an Argument from it for Union and Love, and for mutual Condeſcenſion and Sympathy. Upon all theſe grounds it is evident, that the *Holy Spirit* is in the Scripture propoſed to us as a Perſon, under whoſe Oeconomy all the various Gifts, Adminiſtrations, and Operations that are in the Church, are put.

Art. 5.

1 Cor. 12. 4, 8, 9, 11, 13.

1 Cor. 2. 10. Rom. 8. 26. Eph. 4. 30.

The Second Particular relating to this Article, is the *Proceſſion* of this *Spirit* from the *Father* and the *Son*. The Word *Proceſſion*, or as the Schoolmen term it, *Spiration*, is only made uſe of in order to the naming this Relation of the *Spirit* to the *Father* and *Son*, in ſuch a manner as may beſt anſwer the ſenſe of the word *Spirit*: For it muſt be confeſſed that we can frame no explicite Idea of this matter: and therefore we muſt ſpeak of it either ſtrictly in Scripture-Words, or in ſuch Words as ariſe out of them, and that have the ſame Signification with them. It is therefore a vain Attempt of the Schoolmen, to undertake to give a reaſon why the Second Perſon is ſaid to be *generated*, and ſo is called *Son*, and the Third to *proceed*, and ſo is called *Spirit*. All theſe Subtilties can have no Foundation, and ſignify nothing towards the clearing this matter, which is rather darkned than cleared by a pretended Illuſtration. In a word, as we ſhould never have believed this Myſtery if the Scripture had not revealed it to us, ſo we underſtand nothing concerning it, beſides what is contained in the Scriptures: And therefore, if in any thing, we muſt think ſoberly upon thoſe Subjects. The Scriptures call the Second, *Son*, and the Third, *Spirit*; ſo Generation and Proceſſion are words that may well be uſed, but they are words concerning which we can form no diſtinct Conception. We only uſe them becauſe they belong to the words *Son* and *Spirit*. The *Spirit*, in things that we do underſtand, is ſomewhat that proceeds, and the Son is a Perſon begotten, we therefore believing that the Holy Ghoſt is a *Perſon*, apply the word *Proceſſion* to the manner of his Emanation from the Father; though at the ſame time we muſt acknowledge that we have no diſtinct Thought concerning it. So much in general concerning *Proceſſion*. It has been much controverted whether the *Holy Spirit* proceeds from the *Father* only, or from the *Father* and the *Son*.

In the firſt Diſputes concerning the Divinity of the *Holy Ghoſt* with the *Macedonians* who denied it, there was no other Conteſt, but whether

Art. 5. ther he was truly God, or not. When that was settled by the Council of *Constantinople*, it was made a part of the Creed; but it was only said that he *Proceeded* from the *Father*: And the Council of *Ephesus* soon after that, fixed on that Creed, decreeing that no Additions should be made to it: Yet about the end of the Sixth Century, in the *Western* Church an Addition was made to the Article, by which the Holy Ghost was affirmed to *proceed from the Son* as well as from the Father. And when the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches in the Ninth Century fell into an humour of quarrelling upon the account of Jurisdiction, after some time of Anger, in which they seem to be searching for matter to reproach one another with, they found out this difference: The *Greeks* reproached the *Latins* for thus adding to the Faith, and corrupting the Ancient Symbol, and that contrary to the Decree of a General Council. The *Latins* on the other hand, charged them for detracting from the Dignity of the *Son*: And this became the chief Point in Controversy between them.

Here was certainly a very unhappy Dispute; inconsiderable in its Original, but fatal in its Consequences. We of this Church, though we abhor the Cruelty of condemning the *Eastern* Churches for such a difference, yet do receive the Creed according to the usage of the *Western* Churches; And therefore though we do not pretend to explain what *Procession* is, we believe according to the Article, That the *Holy Ghost proceeds* both from the *Father* and the *Son*: Because in that Discourse of our Saviour's that contains the Promise of the *Spirit*, and that long Description of him as a *Person*, Christ not only says, That *the Father will send the Spirit in his name*, but adds, That *he will send the Spirit*; and though he says next, *who proceedeth from the Father*, yet since he sends him, and that he was to supply his room, and to act in his Name, this implies a Relation, and a sort of Subordination in the *Spirit* to the *Son*. This may serve to justify our adhering to the Creeds, as they had been for many Ages received in the *Western* Church: But we are far from thinking that this Proof is so full and explicite, as to justify our Separating from any Church, or condemning it, that should stick exactly to the first Creeds, and reject this Addition.

Joh. 14. 26. Joh. 15. 26.

The Third Branch of the Article is, That this Holy Ghost or Person thus proceeding, is truly God, of the same Substance with the Father and the Son. That he is God, was formerly proved by those Passages in which the whole Trinity in all the Three Persons is affirm'd: But besides that, *the lying to the Holy Ghost* by *Ananias* and *Saphira*, is said to be *a lying not unto men, but to God. His being called another Comforter; his teaching all things; his guiding into all truth; his telling things to come; his searching all things, even the deep things of God; his being* called *the Spirit of the Lord*, in opposition to *the spirit of a man; his making intercession for us; his changing us into the same image with Christ*; are all such plain Characters of his being *God*, that those who deny that, are well aware of this, That if it is once proved that he is a Person, it will follow that he must be God; therefore all that was said to prove him a *Person*, is here to be remembred as a Proof that he is truly God. So that though there is not such a variety of Proofs for this, as there was for the Divinity of the *Son*, yet the Proof of it is plain and clear. And from what was said upon the First Article concerning the Unity of *God*, it is also certain, that if he is *God*, he must be **of one Substance, Majesty, and Glory, with the Father and the Son.**

Act. 5. 34.

ARTI-

ARTICLE VI.

Of the Sufficiency of Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things neceſſary to Salvation: So that whatſoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man, that it ſhould be believed as an Article of Faith, or be thought requiſite or neceſſary to Salvation. In the Name of the Holy Scripture we do underſtand thoſe Canonical Books of the Old and New Teſtament, of whoſe Authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books,

Geneſis	The First Book of *Samuel*	The Book of *Heſter*
Exodus	The Second Book of *Samuel*	The Book of *Job*
Leviticus	The First Book of *Kings*	The *Pſalms*
Numbers	The Second Book of *Kings*	The *Proverbs*
Deuteronomy	The First Book of *Chronicles*	*Eccleſiaſtes* or Preacher
Joſhua	The Second Book of *Chronicles*	*Cantica* or Song of *Solomon*
Judges	The First Book of *Eſdras*	Four Prophets the greater
Ruth	The Second Book of *Eſdras*	Twelve Prophets the leſs.

And the other Books (as Hierom ſaith) the Church doth read for Example of Life, and Inſtruction of Manners, but yet it doth not apply them to Eſtabliſh any Doctrine: Such are theſe following.

The Third Book of *Eſdras*	*Baruch* the Prophet
The Fourth Book of *Eſdras*	The Song of the Three Children
The Book of *Tobias*	The *Hiſtory* of *Suſanna*
The Book of *Judith*	Of *Bel* and the *Dragon*
The reſt of the Book of *Eſther*	The Prayer of *Manaſſes*
The Book of *Wiſdom*	The First Book of *Maccabees*
Jeſus the Son of *Syrach*	The Second Book of *Maccabees*.

All the Books of the New Teſtament as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them Canonical.

IN this Article are Two important Heads, and to each of them a proper conſequence does belong. The Firſt is, That the Holy Scriptures do contain all things neceſſary to Salvation; The Negative Conſequence that ariſeth out of that, is, That no Article that is not either Read in it, or that may not be proved by it, is to be required to be believed as an Article of Faith, or to be thought neceſſary to Salvation. The Second is, The ſettling the Canon of the Scripture both of Old and New Teſtament; and the conſequence that ariſes out of that, is, The rejecting the Books commonly called *Apocryphal*, which though they may be Read by the Church, *for Example of Life, and Inſtruction of Manners*; yet are no part of the Canon, nor is any Doctrine to be Eſtabliſhed by them.

After

Art. 6. After the main Foundations of Religion in General in the belief of a God, or more ſpecially of the Chriſtian Religion in the Doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion of Chriſt, are laid down; The next Point to be ſettled, is, What is *the Rule of this Faith*, where is it to be found, and with whom is it lodged? The Church of *Rome* and We do both agree, that the Scriptures are of Divine Inſpiration: Thoſe of that Communion acknowledge, That every thing which is contained in Scripture, is true, and comes from God; but they add to this, That the Books of the New Teſtament were occaſionally written, and not with the deſign of making them the full Rule of Faith, but that many things were delivered Orally by the Apoſtles, which if they are faithfully Tranſmitted to us, are to be received by us with the ſame Submiſſion and Reſpect that we pay to their Writings: And they alſo believe, That theſe Traditions are conveyed down infallibly to us, and that to diſtinguiſh betwixt true and falſe Doctrines and Traditions, there muſt be an infallible Authority lodged by Chriſt with his Church. We on the contrary affirm, That the Scriptures are a compleat *Rule of Faith*, and that the whole Chriſtian Religion is contained in them, and no where elſe; and although we make great uſe of Tradition, eſpecially that which is moſt Ancient and neareſt the Source, to help us to a clear underſtanding of the Scriptures; yet as to Matters of Faith we reject all Oral Tradition, as an incompetent mean of conveying down Doctrines to us, and we refuſe to receive any Doctrine, that is not either expreſly contained in Scripture, or clearly proved from it.

In order to the opening and proving of this, it is to be conſidered, what God's deſign in firſt ordering *Moſes*, and after him all Inſpired Perſons to put things in Writing, could be: it could be no other than to free the World from the Uncertainties and Impoſtures of *Oral Tradition.* All Mankind being derived from one common Source, it ſeems it was much eaſier in the firſt Ages of the World, to preſerve the Tradition pure, than it could poſſibly be afterwards: There were only a few things then to be delivered concerning God; as, That he was one Spiritual Being, That he had Created all things, That he alone was to be Worſhipped and Served; the reſt relating to the Hiſtory of the World, and chiefly of the firſt Man that was made in it. There were alſo great advantages on the ſide of *Oral Tradition*, the firſt men were very long-liv'd, and they ſaw their own Families ſpread extreamly, ſo that they had on their ſide both the Authority which long Life always has, particularly concerning Matters of Fact, and the credit that Parents have naturally with their own Children, to ſecure Tradition. Two Perſons might have conveyed it down, from *Adam* ſo *Abraham*; *Methuſelah* lived above Three hundred years while *Adam* was yet alive, and *Sem* was almoſt an hundred when he died, and he lived much above an hundred years in the ſame time with *Abraham*, according to the *Hebrew.* Here is a great period of Time filled up by Two or Three Perſons: And yet in that Time the Tradition of thoſe very few things in which Religion was then comprehended, was ſo Univerſally and Intirely corrupted, that it was neceſſary to correct it by immediate Revelation to *Abraham*: God intending to have a peculiar People to himſelf out of his Poſterity, commanded him to forſake

ſake his Kindred and Country, that he might not be corrupted with an Idolatry, that we have reaſon to believe was then but beginning among them. We are ſure his Nephew *Laban* was an *Idolater*: And the danger of mixing with the reſt of Mankind was then ſo great, that God ordered a Mark to be made on the Bodies of all deſcended from him, to be the *Seal of the Covenant*, and the Badge and Cogniſance of his Poſterity: By that diſtinction, and by their living in a wandring and unfixed manner, they were preſerved for ſome time from Idolatry: God intending afterwards to ſettle them in an Inſtituted Religion. But though the Beginnings of it, I mean the Promulgation of the Law on Mount *Sinai*, was one of the moſt amazing things that ever happened, and the fitteſt to be Orally conveyed down, the Law being very ſhort, and the Circumſtances in the delivery of it moſt aſtoniſhing; and though there were many Rites, and ſeveral Feſtivities appointed chiefly for the carrying down the Memory of it; though there was alſo in that diſpenſation, the greateſt advantage imaginable for ſecuring this Tradition, all the main Acts of their Religion being to be performed in one Place, and by men of one Tribe and Family; as they were alſo all the Inhabitants of a ſmall Tract of Ground, of one Language, and by their Conſtitutions oblig'd to maintain a conſtant Commerce among themſelves: They having further a continuance of Signal Characters of God's Miraculous Preſence among them, ſuch as the Operation of the Water of Jealouſy, the Plenty of the Sixth Year to ſupply them all the Sabbatical Year, and till the Harveſt of the following Year: Together with a Succeſſion of Prophets that followed one another, either in a conſtant courſe, or at leaſt ſoon after one another; but above all, the Preſence of God which appeared in the Cloud of Glory, and in thoſe Anſwers that were given by the *Urim* and *Thummim*, all which muſt be confeſſed to be advantages on the ſide of Tradition, vaſtly beyond any that can be pretended to have been in the Chriſtian Church. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe, God commanded *Moſes* to write all their Law, as the Ten Commandments were by the Immediate Power or Finger of God, writ on Tables of Stone. When all this is laid together and well conſidered, it will appear, That God by a particular Oeconomy intended then to ſecure Revealed Religion from the doubtfulneſs and uncertainties of Oral Tradition. *Art.* 6.

It is much more reaſonable to believe, That the Chriſtian Religion, which was to be ſpread to many remote Regions, among whom there could be little Communication, ſhould have been fixed in its firſt beginnings by putting it in Writing, and not left to the looſeneſs of Reports and Stories. We do plainly ſee, That though the methods of knowing and communicating Truth, are now ſurer and better fixed, than they have been in moſt of the Ages which have paſſed ſince the beginnings of this Religion; yet in every Matter of Fact ſuch additions are daily made, as it happens to be Reported, and every Point of Doctrine is ſo variouſly ſtated, that if Religion had not a more aſſured bottom than Tradition, it could not have that Credit paid to it that it ought to have; If we had no greater certainty for Religion, than Report, we could not believe it very firmly, nor venture upon it: So in order to the giving this Doctrine ſuch Authority as is neceſſary for attaining the great ends propoſed in it, the conveyance of

Art. 6. it must be clear and unquestionable; otherwise as it would grow to be much mixed with Fable, so it would come to be looked on as all a Fable. Since then Oral Tradition, when it had the utmost Advantages possible of its side, failed so much in the conveyance both of Natural Religion, and of the Mosaical, we see that it cannot be relied on as a certain method of preserving the Truths of Revealed Religion.

In our Saviour's Time, Tradition was set up on many occasions against him, but he never submitted to it: On the contrary he reproached the *Jews* with this, That they had *made the Laws of God of no effect by their Traditions*; and he told them, That they *worshipped God in vain, when they taught for Doctrines the Commandments of men.* In all his Disputes with the *Pharisees*, he appealed to *Moses* and the *Prophets*, he bade them *search the Scriptures, for in them*, said he, *ye think ye have eternal life, and they testify of me. Ye think* is by the Phraseology of that time, a word that does not refer to any particular *Conceit* of theirs; but imports, That as they *thought*, so in them they had *Eternal Life.* Our Saviour justifies himself and his Doctrine often by words of Scripture, but never once by Tradition. We see plainly, That in our Saviour's Time, the Tradition of the Resurrection was so doubtful among the *Jews*, that the *Sadducees*, a formed Party among them, did openly deny it. The Authority of Tradition had likewise imposed two very mischievous Errors upon the strictest Sect of the *Jews*, that adhered the most firmly to it: The one was, That they understood the Prophecies concerning the *Messias* sitting on the *Throne of David* literally: They thought that in imitation of *David*, he was not only to free his own Country from a Foreign Yoke, but that he was to subdue, as *David* had done, all the Neighbouring Nations. This was to them a Stone of Stumbling and a Rock of Offence; so their adhering to their Traditions proved their ruin in all Respects. The other Error, to which the Authority of Tradition led them, was their preferring the Rituals of their Religion to the Moral Precepts that it contained: This not only corrupted their own Manners, while they thought that an Exactness of Performing, and a Zeal in Asserting, not only the Ritual Precepts that *Moses* gave their Fathers, but those Additions to them which they had from Tradition, that were accounted hedges about the Law: That this, I say, might well excuse or atone for the most heinous Violations of the Rules of Justice and Mercy: But this had yet another worse effect upon them, while it possessed them with such prejudices against our Saviour and his Apostles, when they came to see that they set no value on those practices that were recommended by Tradition, and that they preferred pure and sublime Morals, even to Mosaical Ceremonies themselves, and set the *Gentiles* at liberty from those observances. So that the ruin of the *Jews*, their rejecting the *Messias*, and their persecuting his followers, arose chiefly from this Principle that had got in among them of believing Tradition, and of being guided by it.

Mat. 15. 3, 6, 9. Joh. 5. 39.

The Apostles in all their Disputes with the *Jews*, make their Appeals constantly to the Scriptures; they set a high Character on those of *Berea* for examining them, and comparing the Doctrine that they preached, with them. In the Epistles to the *Romans*, *Galatians* and *Hebrews*, in which they pursue a thread of Argument, with relation

Act. 17. 11.

to

to the Prejudices that the *Jews* had taken up againſt Chriſtianity, they never once argue from Tradition, but always from the Scriptures; They do not pretend only to diſparage Modern Tradition, and to ſet up that which was more Ancient: They make no ſuch diſtinction, but hold cloſe to the Scriptures. When St. *Paul* ſets out the Advantages that *Timothy* had by a Religious Education, he mentions this, *That of a Child he had known the holy Scriptures, which were able to make him wiſe unto Salvation, through Faith which was in Chriſt Jeſus:* That is, the Belief of the Chriſtian Religion was a Key to give him a right underſtanding of the Old Teſtament; and upon this occaſion St. *Paul* adds, *All Scripture* (that is, the whole Old Teſtament) *is given by Divine Inſpiration;* (or as others render the words) *All the divinely Inſpired Scripture is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Inſtruction in Righteouſneſs, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furniſhed unto all good works.* The New Teſtament was writ on the ſame deſign with the Old; that as St. *Luke* expreſſes it, *We might know the certainty of thoſe things wherein we have been inſtructed: Theſe things were written,* ſaith St. *John, that ye might believe, that Jeſus is the Chriſt, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his Name.* When St. *Peter* knew by a ſpecial Revelation that he was near his End, he writ his Second Epiſtle, that they might have that as a mean of keeping *thoſe things always in remembrance after his death.* Nor do the Apoſtles give us any hints of their having left any thing with the Church to be conveyed down by an Oral Tradition, which they themſelves had not put in writing: They do ſometimes refer themſelves to ſuch things as they had delivered to particular Churches; but by Tradition in the Apoſtles days, and for ſome Ages after, it is very clear, that they meant only the conveyance of the Faith, and not any unwritten Doctrines: They reckoned the Faith was a ſacred *depoſitum* which was committed to them; and that was to be preſerved pure among them. But it were very eaſy to ſhew in the continued Succeſſion of all the firſt Chriſtian Writers, That they ſtill Appealed to the Scriptures, That they Argued from them, That they Condemned all Doctrines that were not contained in them; and when at any time they brought human Authorities to juſtify their Opinions or Expreſſions, they contented themſelves with a very few, and thoſe very late Authorities: So that their deſign in vouching them ſeems to be rather to clear themſelves from the Imputation of having innovated any thing in the Doctrine, or in the ways of expreſſing it, than that they thought thoſe Authorities were neceſſary to prove them by. For in that caſe they muſt have taken a great deal more pains than they did, to have followed up, and proved the Tradition much higher than they went.

Art. 6.

2 Tim. 3. 15, 16.

Luk. 1. 4. John. 20. 31.

2 Pet. 1. 15.

We do alſo plainly ſee that ſuch Traditions as were not founded on Scripture, were eaſily corrupted, and on that account were laid aſide by the ſucceeding Ages: Such were the Opinion of Chriſt's Reign on Earth for a Thouſand years; The Saints not ſeeing God till the Reſurrection; The neceſſity of giving Infants the Euchariſt; The Divine Inſpiration of the 70 Interpreters; beſides ſome more important Matters, which in reſpect to thoſe Times are not to be too much deſcanted upon. It is alſo plain, That the *Gnoſticks*, the *Valentinians*, and other Hereticks, began very early to ſet up a Pretenſion to a Tradition delivered by the Apoſtles to ſome particular

Art. 6. perſons, as a Key for underſtanding the ſecret meanings that might be in Scripture; in oppoſition to which, both *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and others, make uſe of Two ſorts of Arguments: The one is the Authority of the Scripture it ſelf, by which they confuted their Errors. The other is a Point of Fact, That there was no ſuch Tradition. In aſſerting this, they appeal to thoſe Churches which had been founded by the Apoſtles, and in which a Succeſſion of Biſhops had been continued down. They ſay, in theſe we muſt ſearch for Apoſtolical Tradition. This was not ſaid by them as if they had deſigned to eſtabliſh Tradition, as an Authority diſtinct from, or equal to the Scriptures: But only to ſhew the falſhood of that pretence of the Hereticks, and that there was no ſuch Tradition for their Hereſies as they gave out.

Iren. l. 3. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Tertul. de preſc. Cap. 20, 21, 25, 27, 28.

When this whole Matter is conſidered in all its parts, ſuch as, 1*ſt*, That nothing is to be believed as an Article of Faith, unleſs it appears to have been Revealed by God. 2*dly*, That Oral Tradition appears both from the Nature of Man, and the Experience of former Times, to be an incompetent conveyer of Truth. 3*dly*, That ſome Books were written for the conveyance of thoſe Matters, which have been in all Ages carefully preſerved and eſteemed ſacred. 4*thly*, That the Writers of the Firſt Ages do always Argue from, and Appeal to theſe Books: And 5*thly*, That what they have ſaid without Authority from them, has been rejected in ſucceeding Ages; the Truth of this Branch of our Article is fully made out.

If what is contain'd in the Scripture in expreſs words, is the Object of our Faith; then it will follow, That whatſoever may be proved from thence, by a juſt and lawful conſequence, is alſo to be believed. Men may indeed Err in framing theſe Conſequences and Deductions, they may miſtake or ſtretch them too far; but though there is much Sophiſtry in the World, yet there is alſo true Logick, and a certain Thread of Reaſoning. And the ſenſe of every Propoſition being the ſame, whether expreſſed always in the ſame or in different words; then whatſoever appears to be clearly the ſenſe of any place of Scripture, is an Object of Faith, tho it ſhould be otherwiſe expreſſed than as it is in Scripture, and every juſt Inference from it muſt be as true as the Propoſition it ſelf is: Therefore it is a vain cavil to ask expreſs words of Scripture for every Article. That was the Method of all the Ancient Hereticks: Chriſt and his Apoſtles Argued from the words and paſſages in the Old Teſtament, to prove ſuch things as agreed with the true ſenſe of them, and ſo did all the Fathers; and therefore ſo may we do.

The great Objection to this, is, That the Scriptures are dark, That the ſame place is capable of different Senſes, the Literal and the Myſtical: And therefore ſince we cannot underſtand the true Senſe of the Scripture, we muſt not Argue from it, but ſeek for an Interpreter of it, on whom we may depend. All Sects Argue from thence, and fancy that they find their Tenets in it: And therefore this can be no ſure way of finding out ſacred Truth, ſince ſo many do err that follow it. In Anſwer to this, it is to be conſidered, That the Old Teſtament was delivered to the whole Nation of the *Jews*; that *Moſes* was read in the Synagogue, in the hearing of the Women and Children; that whole Nation was to take their Doctrine and Rules from it: All Appeals were made to the Law and to the Prophets among them: And though the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament were in their Stile and whole Contexture dark,

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and hard to be underſtood; yet when ſo great a Queſtion as this, Who was the true *Meſſias*? came to be examined, the proofs urged for it, were Paſſages in the Old Teſtament. Now the Queſtion was, How theſe were to be underſtood? No Appeal was here made to Tradition, or to Church-Authority, but only by the Enemies of our Saviour. Whereas he and his Diſciples urge theſe paſſages in their true ſenſe, and in the conſequences that aroſe out of them. They did in that, Appeal to the rational Faculties of thoſe to whom they ſpoke. The Chriſtian Religion was at firſt delivered to poor and ſimple Multitudes, who were both illiterate and weak; the Epiſtles, which are by much the hardeſt to be underſtood of the whole New Teſtament, were Addreſſed to the whole Churches to all the *Faithful* or *Saints*; that is, to all the Chriſtians in thoſe Churches. Theſe were afterwards read in all their Aſſemblies. Upon this it may reaſonably be asked, Were theſe Writings clear in that Age, or were they not? If they were not, it is unaccountable why they were addreſſed to the whole Body, and how they came to be received and entertained as they were. It is the End of Speech and Writing, to make things to be underſtood, and it is not ſuppoſable, That Men Inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, either could not or would not expreſs themſelves ſo as that they ſhould be clearly underſtood. It is alſo to be obſerved, That the New Diſpenſation is oppoſed to the Old, as Light is to Darkneſs, an Open Face to a Veiled, and Subſtance to Shadows. Since then the Old Teſtament was ſo clear, that *David* both in the 19*th*, and moſt copiouſly in the 119*th Pſalm*, ſets out very fully, the Light which the Laws of God gave them in that darker State, we have much more reaſon to conclude, That the New Diſpenſation ſhould be much brighter: If there was no need of a certain Expounder of Scripture then, there is much leſs now. Nor is there any Proviſion made in the New for a ſure Guide: No Intimations are given where to find one: From all which we may conclude, That the Books of the New Teſtament were clear in thoſe days, and might well be underſtood by thoſe to whom they were at firſt addreſſed. If they were clear to them, they may be likewiſe clear to us: For though we have not a full Hiſtory of that Time, or of the Phraſes and Cuſtoms, and particular Opinions of that Age; yet the vaſt Induſtry of the ſucceeding Ages, of theſe two laſt in particular, has made ſuch diſcoveries, beſides the other collateral advantages which Learning and a Niceneſs in Reaſoning has given us, that we may juſtly reckon, that though ſome Hints in the Epiſtles, which relate to the particulars of that Time, may be ſo loſt, that we can at beſt but make conjectures about them; yet upon the whole matter, we may well underſtand all that is neceſſary to Salvation, in the Scripture. *Art.* 6.

We may indeed fall into Miſtakes as well as into Sins; And into Errors of Ignorance, as well as into Sins of Ignorance. God has dealt with our Underſtandings as he has dealt with our Wills: He propoſes our Duty to us, with ſtrong Motives to Obedience; he promiſes us inward Aſſiſtances, and accepts of our ſincere Endeavours: And yet this does not hinder many from periſhing Eternally, and others from falling into great Sins, and ſo running great danger of Eternal Damnation; and all this is becauſe God has left our Wills free, and does not conſtrain us to be good: He deals with our Underſtandings in the ſame manner; he has ſet his Will, and the

Art. 6. the knowledge of Salvation before us, in Writings that are framed in a ſimple and plain Stile, in a Language that was then common, and is ſtill well underſtood, that were at firſt deſigned for common Uſe: They are ſoon read, and it muſt be confeſſed that a great part of them is very clear: So we have reaſon to conclude, that if a man reads theſe carefully and with an honeſt Mind; if he prays to God to direct him, and follows ſincerely what he apprehends to be true, and practiſes diligently thoſe Duties that do unqueſtionably appear to be bound upon him by them, that then he ſhall find out enough to ſave his Soul; and that ſuch Miſtakes as lye ſtill upon him, ſhall either be cleared up to him by ſome happy Providence, or ſhall be forgiven him by that Infinite Mercy, to which his Sincerity and Diligence is well known. That bad men ſhould fall into grievous Errors, is no more ſtrange, than that they ſhould commit heinous Sins: And the Errors of good men, in which they are neither wilful nor inſolent, will certainly be forgiven, as well as their Sins of Infirmity. Therefore all the ill uſe that is made of the Scripture, and all the Errors that are pretended to be proved by it, do not weaken its Authority or Clearneſs. This does only ſhew us the danger of Studying them with a biaſſed or corrupted mind, of reading them too careleſly, of being too curious in going farther than as they open matters to us; and in being too implicite in adhering to our Education, or in Submitting to the Dictates of others.

So far I have explained the Firſt Branch of this Article. The Conſequence that ariſes out of it is ſo clear, that it needs not be proved: **That therefore nothing ought to be eſteemed an Article of Faith, but what may be found in it, or proved from it.** If this is our Rule, our entire and only Rule, then ſuch Doctrines as are not in it, ought to be rejected; and any Church that adds to the Chriſtian Religion, is erroneous for making ſuch Additions, and becomes Tyrannical if ſhe impoſes them upon all her Members, and requires poſitive Declarations, Subſcriptions, and Oaths concerning them. In ſo doing ſhe forces ſuch as cannot have Communion with her, but by affirming what they believe to be falſe, to withdraw from that which cannot be had without departing from the Truth. So all the Additions of the Five Sacraments, of the Invocation of Angels and Saints, of the worſhipping of Images, Croſſes and Relicks; of the Corporal Preſence in the Euchariſt; of the Sacrifice offered in it, for the dead as well as for the living, together with the Adoration offered to it, with a great many more, are certainly Errors, unleſs they can be proved from Scripture; and they are intolerable Errors, if as the Scripture is expreſs in oppoſition to them, ſo they defile the Worſhip of Chriſtians with Idolatry: But they become yet moſt intolerable, if they are impoſed upon all that are in that Communion, and if Creeds or Oaths in which they are affirmed, are required of all in their Communion. Here is the main ground of juſtifying our forming our ſelves into a diſtinct Body from the *Roman* Church, and therefore it is well to be conſidered. The further diſcuſſing of this will come properly in, when other Particulars come to be examined.

From hence I go to the Second Branch of this Article, which gives us the Canon of the Scripture. Here I ſhall begin with the New Teſtament; for though in order the Old Teſtament is before the New, yet

yet the Proof of the one being more distinctly made out by the concurring Testimonies of other Writers, than can possibly be pretended for the other, and the New giving an Authority to the Old, by asserting it so expresly, I shall therefore prove first the Canon of the New Testament. I will not urge that of the Testimony of the Spirit, which many have had recourse to: This is only an Argument to him that feels it, if it is one at all; and therefore it proves nothing to another person; besides, the utmost that with reason can be made of this, is that a good man feeling the very powerful Effects of the Christian Religion on his own Heart, in the reforming his Nature, and the calming his Conscience, together with those Comforts that arise out of it, is convinced in general of the Whole of Christianity, by the happy Effects that it has upon his own Mind: But it does not from this appear how he should know that such Books and such Passages in them should come from a Divine Original, or that he should be able to distinguish what is Genuine in them from what is Spurious. To come therefore to such Arguments as may be well insisted upon and maintained. *Art.* 6.

The Canon of the New Testament as we now have it, is fully proved from the Quotations out of the Books of the New Testament, by the Writers of the First and Second Centuries; such as *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, *Justin*, *Irenæus*, and several others. *Papias*, who conversed with the Disciples of the Apostles, is cited by *Eusebius* in confirmation of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, which he says was writ by him in *Hebrew*; He is also cited to prove that St. *Mark* writ his Gospel from St. *Peter's* Preaching; which is also confirmed by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*; not to mention later Writers. *Irenæus* says St. *Luke* writ his Gospel according to St. *Paul's* Preaching, which is supported by some Words in St. *Paul's* Epistles that relate to Passages in that Gospel; yet certainly he had likewise other Vouchers; those *who from the beginning were Eye-witnesses and Ministers of the Word*; though the whole might receive its full Authority from St. *Paul's* Approbation. St. *John* writ later than the other Three; so the Testimonies concerning his Gospel are the fullest and the most particular. *Irenæus* has laboured the Proof of this matter with much Care and Attention: He lived within an Hundred years to St. *John*, and knew *Policarp* that was one of his Disciples: After him come *Tertullian* and *Origen*, who speak very copiously of the Four Gospels; and from them all the Ecclesiastical Writers have without any doubting or Controversy acknowledged and cited them, without the least shadow of any Opposition, except what was made by *Marcion* and the *Manichees*.

Lib. 3. Hist. c. 39. c. 25.

Euf. l. 3. Hist. c. 15.

Lib. 3. cap. 11.

Tert. l. 4. cont. Mar. cap. 1. Orig. apud Euf. lib. 6. cap. 25.

Next to these Authorities we appeal to the Catalogues of the Books of the New Testament, that are given us in the Third and Fourth Centuries, by *Origen* a Man of great Industry, and that had examined the State of many Churches; by St. *Athanasius*, by the Council of *Laodicea* and *Carthage*; and after these we have a constant Succession of Testimonies, that do deliver these as the Canon universally received. All this laid together, does fully prove this Point; and that the more clearly when these Particulars are considered. 1. That the Books of the New Testament were read in all their Churches, and at all their Assemblies, so that this was a Point in which it was not easy for men to mistake. 2*dly*, That this was so near the Fountain, that the Originals

Athan. in Synopf. Conc. cap. 60. Carth. 3. c. 47.

Art. 6. nals themselves of the Apostles were no doubt so long preserved. 3*dly*, That both the *Jews*, as appears from *Justin Martyr*, and the *Gentiles*, as appears by *Celsus*, knew that these were the Books in which the Faith of the Christians was contained. 4*thly*, That some question was made touching some of them, because there was not that clear or general knowledge concerning them, that there was concerning the others; yet upon fuller enquiry all acquiesced in them. No doubt was ever made about Thirteen of St. *Paul*'s Epistles; because there were particular Churches or Persons to whom the Originals of them were directed: But the Strain and Design of that to the *Hebrews* being to remove their Prejudices, that high one which they had taken up against St. *Paul* as an Enemy to their Nation, was to be kept out of view, that it might not blast the good Effects which were intended by it; yet it is cited oftner than once by *Clemens* of *Rome*: And though the Ignorance of many of the *Roman* Church, who thought that some Passages in it favoured the Severity of the *Novatians*, that cut off Apostates from the hopes of Repentance, made them question it, of which mention is made both by *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and *Jerome*, who frequently affirm, that the *Latin* Church, or the *Roman*, did not receive it; yet *Athanasius* reckons both this and the Seven General Epistles among the Canonical Writings. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, who had occasion to be well informed about it, says, that he delivers his Catalogue from the Church, as she had received it from the Apostles, the Ancient Bishops, and the Governors of the Church; and reckons up in it both the Seven General Epistles, and the Fourteen of St. *Paul*. So does *Ruffin*, and so do the Councils of *Laodicea* and *Carthage*; the Canons of the former being received into the Body of the *Canons* of the *Universal Church*. *Irenæus*, *Origen*, and *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, cite the Epistle to the *Hebrews* frequently. Some question was made of the Epistle of St. *James*, the Second of St. *Peter*, the Second and Third of St. *John*, and St. *Jude*'s Epistle. But both *Clemens* of *Rome*, *Ignatius*, and *Origen*, cite St. *James*'s Epistle: *Eusebius* says it was known to most, and read in most Christian Churches: The like is testified by St. *Jerom*. St. *Peter*'s Second Epistle is cited by *Origen* and *Firmilian*; and *Eusebius* says it was held very useful even by those who held it not Canonical; But since the First Epistle was never questioned by any, the Second that carries so many Characters of its Genuineness, such as St. *Peter*'s Name at the Head of it, the mention of the Transfiguration, and of his being an Eye-witness of it, are evident Proofs of its being writ by him. The Second and Third Epistles of St. *John* are cited by *Irenæus*, *Clemens*, and *Dennis* of *Alexandria*, and by *Tertullian*. The Epistle of St. *Jude* is also cited by *Tertullian*. Some of those General Epistles were not addressed to any particular Body or Church, that might have preserved the Originals of them, but were sent about in the nature of Circular Letters; so that it is no wonder if they were not received so early, and with such an Unanimity,

Dial. cum Trypho.

Tertul. de Præsc. cap. 36.

Orig. Ep. ad African.
Orig. Exhort. ad Martyr.
Euseb. Hist. lib. 6. c. 20.
Hieron. Ep. ad. Dardan.
Cyr. Catech. 4.

Apud Hieron. Tom. 4.

Can. 60. Can. 47.

Iren. l. 3. c. 38.
Orig. l. 3. & 7. con. Cels.
Dial. con. Marc. & Ep. ad Afric.
Clem. Alex.
Ignat. Ep. ad Ephe.
Orig. Hom. 13. in Genes.
Eus. Hist. l. 2. c. 22. l. 3. c. 24, 27.
Hieron. Pref. in Ep. Jac.
Orig. cont. Marcion.
Firmil. Ep. 75. ap. Cypr.
Eus. Hist. l. 3. c. 3.

Iren. l. 1. c. 13.
Clem. Alex. Strom. 2.
Tertul. de Carne Chr. c. 24.
Euseb. Hist. l. 6. c. 24.
Tertul. de cultu fœm.

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mity, as we find concerning the Four Gospel's, the *Acts of the Apostles*, and Thirteen of St. *Paul*'s Epistles. These being first fixed upon by an unquestioned and undisputed Tradition, made that here was a Standard once ascertained to judge the better of the rest: So when the matter was strictly examined, so near the Fountain that it was very possible and easy to find out the Certainty of it, then in the beginning of the Fourth Century the Canon was settled, and universally agreed to. The Stile and Matter of the Revelation, as well as the designation of *Divine* given to the Author of it, gave occasion to many Questions about it: *Clemens* of *Rome* cites it as a Prophetical Book: *Justin Martyr* says it was writ by *John*, one of Christ's Twelve Apostles: *Irenæus* calls it the Revelation of St. *John* the Disciple of our Lord, writ almost in our own Age, in the End of *Domitian's* Reign. *Melito* writ upon it; *Theophilus of Antioch*, *Hyppolitus*, *Clemens*, and *Dennis of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and *Origen* do cite it. And thus the Canon of the New Testament seems to be fully made out by the concurrent Testimony of the several Churches immediately after the Apostolical time. *Art.* 6.

Clem. in Ep. ad Cor. Justin cont. Tryphon. Irenæus l. 5. c. 30. Euf. Hist. l. 4. c. 24, 26. l. 5. c. 18. l. 7. c. 17.

Here it is to be observed, that a great difference is to be made between all this and the Oral Tradition of a Doctrine, in which there is nothing fixed or permanent, so that the whole is only Report carried about and handed down. Whereas here is a Book, that was only to be copied out and read publickly, and by all Persons, between which the difference is so vast, that it is as little possible to imagine how the one should continue pure, as how the other should come to be corrupted. There was never a Book of which we have that reason to be assured that it is genuine, that we have here. There hapned to be constant Disputes among Christians from the Second Century downward, concerning some of the most important Parts of this Doctrine; and by both sides these Books were appealed to: And though there might be some Variations in Readings and Translations, yet no question was made concerning the Canon, or the Authenticalness of the Books themselves; unless it were by the *Manichees*, who came indeed to be called Christians, by a very enlarged way of speaking; since it is justly strange how men who said that the Author of the Universe, and of the *Mosaical* Dispensation, was an Evil God; and who held that there were Two Supreme Gods, a Good and an Evil one; how such men, I say, could be called Christians.

The Authority of those Books is not derived from any Judgment that the Church made concerning them; but from this, That it was known that they were writ, either by men who were themselves the Apostles of Christ, or by those who were their Assistants and Companions, at whose Order, or under whose Direction and Approbation it was known that they were written and published. These Books were received and known for such, in the very Apostolical Age it self; so that many of the Apostolical men, such as *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*, lived long enough to see the Canon generally received and settled. The suffering and depressed state of the First Christians was also such, that as there is no reason to suspect them of Imposture, so it is not at all credible that an Imposture of this kind could have passed upon all the Christian Churches. A man in a Corner might have forged the *Sibylline* Oracles, or some other Pieces which were not to be generally used; and they might have appeared

Art. 6. ſoon after, and Credit might have been given too eaſily to a Book or Writing of that kind: But it cannot be imagined, that in an Age in which the belief of this Doctrine brought men under great Troubles, and in which Miracles and other extraordinary Gifts were long continued in the Church, that, I ſay, either Falſe Books could have been ſo early obtruded on the Church as True, or that True Books could have been ſo vitiated as to loſe their Original Purity, while they were ſo univerſally read and uſed; and that ſo ſoon; or that the Writers of that very Age and of the next, ſhould have been ſo generally and ſo groſly impoſed upon, as to have cited Spurious Writings for True. Theſe are things that could not be believed in the Hiſtories or Records of any Nation: Though the Value that the Chriſtians ſet upon theſe Books, and the conſtant uſe they made of them, reading a parcel of them every Lord's Day, make this much leſs ſuppoſable in the Chriſtian Religion, than it could be in any other ſort of Hiſtory or Record whatſoever. The early ſpreading of the Chriſtian Religion to ſo many remote Countries and Provinces, the many Copies of theſe Books that lay in Countries ſo remote, the many Tranſlations of them that were quickly made, do all concur to make the Impoſſibility of any ſuch Impoſture the more ſenſible. Thus the Canon of the New Teſtament is fixed upon clear and ſure Grounds.

From thence without any further Proof, we may be convinced of the Canon of the Old Teſtament. Chriſt does frequently cite *Moſes* and the Prophets; he appeals to them; and though he charged the *Jews* of that time, chiefly their Teachers and Rulers, with many Diſorders and Faults, yet he never once ſo much as inſinuated that they had corrupted their Law, or other Sacred Books; which if true, had been the greateſt of all thoſe Abuſes that they had put upon the People. Our Saviour cited their Books according to the Tranſlation that was then in Credit and common Uſe amongſt them. When one asked him which was the great Commandment, he anſwered, *How readeſt thou?* And he proved the chief things relating to himſelf, his Death and Reſurrection, from the Prophecies that had gone before; which ought to have been fulfilled in him: He alſo cites the Old Teſtament, by a Threefold Diviſion of the *Law of Moſes*, *the Prophets*, and *the Pſalms*; according to the Three Orders of Books into which the *Jews* had divided it. The *Pſalms*, which was the firſt among the Holy Writings, being ſet for that whole Volume. St. *Paul* ſays, That *to the Jews were committed the Oracles of God*: He reckons that among the chief of their Privileges, but he never blames them for being unfaithful in this Truſt; and it is certain that the *Jews* have not corrupted the chief of thoſe Paſſages that are urged againſt them to prove Jeſus to have been the Chriſt. So that the Old Teſtament, at leaſt the Tranſlation of the LXX Interpreters, which was in common uſe and in high eſteem among the *Jews* in our Saviour's time, was as to the main, faithful and uncorrupted. This might be further urged from what St. *Paul* ſays concerning thoſe Scriptures which *Timothy* had learned of a Child; theſe could be no other than the Books of the Old Teſtament. Thus if the Writings of the New Teſtament are acknowledged to be of Divine Authority, the full Teſtimony that they give to the Books of the Old Teſtament, does ſufficiently prove their Authority and Genuineneſs likewiſe. But to carry this matter yet further:

Luke 24. 44.

Rom. 3. 2.

Moſes wrought ſuch Miracles both in *Egypt*, in paſſing through the *Red-Sea*, and in the Wilderneſs, that if theſe are acknowledg'd to be true, there can be no queſtion made of his being ſent of God, and authorized by him to deliver his Will to the *Jewiſh* Nation. The Relation given of thoſe Miracles repreſents them to be ſuch in themſelves, and to have been acted ſo publickly, that it cannot be pretended they were Tricks, or that ſome bold Aſſerters gained a Credit to them by affirming them. They were ſo publickly tranſacted, that the Relations given of them are either downright Fables, or they were clear and unconteſted Characters of a Prophet authorized of God. Nor is the Relation of them made with any of thoſe Arts that are almoſt neceſſary to Impoſtors. The *Jewiſh* Nation is all along repreſented as froward and diſobedient, apt to murmur and rebel. The Laws it contains, as to the Political part, are calculated to advance both Juſtice and Compaſſion, to awaken Induſtry, and yet to repreſs Avarice. Liberty and Authority are duly tempered; the moral part is pure, and ſuitable to Human Nature, though with ſome Imperfections and Tolerances which were connived at, but yet regulated: And for the Religious part, Idolatry, Magick, and all Human Sacrifices were put away by it: When we conſider what remains are left us of the Idolatry of the *Egyptians*, and what was afterward among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who were Polite and well conſtituted as to their Civil Laws and Rules, and may be eſteem'd the moſt refin'd Pieces of Heatheniſm, we do find a Simplicity and Purity, a Majeſty and Gravity, a Modeſty with a Decency in the *Jewiſh* Rituals, to which the others can in no ſort be compar'd. *Art.* 6.

In the Books of *Moſes*, no deſign for himſelf appears; his Poſterity were but in the Crowd, *Levites*, without any Character of Diſtinction; and he ſpares neither himſelf nor his Brother, when there was occaſion to mention their Faults, no more than he does the reſt of his Countrymen. It is to be further conſidered, that the Laws and Policy appointed by *Moſes*, ſettled many Rules and Rites that muſt have perpetuated the Remembrance of them. The Land was to be divided by Lot, and every Share was to deſcend in an Inheritance: The frequent Aſſemblies at *Jeruſalem* on the Three great Feſtivals, the Sabbaths, the New Moons, the Sabbatical Year, and the great Jubilee, the Law of the double Tythe, the Sacrifices of ſo many different kinds, the diſtinctions of Meats, the Prohibition of eating Blood, together with many other Particulars, were all founded upon it. Now let it be a little conſidered, whether the Foundation of all this, I mean the Five Books of *Moſes* could be a Forgery or not. If the *Pentateuch* was delivered by *Moſes* himſelf to the *Jews*, and received by them as the Rule both of their Religion and Policy, then it is not poſſible to conceive, but that the Recital of all that is contained from the Book of *Exodus* to the End of *Deuteronomy*, was known by them to be true; and this eſtabliſhes the Credit of the whole. But if this is not admitted, then let it be conſidered in what time it can poſſibly be ſuppoſed that this Impoſture could have appeared. There is a continued Series of Books of their Hiſtory, that goes down to the *Babyloniſh* Captivity; ſo if there was an Impoſture of this ſort ſet on foot in that time, all that Hiſtory muſt have been made upon it, and an account muſt have been given of the diſcovery of thoſe Books; otherwiſe the Impoſture muſt have been too

Art. 6. weak to have gain'd Credit. Whereas on the contrary, the whole Thread of their History represents these Books to have been always amongst them.

The discovery made in the Reign of *Josias*, cannot be supposed to be of this sort; since how much disorder soever the long and wicked Reign of *Manasses* might have brought them under, and what havock soever might have been made of the Writings that were held Sacred among them, yet it was impossible that a Series of Forged Laws and Histories could have been put upon them; of which there was still a continued Memory preserved among them, and that they could be brought to believe that a Book and a Law full of so much History, and of so many various and unusual Rites founded upon it, had been held Sacred among them for many Ages; if it was but a new Invention. Therefore this is an extravagant Conceit: So that the Book that was then found in the Temple, was either the Original of the Law written by *Moses*'s own hand; for so the Words may be rendred; or it may be understood of some of the last Chapters of *Deuteronomy*, which seem by the Tenor of them to have been at first a Book by themselves, tho afterwards joined to the rest of *Deuteronomy*; and in the Collection that *Josias* was making, these might be wanting at first; and in these there are such severe Threatnings, that it was no wonder if a Heart so tender as *Josias*'s, was very much affected at the reading them.

2 Chron. 34. 14.

Ch. 26. 16. to the End of Deut.

Deut. 18. from 36. to the End.

Upon the whole matter there is no Period in the whole History of the *Jews*, to which any suspicion of such an Imposture can be fasten'd before the *Babylonish* Captivity: So it must be laid either upon the times of Captivity, or soon after their Return out of it. Now, not to observe that men in such Circumstances, are seldom capable of things of that nature, Can it be imagined that a Series of Books that run through many Ages, could have been framed so particularly, and yet so exactly, that nothing in any concurrent History could ever be brought to disprove any part of it? That such a thing could pass in so short a time upon a whole Nation, while so many men remembred or might well remember what they had been before the Captivity, if they had not all known that it was true, is a most inconceivable thing. These Books were so far from being disputed, though we see their Neighbours the *Samaritans* were inclined enough to contest every thing with them, that all acquiesced in them, and in that second beginning of their being a State, as it is opened in the Books of *Esdras* and *Nehemiah*, and in *Daniel*, and the Three Prophets of the second Temple, all the other Books were received among them without dispute: And their Law was in such high esteem, that about Two hundred Years after that, the King of *Egypt* did with much Entreaty, and at a vast Charge, procure a Translation of it to be made in *Greek*.

The *Jewish* Nation, as they live much within themselves, where it is safe for them to profess their Religion, so they have had the Divine Authority of their Books so deeply infused into them from Age to Age, that now above Sixteen hundred Years, though it is not possible for them to practise the main parts of their Religion, and though they suffer much for professing it, yet they do still adhere to it, and practise as much of it as they can by the Law it self, which ties the chief Performances of that Religion to one determinate Place. This is a Firmness which has never yet appeared in any other Religion besides the *Jewish* and the Christian: For all the several Shapes of Heathenism

theniſm have often changed, and they all went off as ſoon as the Government that ſupported them fell, and that another came in its place. Whereas theſe have ſubſiſted long, not only without the ſupport of Civil Power, but under many ſevere Perſecutions: which is at leaſt a good Moral Argument to prove, that theſe Religions had another Foundation, and a deeper Root than any other Religion could ever pretend to. Yet after all, it is not to be denied, but that in the Collection that was made of the Books of the Old Teſtament after the Captivity, by *Ezra* and others, or after that burning of many of the Books of their Law under *Antiochus Epiphanes* mentioned in the Book of *Maccabees*, that ſome diſorder might happen; that there might be ſuch regard had to ſome Copies, as not to alter ſome maniteſt faults that were in them, but that inſtead of that, they might have marked on the Margent that which was the true Reading: And a Superſtitious conceit might have afterwards crept in, and continued in After-Ages of a myſteryin that matter, upon their firſt letting theſe Faults continue in the Text with the Marginal Annotation of the Correction of them. There might be alſo other Marginal Annotations of the Modern Names of Places ſet againſt the Ancient ones, to guide the Reader's judgment; and afterwards the Modern Name might have been writ inſtead of the Ancient one. Theſe are things that might naturally enough happen: And will ſerve to reſolve many Objections againſt the Text of the Old Teſtament. All the Numbers of Perſons as well as of Years might alſo have been writ in Numerical Letters, though afterwards they came all to be ſet down in words at large: And while they were in Letters, as ſome might have been worn out, and loſt in Ancienter Copies, ſo others were by the reſemblance of ſome Letters, very like to be miſtaken: Nor could Mens Memories ſerve them ſo well to correct miſtakes in Numbers as in other Matters. This may ſhew a way to reconcile many ſeeming differences between the Accounts that are variouſly ſtated in ſome of the Books of the Bible, and between the *Hebrew* and the *Septuagint*. In theſe Matters our Church has made no Deciſion; and ſo Divines are left to a juſt freedom in them. *Art.* 6. 1 Maccab. 1. 56.

In general we may ſafely rely upon the Care and Providence of God, and the Induſtry of Men, who are naturally apt to preſerve things of that kind entire, which are highly valued among them. And therefore we conclude, That the Books of the Old Teſtament are preſerved pure down to us, as to all thoſe things for which they were written; that is, in every thing that is either an Object of Faith, or a Rule of Life: And as to leſſer Matters which viſibly have no Relation to either of theſe, there is no reaſon to think that every Copier was ſo divinely guided, that no ſmall Error might ſurprize him. In Fact, we know that there are many various Readings, which might have ariſen from the haſte and careleſneſs of Copiers, from their gueſſing wrong that which appeared doubtful or imperfect in the Copy, and from a ſuperſtitious adhering to ſome apparent Faults, when they found them in Copies of a Venerable Antiquity. But when all thoſe various Readings are compar'd together, it appears that as they are inconſiderable, ſo they do not concern our Faith, nor our Morals; the ſetting which right was the main end of Revelation. The moſt important diverſity relates to Chronology; But the account of time, eſpecially in the firſt Ages, is of no Conſequence to our believing right, or to our living well:

And

Art. 6. And therefore if some Errors or Mistakes should appear to be among those different Readings, these give no just cause to doubt of the whole: And indeed, considering the many Ages through which those Books have past, we have much more reason to wonder, that they are brought down to us so entire, and so manifestly genuine in all their main and important parts, than that we should see some prints of the frailty of those who copied and preserved them.

It remains only upon this Head to consider what Inspiration and an Inspired Book is, and how far that Matter is to be carried. When we talk with one another, a Noise is made in the Air that strikes with such Vibrations on the Ears of others, that by the motion thereby made on the Brain of another, we do convey our Thoughts to another person: So that the Impression made on the Brain is that which communicates our Thoughts to another. By this we can easily apprehend how God may make such Impressions on mens Brains, as may convey to them such things as he intends to make known to them.

This is the General Notion of Inspiration; in which the manner and degree of the Impression, may make it at the least as certain that the Motion comes from God, as a Man may be certain that such a thing was told him by such a person, and not by any other. Now there may be different degrees both of the Objects that are revealed, and of the manner of the Revelation. To some it may be given in charge to deliver Rules and Laws to men: And because that ought to be expressed in plain words without Pomp or Ornament, therefore upon such occasions the Imagination is not to be much agitated; but the Impression must be made so naked, that the Understanding may clearly apprehend it; and by consequence that it may be plainly expressed. In others, the design may be only to employ them in order to the awakening men to observe a Law already received and owned: That must be done with such pompous Visions of Judgments coming upon the Violation of those Laws, as may very much alarm those to whom they are sent: Both the Representations and the Expressions must be fitted to excite men, to terrify, and so to reform them. Now because the Imagination, whether when we are Transported in our Thoughts being awake, or in Dreams, is capable of having those Scenes acted upon it, and of being so excited by them, as to utter them with pompous Figures, and in a due Rapidity; This is another way of Inspiration that is strictly called *Prophecy* in the Old Testament. A great deal of the Stile used in this must relate to the particulars of the time to which it belongs: Many Allusions, Hints, and Forms of Speech must be used, that are Lively and Proverbial; which cannot be understood, unless we had all those concurrent helps which are lost even in the next Age, if not preserved in Books, and so they must be quite lost after many Ages are past, when no other Memorials are left of the time in which they were transacted. This must needs make the far greater part of all the Prophetick Writings to be very dark to us: Not to insist upon the peculiar Genius of the Language in which the Prophets wrote, and on the common Customs of those Climates and Nations to this day, that are very different from our own.

A Third degree of Inspiration might be, when there were no discoveries of Future Events to be made; but good and holy Men were

to

to be inwardly excited by God, to compoſe ſuch Poems, Hymns, and Diſcourſes, as ſhould be of great uſe both to give men clearer and fuller apprehenſions of Divine things, and alſo inſenſibly to charm them with a pleaſant and exalted way of Treating them. And if the Providence of God ſhould ſo order them in the management of their Compoſures, that it may afterwards appear that Predictions were intermixed with them; yet they are not to be called Prophets, unleſs God had revealed to them the myſtical intent of ſuch Predictions: So that though the Spirit of God Propheſied in them, yet they themſelves not underſtanding it, are not be accounted Prophets. Of this laſt ſort are the Books of the *Pſalms*, *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *&c.* *Art.* 6.

According to the different Order of theſe Inſpirations was the Old Teſtament divided into Three Volumes. The Inſpiration of the New Teſtament, is all to be reduced to the firſt ſort, except the Revelation, which is purely and ſtrictly Prophetical. The other parts of the New Teſtament are writ after a ſofter and clearer Illumination; and in a Style ſuitable to it. Now becauſe Enthuſiaſts and Impoſtors may falſly pretend to Divine Commiſſions and Inſpirations, it is neceſſary (both for the undeceiving of thoſe who may be miſled by a hot and ungoverned Imagination, and for giving ſuch an Authority to men truly Inſpired, as may diſtinguiſh them from falſe Pretenders) that the man thus Inſpired ſhould have ſome evident Sign or other, either ſome miraculous Action that is viſibly beyond the Powers of Nature, or ſome particular diſcovery of ſomewhat that is to come, which muſt be ſo expreſſed, that the accompliſhment of it may ſhew it to be beyond the Conjectures of the moſt ſagacious: By one or both of thoſe a Man muſt prove, and the World muſt be convinced, that he is ſent and directed by God. And if ſuch men deliver their Meſſage in Writing, we muſt receive ſuch Writings as Sacred and Inſpired.

In theſe Writings ſome parts are Hiſtorical, ſome Doctrinal, and ſome Elenchtical or Argumentative. As to the Hiſtorical part, it is certain that whatſoever is delivered to us, as a matter truly tranſacted, muſt be indeed ſo: But it is not neceſſary when Diſcourſes are reported, that the Individual words ſhould be ſet down juſt as they were ſaid, it is enough if the effect of them is reported: Nor is it neceſſary that the Order of Time ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved, or that all the Conjunctions in ſuch Relations ſhould be underſtood ſeverely according to their Grammatical meaning: It is viſible that all the Sacred Writers, write in a diverſity of Style, according to their different Tempers, and to the various Impreſſions that were made upon them. In that the Inſpiration left them to the uſe of their Faculties, and to their previous Cuſtoms and Habits: The deſign of Revelation as to this part of its Subject, is only to give ſuch Repreſentations of Matters of Fact, as may both work upon, and guide our belief: But the Order of Time, and the ſtrict words having no influence that way, the Writers might diſpoſe them and expreſs them variouſly, and yet all be exactly true. For the Conjunctive Particles do rather import that one paſſage comes to be related after another, than that it was really tranſacted after it.

As to the Doctrinal parts, that is, the Rules of Life which theſe Books ſet before us, or the Propoſitions that are offered to us in them,

we

Art. 6. we must entirely acquiesce in these, as in the Voice of God who speaks to us by the means of a Person, whom he by his Authorizing him in so wonderful a manner, obliges us to hear and believe. But when these Writers come to Explain or Argue, they use many Figures that were well known in that Age: But because the Signification of a Figure is to be taken from common use, and not to be carried to the utmost extent that the words themselves will bear, we must therefore enquire as much as we can, into the Manner and Phraseology of the time in which such Persons lived, which with Relation to the New Testament will lead us far: And by this we ought to govern the Extent and Importance of these Figures.

As to their Arguings, we are further to consider, that sometimes they Argue upon certain Grounds, and at other times they go upon Principles, acknowledged and received by those with whom they dealt. It ought never to be made the only way of proving a thing, to found it upon the concessions of those with whom we deal; yet when a thing is once truly proved, it is a just and usual way of confirming it, or at least of silencing those who oppose it, to shew that it follows naturally from those Opinions and Principles that are received among them. Since therefore the *Jews* had at the time of the writing of the New Testament, a peculiar way of Expounding many Prophecies and Passages in the Old Testament, it was a very proper way to convince them, to alledge many places according to their Key and Methods of Exposition. Therefore when Divine Writers argue upon any point, we are always bound to believe the Conclusions that their Reasonings end in, as parts of Divine Revelation: But we are not bound to be able to make out or even to assent to all the Premises made use of by them in their whole extent; unless it appears plainly that they affirm the Premises as expresly as they do the Conclusions proved by them.

And thus far I have laid down such a Scheme concerning Inspiration and Inspired Writings, as will afford, to such as apprehend it aright, a Solution to most of these difficulties with which we are urged on the account of some passages in the Sacred Writings. The laying down a Scheme that asserts an immediate Inspiration which goes to the Stile and to every Tittle, and that denies any Error to have crept *into any of the Copies*, as it seems on the one hand to raise the Honour of the Scriptures very highly, so it lies open on the other hand to great difficulties which seem insuperable in that Hypothesis; whereas a middle way as it settles the Divine Inspiration of these Writings, and their being continued down genuine and unvitiated to us, as to all that, for which we can only suppose that Inspiration was given; so it helps us more easily out of all difficulties, by yielding that which serves to answer them, without weakening the Authority of the whole.

I come in the last place to examine the Negative Consequence, that arises out of this Head, which excludes those Books commonly called Apocryphal, that are here rejected, from being a part of the Canon: And this will be easily made out. The chief reason that presses us Christians to acknowledge the Old Testament, is the Testimony that Christ and his Apostles gave to those Books, as they were then received by the *Jewish* Church; to whom *were committed the Oracles of God.* Now it is not so much as pretended, that ever these Books were received among the *Jews*, or were so much as known to them.

them. None of the Writers of the New Teſtament cite or mention them; neither *Philo* nor *Joſephus* ſpeak of them. *Joſephus* on the contrary ſays, they had only 22 Books that deſerved belief, but that thoſe which were written after the time of *Artaxerxes*, were not of equal credit with the reſt: And that in that Period they had no Prophets at all. The Chriſtian Church was for ſome Ages an utter Stranger to thoſe Books. *Melito*, *Biſhop* of *Sardis*, being deſired by *Oneſimus* to give him a perfect Catalogue of the Books of the Old Teſtament, took a Journey on purpoſe to the *Eaſt* to examine this matter at its Source: And having as he ſays made an exact Enquiry, he ſent him the Names of them juſt as we receive the Canon; of which *Euſebius* ſays, that he has preſerved it, becauſe it contained all thoſe Books which the Church owned. *Origen* gives us the ſame Catalogue according to the Tradition of the *Jews*, who divided the Old Teſtament into 22 Books, according to the Letters of their Alphabet. *Athanaſius* reckons them up in the ſame manner to be 22, and he more diſtinctly ſays that he delivered thoſe, as they had re- "ceived them by Tradition, and as they were received by the whole "Church of Chriſt, becauſe ſome preſumed to mix Apocryphal Books "with the Divine Scriptures: And therefore he was ſet on it by the Or- "thodox Brethren, in order to declare the Canonical Books delivered as "ſuch by Tradition, and believed to be of Divine Inſpiration. It is true, he adds, "That beſides theſe there were other Books which were not "put into the Canon, but yet were appointed by the Fathers to be read "by thoſe who firſt come to be inſtructed in the way of Piety: And "then he reckons up moſt of the Apocryphal Books. Here is the firſt mention we find of them, as indeed it is very probable they were made at *Alexandria*, by ſome of thoſe *Jews* who lived there in great Numbers. Both *Hilary* and *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* give us the ſame Catalogue of the Books of the Old Teſtament, and affirm that they delivered them thus according to the Tradition of the Ancients. *Cyril* ſays, That all other Books are to be put in a Second Order. *Gregory Nazienzen* reckons up the 22 Books, and adds that none beſides them are genuine. The words that are in the Article are repeated by St. *Jerom* in ſeveral of his Preſaces. And that which ſhould determine this whole matter, is, That the Council of *Laodicea* by an expreſs Canon delivers the Catalogue of the Canonical Books as we do, decreeing that theſe only ſhould be read in the Church. Now the Canons of this Council were afterwards received into the Code of the Canons of the Univerſal Church; ſo that here we have the concurring ſenſe of the whole Church of God in this matter.

Art. 6.

Euſeb. hiſt. l. 4. c. 26.

In Pſal. 1.

In Synop.

In Ep. paſch.

Catech. 4.

Can. 59. and 60.

It is true, the Book of the Revelation not being reckoned in it, this may be urged to detract from its Authority: But it was already proved, that that Book was received much Earlier into the Canon of the Scriptures, ſo the deſign of this Canon being to eſtabliſh the Authority of thoſe Books that were to be read in the Church, the darkneſs of the Apocalypſe making it appear reaſonable not to read it publickly, that may be the reaſon why it is not mentioned in it, as well as in ſome later Catalogues.

Here we have four Centuries clear for our Canon, in Excluſion to all Additions. It were eaſy to carry this much further down, and to ſhew that theſe Books were never by any expreſs definition received

Art. 6. into the Canon, till it was done at *Trent*: And that in all the Ages of the Church even after they came to be much esteemed, there were divers Writers, and those generally the most learned of their time, who denied them to be a part of the Canon. At first many Writings were read in the Churches, that were in high reputation both for the
Can. 47. sake of the Authors, and of the Contents of them, though they were never lookt on as a part of the Canon: Such were *Clemens*'s Epistle, the Books of *Hermas*, the Acts of the Martyrs, besides several other things which were read in particular Churches. And among these the Apocryphal Books came also to be read, as containing some valuable Books of Instruction, besides several Fragments of the *Jewish* History, which were perhaps too easily believed to be true. These therefore being usually read, they came to be reckoned among Canonical Scriptures: For this is the reason assigned in the Third Council of *Carthage*, for calling them Canonical, because they had received them from their Fathers as Books that were to be read in Churches: And the word *Canonical* was by some in those Ages used in a large sense, in opposition to spurious; so that it signified no more than that they were genuine. So much depends upon this Article, that it seemed necessary to dwell fully upon it, and to state it clearly.

It remains only to observe the Diversity between the Articles now Established, and those set forth by *K. Edward.* In the latter there was not a Catalogue given of the Books of Scripture, nor was there any distinction stated between the Canonical, and the Apocryphal Books. In those there is likewise a Paragraph, or rather a Parenthesis added after the words **proved thereby**, in these words, **Although sometimes it may be admitted by God's faithful People as Pious, and conducing unto Order and Decency:** Which are now left out, because the Authority of the Church as to matters of Order and Decency, which was only intended to be asserted by this Period, is more fully explained and stated in the 35*th* Article.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Teſtament.

The Old Teſtament is not contrary to the New: For both in the Old and New Teſtament Everlaſting Life is offered to Mankind by Chriſt, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the Old Fathers did look only for Tranſitory Promiſes.

Although the Law given from God by Moſes, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Chriſtian Men, nor the Civil-Precepts thereof ought of neceſſity to be received in any Commonwealth, yet notwithſtanding no Chriſtian Man whatſoever is free from the Obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.

THIS Article is made up of the *Sixth* and the *Nineteenth* of King *Edward*'s Articles laid together: Only the *Nineteenth* of King *Edward*'s has theſe words after **Moral: Wherefore they are not to be heard, which teach that the Holy Scriptures were given to none but to the weak; and brag continually of the Spirit, by which they do pretend that all whatſoever they Preach is ſuggeſted to them; though manifeſtly contrary to the Holy Scriptures.** This whole Article relates to the *Antinomians*, as theſe laſt words were added by reaſon of the Extravagance of ſome Enthuſiaſts at that time; but that Madneſs having ceaſed in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, it ſeems it was thought that there was no more occaſion for thoſe words.

There are Four heads that do belong to this Article: *Firſt*, That the Old Teſtament is not contrary to the New. *Secondly*, That Chriſt was the Mediator in both Diſpenſations, ſo that Salvation was offered in both by him. *Thirdly*, That the Ceremonial and the Judiciary Precepts in the Law of *Moſes* do not bind Chriſtians. *Fourthly*, That the Moral Law does ſtill bind all Chriſtians.

To the firſt of theſe, The *Manichees* of old, who fancied that there was a Bad as well as a Good God, thought that theſe Two Great Principles were in a perpetual ſtruggle; and they believed the Old Diſpenſation was under the Bad One, which was taken away by the New, that is the work of the Good God. But they who held ſuch monſtrous Tenets, muſt needs reject the whole New Teſtament, or very much corrupt it: ſince there is nothing plainer, than that the Prophets of the *Old* foretold the *New* with approbation; and the Writers of the *New* prove both their Commiſſion and their Doctrine from Paſſages of the Old Teſtament. This therefore could not be affirmed without rejecting many of the Books that we own, and corrupting the reſt. So this deſerves no more to be conſidered.

Upon this occaſion it will be no improper Digreſſion, to conſider what Revelation thoſe under the *Moſaical* Law, or that lived before it, had of the Meſſias: This is an Important Matter: It is a great Confirmation of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, as it will furniſh us

Art. 7. with proper Arguments againſt the *Jews*. It is certain they have long had, and ſtill have an Expectation of a Meſſias: Now the Characters and Predictions concerning this Perſon muſt have been fulfilled long ago, or the Prophecies will be found to be falſe; and if they do meet and were accompliſh'd in our Saviour's Perſon, and if no other Perſon could ever pretend to this, then that which is undertaken to be proved, will be fully performed. The firſt Promiſe to *Adam* after his Sin, ſpeaks of an Enmity between the Seed of the Serpent and
Gen. 3. 15. the Seed of the Woman: *It ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel*: The one might hurt the other in ſome leſſer Inſtances, but the other was to have an entire Victory at laſt; which is plainly ſignified by the Figures of bruiſing the *Heel*, and bruiſing the *Head*, which was to be performed by one who was to bear this Character of being the Woman's Seed. The next Promiſe was made to *Abraham*,
Gen. 12. 3. *In thee ſhall all the families of the earth be bleſſed*: This was lodged in
Gen. 22. 18. his Seed or Poſterity, upon his being ready to offer up his Son *Iſaac*:
Gen. 26. 24. That Promiſe was renewed to *Iſaac*, and after him to *Jacob*: When he
Gen. 28. 14. was dying, it was lodged by him in the Tribe of *Judah*, when he
Gen. 49. 10. propheſied, That *the Scepter ſhould not depart from Judah, nor the Lawgiver from between his feet, till Shiloh ſhould come; and the gathering of the people*, that is, of the *Gentiles*, *was to be to him*. It is certain the Ten Tribes were loſt in their Captivity, whereas the Tribe of *Judah* was brought back, and continued to be a political Body under their own Laws, until a Breach was made upon that by the *Romans* firſt reducing them to the Form of a Province, and ſoon after that deſtroying them utterly: So that either that Prediction was not accompliſhed, or the *Shiloh*, the *Sent*, to whom the *Gentiles* were to be gathered, came before they loſt their Scepter and Laws.

Deut. 18. 15. *Moſes* told the People of *Iſrael*, That *God was to raiſe up among them a Prophet like unto him, to whom they ought to hearken*, otherwiſe God would *require it of them*. The Character of *Moſes* was, That he was a Lawgiver, and the Author of an entire Body of Inſtituted Religion,
Numb. 24. 17. ſo they were to look for ſuch a one. *Balaam* propheſied darkly of one whom he ſaw as at a great diſtance from his own time; and he ſpoke of a *Star that ſhould come out of Jacob, and a Scepter out of Iſrael*: Some Memorial of which was probably preſerved among the *Arabians*. In the Book of *Pſalms* there are many things ſaid of *David*, which ſeem capable of a much Auguſter Senſe than can be pretended to be anſwered by any thing that befel himſelf. What is ſaid in the 2^{d}, the 16th, the 22^{d}, the 45th, the 102^{d}, and the 110th *Pſalms*, afford us copious Inſtances of this. Paſſages in theſe *Pſalms* muſt be ſtretched by Figures that go very high, to think they were all fulfilled in *David* or *Solomon*: But in their Literal and largeſt Senſe they were accompliſhed in Chriſt, to whom God ſaid, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*. In him that was verified, *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in hell, neither wilt thou ſuffer thy Holy One to ſee Corruption. His hands and his feet were pierced, and lots were caſt upon his veſture*. Of him it may be ſtrictly ſaid, *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever*. To him that belonged, *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, Sit thou on my Right-hand, till I make thine enemies thy footſtool*. And, *The Lord ſware and will not repent, Thou art a Prieſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedeck*.

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The Prophets gave yet more expreſs Predictions concerning the Meſſias. *Iſaiah* did quiet the Fears of *Ahaz*, and of the Houſe of *David*, by ſaying, *The Lord himſelf ſhall give you a ſign, Behold, a Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a Son.* It was certainly no Sign for one that was a *Virgin*, to conceive afterwards and bear a Son; therefore the *Sign* or extraordinary thing here promiſed as a ſignal Pledge of God's Care of the Houſe of *David*, muſt lie in this, That one ſtill remaining a *Virgin*, ſhould conceive and bear a Son; not to inſiſt upon the ſtrict ſignification of the Word in the Original. The ſame Prophet did alſo foretell, That as this Meſſiah, or the *Branch*, ſhould ſpring from the Stem of *Jeſſe*, ſo alſo he was to be full of the Spirit of the Lord; and *that the Gentiles ſhould ſeek to him.* In another place he enumerates many of the Miracles that ſhould be done by him: He was to give ſight to the Blind, make the Deaf to hear, and the Lame to walk. He does further ſet forth his Character; not that of a Warrior or Conqueror; on the contrary, *He was not to cry nor ſtrive, nor break the bruiſed reed, or quench the ſmoking flax; he was to bring forth judgment to the Gentiles, and the Iſles were to wait for his Law.* There is a whole Chapter in the ſame Prophet, ſetting forth the Mean Appearance that the Meſſias was to make, the Contempt he was to fall under, and the Sufferings he was to bear; and that for the Sins of others, which were to be laid on him; ſo that his *Soul* or Life was to be made an *Offering for Sin*, in reward of which he was to be highly exalted. In another place his Miſſion is ſet forth, not in the Strains of War, or of Conqueſt, but of Preaching to the Poor, ſetting the Priſoners free as in a Year of Jubilee, and comforting the afflicted and ſuch as mourned. In the two laſt Chapters of that Prophet mention is made more particularly of the *Gentiles* that were to be called by him, and the *Iſles that were afar off*, out of whom God was to take ſome *for Prieſts and Levites*: Which ſhewed plainly, that a new Diſpenſation was to be opened by him, in which the *Gentiles* were to be *Prieſts and Levites*, which could not be done while the *Moſaical* Law ſtood, that had tied theſe Functions to the Tribe of *Levi*, and to the Houſe of *Aaron*. *Jeremy* renewed the Promiſe to the Houſe of *David*, of *a King that ſhould reign and proſper; in whoſe days Judah and Iſrael were to dwell ſafely, whoſe name was to be, The Lord our Righteouſneſs.* It is certain this Promiſe was never literally accompliſhed; and therefore recourſe muſt be had to a Myſtical Senſe. The ſame Prophet gives a large Account of a *new Covenant that God was to make with the houſe of Iſrael, not according to the Covenant that he made with their fathers when he brought them out of Egypt.* We have alſo Two Characters given of that Covenant: one is, That *God would put his Law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts*; that he would be their God, and that they ſhould all be taught of him: The other is, *That he would forgive their iniquities, and remember their ſin no more.* One of theſe is in oppoſition to their Law, that conſiſted chiefly in Rituals, and had no Promiſes of Inward Aſſiſtances; and the other is in oppoſition to the limited Pardon that was offered in that Diſpenſation, on the condition of the many Sacrifices that they were required to offer. There is a Prediction to the ſame purpoſe in *Ezekiel.* *Joel* propheſied of an extraordinary Effuſion of the Spirit of God on great Numbers of Perſons, Old and Young, that was to happen before the great

Art. 7.
Iſa. 8. 14.
Iſa. 11. 1, 2.
ver. 10.
Iſa. 35. 5, 6.
Iſa. 42. 1.
ver. 8.
Iſa. 53.
Iſa. 61.
Jer. 23. 5.
Jer. 31. 31.
Ezek. 36. 25.
Joel 2. 28.

Art. 7. great and terrible Day of the Lord, that is, before the Final Destruction of *Jerusalem*. *Micah*, after he had foretold several things of the Dispensation of the *Messiah*, says that he was to come out of *Bethlehem Ephratah*. *Haggai* encouraged those who were troubled at the meanness of the Temple which they had raised after their return out of the Captivity. It had neither the outward Glory in its Fabrick that *Solomon*'s Temple had, nor the more real Glory of the *Ark*, with the *Tables of the Law*; of *Fire from Heaven on the Altar*; of a *Succession of Prophets*; of the *Urim and Thummin*, and the *Cloud* between the Cherubims, which last, strictly speaking, was the *Glory*; all which had been in *Solomon*'s Temple, but were wanting in that. In opposition to this, the Prophet in the Name of God promised, That he would in a *little while shake the heavens and the earth*, and *shake all Nations*; words that import some surprizing and great Change; upon which the *desire of all nations should come*, *and God would fill the house with his Glory*; and *the Glory of this latter house should exceed the Glory of the former*, *for in that place God would give Peace*. Here is a plain Prophecy, That this Templs was to have a *Glory*, not only equal but superior to the Glory of *Solomon*'s Temple: These Words are too August to be believed to have been accomplished, when *Herod* rebuilt the Temple with much Magnificence; for that was nothing in comparison of the real Glory, of the Symbols of the Presence of God, that were wanting in it; This cannot answer the Words, That the *desire of all Nations* was to come, and that God would *give Peace* in that Place. So that either this Prophecy was never fulfilled, or somewhat must be assigned during the Second Temple, that will answer those solemn Expressions, which are plainly applicable to our Saviour, who was the Expectation of the *Gentiles*, by whom Peace was made, and in whom the Eternal Word dwelt in a manner infinitely more August than in the Cloud of Glory. *Zechary* propheſied, That *their King*, by which they understood the Messias, was to be *meek and lowly*, and that he was to make his Entrance in a very mean Appearance, *riding on an Ass*; but yet under that, he was to *bring Salvation to them*, and they were to *rejoyce greatly in him*. *Malachi* told them, That *the Lord whom they sought*, *even the Messenger of the Covenant in whom they delighted*, *should suddenly come into his Temple*; and that the Day of his coming was to be dreadful; that he was to *refine and purify*, in particular, *the Sons of Levi*; and a terrible Destruction is denounced after that. One Character of his coming, was, That *Elijah the Prophet* was to come before *that great and dreadful Day*, who should convert many, Old and Young. Now it is certain that no other Person came, during the Second Temple, to whom these Words can be applied; so that they were not accomplished, unless it was in the Person of our Saviour, to whom all these Characters do well agree.

Micah 5. 2. Hag. 2. 6, 7, 8, 9. Zech. 9. 9. Mal. 3. 1. Mal. 4. 1.

But to conclude with that Prophecy which of all others is the most particular: When *Daniel* at the End of the Seventy Years Captivity was interceeding for that Nation, an Angel was sent to him to tell him, That they were to have a new Period of *Seventy Weeks*, that is, Seven times Seventy Years, 490 Years; and that after Sixty two Weeks, *Messiah the Prince was to come*, *and to be cut off*; and that then the *People of a Prince should destroy the City and the Sanctuary*; and the *end of these was to be* as with *a Flood* or Inundation, and *Desolations*

Dan. 9. 24, 25, 26, 27.

were

were determined to the end of the War. They were to be destroyed by Abominable Armies, that is, by Idolatrous Armies: They were to be made desolate, till an utter End or *Consummation* should be made of them. The Pomp with which this Destruction is set forth, plainly shews, that the Final Ruin of the *Jews* by the *Roman* Armies is meant by it. From which it is justly inferred, not only that if that Vision was really sent from God by an Angel to *Daniel*, and in consequence to that was fulfilled, then the Messiah did come, and was cut off during the continuance of *Jerusalem* and the Temple; but that it happened within a Period of Time designed in that Vision. Time was then computed more certainly than it had been for many Ages before. Two great Measures were fixed; one at *Babylon* by *Nabonassor*, and another in *Greece* in the *Olympiads*. Here a Prediction is given almost Five hundred Years before the Accomplishment, with many very nice Reckonings in it. I will not now enter upon the Chronology of this matter, on which some Great Men have bestowed their Labours very happily. Archbishop *Usher* has stated this matter so, that the Interval of Time is clearly Four hundred eighty six Years. The Covenant was to be confirmed with many for one Week, in the midst of which God was to cause the Sacrifice and Oblation for Sin to cease; which seems to be a Mystical way of describing the Death of Christ that was to put an end to the Virtue of the *Judaical* Sacrifices; so Sixty nine Weeks and a half make just Four hundred eighty six Years and a half. But without going further into this Calculation, it is evident, That during the Second Temple, the Messias was to come, and to be cut off, and that soon after that a Prince was to send an Army to destroy both City and Sanctuary. The *Jews* do not so much as pretend that during that Temple the Messias thus set forth did come, or was cut off; so either the Prediction fail'd in the Event, or the Messiah did come within that Period. *Art.* 7.

And thus a Thread of the Prophecies of the Messias being carried down through the whole Old Testament, it seems to be fully made out, That he was to be of the Seed of *Abraham*, and of the Posterity of *David*: That the Tribe of *Judah* was to be a distinct Policy, till he should come: That he should work many Miracles: That he was to be Meek and Lowly: That his Function was to consist in Preaching to the Afflicted, and in comforting them: That he was to call the *Gentiles*, and even the remote Islands, to the knowledge of God: That he was to be born of a Virgin, and at *Bethlehem*: That he was to be a New Lawgiver, as *Moses* had been: That he was to settle his Followers upon a New Covenant, different from that made by *Moses*: That he was to come during the Second Temple: That he was to make a mean, but a joyful Entrance to *Jerusalem*: That he was to be cut off: That the Iniquities of us all were to be laid on him, and that his Life was to be made an Offering for Sin; but that God was to give him a glorious Reward for these his Sufferings; and that his Doctrine was to be internal, accompanied with a free Offer of Pardon, and of Inward Assistances; and that after his Death the *Jews* were to fall under a terrible Curse, and an utter Extirpation. When this is all summed up together, when it appears, That there was never any other Person to whom those Characters did agree; but that they did all meet in our Saviour, we see what Light the Old Testament

Art. 7. ſtament has given us in this matter. Here a Nation that hates us and our Religion, who are ſcattered up and down the World, who have been for many Ages without their Temple, and without their Sacrifices, without Prieſts, and without their Genealogies, who yet hold theſe Books among them in adue Veneration, which furniſh us with ſo full a proof, that the *Meſſiah* whom they ſtill look for, is the Lord Jeſus whom we worſhip.

We do now proceed to other matters.

The *Jews* pretend, That it is a great Argument againſt the Authority of the New Teſtament, becauſe it acknowledges the Old to be from God, and yet repeals the far greater part of the Laws Enacted in it; though thoſe Laws are often ſaid to be *Laws for ever*, and *throughout all Generations*. Now they ſeem to argue with ſome advantage, who ſay, That what God does declare to be a Law that ſhall be perpetual by any one Prophet, cannot be abrogated or reverſed by another, ſince that other can have no more Authority than the former Prophet had: And if both are of God, it ſeems the one cannot make void that which was formerly declared by the other in the Name of God. But it is to be conſidered, That by the Phraſes of *a Statute for ever*, *or throughout all Generations*, can only be meant, that ſuch Laws were not tranſient Laws, ſuch as were only to be obſerved whilſt they marched through the Wilderneſs, or upon particular occaſions; whereas ſuch Laws which were conſtantly and generally to be obſerved, were to them perpetual. But that does not Import that the Lawgiver himſelf had parted with all the Authority that naturally belongs to him, over his own Laws. It only ſays, That the People had no power over ſuch Laws to repeal or change them: They were to bind them always, but that puts no limitation on the Lawgiver himſelf, ſo that he might not alter his own Conſtitutions. Poſitive Precepts which have no real value in themſelves are of their own nature alterable: And as in human Laws the words of Enacting a Law for all future times do only make that to be a perpetual Law for the Subjects, but do not at all limit the Legiſlative power, which is as much at liberty to abrogate or alter it, as if no ſuch words had been in the Law. There are alſo many hints in the Old Teſtament, which ſhew that the Precepts of the Moſaical Law were to be altered: Many plain Intimations are given of a time and ſtate, in which the knowledge of God was to be ſpread over all the Earth: And that God was every where to be worſhipped. Now this was impoſſible to be done without a Change in their Law and Rituals: It being impoſſible that all the World ſhould go up thrice a Year to worſhip at *Jeruſalem*, or could be ſerved by Prieſts of the *Aaronical* Family. Circumciſion was a diſtinction of one particular Race which needed not to be continued after all were brought under one denomination, and within the ſame common Privileges.

Theſe things hitherto mentioned belong naturally to this part of the Article; yet in the intention of thoſe who framed it, theſe words relate to an extravagant ſort of Enthuſiaſts that lived in thoſe days; who abuſing ſome ill-underſtood Phraſes concerning Juſtification by Chriſt without the works of the Law, came to ſet up very wild Notions, which were bad in themſelves, but much more pernicious in their Conſequences. They therefore fancied that a Chriſtian was tied by no Law, as a Rule or Yoke; all theſe being taken away by Chriſt: They ſaid indeed, That a Chriſtian by his renova-

tion

tion became a Law to himſelf, he obeyed not any written Rule or Law, but a new inward Nature: And thus as it is ſaid that *Sadocus* miſtook his Maſter *Antigonus*, who taught his Diſciples to ſerve God, not for the hope of a Reward, but without any expectations, as if he by that Affectation of Sublimity had denied that there was any Reward, and from thence ſprung the Sect of the *Sadducees*: ſo theſe men, perhaps at firſt miſtaking the meaning of the New Teſtament, went wrong only in their Notions; and ſtill meant to preſs the neceſſity of true Holineſs, though in another ſet of Phraſes, and upon other Motives; yet from thence many wild and ungovern'd Notions aroſe then, and were not long ago revived among us: All which flowed from their not underſtanding the Importance of the Word *Law* in the New Teſtament, in which it ſtands moſt commonly for the complex of the whole *Jewiſh* Religion, in oppoſition to the Chriſtian; as the Word Law when it ſtands for a Book, is meant of the Five Books of *Moſes*. *Art.* 7.

The maintaining the whole frame of that Diſpenſation, in oppoſition to that Liberty which the Apoſtles granted to the *Gentiles*, as to the Ritual parts of it, was the Controverſy then in debate between the Apoſtles and the Judaizing Chriſtians. The ſtating that matter aright is a Key that will open all thoſe difficulties, which with it will appear eaſy, and without it inſuperable. In oppoſition to theſe, who thought then that the Old Teſtament, having brought the World on to the knowledge of the *Meſſias*, was now of no more uſe, this Article was framed.

The Second Part of the Article relates to a more Intricate Matter; and that is, whether in the Old Teſtament there were any promiſes made, other than Tranſitory or Temporal ones, and whether they might look for Eternal Salvation in that Diſpenſation, and upon what account? Whether Chriſt was the Mediator in that Diſpenſation, or if they were ſaved by Virtue of their Obedience to the Laws that were then given them. Thoſe who deny that Chriſt was truly God, think that in order to the raiſing him to thoſe great Characters in which he is propoſed in the New Teſtament, it is neceſſary to aſſert that he gave the firſt aſſurances of Eternal Happineſs, and of a free and full pardon of all Sins, in his Goſpel: And that in the Old Teſtament neither the one nor the other were certainly and diſtinctly underſtood.

It is true, That if we take the words of the Covenant that *Moſes* made between God and the People of *Iſrael* ſtrictly and as they ſtand, they Import only Temporal Bleſſings: That was a Covenant with a Body of Men and with their Poſterity as they were a People engaged to the Obedience of that Law. Now a National Covenant could only be eſtabliſh'd in Temporal promiſes of Publick and Viſible Bleſſings, and of a long continuance of them upon their Obedience, and in Threatnings of as ſignal Judgments upon the Violation of them: But under thoſe general promiſes of what was to happen to them Collectively, as they made up one Nation, every ſingle perſon among them might, and the good men among them did, gather the hopes of a future State. It is clear that *Moſes* did all along ſuppoſe the Being of God, the Creation of the World, and the promiſe of the Meſſias, as things fully known and carried down by Tradition to his days: So it ſeems he did alſo ſuppoſe the knowledge of a future State, which was then generally believed by the *Gentiles* as well as the *Jews*; though they had only dark and confuſed Notions about it. But when God was eſtabliſhing a Covenant with the *Jewiſh* Nation, a main part of which was his giving them the Land of *Canaan* for an Inheritance, it was not neceſſary that Eternal Rewards or Puniſhments ſhould be then propoſed to them: But from the Tenor of the promiſes made to their Forefathers, and from the General Principles of Natural Religion, not yet quite extinguiſhed among them,

Art. 7. they might gather this, That under those Carnal promises, Blessings of a higher nature were to be understood. And so we see that *David* had the hope of arriving *at the presence of God*, and *at his right hand*, where he believed there was *a fulness of joy, and pleasures for evermore:* And he puts himself in this opposition to the wicked, That whereas *their portion was in this life, and they left their substance to their Children;* he says, That as for him, he should *behold God's Face in righteousness*, and should *be satisfied when he awaked with his likeness;* which seems plainly to relate to a state after this Life, and to the Resurrection. He carries this opposition further in another Psalm, where after he had said, That *men in honour did not continue, but were like the beasts that perished: That none of them could purchase immortality for his brother, that he should still live for ever and not see Corruption: They all died and left their wealth to others, and like sheep they were laid in the grave, where death should feed on them.* In opposition to which he says, That *the upright should have dominion over them in the morning:* Which is clearly a Poetical Expression for another *day* that comes after the night of Death: As for himself in particular, he says, That *God shall redeem my Soul* (that is, his Life, or his Body, for in those senses the word *Soul* is used in the Old Testament) *from the power of the grave:* That is, from continuing in that state of death: for *he shall receive me.* This does very clearly set forth *David's* belief, both of future Happiness, and of the Resurrection of his Body. To which might be added some other passages in the *Psalms*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Isaiah*, and *Daniel:* In all which it appears, That the holy men in that Dispensation, did understand, That under those promises in the Books of *Moses* that seemed literally to belong to the Land of *Canaan*, and other Temporal Blessings, there was a Spiritual meaning hid, which it seems was conveyed down by that Succession of Prophets, that was among them, as the mystical sense of them.

Pf. 16. 11. Pf. 17. 14, 15. Pf. 49. 14, 15. Pf. 84. 11. 87. 6. 90. 17. 96. 17. Eccl. 11. 9. 12. 14. Isa. 25. 8. 26. 19. Dan. 12. 2.

It is to this that our Saviour seems to appeal, when the *Sadducees* came to puzzle him with that question of the seven Brethren, who had all married one Wife: He first tells them, *They erred, not knowing the Scriptures;* which plainly Imports, That the Doctrine which they denied, was contained in the Scriptures; and then he goes to prove it, not from those more express passages that are in the Prophets and Holy Writers, which as some think the *Sadducees* rejected; but from the *Law*, which being the Source of their Religion, it might seem a just prejudice against any Doctrine, especially if it was of great Consequence, that it was not contained in the *Law*. Therefore he cites these words that are so often repeated, and that were so much considered by the *Jews*, as containing in them the Foundation of God's love to them; that God said upon many occasions, particularly at his first appearance to *Moses*, *I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.* Which words imported, not only that God had been their God, but still was their God: Now when God is said to be a God to any, by that is meant, that he is their Benefactor, or *exceeding rich reward*, as was promised to *Abraham*. And that therefore *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob lived unto God*, that is, were not dead: But were then in a happy state of life, in which God did reward them, and so was their God. Whether this Argument rests here, our Saviour designing only to prove against the main error of the *Sadducees*, that we have Souls distinct from our Bodies, that shall outlive their separation from them; or if it goes further to prove the rising of the Body it self, I shall not determine. On the one hand our Saviour seems to apply himself particularly to prove the Resurrection of the Body; so we must see how to find here an Argument for that, to Answer the Scope of the whole Discourse: Yet on the other hand it may be said,

Matt. 22. 29. Ver. 31. 32. Exod. 3. 6.

That

that he having proved the main Point of the Soul's ſubſiſting after death, which is the Foundation of all Religion; the other Point, which was chiefly denied, becauſe that was thought falſe, would be more eaſily both acknowledged and believed. *Art.* 7.

As for the Reſurrection of the Body, all that can be brought from hence as an Argument to prove it, is, That ſince God was the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and by conſequence their Benefactor and Rewarder, and yet they were Pilgrims on this Earth, and ſuffered many Toſſings and Troubles, that therefore they muſt be rewarded in another State; or becauſe God promiſed that to them he would give the Land of *Canaan*, as well as to their Seed after them, and ſince they never had any Portion of it in their own poſſeſſion, that therefore they ſhall riſe again, and with the other Saints reign on Earth, and have that Promiſe fulfilled in themſelves.

From all this the Aſſertion of the Article is as to one main Point made good, That the Old Fathers look'd for more than Tranſitory Promiſes: It is alſo clear, That they looked for a further Pardon of Sin, than that which their Law held forth to them in the Expiation made by Sacrifices. Sins of Ignorance, or Sins of a lower ſort, were thoſe only for which *Sin* or *Treſpaſs-offerings* were appointed. The Sins of a higher Order were puniſhed by Death, by the Hand of Heaven, or by cutting off; ſo that ſuch as ſinned in that kind were to dye without Mercy: Yet when *David* had fallen into the moſt heinous of thoſe Sins, he prays to God for a Pardon, according to God's Loving-kindneſs, and the Multitude of his tender Mercies: For he knew that they were beyond the Expiation by Sacrifice. The Prophets do often call the *Jews* to repent of their Idolatry and other crying Sins, ſuch as Oppreſſion, Injuſtice, and Murder; with the Promiſe of the Pardon of them; even though they were of the deepeſt Dye, as Crimſon and Scarlet. Since then, for leſſer Sins an Expiation was appointed by Sacrifice, beſides their confeſſing and repenting of it; and ſince it ſeems by St. *Paul*'s way of arguing, that they held it for a Maxim, That *without ſhedding of blood there was no remiſſion of ſins*; this might naturally lead them to think that there was ſome other conſideration that was interpoſed in order to the pardoning of thoſe more heinous Sins: For a greater degree of Guilt ſeems by a natural Proportion to demand a higher degree of Sacrifice and Expiation. But after all, whatſoever *Iſaiah*, *Daniel*, or any other Prophet might have underſtood or meant by thoſe Sacrificatory Phraſes that they uſe in ſpeaking of the Meſſiah, yet it cannot be ſaid from the Old Teſtament, That in that Diſpenſation it was clearly revealed that the Meſſias was to die, and to become a Sacrifice for Sin: The Meſſias was indeed promiſed under general terms, but there was not then a full and explicite Revelation of his being to dye for the Redemption of Mankind: Yet ſince the moſt heinous Sins were then pardoned, though not by virtue of the Sacrifices of that Covenant, nor by the other means preſcribed in it, we have good reaſon to affirm, that according to this Article, Life was offered to Mankind in the Old Diſpenſation by Chriſt, who was with relation to the obtaining the Favour of God, and Everlaſting Life, the Mediator of that as well as of the New Diſpenſation. In the New Teſtament he is ſet in oppoſition to the Old *Adam, that as in the one all died, ſo in the other all were made alive:* Nor is it any way incongruous to ſay, That the Merit of his Death ſhould by an Anticipation have ſaved thoſe who died before he was born: For that being in the view of God as certain, before, as after it was done, it might be in the Divine Intention the Sacrifice for the Old, as well as it is expreſly declared to be the Sacrifice for the New Diſpenſation. And this being ſo, God might

Heb. 10. 28.

Pſal. 51. 1, 2, 16, 17.

Iſa. 1. 18.

Iſa. 53.

Dan. 9.

Art. 7. have pardoned Sins in consideration of it, even to those who had no distinct Apprehensions concerning it. For as God applies the Death of Christ by the secret Methods of Grace, to many Persons whose Circumstances do render them incapable of the express Acts of laying hold on it, the want of those (for instance, in Infants and Ideots) being supplied by the goodness of God: So though the Revelation that was made of the Messias to the Fathers under the Old Dispensation, was only in general and Prophetical Terms, of which they could not have a clear and distinct knowledge; yet his Death might be applied to them, and their Sins pardoned through him, upon their performing such Acts as were proportioned to that Dispensation, and to the Revelation that was then made: And so they were reconciled to God even after Sins, for which no Sacrifices were appointed by their Dispensation, upon their Repentance and Obedience to the Fœderal Acts and Conditions then required, which supplied the want of more express Acts with relation to the Death of Christ, not then distinctly revealed to them. But though the Old Fathers had a Conveyance of the Hope of Eternal Life made to them, with a Resurrection of their Bodies, and a Confidence in the Mercy of God, for pardoning the most heinous Sins; yet it cannot be denied, but that it was as *a light that shined in a dark place, till the* 2Pet.1.19. *day-star did arise*, and that Christ *brought life and immortality to light by his Gospel*; giving us fuller and clearer discoveries of it, both with relation to our Souls and Bodies; and that by him also God *has declared his right-* Rom. 3. 24, 25. *eousness for the remission of sins, through the forbearance of God, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, and through Faith in his blood.*

The Third Branch of this Article will not need much Explanation, as it will bear no dispute, except with *Jews*, who do not acknowledge the New Testament. The Ceremonial Parts of the *Mosaical* Law, which comprehends all both the Negative and the Positive Precepts, were enjoined the *Jews* either with relation to the Worship of God and Service at the Temple, or to their Persons and course of Life.

That which is not Moral of its own nature, or that had no relation to Civil Society, was commanded them, to separate them not only from the Idolatrous and Magical Practices of other Nations, but to distinguish them so entirely as to all their Customs, even in the Rules of Eating and of Cleanness, that they might have no familiar Commerce with other Nations, but live within and among themselves; since that was very likely to corrupt them, of which they had very large experience. Some of those Rituals were perhaps given them as Punishments for their frequent Revolts, and were as a Yoke upon them, who were so prone to Idolatry. They were as Rudiments and Remembrances to them: They were as it were subdued by a great variety of Precepts, which were matter both of much Charge and great Trouble to them: By these they were also amused; for it seems they did naturally love a Pompous Exterior in Religion: They were also by all that Train of Performances which were laid on them, kept in mind both of the great Blessings of God to them, and of the Obligations that lay on them towards God; and many of those, particularly their Sacrifices and Washings, were Typical. All this was proper and necessary to restrain and govern them, while they were the only People of the World that renounced Idolatry, and worshipped the true God: And therefore so soon as that of which they had an Emblem in the Structure of their Temple (of a Court of the *Gentiles* separated with a middle Wall of Partition, from the place in which the *Israelites* worshipped) was to be removed, and that the House of God was to become *a House of Prayer to all Nations*, then all those distinctions were to be laid aside, and all that Service was to determine and

come

come to an end. The Apoſtles did declare that the *Gentiles* were not to be brought under that heavy Yoke, which their Fathers were not able to bear; yet the Apoſtles themſelves, as born *Jews*, and while they lived among the *Jews*, did continue in the Obſervance of their Rites, as long as God ſeemed to be waiting for the Remnant of that Nation that was to be ſaved, before his Wrath came upon the reſt to the uttermoſt. They went to the Temple, they purified themſelves; and in a word, *to the Jews they became Jews*; and in this compliance, the firſt Converts of the *Jewiſh* Nation continued till the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; after which, it became impoſſible to obſerve the greateſt part of their moſt important Rituals, even all thoſe that were tied to the Temple. But that Nation loſing its Genealogies, and all the other Characters that they formerly had of a Nation under the Favour and Protection of God, could no more know after a few Ages, whether they were the Seed of *Abraham* or not, or whether there were any left among them of the Tribe of *Levi*, or of the Family of *Aaron*. So that now all thoſe Ceremonies are at an end; many of them are become impoſſible, and the reſt uſeleſs; as the whole was abrogated by the Authority of the Apoſtles, who being ſent of God, and proving their Miſſion by Miracles, as well as *Moſes* had done his; they might well have *looſed* and diſſolved thoſe Precepts upon Earth, upon which according to our Saviour's words, they are to be eſteemed as *looſed in Heaven*. *Art.* 7.

The Judiciary Parts of the Law were thoſe that related to them as they were a Society of Men, to whom God by a ſpecial Command gave Authority to drive out and deſtroy a wicked Race of People, and to poſſeſs their Land; which God appointed to be divided equally among them, and that every Portion ſhould be as a Perpetuity to a Family; ſo that though it might be mortaged out for a number of Years, yet it was afterwards to revert to the Family. Upon this bottom they were at firſt ſet; and they were ſtill to be preſerved upon it; ſo that many Laws were given them as they were a Civil Society, which cannot belong to any other Society: And therefore their whole Judiciary Law, except where any parts of it are founded on Moral Equity, was a complicated thing, and can belong to no other Nation, that is not in its firſt and eſſential Conſtitution made and framed as they were. For inſtance; The Prohibition of taking Uſe for Money, being a Mean to preſerve that Equality which was among them, and to keep any of them from becoming exceſſively rich, or others from becoming miſerably poor, this is by no means to be applied to other Conſtitutions, where men are left to their Induſtry, and neither have their Inheritance by a Grant from Heaven, nor are put by any ſpecial Appointment of God all upon a level. So that it is certain, and can bear no debate, That the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation, as to all the parts of it that are not of their own nature Moral, is determined and abrogated by the Goſpel. The Deciſions which the Apoſtles made in this matter are ſo clear, and for the Proof of them, the whole Tenor of the Epiſtles to the *Galatians* and the *Hebrews* is ſo full, that no doubt can reſt concerning this, with any man who reads them.

The laſt Branch of the Article that remains to be conſidered, is concerning the Moral Law, by which the Ten Commandments are meant, together with all ſuch Precepts as do belong to them, or are Corollaries ariſing out of them. By *Moral Law* is to be underſtood, in oppoſition to *Poſitive*, a Law which has an antecedent Foundation in the nature of things, that ariſes from Eternal Reaſon, is ſuitable to the Frame and Powers of our Souls, and is neceſſary for maintaining Human Society. All ſuch Laws are commanded, becauſe they are in themſelves good, and ſuitable to the

ſtate

Art. 7. ſtate in which God has put us here. The two Sources out of which all the Notions of Morality flow, are firſt the conſiderations of our ſelves as we are ſingle Individuals, and that with relation both to Soul and Body; and next, the conſideration of Human Society, what is neceſſary for the Peace and Order, the Safety and Happineſs of Mankind. There are two Orders of Moral Precepts; ſome relate to things that of their own nature are inflexibly good or evil, ſuch as Truth and Falſhood; whereas other things by a variety of Circumſtances may ſo change their nature, that they may be either morally good or evil: A merciful or generous Temper is always a good Moral Quality, and yet it may run to exceſſes: There may be many things that are not unalterably Moral in themſelves, which yet may be fit Subjects of perpetual Laws about them. For inſtance; in the Degrees of Kindred with relation to Marriage, there are no degrees but direct Aſcendents or Deſcendents, that is, Parents and Children, that by an Eternal Reaſon can never marry; for where there is a Natural Subordination, there can never be ſuch an Equality as that ſtate of Life requires: But Collateral Degrees, even the neareſt, Brothers and Siſters, are not by any Natural Law barred Marriage, and therefore in a caſe of neceſſity they might marry: Yet ſince their intermarrying muſt be attended with vaſt Inconveniences, and would tend to the Defilement of Families, and hinder the Conjunction of Mankind by the Intermixture of different Families; it becomes therefore a fit Subject for a perpetual Law, to ſtrike a horror at the thought of ſuch Commixtures, and ſo to keep the World pure, which conſidering the Freedoms in which thoſe of the ſame Family do live, could not be preſerved without ſuch a Law. It is alſo the Intereſt of Mankind, and neceſſary for the careful Education of the riſing Generation, that Marriages ſhould be for Life; for if it were free for married Perſons to ſeparate at pleaſure, the Iſſue of Marriages ſo broken would be certainly much neglected: And ſince a Power to break a Marriage would naturally inflame ſuch little quarrelings as may happen among all Perſons that live together, which will on the contrary be certainly repreſſed, when they know that the Marriage cannot be diſſolved, and when by ſuch a Diſſolution of Marriages, the one half of the Human Species, I mean Womankind, is expoſed to great Miſeries, and ſubject to much Tyranny, it is a fit Subject for a perpetual Law; ſo that it is Moral in a Secondary Order. It were eaſy to give Inſtances of this in many more Particulars, and to ſhew, That a Precept may be ſaid to be *Moral*, when there is a Natural Suitableneſs in it to advance that which is *Moral* in the firſt Order, and that it cannot be well preſerved without ſuch a Support. It will appear what occaſion there is for this diſtinction, when we conſider the Ten Commandments; which are ſo many Heads of Morality, that are inſtanced in the higheſt act of a kind; and to which are to be reduced all ſuch acts as by the juſt Proportions of Morality belong to that Order and Series of Actions.

The Foundation of Morality is Religion. The Senſe of God, That he is, and that he is both a Rewarder and a Puniſher, is the Foundation of Religion. Now this muſt be ſuppoſed as Antecedent to his Laws, for we regard and obey them from the perſuaſion that is formed in us concerning the Being and the Juſtice of God; The two firſt Commandments are againſt the two different ſorts of Idolatry; which are, the worſhipping of Falſe Gods, or the worſhipping the True God in a Corporeal Figure: The one is the giving the Honour of the True God to an Idol, and the other is the depreſſing the True God to the reſemblance of an Idol. Theſe were the two great Branches of Idolatry, by which the true Ideas of God were

corrupted

corrupted. Religion was by them corrupted in its Source. No body can question but that it is Immoral to worship a False God; it is a transferring the Honour which belongs immediately and singly to the Great God, to a Creature, or to some Imaginary Thing which never had a real Existence. This is the robbing God of what is due to him, and the exalting another thing to a degree and rank that cannot belong to it. Nor is it less immoral to propose the Great and True God to be worshipped under Appearances that are derogatory to his Nature, that tend to give us low Thoughts of him, and that make us think him like, if not below our selves. This way of worshipping him is both unsutable to his nature, and unbecoming ours; while we pay our Adorations to that which is the work of an Artificer. This is confirmed by those many expres's Prohibitions in Scripture, to which Reasons are added, which shew that the thing is Immoral in its own nature: It being often repeated, that no Similitude of God was ever seen: And *to whom will ye liken me:* All things in Heaven and Earth are often called the *work of his hands:* Which are plain Indications of a Moral Precept, when Arguments are framed from the Nature of Things to enforce Obedience to it. The Reason given in the very Command it self, is taken from the Nature of God, who is jealous; that is, so tender of his Glory, that he will not suffer a diminution of it to go unpunished; and if this Precept is clearly founded upon Natural Justice, and the proportion that ought to be kept between all Human Acts and their Objects, then it must be perpetual: And that the rather, because we do plainly see that the Gospel is a refining upon the Law of *Moses*, and does exalt it to a higher pitch of Sublimity and Purity: And by consequence the Ideas of God, which are the first Seeds and Principles of Religion, are to be kept yet more pure and undefiled in it, than they were in a lower Dispensation. *Art.* 7.

The Third Precept is against false Swearing: For the Word *Vain* is often used in the Scripture in that sense: And since in all the other Commandments, the Sin which is named is not one of the lowest, but of the chief Sins that relate to that Head; there is no reason therefore to think, That *Vain* or Idle Swearing, which is a Sin of a lower Order should be here meant, and not rather false Swearing, which is the highest Sin of the kind. The Morality of this Command is very apparent; for since God is the God of Truth, and every Oath is an Appeal to him, therefore it must be a gross Wickedness to Appeal to God, or to call him to vouch for our lies. Ex. 23. 1. Lev. 19. 12. Mat. 5. 33.

The Fourth Commandment cannot be called Moral in the first and highest sense; for from The Nature of Things no reason can be assigned, Why the Seventh day, rather than the Sixth, or the Eighth, or any other day, should be separated from the common business of Life, and applied to the Service of God. But it is Moral that a man should pay homage to his Maker, and acknowledge him in all his works and ways: And since our Senses and sensible Objects are apt to wear better things out of our Thoughts, it is necessary that some solemn Times should be set apart for full and copious Meditations on these Subjects: This should be universal, lest if the Time were not the same every where; the Business of some men might interfere with the Devotions of others. It ought to have such an eminent Character on it, like a cessation from Business: Which may both awaken a curiosity to enquire into the reason of that stop, and also may give opportunity for Meditations and Discourses on those Subjects. It is also clear, That such days of rest must not return so oft, that the necessary Affairs of Life should be stopt by them,

nor

Art. 7. nor ſo ſeldom that the Impreſſions of Religion ſhould wear out, if they were too ſeldom awakened: But what is the proper proportion of Time, that can beſt agree both with mens Bodies and Minds, is only known to the great Author of Nature. Howſoever, from what has been ſaid, it appears that this is a very fit matter to be fixed by ſome ſacred and perpetual Law, and that from the firſt Creation; becauſe there being then no other method for conveying down Knowledge, beſides Oral Tradition, it ſeems as highly congruous to that State of Mankind, as it is agreeable to the words in *Geneſis*, to believe That God ſhould then have appointed one day in ſeven for commemorating the Creation, and for acknowledging the great Creator of all things. But though it ſeems very clear, that here a perpetual Law was given the World for the ſeparating the Seventh day; yet it was a meer Circumſtance, and does not at all belong to the ſtanding uſe of the Law, in what end of the Week this day was to be reckoned, Whether the firſt or the laſt: So that even a leſs Authority than the Apoſtles, and a leſs occaſion than the Reſurrection of Chriſt, might have ſerved to have transferred the day. There being in this no Breach made on the good and moral deſign of this Law, which is all in it that we ought to reckon ſacred and unalterable: The degree of the Reſt might be alſo more ſeverely urged under the Moſaical Law, than either before it or after it. Our Saviour having given plain Intimations of an Abatement of that rigour, by this general Rule, That *the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.* We who are called to a ſtate of freedom, are not under ſuch a ſtrictneſs as the *Jews* were. Still the Law ſtands for ſeparating a Seventh day from the common Buſineſs of Life, and applying it to a Religious reſt, for acknowledging at firſt the Creator, and now by a higher Relation, the Redeemer of the World.

Mark 2. 27.

Theſe Four Commandments make the firſt Table, and were generally reckoned as four diſtinct Commandments, till the *Roman* Church having a mind to make the Second diſappear, threw it in as an Appendix to the Firſt, and then left it quite out in her Catechiſms: Though it is plain that theſe Commandments relate to two very different Matters, the one being in no ſort included in the other. Certainly they are much more different than the coveting the Neighbour's Wife is from the coveting any of his other concerns: Which are plainly two different Acts of the ſame Species: And the *Houſe* being ſet before the *Wife* in *Exodus* (though it comes after it in *Deuteronomy*, which being a repetition, is to be governed by *Exodus*, and not *Exodus* by it) ſtands for the whole Subſtance, which is afterwards branched out in the particulars; and ſo it is clear that there is no colour for dividing this in two: But the firſt two Commandments relating to things of ſuch a different ſort, as is the worſhipping of more Gods than one, and the worſhipping the true God in an Image, ought ſtill to be reckoned as different: And though the reaſon given from the Jealouſy and Juſtice of God, may relate equally to both, yet that does not make them otherwiſe one, than as both might be reduced to one common Head of Idolatry, ſo that both were to be equally puniſhed.

Exod. 20. 17. Deut. 5. 21.

In the Second Table this Order is to be obſerved. There are Four Branches of a man's Property to which every thing that he can call his own may be reduced: His Perſon, his Wife and Children, his Goods, and his Reputation: So there is a Negative precept given to ſecure him in every one of theſe, againſt Killing, committing Adultery, Stealing, and bearing falſe Witneſs: To which as the chief acts of their kind, are to be reduced all thoſe acts that may belong to thoſe Heads: Such as Injuries to a man in his perſon, though not carried on nor deſigned to kill him; every Temptation

tion to uncleanneſs, and all thoſe exceſſes that lead to it; every act of Injuſtice, and every Lye or Defamation: To theſe Four are added two Fences; the one Exterior, the other Interior. The Exterior is the ſettling the Obedience and Order that ought to be obſerved in Families, according to the Law of Nature: And by a parity of Reaſon, if Families are under a Conſtitution, where the Government is made as a common Parent, the eſtabliſhing the Obedience to the Civil Powers, or to ſuch Orders of Men who may be made as Parents, with Relation to Matters of Religion: This is the Foundation of Peace and Juſtice, of the ſecurity and happineſs of Mankind: And therefore it was very proper to begin the Second Table, and thoſe Laws that relate to human Society, with this: without which the World would be like a Foreſt, and Mankind like ſo many Savages running wildly through it. *Art.* 7.

The laſt Commandment, is an inward Fence to the Law: It checks Deſires, and reſtrains the Thoughts: If free Scope ſhould be given to theſe, as they would very often carry men to unlawful Actions, for a man is very apt to do that which he deſires, ſo they muſt give great diſturbance to thoſe that are haunted or overcome by them. And therefore as a mean both to ſecure the quiet of mens minds, and to preſerve the World from the ill effects which ſuch deſires might naturally have, this ſpecial Law is given; *Thou ſhalt not covet.* It will not be eaſy to prove it *Moral* in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, yet in a Secondary Order it may be well called *Moral*: The Matter of it being ſuch both with relation to our ſelves and others, that it is a very proper Subject for a perpetual Law to be made about it. And yet as St. *Paul* ſays, he had not known it to be a Sin, if it had not been for the Law that forbids it; for after all that can be ſaid, it will not be eaſy to prove it to be of its own nature Moral. Thus by the help of that diſtinction, of what is Moral in a primary, and in a ſecondary Order, the Morality of the Ten Commandments is demonſtrated. Rom. 7. 7.

That this Law obliges *Chriſtians* as well as *Jews*, is evident from the whole Scope of the New Teſtament. Inſtead of derogating from the Obligation of any part of that Law, our Saviour after he had affirmed, That *he came not to diſſolve the Law, but to fulfil it*, and *that Heaven and Earth might paſs away, but that one tittle of the Law ſhould not paſs away*; he went through a great many of thoſe Laws, and ſhewed how far he extended the Commentary he put upon them, and the Obligations that he laid upon his Diſciples, beyond what was done by the *Jewiſh* Rabbies: All the reſt of his Goſpel, and the Writings of his Apoſtles agree with this, in which there is not a Tittle that looks like a ſlackning of it, but a great deal to the contrary: A ſtrictneſs that reaches to idle Words, to paſſionate Thoughts, and to all impure Deſires, being enjoined as indiſpenſably neceſſary; for *without holineſs no man can ſee the Lord.* Matth. 5. 17, 18.

And thus every thing relating to this Article is conſidered, and I hope both explained and proved.

ARTICLE VIII.
Of the Three Creeds.

The Three Creeds, Nice Creed, Athanaſius Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apoſtles Creed, ought throughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by moſt certain Warrants of Holy Scripture.

ALthough no doubt ſeems to be here made, of the Names or Deſignations given to thoſe Creeds, except of that which is aſcribed to the Apoſtles, yet none of them are named with any exactneſs: Since the Article of the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and all that follows it, is not in the *Nicene* Creed, but was uſed in the Church as a part of it; for ſo it is in *Epiphanius*, before the Second General Council at *Conſtantinople*; and it was confirmed and eſtabliſhed in that Council: Only the Article of the Holy Ghoſt's *proceeding from the Son*, was afterwards added firſt in *Spain*, *Anno* 447. which ſpread it ſelf over all the *Weſt*: So that the Creed here called the *Nice* Creed, is indeed the *Conſtantinopolitan* Creed, together with the Addition of *Filioque* made by the *Weſtern* Church. That which is called *Athanaſius*'s Creed is not his neither; for as it is not among his Works, ſo that great Article of the Chriſtian Religion having been ſettled at *Nice*, and he and all the reſt of the Orthodox referring themſelves always to the Creed made by that Council, there is no reaſon to imagine that he would have made a Creed of his own; beſides, that not only the *Macedonian*, but both the *Neſtorian* and the *Eutychian* Hereſies are expreſly condemned by this Creed, and yet thoſe Authorities never being urged in thoſe Diſputes, it is clear from thence, that no ſuch Creed was then known in the World; as indeed it was never heard of before the Eighth Century; and then it was given out as the Creed of *Athanaſius*, or as a Repreſentation of his Doctrine, and ſo it grew to be received by the *Weſtern* Church; perhaps the more early, becauſe it went under ſo great a Name, in Ages that were not Critical enough to judge of what was genuine, and what was ſpurious.

In Ancho-reto.

There is one great difficulty that ariſes out of ſeveral Expreſſions in this Creed, in which it is ſaid, That *whoſoever will be ſaved, muſt believe it*; That the Belief of it is *neceſſary to Salvation*; and that ſuch as do not *hold it pure and undefiled*, ſhall without doubt *periſh everlaſtingly*: Where many Explanations of a Myſtery hard to be underſtood, are made indiſpenſably neceſſary to Salvation; and it is affirmed, That all ſuch as do not ſo believe, muſt periſh everlaſtingly. To this two Anſwers are made: 1. That it is only the Chriſtian Faith in general that is hereby meant, and not every Period and Article of this Creed; ſo that all thoſe ſevere Expreſſions are thought to import only the neceſſity of believing the Chriſtian Religion: But this ſeems forced; for the words that follow, *And the Catholick Faith is*, do ſo plainly determine the ſignification of that word to the Explanation that comes after, that the word *Catholick Faith*, in the firſt Verſe, can be no other than the ſame word, as it is defined in the third and following Verſes; ſo that this Anſwer ſeems not natural. 2. The common Anſwer in which the moſt Eminent Men of this Church, as far as the Memory of all ſuch as I have known, could go up, have agreed, is this, That theſe Condemnatory Expreſſions are only to be underſtood to relate to thoſe who having the Means of Inſtruction offered to them, have rejected them, and have ſtifled their own Convictions, holding the Truth in Unrighteouſneſs, and chuſing darkneſs rather than light: Upon ſuch as do thus reject this great Article of the Chriſtian Doctrine, concerning One God and Three Perſons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and that other concerning the Incarnation of Chriſt, by which

which God and Man were ſo united as to make one Perſon, together with the other Doctrines that follow theſe, are thoſe Anathemaes denounced: Not ſo as if it were hereby meant, that every man who does not believe this in every tittle muſt certainly periſh, unleſs he has been furniſhed with ſufficient means of conviction, and that he has rejected them, and hardned himſelf againſt them. The Wrath of God is *revealed againſt all ſin*, and *the wages of ſin is Death*: So that every Sinner has the Wrath of God abiding on him, and is in a ſtate of Damnation; yet a ſincere Repentance delivers him out of it, even though he lives and dies in ſome ſins of Ignorance; which though they may make him liable to damnation, ſo that nothing but true Repentance can deliver him from it; yet a general Repentance, when it is alſo ſpecial for all known ſins, does certainly deliver a man from the guilt of unknown ſins, and from the Wrath of God due to them. God only knows our hearts, the degrees of our knowledge, and the meaſure of our obſtinacy, and how far our Ignorance is affected or invincible, and therefore he will deal with every man according to what he has received. So that we may believe that ſome Doctrines are neceſſary to Salvation, as well as that there are ſome Commandments neceſſary for Practice; and we may alſo believe that ſome Errors as well as ſome Sins are excluſive of Salvation; all which imports no more than that we believe ſuch things are ſufficiently revealed, and that they are neceſſary Conditions of Salvation; but by this we do not limit the Mercies of God towards thoſe who are under ſuch darkneſs as not to be able to ſee through it, and to diſcern and acknowledge theſe Truths. It were indeed to be wiſhed, that ſome expreſs Declaration to this purpoſe were made by thoſe who have Authority to do it: But in the mean while, this being the Senſe in which the Words of this Creed are univerſally taken, and it agreeing with the Phraſeology of the Scripture upon the like occaſions, this is that which may be reſted upon. And allowing this large Explanation of theſe ſevere words, the reſt of this Creed imports no more than the Belief of the Doctrine of the Trinity, which has been already proved, in treating of the former Articles. *Art.* 8.

As for the Creed called the Apoſtles Creed, there is good reaſon for ſpeaking ſo doubtfully of it as the Article does, ſince it does not appear that any determinate Creed was made by them: None of the firſt Writers agree in delivering their Faith in a certain Form of Words; every one of them gives an Abſtract of his Faith, in Words that differ both from one another, and from this Form. From thence it is clear that there was no common Form delivered to all the Churches: And if there had been any Tradition after the Times of the Council of *Nice*, of ſuch a Creed compoſed by the Apoſtles, the *Arians* had certainly put the chief ſtrength of their Cauſe on this, That they adhered to the Apoſtles Creed, in oppoſition to the Innovations of the *Nicene* Fathers: There is therefore no reaſon to believe that this Creed was prepared by the Apoſtles, or that it was of any great Antiquity, ſince *Ruffin* was the firſt that publiſhed it. It is true, he publiſhed it as the Creed of the Church of *Aquileia*; but that was ſo late, that neither this nor the other Creeds have any Authority upon their own account. Great Reſpect is indeed due to things of ſuch Antiquity, and that have been ſo long in the Church; but after all, we receive thoſe Creeds, not for their own ſakes, nor for the ſake of thoſe who prepared them, but for the ſake of the Doctrine that is contained in them; becauſe we believe that the Doctrine which they declare, is contained in the Scriptures, and chiefly that which is the main Intent of them, which is to aſſert and profeſs the Trinity, therefore we do receive them; tho we muſt acknowledge that the Creed aſcribed to *Athanaſius*, as it was none of his, ſo it was never eſtabliſhed by any General Council.

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth-Sin.

Original Sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians **do vainly talk**) **but it is the fault or corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendred of the Offspring of** Adam, **whereby man is very far gone from Original Righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the Flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit, and therefore in every Person born into the World it deserveth God's Wrath and Damnation: And this Infection of Nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the Lust of the Flesh, called in** Greek φρόνημα σαρκὸς, **which some do expound the Wisdom, some Sensuality, some the Affection, some the Desire of the Flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And though there is no Condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, That Concupiscence and Lust hath of it self the nature of Sin.**

AFter the First Principles of the Christian Religion are stated, and the Rule of Faith and Life was setled; the next thing that was to be done, was to declare the special Doctrines of this Religion; and that first with relation to all Christians, as they are single Individuals, for the directing every one of them in order to the working out his own Salvation; which is done from this to the Nineteenth Article: And then with relation to them as they compose a Society called the Church; which is carried on from the Nineteenth to the End.

In all that has been hitherto explained, the whole Church of *England* has been all along of one mind. In this and in some that follow, there has been a greater diversity of Opinion; but both sides have studied to prove their Tenets to be at least not contrary to the Articles of the Church. These different Parties have disputed concerning the Decrees of God, and those Assistances which pursuant to his Decrees are afforded to us. But because the Foundation of those Decrees, and the Necessity of those Assistances, are laid in the Sin of *Adam*, and in the Effects it had on Mankind, therefore these Controversies begin on this Head. The *Pelagians* and the *Socinians* agree in saying, That *Adam*'s Sin was Personal: That by it, as being the first Sin, it is said that Sin *entred into the World:* But that as *Adam* was made mortal, and had died whether he had sinned or not; so they think the liberty of Human Nature is still entire; and that every man is punished for his own sins, and not for the sin of another; to do otherwise, they say, seems contrary to Justice, not to say, Goodness.

Rom. 5. 12.

In opposition to this, *Judgment* is said to have *come upon many to condemnation through one* (either Man or Sin.) *Death* is said *to have reigned by one*, and *by one man's offence*; and *many are* said to be *dead through the offence of one.* All these Passages do intimate that death is the consequence of *Adam*'s Sin; and that in him, as well as in all others, *Death* was the Wages of *Sin*, so also that we dye upon the account of his Sin. We are said to bear the *Image of the first Adam*, as true Christians bear the *Image of the second:* Now we are sure that there is both a derivation of Righteousness, and a Communication of Inward Holiness transferred to us through Christ: So it seems to follow from thence, that there is somewhat both transferred to us, and conveyed down through

ver. 15.

1 Cor 15. 49.

through Mankind, by the first *Adam*; and particularly that by it we are all made subject to *Death*; from which we should have been freed, if *Adam* had continued in his first state, and that by virtue of the *Tree of Life*: in which some think there was a natural Virtue to cure all Diseases, and relieve against all Accidents; while others do ascribe it to a Divine Blessing, of which that Tree was only the Symbol or *Sacrament*; though the words said after *Adam*'s sin, as the reason of driving him out of Paradise, lest he put forth his hand and *take of the Tree of Life, and eat, and live for ever*, seem to import that there was a Physical Virtue in the Tree, that could so fortify and restore Life, as to give Immortality. These do also think that the Threatning made to *Adam*, That upon his eating the forbidden Fruit he should surely dye, is to be taken literally, and is to be carried no further than to a Natural Death. This Subjection to Death, and to the Fear of it, brings men under a slavish Bondage, many Terrors, and other Passions and Miseries that arise out of it, which they think is a great Punishment; and that it is a Condemnation and Sentence of Death passed upon the whole Race; and by this they are *made sinners*, that is, treated as guilty Persons, and severely punished. *Art.* 9. Gen 3. 22.

This they think is easily enough reconciled with the Notions of Justice and Goodness in God, since this is only a Temporary Punishment relating to mens Persons: And we see in the common methods of Providence, that Children are in this sort often punished for the sins of their Fathers; most men that come under a very ill habit of Body, transmit the Seeds of Diseases and Pains to their Children. They do also think that the Communication of this liableness to death is easily accounted for; and they imagine that as the Tree of Life might be a Plant that furnished men with an Universal Medicine, so the forbidden Fruit might derive a slow Poyson into *Adam*'s Body, that might have exalted and inflamed his Blood very much, and might, though by a slower operation, certainly brought on death at the last. Our being thus adjudged to Death, and to all the Miseries that accompany Mortality, they think may be well called the *wrath of God, and damnation*: So Temporary Judgments are often expressed in Scripture. And to this they add, That Christ has entirely redeemed us from this, by the Promise he has given us of raising us up at the Last Day: And that therefore when St. *Paul* is so copiously discoursing of the Resurrection, he brings this in, That as we have born the *image of the first Adam, who was earthy*, so we shall also *bear the image of the heavenly*; and *since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection from the dead*; and that *as in Adam all dye, so in Christ shall all be made alive*; and that this is the Universal Redemption and Reparation that all mankind shall have in Christ Jesus. All this these Divines apprehend is conceivable, and no more; therefore they put Original Sin in this only, for which they pretend they have all the Fathers with them before St. *Austin*, and particularly St. *Chrysostom* and *Theodoret*, from whom all the latter *Greeks* have done little more than copied out their words. This they do also pretend comes up to the words of the Article; for as this general adjudging of all men to dye, may be called, according to the Stile of the Scriptures, *God*'s *wrath and damnation*; so the fear of Death, which arises out of it, corrupts mens Natures, and inclines them to evil. 1 Cor. 15. 21, 22. In Ep. ad Rom. passim.

Others do so far approve of all this, as to think that it is a part of Original Sin, yet they believe it goes much farther; and that there is a Corruption spread through the whole Race of Mankind, which is born with every man. This the Experience of all Ages teaches us but too evidently; every man feels it in himself, and sees it in others. The Philosophers, who were sensible of it, thought to avoid the difficulty that arises from it, when it might be urged, That a good God could not make men

Art. 9. men to be Originally depraved and wicked; they therefore fancied that all our Souls pre-exiſted in a former and purer ſtate, from which they fell, by deſcending too much into Corporeal pleaſure, and ſo both by a lapſe and for a puniſhment, they ſunk into groſſer Bodies, and fell differently according to the different degrees of the Sins they had committed in that ſtate: And they thought that a Virtuous Life did raiſe them up to their former pitch, as a Vicious one would ſink them lower, into more depraved and more miſerable Bodies. All this may ſeem plauſible: But the beſt that can be ſaid for it, is, That it is an Hypotheſis that ſaves ſome difficulties; but there is no ſort of proofs to make it appear to be true. We neither perceive in our ſelves any remembrances of ſuch a ſtate, nor have we any warning given us either of our fall, or of the means of recovering out of it: So ſince there is no reaſon to affirm this to be true, we muſt ſeek for ſome other ſource of the Corruption of human Nature. The *Manichees* imputed it to the Evil God, and thought it was his work, which ſome ſay might have ſet on St. *Auſtin* the more earneſtly to look for another Hypotheſis to reconcile all.

But before we go to that, it is certain, that in Scripture this general Corruption of our Nature is often mentioned. *The Imaginations of man's thoughts are only evil continually: What man is he that liveth and ſinneth not? The juſt man falleth ſeven times a day: The heart of man is deceitful above all things, and deſperately wicked, who can know it? All that are in Chriſt muſt become new Creatures, old things muſt be done away, and every thing muſt become new. God made man upright, but he ſought out to himſelf many Inventions. The Fleſh is weak; The Fleſh luſteth againſt the Spirit; The carnal mind is enmity to the law of God, and is not ſubject to the law of God, neither indeed can be:* And *they that are in the Fleſh cannot pleaſe God:* Where by *Fleſh* is to be meant the natural State of Mankind, according to thoſe words, *That which is born of the Fleſh, is Fleſh; and that which is born of the Spirit, is Spirit.* Theſe, with many other places of Scripture to the ſame purpoſe, when they are joined to the univerſal Experience of all Mankind, concerning the Corruption of our whole Race, lead us to ſettle this point, that in Fact it has over-run our whole kind, the contagion is ſpread over all. Now this being ſetled, we are next to enquire, how this could happen; We cannot think that God made men ſo: For it is expreſly ſaid, That *God made man after his own Image.*

Gen. 6. 5. 8. 21. 1 Kings 8. 46. Prov. 24. 16. Jer. 17. 9. 2 Cor. 5. 17. Eccl. 7. 20. Gal. 5. 17. Rom. 8. 7, 8. John 3. 6. Gen. 1 27.

The ſureſt way to find out what this *Image* was at firſt, is to conſider, What the New Teſtament ſays of it, when we come to be reſtored to it. *We muſt put on the new man, after the Image of him that created him*; or as elſewhere, the *new man in righteouſneſs and true holineſs.* This then was the *Image of God*, in which man was at firſt made. Nor ought the Image of God to be conſidered only as an Expreſſion that imports only our repreſenting him here on Earth, and having Dominion over the Creatures: For in *Geneſis* the Creation of Man in the Image of God, is expreſſed as a thing different from his Dominion over the Creatures, which ſeems to be given to him as a conſequent of it. The Image of God ſeems to be this, That the Soul of Man was a Being of another Sort and Order than all thoſe material Beings till then made, which were neither capable of Thought nor Liberty, in which reſpect the Soul was made after the *Image of God.* But *Adam*'s Soul being put in his Body, his Brain was a *Tabula raſa*, as White Paper, had no Impreſſions in it, but ſuch as either God put in it, or ſuch as came to him by his ſenſes. A Man born deaf and blind, newly come to hear and ſee, is not a more Ignorant and Amazed-like Creature than *Adam* muſt have been, if God had not conveyed ſome great impreſſions into him;

Eph. 4. 22, 24. Gen. 1. 27, 28.

ſuch

ſuch as firſt the acknowledging and obeying him as his Maker; and then the managing his Body ſo as to make it an Inſtrument, by which he could make uſe of and obſerve the Creation. There is no reaſon to think that his Body was at firſt inclined to Appetite, and that his Mind was apt to ſerve his Body, but that both were reſtrained by ſupernatural Aſſiſtances: It is much more natural and more agreeable to the words of the *Wiſe-man*, to think that *God made man upright*, that his Body craved modeſtly, and that his Mind was both Judge and Maſter of thoſe cravings; and if a natural Hypotheſis may be offered, but only as an Hypotheſis, it may be ſuppoſed, That a Man's blood was naturally low and cool, but that it was capable of a vaſt Inflammation and Elevation, by which a man's powers might be exalted to much higher degrees of Knowledge and Capacity: The Animal Spirits receiving their Quality from that of the Blood, a new and a ſtrong Fermentation in the Blood, might raiſe them, and by conſequence exalt a man to a much greater ſublimity of Thought: But with that it might diſpoſe him to be eaſily inflamed by Appetites and Paſſions, it might put him under the power of his Body, and make his Body much more apt to be fired at outward Objects, which might ſink all Spiritual and pure Ideas in him, and raiſe groſs ones with much Fury and Rapidity. Hereby his whole frame might be much corrupted, and that might go ſo deep in him, that all thoſe who deſcended from him, might be defiled by it, as we ſee Madneſs and ſome Chronical Diſeaſes paſs from Parents to their Children. *Art.* 9.

All this might have been natural, and as much the Phyſical effect of Eating the forbidden Fruit, as it ſeems Immortality would have been that of Eating the Fruit of the Tree of Life: This might have been in its nature a ſlow poiſon, which muſt end in Death at laſt. It may be very eaſy to make all this appear probable from Phyſical Cauſes. A very ſmall Accident may ſo alter the whole Maſs of the Blood, that in a very few Minutes it may be totally changed; ſo the Eating the forbidden Fruit might have, by a natural chain of things, produced all this. But this is only an Hypotheſis, and ſo is left as ſuch. All the Aſſiſtance that Revealed Religion can receive from Philoſophy, is to ſhew, That a reaſonable Hypotheſis can be offered upon Phyſical Principles, to ſhew the poſſibility, or rather probability of any particulars that are contained in the Scriptures. This is enough to ſtop the mouths of Deiſts, which is all the uſe that can be made of ſuch Schemes.

To return to the main Point of the Fall of *Adam*: He himſelf was made liable to Death. But not barely to ceaſe to live: for Death and Life are terms oppoſite to one another in Scripture. In Treating upon theſe Heads it is ſaid, That *the wages of ſin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life.* Rom. 6. 23. And though the addition of the word *Eternal*, makes the Signification of the one more expreſs, yet where it is mentioned without that addition, no doubt is to be made, but that it is to be ſo meant: As where it is ſaid, That *to be carnally minded is death, but to be ſpiritually minded is life and peace*: And *believing, we have life through his Name*: *Ye will not come unto me that ye may have life.* So by the rule of Oppoſites, *Death* ought to be underſtood, as a word of a general Signification, which we who have the Comment of the New Teſtament to guide us in underſtanding the Old, are not to reſtrain to a natural Death; and therefore when we are ſaid to be *the ſervants of ſin unto death*, we underſtand much more by it, than a natural Death: So God's threatning of *Adam* with *Death*, ought not to be reſtrained to a *natural Death*. *Adam* being thus defiled, all Emanations from him muſt partake of that vitiated State to which he had brought himſelf. But then the Queſtion remains, How came the Souls of his Poſterity to be defiled; for if they were created pure, it ſeems to be an unjuſt Rom. 8. 6. Joh. 20. 31. Joh. 5. 40.

Cruelty

Art. 9. Cruelty to them, to condemn them to ſuch an Union to a defiled Body, as ſhould certainly corrupt them? All that can be ſaid in Anſwer to this, is, That God has ſetled it as a Law in the Creation, That a Soul ſhould inform a Body according to the Texture of it, and either conquer it, or be maſtered by it, as it ſhould be differently made; and that as ſuch a degree of Purity in the Texture of it, might make it both pure and happy; ſo a contrary degree of Texture might have very contrary effects. And if with this, God made another general Law, that when all things were duly prepared for the propagation of the Species of Mankind, a Soul ſhould be always ready to go into, and animate thoſe firſt Threads and Beginnings of Life; thoſe Laws being laid down, *Adam* by corrupting his own frame, corrupted the frame of his whole Poſterity, by the general courſe of Things, and the great Law of the Creation. So that the ſuffering this to run through all the Race, is no more (only different in degrees and extent) than the Suffering the folly or madneſs of a man to infect his Poſterity. In theſe things God acts as the Creator of the World by general Rules, and theſe muſt not be altered becauſe of the Sins and Diſorders of men: But they are rather to have their courſe, that ſo Sin may be its own puniſhment. The defilement of the Race being thus ſtated, a Queſtion remains, Whether this can be properly called a Sin, and ſuch as deſerves *God's Wrath and Damnation*? On the one hand an oppoſition of Nature to the Divine Nature, muſt certainly be hateful to God, as it is the root of much malignity and ſin. Such a Nature cannot be the Object of his Love, and of it ſelf it cannnot be accepted of God: Now ſince there is no mean in God, between *Love* and *Wrath*, *Acceptation* and *Condemnation*, if ſuch perſons are not in the firſt order, they muſt be in the ſecond.

Yet it ſeems very hard on the other hand to apprehend, how perſons, who have never actually ſinned, but are only unhappily deſcended, ſhould be, in conſequence to that, under ſo great a miſery: To this ſeveral anſwers are made: Some have thought that thoſe who die before they commit any actual Sin, have indeed no ſhare in the favour of God, but yet that they paſs unto a ſtate in the other World, in which they ſuffer little or nothing. The ſtating this more clearly, will belong to another Opinion, which ſhall be afterwards Explained.

There is a further Queſtion made, Whether this Vicious Inclination is a Sin, or not? Thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, as they believe that Original Sin is quite taken away by Baptiſm, ſo finding that this corrupt Diſpoſition ſtill remains in us, they do from thence conclude, that it is no part of Original Sin, but that this is the Natural State in which *Adam* was made at firſt, only it is in us without the reſtraint or bridle of Supernatural Aſſiſtances; which was given to him, but loſt by Sin, and reſtored to us in Baptiſm. But as was ſaid formerly, *Adam* in his firſt ſtate was made after the Image of God, ſo that his bodily powers were perfectly under the command of his mind; This Revolt that we feel our Bodies and Senſes are always in, cannot be ſuppoſed to be God's Original Workmanſhip. There are great Diſputings raiſed concerning the meaning of a long Diſcourſe of St. *Paul's* in the 7th of the *Romans*, concerning a conſtant ſtruggle that he felt within himſelf; which ſome, arguing from the Scope of the whole Epiſtle, and the beginning of that Chapter, underſtand only of the ſtate that St. *Paul* repreſents himſelf to have been in, while yet a *Jew* and before his Converſion: Whereas others underſtand it of him in his converted and regenerated ſtate. Very plauſible things have been ſaid on both ſides, but without arguing any thing from words, the ſenſe of which is under debate; there are other places which do manifeſtly expreſs the ſtruggle that

Gal. 5. 17. Rom. 8. 13.

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is in a good Man: *The flesh is weak, though the spirit is willing: The flesh lusteth against the spirit, as the spirit lusteth against the flesh:* We ought to be still *mortifying the deeds of the body*; and we feel many Sins *that do so easily beset us*, that from these things we have reason to conclude, that there is a Corruption in our Nature, which gives us a bias and propensity to Sin. Now there is no reason to think that Baptism takes away all the Branches and Effects of Original Sin: It is enough if we are by it delivered from the Wrath of God, and brought into a State of Favour and Acceptation: We are freed from the Curse of Death, by our being Entitled to a Blessed Resurrection: And if we are so far freed from the Corruption of our Nature, as to have a fœderal right to such Assistances as will enable us to resist and repress it, though it is not quite extinct in us, so long as we live in these frail and mortal Bodies, here are very great Effects of our Admission to Christianity by Baptism; though this should not go so far as to root out all Inclinations to Evil out of our Nature. The great Disposition that is in us to Appetite and Passion, and that great heat with which they Inflame us; the Aversion that we naturally have to all the Exercises of Religion, and the Pains that must be used to work us up to a tolerable Degree of Knowledge, and an ordinary Measure of Virtue, shews that these are not natural to us: Whereas Sloth and Vice do grow on us without any care taken about them; so that it appears, that they are the natural, and the other the forced growth of our Souls. These ill Dispositions are so universally spread through all Mankind, and appear so early, and in so great a Diversity of ill Inclinations, that from hence it seems reasonable and just to infer, That this Corruption is spread through our whole Nature and Species, by the Sin and Disobedience of *Adam*. And beyond this a great many among our selves think that they cannot go, in asserting of Original Sin. Art. 9.

But there is a further step made by all the Disciples of S. *Austin*, who believe, That a Covenant was made with all Mankind in *Adam*, as their First Parent: That he was a Person Constituted by God to represent them all; and that the Covenant was made with him, so that if he had obeyed, all his Posterity should have been happy, through his Obedience; but by his Disobedience they were all to be esteemed to have sinned in him, his Act being Imputed and Transferred to them all. S. *Austin* considered all Mankind as lost in *Adam*, and in that he made the Decree of Election to begin: There being no other Reprobation asserted by him, than the leaving Men to continue in that state of Damnation, in which they were by reason of *Adam*'s Sin; so that though by Baptism all Men were born again, and recovered out of that lost state, yet unless they were within the Decree of Election they could not be saved, but would certainly fall from that state, and perish in a state of Sin: But such as were not Baptized were shut out from all hope. Those words of Christ's, *Except ye be born again of the water and of the Spirit, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God*, being Expounded so as to Import the Indispensable Necessity of Baptism to Eternal Salvation. All who were not Baptized were reckoned by him among the Damned: Yet this Damnation, as to those who had no Actual Sin, was so mitigated, that it seemed to be little more than an Exclusion out of Heaven, without any Suffering or Misery, like a state of Sleep and Inactivity. This was afterwards dressed up as a Division or Partition in Hell, called the *Limbo of Infants*; so by bringing it thus low, they took away much of the horror that this Doctrine might otherwise have given the World. Joh. 3.3,5.

It was not easy to Explain the way how this was propagated: They wished well to the Notion of a Soul's propagating a Soul, but that seemed

Art. 9. to come too near Creation: So it was not received as certain. It was therefore thought, That the Body being propagated defiled, the Soul was created and infused at the time of Conception: And that though God did not Create it impure, yet no time was interposed between its Creation and infusion: So that it could never be said to have been once pure, and then to have become impure. All this, as it afforded an easy Foundation to Establish the Doctrine of Absolute Decrees upon it, no care being taken to shew how this Sin came into the World, whether from an Absolute Decree or not, so it seem'd to have a great Foundation in that large Discourse of St. *Paul's*; where in the 5th of the *Romans*, he compares the Blessings that we receive by the Death of Christ, with the Guilt and Misery that was brought upon us by the Sin of *Adam*. Now it is confessed, That by Christ we have both an Imputation or Communication of the Merits of his Death, and likewise a Purity and Holiness of Nature convey'd to us by his Doctrine and Spirit. In opposition then to this, if the comparison is to be closely pursued, there must be an Imputation of Sin as well as a Corruption of Nature, transfused to us from *Adam*. This is the more considerable as to the Point of imputation, because the chief design of St. *Paul's* Discourse seems to be levelled at that, since it is begun upon the Head of Reconciliation and Attonement: Upon which it follows, That *as by one man sin entred into the world, and death by sin, and death passed upon all men, for that* (or as others render it, *in whom*) *all have sinned.* Now they think it is all one to their Point, Whether it be rendered, *for that*, or *in whom*: For though the later words seem to deliver their Opinion more precisely, yet it being affirm'd, That according to the other rendring, all who die have sinned; and it being certain, That many Infants die who have never actually sinned, these must have *sinned in Adam*, they could sin no other way. It is afterwards said by St. *Paul*, That *by the offence of one many were dead: That the judgment was by one to Condemnation: That by one man's offence death reigned by one. That by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to Condemnation: And that by one man's disobedience many were made sinners.* As these words are positive, and of great importance in themselves, so all this is much the stronger, by the opposition in which every one of them is put to the Effects and Benefits of Christ's Death; particularly to our Justification through him, in which there is an Imputation of the Merits and Effects of his Death, that are thereby transferred to us; so that that the whole Effect of this Discourse is taken away, if the Imputation of *Adam's* Sin is denied. And this Explication does certainly quadrate more entirely to the words of the Article, as it is known that this was the Tenet of those who prepared the Articles, it having been the generally-received Opinion from S. *Austin's* days downward.

Rom. 5. 12. to the end.

But to many other Divines, this seems a harsh and unconceivable Opinion; it seems repugnant to the Justice and Goodness of God, to reckon Men guily of a Sin which they never committed, and to punish them in their Souls Eternally for that which was no Act of theirs: And though we easily enough conceive how God in the Riches of his Grace, may transfer Merit and Blessings from one Person to many, this being only an Oeconomy of Mercy, where all is free, and such a method is taken as may best declare the Goodness of God: But in the Imputation of Sin and Guilt, which are Matters of strict Justice, it is quite otherwise. Upon that Head God is pleased often to Appeal to Men of the Justice of all his ways: And therefore no such Doctrine ought to be admitted, that carries in it an Idea of Cruelty, beyond what the blackest Tyrants have ever invented. Besides, that in the Scripture, such a method as the punishing Children for their

Jer. 31. 29. Ezek. 18. 20.

their Fathers Sins, is often disclaimed, and it is positively affirmed, that every man that sins is punished. Now though in Articles relating to the Nature of God, they acknowledge it is highly reasonable to believe, That there may be Mysteries which exceed our Capacity; yet in Moral Matters, in God's fœderal dealings with us, it seems unreasonable and contrary to the Nature of God, to believe that there may be a Mystery contrary to the clearest Notions of Justice and Goodness; such as the condemning Mankind for the Sin of one Man, in which the rest had no share; and as contrary to our Ideas of God, and upon that to set up another Mystery that shall take away the Truth and Fidelity of the promises of God; Justice and Goodness being as inseparable from his Nature, as Truth and Fidelity can be supposed to be. This seems to expose the Christian Religion to the Scoffs of its Enemies, and to Objections that are much sooner made than answered: And since the foundation of this is a supposed Covenant with *Adam* as the Representative Head of Mankind, it is strange that a thing of that great consequence, should not have been more plainly Reported in the History of the Creation: But that men should be put to fetch out the knowledge of so great and so extraordinary a thing, only by some remote Consequences. It is no small prejudice against this Opinion, That it was so long before it first appeared in the *Latin* Church; that it was never received in the *Greek*; and that even the *Western* Church, though perhaps for some Ignorant Ages it received it, as it did every thing else, very implicity, yet has been very much divided both about this, and many other Opinions related to it, or a rising out of it. *Art.* 9.

As for those words of St. *Paul*'s, that are its chief, if not its only Foundation, they say many things upon them. First it is a single Proof. Now when we have not a variety of places proving any point, in which one gives Light, and leads us to a sure Exposition of another, we cannot be so sure of the meaning of any one place, as to raise a Theory, or found a Doctrine upon it: They say further, That S. *Paul* seems to argue, from that Opinion of our having sinned in *Adam*, to prove that we are justified by Christ. Now it is a piece of Natural Logick not to prove a thing by another, unless that other is more clear of it self, or at least more clear by its being already received and believed. This cannot be said to be more clear of it self, for it is certainly less credible or conceivable, than the Reconciliation by Christ. Nor was this clear from any special Revelation made of it in the Old Testament: Therefore there is good reason to believe, that it was then a Doctrine received among the *Jews*, as there are odd things of this kind to be found among the *Cabbalists*, as if all the Souls of all Mankind had been in *Adam*'s Body. Now when an Argument is brought in Scripture to prove another thing by, though we are bound to acknowledge the Conclusion, yet we are not always sure of the Premises; for they are often founded upon received Opinions. So that it is not certain that S. *Paul* meant to offer this Doctrine to our belief as true, but only that he intended by it to prove our being reconciled to God through the Death of Christ; and the Medium by which he proved it might be, for ought that appears from the words themselves, only an Opinion held true among those to whom he writes. For he only supposes it, but says nothing to prove it: Which it might be expected he would have done, if the *Jews* had made any doubt of it. But further they say, that when Comparisons or Oppositions, such as this, are made in Scripture, we are not always to carry them on to an exact Equality: We are required not only *to be holy as God is holy, but to be perfect as he is perfect*: Where by the *as* is not to be meant a true Equality, but some sort Resemblance and Conformity: Therefore those who 1 Pet. 1. 15, 16. Mat. 5. 48.

Art. 9. believe that there is nothing imputed to *Adam*'s Poſterity on the account of his Sin, but this Temporary puniſhment of their being made liable to Death, and to all thoſe Miſeries that the fear of it, with our other concerns about it, bring us under, ſay that this is enough to juſtify the compariſon that is there ſtated: And that thoſe who will carry it on to be an exact parallel, make a ſtretch beyond the Phraſeology of the Scripture, and the uſe of Parables, and of the many compariſons that go only to one or more points, but ought not to be ſtretched to every thing.

Theſe are the things that other great Divines among us have oppoſed to this Opinion. As to its Conſonancy to the Article, thoſe who oppoſe it do not deny, but that it comes up fully to the higheſt ſenſe that the words of the Article can Import: Nor do they doubt, but that thoſe who prepared the Articles, being of that Opinion themſelves, might perhaps have had that ſenſe of the words in their Thoughts. But they add, That we are only bound to ſign the Articles in a Literal and Grammatical Senſe: Since therefore the words *God's wrath and damnation*, which are the higheſt in the Article, are capable of a lower ſenſe, Temporary Judgments being often ſo expreſſed in the Scriptures, therefore they believe the loſs of the Favour of God, the Sentence of Death, the Troubles of Life, and the Corruption of our Faculties, may be well called *God's wrath and damnation.* Beſides they obſerve, That the main point of the Imputation of *Adam*'s Sin to his Poſterity, and its being conſidered by God as their own Act, not being expreſly taught in the Article, here was that moderation obſerved, which the Compilers of the Articles have ſhewed on many other occaſions. It is plain from hence, that they did not intend to lay a Burthen one Mens Conſciences, or oblige them to profeſs a Doctrine that ſeems to be of hard digeſtion to a great many. The laſt prejudice that they offer againſt that Opinion, is, That the ſoftening the terms of *God's wrath and damnation* that was brought in by the followers of St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine to ſuch a moderate and harmleſs Notion, as to be only a loſs of Heaven, with a ſort of unactive Sleep, was an effect of their apprehending that the World could very ill bear an Opinion of ſo ſtrange a ſound, as that all Mankind were to be Damned for the Sin of one Man: And that therefore to make this paſs the better they mitigated *Damnation* far below the Repreſentation that the Scriptures generally give of it, which propoſe it as the being adjudged to a place of Torment, and a ſtate of Horror and Miſery.

Ex. 32. 10. *and through the whole Old Teſtament.* Mat. 3. 7. 1 Theſſ. 2. 16. Luk. 23. 40. 1 Cor. 11. 29. 1 Pet. 4. 17. Rom. 13. 2. 2 Cor. 7. 3. John 8. 10, 11. Rom. 14. 13.

Thus I have ſet down the different Opinions in this point, with that true Indifference that I intend to obſerve on ſuch other occaſions, and which becomes one who undertakes to explain the Doctrines of the Church, and not his own: And who is obliged to purpoſe other Mens Opinions with all Sincerity, and to ſhew what are the Senſes that the Learned Men of different perſuaſions in theſe matters, have put on the words of the Article. In which one great and conſtant Rule to be obſerved, is, To repreſent mens Opinions candidly, and to judge as favourably both of them and their Opinions as may be: To bear with one another, and not to diſturb the Peace and Union of the Church, by inſiſting too much and too peremptorily upon matters of ſuch doubtful Diſputaion; but willingly to leave them to all that liberty, to which the Church has left them, and which ſhe ſtill allows them.

ARTICLE X.

Of Free-Will.

The Condition of Man after the Fall of Adam **is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to Faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the Grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.**

WE shall find the same Moderation observed in this Article, that was taken notice of in the former; where all disputes concerning the degrees of that feebleness and corruption under which we are fallen by the Sin of *Adam*, are avoided, and only the necessity of a preventing and a co-operating Grace is asserted, against the *Semipelagians* and the *Pelagians*. But before we enter upon that, it is fitting first to state the true Notion of Free-Will, in so far as it is necessary to all rational Agents, to make their Actions morally good or bad; since it is a Principle that seems to rise out of the Light of Nature, That no man is accountable, rewardable or punishable, but for that in which he acts freely, without force or compulsion; and so far all are agreed.

Some imagine, That Liberty must suppose a freedom to do or not to do, and to act contrariwise at pleasure. To others it seems not necessary that such a liberty should be carried to denominate Actions morally good or bad: God certainly acts in the perfectest liberty, yet he cannot sin. Christ had the most exalted liberty in his Human Nature, of which a Creature was capable, and his Merit was the highest, yet he could not sin. Angels and glorified Saints, though no more capable of Rewards, are perfect Moral Agents, and yet they cannot sin: And the Devils, with the damned, though not capable of further Punishment, yet are still Moral Agents, and cannot but sin: So this Indifferency to do or not to do, cannot be the true Notion of Liberty. A truer one seems to them to be this, That a Rational Nature is not determined as mere Matter, by the Impulse and Motion of other Bodies upon it; but is capable of Thought, and upon considering the Objects set before it, makes Reflection, and so chuses. Liberty therefore seems to consist in this inward capacity of thinking, and of acting and chusing upon Thought. The clearer the Thought is, and the more constantly that our choice is determined by it, the more does a Man rise up to the highest Acts, and sublimest Exercises of Liberty.

A question arises out of this, Whether the Will is not always determined by the Understanding, so that a Man does always chuse and determine himself upon the account of some Idea or other? If this is granted, then no liberty will be left to our Faculties. We must apprehend things as they are proposed to our Understanding; for if a thing appears true to us, we must assent to it; and if the Will is as blind to the Understanding, as the Understanding is determined by the Light in which the Object appears to it, then we seem to be concluded under a Fate, or Necessity. It is after all, a vain attempt to argue against every man's experience: We perceive in our selves a liberty of turning our Minds to some Ideas, or from others; we can think longer or shorter of these, more exactly and steadily, or more slightly and superficially, as we please; and in this radical freedom of directing or diverting our Thoughts, a main part of our Freedom does consist: Often Objects as they appear to our Thoughts do so affect or heat them, that they

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Art. 10. do ſeem to conquer us, and carry us after them; ſome Thoughts ſeeming as it were to intoxicate and charm us: Appetites and Paſſions, when much fired by Objects apt to work upon them, do agitate us ſtrongly; and on the other hand, the Impreſſions of Religion come often in our Minds with ſuch a ſecret force, ſo much of Terror and ſuch ſecret Joy mixing with them, that they ſeem to maſter us; yet in all this a Man Acts freely, becauſe he thinks and chuſes for himſelf: And though perhaps he does not feel himſelf ſo entirely balanced, that he is indifferent to both ſides, yet he has ſtill ſuch a remote liberty, that he can turn himſelf to other Objects and Thoughts, ſo that he can divert, if not all of the ſudden reſiſt the preſent impreſſions that ſeem to maſter him. We do alſo feel that in many Trifles we do Act with an entire liberty, and do many things upon no other account, and for no other reaſon, but becauſe we will do them; and yet more important things depend on theſe.

Our Thoughts are much governed by thoſe impreſſions that are made upon our Brain: When an Object proportioned to us appears to us with ſuch advantages as to affect us much, it makes ſuch an impreſſion on our Brain, that our Animal Spirits move much towards it; and thoſe Thoughts that anſwer it, ariſe oft and ſtrongly upon us, till either that Impreſſion is worn out and flatted, or new and livelier ones are made on us by other Objects. In this depreſſed ſtate in which we now are, the Ideas of what is uſeful or pleaſant to our Bodies are ſtrong; they are ever freſh, being daily renewed; and according to the different Conſtruction of Mens Blood and their Brains, there ariſes a great variety of Inclinations in them. Our Animal Spirits that are the immediate Organs of Thought, being the ſubtiler parts of our Blood, are differently made and ſhaped, as our Blood happens to be Acid, Salt, Sweet, or Phlegmatick: And this gives ſuch a Biaſs to all our Inclinations, that nothing can work us off from it, but ſome great ſtrength of Thought that bears it down: So Learning chiefly in Mathematical Sciences, can ſo ſwallow up and fix ones Thought, as to poſſeſs it entirely for ſome time; but when that amuſement is over, Nature will return and be where it was, being rather diverted than overcome by ſuch Speculations.

The Revelation of Religion is the propoſing and proving many Truths of great importance to our Underſtandings, by which they are enlightened, and our Wills are guided; but theſe Truths are feeble things, languid and unable to ſtem a Tide of Nature, eſpecialy when it is much excited and heated: So that in fact we feel, that when Nature is low, theſe Thoughts may have ſome force to give an inward Melancholy, and to awaken in us Purpoſes and Reſolutions of another kind; but when Nature recovers it ſelf, and takes fire again, theſe grow leſs powerful. The giving thoſe Truths of Religion ſuch a Force that they may be able to ſubdue Nature, and to govern us, is the Deſign of both Natural and Revealed Religion: So the Queſtion comes now according to the Article to be, Whether a Man by the Powers of Nature and of Reaſon, without other inward Aſſiſtances, can ſo far turn and diſpoſe his own Mind, as to believe and *to do works pleaſant and acceptable to God. Pelagius* thought that Man was ſo entire in his liberty, that there was no need of any other Grace but that of *Pardon*, and of propoſing the Truths of Religion to Mens knowledge, but that the uſe of theſe was in every Man's power. Thoſe who were called *Semipelagians* thought that an aſſiſting inward Grace was neceſſary to enable a Man to go through all the harder ſteps of Religion; but with that they thought that the firſt Turn or Converſion of the Will to God, was the effect of a Man's own free choice.

In oppoſition to both which, this Article aſſerts both an Aſſiſting and a preventing Grace. That there are inward Aſſiſtances given

given to our Powers, beſides thoſe outward Bleſſings of Providence, is firſt to be proved. In the Old Teſtament, it is true, there were not expreſs Promiſes made by *Moſes* of ſuch Aſſiſtances; yet it ſeems both *David* and *Solomon* had a full perſuaſion about it. *David*'s Prayers do every where relate to ſomewhat that is Internal: He prays God *to open and turn his eyes; to unite and incline his heart; to quicken him; to make him to go; to guide and lead him; to create in him a clean heart, and renew a right ſpirit within him.* *Solomon* ſays, That *God gives wiſdom; that he directs mens paths, and giveth grace to the lowly.* In the Promiſe that *Jeremy* gives of a New Covenant, this is the Character that is given of it; *I will put my Law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts: They ſhall all know me from the leaſt of them unto the greateſt.* Like to that is what *Ezekiel* promiſes, *A new heart alſo will I give, and a new ſpirit will I put within you; and I will take away the ſtony heart out of your fleſh, and I will give you an heart of fleſh; and I will put my ſpirit within you, and cauſe you to walk in my ſtatutes, and ye ſhall keep my judgments and do them.* That theſe Prophecies relate to the New Diſpenſation, cannot be queſtion'd, ſince *Jeremy*'s words, to which the other are equivalent, are cited and applied to it in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*. Now the oppoſition of the one Diſpenſation to the other, as it is here ſtated, conſiſts in this, That whereas the Old Diſpenſation was made up of Laws and Statutes that were given on Tables of Stone, and in writing, the New Diſpenſation was to have ſomewhat in it beſide that External Revelation which was to be Internal, and which ſhould diſpoſe and inable Men to obſerve it.

Art. 10. Pſal. 119. 18, 27, 32, 35. Pſalm 51. 10, 11. Jer. 31. 33, 34. Ezek. 36. 26, 27.

A great deal of our Saviour's Diſcourſe concerning the *Spirit* which he was to pour on his Diſciples, did certainly belong to that extraordinary Effuſion at *Pentecoſt*, and to thoſe wonderful Effects that were to follow upon it: Yet as he had formerly given this as an Encouragement to all Men to Pray, That *his heavenly Father would give the Holy Spirit to every one that asked him*; ſo there are many parts of that his laſt Diſcourſe, that ſeem to belong to the conſtant Neceſſities of all Chriſtians. It is as unreaſonable to limit all to that time, as the firſt words of it, *I go to prepare a place for you; and becauſe I live, ye ſhall live alſo.* The Prayer which comes after that Diſcourſe, being extended beyond them to all that ſhould *believe in his Name through their word*, we have no reaſon to limit theſe words, *I will manifeſt my ſelf to him; My Father and I will make our abode with him; In me ye ſhall have peace*; to the Apoſtles only; ſo that the Guidance, the Conviction, the Comforts of that Spirit, ſeem to be Promiſes which in a lower order belong to all Chriſtians. St. *Paul* ſpeaks of *the love of God ſhed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghoſt.* When he was under Temptation, and prayed thrice, he had this Anſwer, *My grace is ſufficient for thee, my ſtrength is made perfect in weakneſs.* He prays often for the Churches in his Epiſtles to them, That *God would ſtabliſh, comfort, and perfect them, enlighten and ſtrengthen them*; and this in all that variety of Words and Phraſes that import inward Aſſiſtances. This is alſo meant by *Chriſt's living and dwelling in us*, and by our *being rooted and grounded in him*; our *being the Temples of God, a holy habitation to him through his Spirit*; our being *ſealed by the Spirit of God to the day of Redemption*; by all thoſe directions to pray for *grace to help in time of need*, and, *to ask wiſdom of God that gives liberally to all men*; as alſo by the Phraſes of *being born of God, and the having his ſeed abiding in us.* Theſe and many more places which return often through the New Teſtament, ſeem to put it beyond all doubt, that there are inward Communications from God, to the Powers of our Souls; by which we are made both to apprehend the Truths of Religion, to remember and reflect on them, and to conſider and follow them more effectually.

Luke 11. 13. Joh. 14. 2. Rom. 5. 5. 2 Cor. 12. 9. Eph. 3. 17. 2 Cor. 6. 16. Heb. 4. 16. Jam. 1. 5. 1 Joh. 3. 9.

How

Art. 10. How theſe are applied to us, is a great difficulty indeed, but it is to little purpoſe to amuſe our ſelves about it. God may convey them immediately to our Souls, if he will; but it is more intelligible to us to imagine that the Truths of Religion are by a Divine direction imprinted deep upon our Brain; ſo that naturally they muſt affect us much, and be oft in our Thoughts: And this may be a Hypotheſis to explain Regeneration or habitual Grace by. When a deep Impreſſion is once made, there may be a direction from God, in the ſame way that his Providence runs through the whole Material World, given to the Animal Spirits to move towards and ſtrik upon that Impreſſion, and ſo to excite ſuch Thoughts as by the Law of the Union of the Soul and Body do correſpond to it: This may ſerve for a Hypotheſis to explain the Conveyance of Actual Grace to us: But theſe are only propoſed as Hypotheſes, that is, as methods or poſſible ways how ſuch things may be done, and which may help us to apprehend more diſtinctly the manner of them. Now as this Hypotheſis has nothing in it but what is truly Philoſophical, ſo it is highly congruous to the Nature and Attributes of God, That if our Faculties are fallen under a decay and corruption, ſo that bare Inſtruction is not like to prevail over us, he ſhould by ſome ſecret methods rectify this in us. Our Experience tells us but too often, what a feeble thing Knowledge and Speculation is, when it engages with Nature ſtrongly aſſaulted; How our beſt Thoughts fly from us and forſake us; whereas at other times the ſenſe of theſe things lies with a due weight on our Minds, and has another effect upon us. The way of conveying this is inviſible; our Saviour compared it to the *wind* Joh. 3. 8. *that bloweth where it liſteth; no man knows whence it comes, and whither it goes.* No man can give an account of the ſudden changes of the Wind, and of that vaſt force with which the Air is driven by it, which is otherwiſe the moſt yielding of all Bodies; to which he adds, *ſo is every one that is born of the Spirit.* This he brings to illuſtrate the meaning of what he had ſaid, That *except a man was born again of Water and of the Spirit, he could not enter into the kingdom of God*: And to ſhew how real and internal this was, he adds, *That which is born of the fleſh is fleſh*; that is, a Man has the Nature of thoſe Parents from whom he is deſcended, by *Fleſh* being underſtood the Fabrick of the Human Body, animated by the Soul: in oppoſition to which, he ſubjoins, *That which is born of the Spirit is ſpirit*; that is to ſay, a Man thus regenerated by the Operation of the Spirit of God, comes to be of a Spiritual Nature.

With this I conclude all that ſeemed neceſſary to be proved, That there are inward Aſſiſtances given to us in the New Diſpenſation. I do not diſpute whether theſe are fitly called *Grace*, for perhaps that word will ſcarce be found in that Senſe in the Scriptures; it ſignifying more largely the Love and Favour of God, without reſtraining it to this Act or Effect of it. The next thing to be proved is, That there is a *preventing Grace*, by which the Will is firſt moved and diſpoſed to turn to God. It is certain that the firſt Promulgation of the Goſpel to the Churches that were gathered by the Apoſtles, is aſcribed wholly to the Riches and Freedom of the Grace of God. This is fully done in the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, in which their former Ignorance and Corruption is ſet forth under the Figures of *blindneſs*, Eph. 2. 2. 12. of *being without hope, and without God in the world, and dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, they following the courſe of this world, and the prince of the power of the Air, and being by nature children of wrath*; that is under Wrath, I diſpute not here concerning the meaning of the word by *Nature*, whether it relates to the Corruption of our Nature in *Adam*, or to that general Corruption that had overſpread Heatheniſm, and was become as it were another Nature

to

o them. In this ſingle Inſtance we plainly ſee, that there was no previous diſpoſition to the firſt preaching of the Goſpel at *Epheſus*: Many expreſſions of this kind, though perhaps not of this force, are in the other Epiſtles. St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, puts God's chuſing of *Abraham* upon this, That it was *of grace, not of debt, otherwiſe Abraham might have had whereof to glory.* And when he ſpeaks of God's caſting off the *Jews*, and grafting the *Gentiles* upon that Stock from which they were cut off, he, aſcribes it wholly to the Goodneſs of God towards them, and charges them *not to be high-minded, but to fear.* In his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, he ſays, That *not many wiſe, mighty, nor noble were choſen, but God had choſen the fooliſh, the weak, and the baſe things of this world, ſo that no fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence:* And he urges this further, in words that ſeem to be as applicable to particular Perſons, as to Communities or Churches: *Who maketh thee to differ from another? and what haſt thou, that thou didſt not receive? now if thou didſt receive it, why doſt thou glory as if thou hadſt not received it?* From theſe and many more paſſages of the like nature, it is plain, that in the Promulgation of the Goſpel, *God was found of them that ſought not to him, and heard of them that called not upon him*; that is, he prevented them by his Favour, while there were no previous diſpoſitions in them to invite it, much leſs to merit it: From this it may be inferred, That the like method ſhould be uſed with relation to particular Perſons.

Art. 10.

Rom. 4. 2.

Rom. 11. 20.

1 Cor. 1. 26.

1 Cor. 4. 7.

Iſa. 65. 1.

We do find very expreſs Inſtances in the New Teſtament, of the Converſion of ſome by a Preventing Grace: It is ſaid, That *God opened the heart of Lydia, ſo that ſhe attended to the things that were ſpoken of Paul.* The Converſion of St. *Paul* himſelf was ſo clearly from a Preventing Grace, that if it had not been miraculous in ſo many of its Circumſtances, it would have been a ſtrong Argument in behalf of it. Theſe words of Chriſt ſeem alſo to aſſert it; *Without me ye can do nothing; ye have not choſen me, but I you; and no man can come to me, except the Father which hath ſent me draw him.* Thoſe who received Chriſt, *were born not of blood, nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of the will of God.* God is ſaid *to work in us both to will and to do of his own good pleaſure:* The one ſeems to import the firſt beginings, and the other the progreſs of a Chriſtian Courſe of Life. So far all among us, that I know of, are agreed, though perhaps not as to the force that is in all thoſe places to prove this Point.

Acts 16. 14.

Joh. 1. 13. 15. 5, 16.

Phil. 2. 13.

There do yet remain Two Points in which they do not agree; the one is the Efficacy of this Preventing Grace; ſome think that it is of its own nature ſo Efficacious, that it never fails of Converting thoſe to whom it is given; others think that it only awakens and diſpoſes, as well as it enables them to turn to God, but that they may reſiſt it, and that the greater part of Mankind do actually reſiſt it. The examining of this Point, and the ſtating the Arguments of both ſides, will belong more properly to the Seventeenth Article. The other Head in which many do differ, is concerning the Extent of this Preventing Grace; for whereas ſuch as do hold it to be Efficacious of it ſelf, reſtrain it to the number of thoſe who are Elected and converted by it; others do believe, That as Chriſt died for all Men, ſo there is an Univerſal Grace which is given in Chriſt to all Men, in ſome degree or other, and that it is given to all Baptized Chriſtians in a more eminent degree, and that as all are corrupted by *Adam*, there is alſo a general Grace given to all Men in Chriſt. This depends ſo much on the former Point, that the diſcuſſing the one is indeed the diſcuſſing of both; and therefore it ſhall not be further entred upon in this place.

ARTICLE. XI.

Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted Righteous before God, only for the Merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by Faith, and not for our own Works or Deservings. Wherefore that we are justified by Faith only, is a most wholsome Doctrine, and very full of Comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

IN order to the right understanding this Article, we must first consider the true meaning of the Terms of which it is made up; which are, *Justification*, *Faith*, *Faith only*, and *Good Works*; and then when these are rightly stated, we will see what Judgments are to be passed upon the Questions that do arise out of this Article. *Just*, or *Justified*, are words capable of two senses; the one is, a Man who is in the Favour of God by a mere Act of his Grace, or upon some Consideration not founded on the Holiness or the Merit of the Person himself. The other is, a Man who is truly holy, and as such is beloved of God. The use of this word in the New Testament was probably taken from the term *Chasidim* among the *Jews*, a designation of such as observed the external parts of the Law strictly, and were believed to be upon that account much in the Favour of God; an Opinion being generally spread among them, that a strict observance of the external parts of the Law of *Moses*, did certainly put a Man in the Favour of God. In opposition to which, the design of a great part of the New Testament is to shew, that these things did not put Men in the Favour of God. Our Saviour used the word *saved*, in opposition to *condemned*, and spoke of Men who were *condemned already*, as well as of others who were *saved*. St. *Paul* enlarges more fully into many Discourses; in which our being *justified*, and the *righteousness of God*, or his *grace towards us*, are all terms equivalent to one another: His design in the Epistle to the *Romans*, was to prove that the observance of the *Mosaical* Law could not *justifie*, that is, could not put a Man under the *grace* or *favour* of God, or the *righteousness* of God, that is, into a state of *acceptation* with him, as that is opposite to a state of *wrath* or *condemnation*: He upon that shews that *Abraham* was in the Favour of God before he was Circumcised, upon the account of his trusting to the Promises of God, and obeying his Commands; and that God reckoned upon these Acts of his, as much as if they had been an entire course of Obedience; for that is the meaning of these words, *And it was imputed to him for righteousness.* These Promises were freely made to him by God, when by no previous Works of his he had made them to be due to him of debt; therefore that Covenant which was founded on those Promises, was the *justifying of Abraham freely by grace*; upon which St. *Paul* in a variety of Inferences and Expressions assumes, That we are in like manner *justified freely by grace, through the redemption in Christ Jesus.* That God has of his own free Goodness offered a new Covenant, and new and better Promises to Mankind in Christ Jesus, which whosoever believe as *Abraham* did, they are justified as he was. So that whosoever will observe the Scope of St. *Paul*'s Epistles to the *Romans* and *Galatians*, will see that he always uses *Justification* in a sense that imports our being put in the Favour of God. The Epistle to the *Galatians* was indeed writ upon the occasion of another Controversy, which was, Whether, supposing Christ to be the Messias, Christians were bound to observe the *Mosaical* Law,

Job 3. 18.

Gen. 15. 6. Rom. 4. 3. 22.

Rom. 3. 24.

Law, or not: Whereas the Scope of the first part of the Epistle to the *Romans*, is to shew that we are not justified nor saved by the Law of *Moses*, as a Mean of its own nature capable to recommend us to the Favour of God, but that even that Law was a Dispensation of *Grace*, in which it was a true Faith like *Abraham*'s, that put Men in the Favour of God; yet in both these Epistles, in which *Justification* is fully treated of, it stands always for the receiving one into the Favour of God. *Art.* 11.

In this the Consideration upon which it is done, and the Condition upon which it is offered, are two very different things. The one is a Dispensation of God's Mercy, in which he has regard to his own Attributes, to the Honour of his Laws, and his Government of the World: The other is the Method in which he applies that to us; in such a manner, that it may have such Ends as are both perfective of Human Nature, and suitable to an infinitely Holy Being to pursue. We are never to mix these two together, or to imagine that the Condition upon which Justification is offered to us, is the Consideration that moves God; as if our Holiness, Faith, or Obedience, were the moving Cause of our Justification; or that God *justifies* us, because he sees that we are truly *just*: For though it is not to be denied, but that in some places of the New Testament, *Justification* may stand in that Sense, because the word in its Signification will bear it; yet in these Two Epistles, in which it is largely treated of, nothing is plainer, than that the design is to shew us what it is that brings us to the Favour of God, and to a state of Pardon and Acceptation: So that *Justification* in those places stands in opposition to Accusation and *Condemnation*.

The next Term to be explained is *Faith*; which in the New Testament stands generally for the Complex of Christianity, in opposition to the Law, which stands as generally for the Complex of the whole *Mosaical* Dispensation. So that the *Faith of Christ* is equivalent to this the Gospel of Christ; because Christianity is a Fœderal Religion, founded on God's part, on Promises that he has made to us, and on the Rules he has set us; and on our part, on our believing that Revelation, our trusting to those Promises, and our setting our selves to follow those Rules: The believing this Revelation, and that great Article of it, of Christ's being the Son of God, and the true Messias that came to reveal his Father's Will, and to offer himself up to be the Sacrifice of this New Covenant, is often represented as the great and only Condition of the Covenant on our part; but still this *Faith* must receive the whole Gospel, the Precepts as well as the Promises of it, and receive Christ as a Prophet to Teach, and a King to Rule, as well as a Priest to Save us.

By *Faith only*, is not to be meant Faith as it is separated from the other Evangelical Graces and Virtues; but Faith, as it is opposite to the Rites of the *Mosaical* Law; for that was the great Question that gave occasion to St. *Paul*'s writing so fully upon this Head; since many Judaizing Christians, as they acknowledged Christ to be the true Messias, so they thought that the Law of *Moses* was still to retain its force: In opposition to whom St. *Paul* says, That *we are justified by Faith, without the works of the Law.* Rom. 3. 28. Gal. 2. 16. Rom. 2. 12. It is plain that he means the *Mosaical* Dispensation, for he had divided all Mankind into those *who were in the Law*, and those *who were without the Law*: That is, into *Jews* and *Gentiles*. Nor had St. *Paul* any occasion to treat of any other Matter in those Epistles, or to enter into nice Abstractions, which became not one that was to Instruct the World in order to their Salvation: Those Metaphysical Notions are not easily apprehended by plain Men, not accustomed to such Subtilties, and are of very little value, when they are more critically distinguished: Yet when it seems some of

Art. 11. thoſe Expreſſions were wreſted to an ill ſenſe and uſe, St. *James* treats of the ſame matter, but with this great difference; that though he ſays expreſly, That *a man is juſtified by Works, and not by Faith only*; yet he does not ſay,
Jam. 2.24. *by the Works of the Law*; ſo that he does not at all contradict St. *Paul*; the Works that he mentions not being the Circumciſion or Ritual Obſervances of *Abraham*, but his offering up his Son *Iſaac*, which St. *Paul* had reckoned a part of the *Faith of Abraham*: This ſhews that he did not intend to contradict the Doctrine delivered by St. *Paul*, but only to give a true Notion of the *Faith* that *juſtifies*; that it is not a bare believing, ſuch as Devils are capable of, but ſuch a believing as exerted it ſelf in Good Works. So that the Faith mentioned by St. *Paul* is the Complex of all Chriſtianity; whereas that mentioned by St. *James*, is a bare believing, without a life ſuitable to it. And as it is certainly true, that we are taken into the Favour of God, upon our receiving the whole Goſpel, without obſerving the *Moſaical* Precepts; ſo it is as certainly true, that a bare profeſſing or giving credit to the Truth of the Goſpel, without our living ſuitably to it, does not give us a right to the Favour of God. And thus it appears that theſe two Pieces of the New Teſtament, when rightly underſtood, do in no wiſe contradict, but agree well with one another.

In the laſt place, we muſt conſider the ſignification of *Good Works*: By them are not to be meant ſome voluntary and aſſumed pieces of Severity, which are no where enjoyned in the Goſpel, that ariſe out of Superſtition and that feed of Pride and Hypocriſy: Theſe are ſo far from deſerving the name of *Good Works*, that they have been in all Ages the Methods of Impoſture, and of Impoſtors, and the Arts by which they have gained Credit and Authority. By *Good Works* therefore are meant Acts of true Holineſs, and of ſincere Obedience to the Laws of the Goſpel.

The Terms being thus explained, I ſhall next diſtinguiſh between the Queſtions ariſing out of this Matter, that are only about Words, and thoſe that are more Material and Important. If any Man fancy that the Remiſſion of Sins is to be conſidered as a thing previous to *Juſtification*, and diſtinct from it, and acknowledge that to be freely given in Chriſt Jeſus; and that in conſequence of this there is ſuch a Grace infuſed, that thereupon the Perſon becomes truly *juſt*, and is conſidered as ſuch by God: This, which muſt be confeſſed to be the Doctrine of a great many in the Church of *Rome*, and which ſeems to be that eſtabliſhed at *Trent*, is indeed very viſibly different from the Stile and Deſign of thoſe Places of the New Teſtament, in which this matter is moſt fully opened: But yet after all, it is but a queſtion about words; for if that which they call *Remiſſion* of Sins, be the ſame with that which we call *Juſtification*; and if that which they call *Juſtification*, be the ſame with that which we call *Sanctification*, then here is only a ſtrife of words: Yet even in this we have the Scriptures clearly of our ſide; ſo that we hold the *form of ſound words*, from which they have
1 Cor. 6. 11. departed. The Scripture ſpeaks of *Sanctification*, as a thing different from and ſubſequent to *Juſtification*. *Now ye are waſhed, ye are ſanctified, ye are juſtified.* And ſince Juſtification, and the being in the Love and Favour of God, are in the New Teſtament one and the ſame thing, the Remiſſion of Sins muſt be an Act of God's Favour: For we cannot imagine a middle ſtate of being neither accepted of him, nor yet under his *Wrath*, as if the Remiſſion of Sins were merely an extinction of the guilt of Sin, without any ſpecial Favour. If therefore this Remiſſion of Sins is acknowledged to be given freely to us through Jeſus Chriſt, this is that which we affirm to be *Juſtification*, though under another name: We do alſo acknowledge that our Natures muſt be ſanctified and renewed, that ſo God may take

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pleaſure in us, when his Image is again viſible upon us; and this we call *Sanctification*; which we acknowledge to be the conſtant and inſeparable effect of *Juſtification*: So that as to this, we agree in the ſame Doctrine, only we differ in the uſe of the Terms; in which we have the Phraſe of the New Teſtament clearly with us. *Art.* 11.

But there are two more material differences between us: It is a Tenet in the Church of *Rome*, That the Uſe of the Sacraments, if Men do not put a bar to them, and if they have only imperfect Acts of Sorrow accompanying them, does ſo far compleat thoſe weak Acts, as to *juſtify* us: This we do utterly deny, as a Doctrine that tends to enervate all Religion; and to make the Sacraments that were appointed to be the ſolemn Acts of Religion, for quickning and exciting our Piety, and for conveying Grace to us, upon our coming devoutly to them, becomes means to flatten and deaden us: As if they were of the nature of Charms, which if they could be come at, tho' with ever ſo ſlight a preparation, would make up all defects. The Doctrine of Sacramental Juſtification is juſtly to be reckoned among the moſt miſchievous of all thoſe Practical Errors that are in the Church of *Rome*. Since therefore this is no where mentioned, in all theſe large Diſcourſes that are in the New Teſtament concerning Juſtification, we have juſt reaſon to reject it: Since alſo the natural conſequence of this Doctrine, is to make Men reſt contented in low imperfect Acts, when they can be ſo eaſily made up by a Sacrament, we have juſt reaſon to deteſt it, as one of the depths of Satan: The Tendency of it being to make thoſe Ordinances of the Goſpel, which were given us as means to raiſe and heighten our Faith and Repentance, become Engines to encourage Sloth and Impenitence.

There is another Doctrine that is Held by many, and is ſtill Taught in the Church of *Rome*, not only with Approbation, but Favour; That the inherent Holineſs of good Men is a thing of its own nature ſo perfect, that upon the account of it, God is ſo bound to eſteem them juſt, and to *juſtify* them, that he were unjuſt if he did not. They think there is ſuch a real *condignity* in it, that it makes Men God's adopted Children. Whereas we on the other hand Teach, That God is indeed pleaſed with the inward Reformation that he ſees in good Men, in whom his Grace dwells; that he approves and accepts of their Sincerity; but that with this there is ſtill ſuch a mixture, and in this there is ſtill ſo much Imperfection, that even upon this account, if God did ſtraitly mark Iniquity, none could ſtand before him: So that even his acceptance of this, is an Act of Mercy and Grace. This Doctrine was commonly Taught in the Church of *Rome* at the time of the Reformation, and together with it, they reckoned that the chief of thoſe Works that did Juſtify, were either great or rich Endowments, or exceſſive Devotions towards Images, Saints, and Relicks; by all which, Chriſt was either forgot quite, or remembred only for form-ſake, eſteemed perhaps as the chief of Saints; not to mention the impious Compariſons that were made between him and ſome Saints, and the Preferences that were given to them beyond him. In oppoſition to all this the Reformers began, as they ought to have done, at the laying down this as the Foundation of all Chriſtianity, and of all our hopes, That we were reconciled to God meerly through his Mercy, by the Redemption purchaſed by Jeſus Chriſt: And that a firm believing the Goſpel, and a claiming to the Death of Chriſt, as the great Propitiation for our Sins, according to the Terms on which it is offered us in the Goſpel, was that which united us to Chriſt; that gave us an Intereſt in his Death, and thereby juſtified us. If in the management of this Controverſy, there was not ſo critical a

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Art. 11. Judgment made of the Scope and ſeveral Paſſages of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles; and if the Diſpute became afterwards too abſtracted and metaphyſical, that was the effect of the Infelicity of that Time, and was the natural conſequence of much diſputing: Therefore tho' we do not now ſtand to all the Arguments, and to all the Citations and Illuſtrations uſed by them; and tho' we do not deny but that many of the Writers of the Church of *Rome*, came inſenſibly off from the moſt practical Errors, that had been formerly much taught, and more practiſed among them; and that this matter was ſo ſtated by many of them, that as to the main of it, we have no juſt Exceptions to it: Yet after all, this beginning of the Reformation was a great Bleſſing to the World, and has proved ſo, even to the Church of *Rome*; by bringing her to a juſter ſenſe of the Atonement made for Sins by the Blood of Chriſt; and by taking Men off from external Actions, and turning them to conſider the inward Acts of the Mind, Faith and Repentance, as the Conditions of our Juſtification. And therefore the Approbation given here to the Homily, is only an Approbation of the Doctrine aſſerted and proved in it: Which ought not to be carried to every particular of the Proofs or Explanations that are in it. To be *Juſtified*, and to be accounted Righteous, ſtand for one and the ſame thing in the Article: And both import our being delivered from the Guilt of Sin, and entitled to the Favour of God. Theſe differ from God's intending from all Eternity to ſave us, as much as a Decree differs from the Execution of it.

A Man is then only *Juſtified*, when he is freed from Wrath, and is at peace with God: And tho' this is freely offered to us in the Goſpel through Jeſus Chriſt, yet it is applied to none but to ſuch as come within thoſe Qualifications and Conditions ſet before us in the Goſpel. That God pardons Sin, and receives us into favour only through the Death of Chriſt, is ſo fully expreſſed in the Goſpel, as was already made out upon the ſecond Article that it is not poſſible to doubt of it, if one does firmly believe, and attentively read the New Teſtament. Nor is it leſs evident, that it is not offered to us abſolutely, and without Conditions and Limitations. Theſe Conditions are *Repentance*, with which *remiſſion of ſins* is often joined; and *Faith*, but a *faith that worketh by love, that purifies the heart, and that keeps the commandments of God*: Such a Faith as ſhews it ſelf to be alive by Good Works, by Acts of Charity, and every Act of Obedience; by which we demonſtrate, that we truly and firmly believe the Divine Authority of our Saviour and his Doctrine. Such a Faith as this *juſtifies*, but not as it is a Work or meritorious Action, that of its own nature puts us in the Favour of God, and makes us truly juſt: But as it is the Condition upon which the Mercy of God is offered to us by Chriſt Jeſus: For then we correſpond to his deſign of coming into the World, that *he might redeem us from all Iniquity*, that is, juſtify us: And *purifie unto himſelf a peculiar people, zealous of good works*; that is, ſanctify us. Upon our bringing our ſelves therefore under theſe Qualifications and Conditions, we are actually in the Favour of God: Our Sins are pardoned, and we are entitled to Eternal Life.

Gal. 5. 6. Luke 24. 47. Acts. 2. 38.

Tit. 2. 14.

Our Faith and Repentance are not the valuable Conſiderations for which God pardons and juſtifies; that is done meerly for the Death of Chriſt; which God having out of the Riches of his Grace provided for us, and offered to us, Juſtification is upon thoſe accounts ſaid to be *free*: There being nothing on our part which either did or could have procured it. But ſtill our Faith, which includes our Hope, our Love, our Repentance, and our Obedience, is the Condition that makes us capable of receiving the benefits of this Redemption and Free Grace. And thus it is clear, in what ſenſe we believe, that *we* are *juſtified* both *freely*, and yet through Chriſt; and

alſo

alſo through *Faith*, as the Condition indiſpenſably neceſſary on our part. *Art.* 11.

In ſtrictneſs of words, we are not *juſtified* till the final Sentence is pronounced: Till upon our Death, we are ſolemnly acquitted of our Sins, and admitted into the Preſence of God; this being that which is oppoſite to *Condemnation*: Yet as a Man who is in that ſtate, that muſt end in *Condemnation*, is ſaid to be *condemned already, and the wrath of God is ſaid to abide upon him*; tho' he be not yet adjudged to it: So, on the contrary, a Man in that ſtate, which muſt end in the full Enjoyment of God, is ſaid now to be *juſtified*, and to be at peace with God; becauſe he not only has the Promiſes of that ſtate now belonging to him, when he does perform the Conditions required in them; but is likewiſe receiving daily Marks of God's Favour, the protection of his Providence, the Miniſtry of Angels, and the inward Aſſiſtances of his Grace and Spirit. Joh. 3. 18.

This is a Doctrine full of comfort; for if we did believe that our Juſtification was founded upon our Inherent Juſtice, or Sanctification, as the Conſideration on which we receive it, we ſhould have juſt cauſe of Fear and Dejection; ſince we could not reaſonably promiſe our ſelves ſo great a Bleſſing upon ſo poor a Conſideration: but when we know that this is only the Condition of it, then when we feel it is ſincerely received and believed, and carefully obſerved by us, we may conclude that we are *juſtified*: But we are by no means to think, that our certain perſuaſion of Chriſt's having died for us in particular, or the certainty of our Salvation through him, is an Act of *ſaving Faith*, much leſs that we are juſtified by it. Many things have been too crudely ſaid upon this Subject, which have given the Enemies of the Reformation great Advantages, and have furniſhed them with much matter of Reproach. We ought to believe firmly, That Chriſt died for all Penitent and Converted Sinners; and when we feel theſe Characters in our ſelves, we may from thence juſtly infer, That he died for us, and that we are of the Number of thoſe who ſhall be Saved through him: But yet if we may fall from this ſtate, in which we do now feel our ſelves, we may and muſt likewiſe forfeit thoſe hopes; and therefore we muſt *work out our Salvation with fear and trembling*. Our believing that we ſhall be Saved by Chriſt, is no Act of Divine Faith; ſince every Act of Faith muſt be founded on ſome Divine Revelation: It is only a Collection and Inference that we may make from this general Propoſition, That Chriſt is the propitiation for the Sins of thoſe who do truly repent and believe his Goſpel; and from thoſe Reflections and Obſervations that we make on our ſelves, by which we conclude, That we do truly both repent and believe.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

Albeit that Good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our Sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgment: yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith, insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a Tree discerned by the fruit.

THat Good works are indispensably necessary to Salvation; that *without holiness no man shall see the Lord*; is so fully and frequently expresst in the Gospel, that no doubt can be made of it by any who reads it: And indeed a greater disparagement to the Christian Religion cannot be imagined, than to propose the hopes of God's Mercy and Pardon barely upon Believing, without a Life suitable to the Rules it gives us. This began early to corrupt the Theories of Religion, as it still has but too great an influence upon the Practice of it. What St. *James* writ upon this Subject, must put an end to all doubting about it; and whatever Subtilties some may have set up, to separate the consideration of Faith from a holy Life, in the point of *Justification*; yet none among us have denied that it was absolutely necessary to Salvation: And so it be owned as necessary, it is a nice curiosity to examine, whether it is of it self a Condition of Justification, or if it is the certain distinction and constant effect of that Faith which justifies. These are Speculations of very little consequence, as long as the main Point is still maintained; That Christ came to *bring us to God*, to change our Natures, to mortify the Old man in us, and to raise up and restore that *Image of God*, from which we had fallen by Sin. And therefore even where the Thread of Men's Speculations of these Matters may be thought too fine, and in some Points of them wrong drawn; yet so long as this Foundation is preserved, that *every one who nameth the name of Christ does depart from iniquity*, so long the Doctrine of Christ is preserved pure in this Capital and Fundamental Point.

2 Tim. 2. 19.

There do arise out of this Article only two Points, about which some Debates have been made. 1st. Whether the Good Works of Holy Men are in themselves so perfect, that they can endure the severity of God's Judgment, so that there is no mixture of imperfection or Evil in them, or not? The Council of *Trent* has decreed, That Men by their Good Works have so fully satisfied the Law of God, according to the state of this Life, that nothing is wanting to them. The second Point is, Whether these Good Works are of their own nature meritorious of Eternal Life, or not? The Council of *Trent* has decreed that they are: Yet a long softening is added to the Decree, importing, That *none ought to glory in himself, but in the Lord; whose goodness is such, that he makes his own gifts to us, to be merits in us:* And it adds, *That* because *in many things we offend all, every one ought to consider the justice and severity, as well as the mercy and goodness of God: and not to judge himself, even tho' he should know nothing by himself.* So then that in which all are agreed about this Matter, is, 1. That our Works cannot be good or acceptable to God, but as we are assisted by his Grace and Spirit to do them: So that the real Goodness that is in them, flows from those Assistances which enable us to do them. 2. That God does certainly reward

ward Good Works: He has promiſed it, and *he is faithful and cannot lie: nor is he unrighteous to forget our labour of love.* So the Favour of God and eternal Happineſs is the reward of Good Works: Mention is alſo made *of a full reward, of the reward of a righteous Man, and of a Prophet's reward.* 3. That this Reward is promiſed in the Goſpel, and could not be claimed without that, by any antecedent Merit founded upon equality: *Since our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of Glory.* Art. 12. Matth. 10. 41, 42. 2 Cor. 4. 17.

The Points in which we differ, are, 1. Whether the Good Works of holy Men are ſo perfect, that there is no defect in them; or whether there is ſtill ſome ſuch defect mixed with them, that there is occaſion for Mercy, to pardon ſomewhat even in Good Men? Thoſe of the Church of *Rome* think that a Work cannot be called *good*, if it is not entirely *good*; and that nothing can pleaſe God, in which there is a mixture of Sin. Whereas we, according to the Article, believe that Human Nature is ſo weak and ſo degenerated, that as far as our Natural Powers concur in any Action, there is ſtill ſome Allay in it; and that a *Good work* is conſidered by God according to the main both of the Action and of the Intention of him that does it; and as a Father *pities* his Children, ſo God paſſes over the defects of thoſe who ſerve him ſincerely, though not perfectly. *The imaginations of the heart of man are only evil continually: In many things we offend all*; ſays St. *James*: And St. *Paul* reckons that *he had not yet apprehended, but was forgetting the things behind, and reaching to theſe before, and ſtill preſſing forward.* Gen. 6. 5. Jam. 3. 2. Phil. 3. 13.

We ſee in fact, that the beſt Men in all Ages have been complaining and humbling themſelves, even for the ſins of their Holy Things, for their Vanity and Deſire of Glory, for the diſtraction of their Thoughts in Devotion, and for the Affection which they bore to Earthly things. It were a Doctrine of great Cruelty, which might drive Men to deſpair, if they thought that no Action could pleaſe God, in which they were conſcious to themſelves of ſome Imperfection or Sin. The Midwives of *Egypt feared God*, yet they excuſed themſelves by a Lye: But God accepted of what was good, and paſſed over what was amiſs in them, and *built them houſes.* St. *Auſtin* urges this frequently, That our Saviour in teaching us to pray, has made this a ſtanding Petition, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes*, as well as that, *Give us this day our daily Bread*; for we ſin daily, and do always need a Pardon. Upon theſe Reaſons we conclude, that ſomewhat of the Man enters into all that Men do: We are made up of Infirmities, and we need the Interceſſion of Chriſt, to make our beſt Actions to be accepted of by God: For *if he ſhould ſtraitly mark iniquity, who can ſtand before him? but mercy is with him, and forgiveneſs.* So that with *Hezekiah* we ought to pray, That *though we are not purified according to the purification of the ſanctuary, yet the good Lord would pardon every one that prepareth his heart to ſeek God.* Exod. 1. 21. Pſal. 130. 3, 4. 2 Chron. 30. 18, 19.

The Second Queſtion ariſes out of this, concerning *the Merit of Good Works*; for upon the ſuppoſition of their being compleatly good, that Merit is founded; which will be acknowledged to be none at all, if it is believed that there are ſuch Defects in them, that they need a Pardon; ſince where there is Guilt, there can be no pretenſion to Merit. The word *Merit* has alſo a ſound that is ſo daring, ſo little ſuitable to the humility of a Creature, to be uſed towards a Being of Infinite Majeſty, and with relation to endleſs Rewards, that though we do not deny but that a ſenſe is given to it by many of the Church of *Rome*, to which no juſt exception can be made, yet there ſeems to be ſomewhat too bold in it, eſpecially when *Condignity* is added to it: And ſince this may naturally give us an Idea of a buying and ſelling with God, and that there has been a great deal

Art. 12. of this put in practice, it is certain that on many respects this *Word* ought not to be made use of. There is somewhat in the Nature of Man apt to swell and to raise it self out of measure; and to that no Indulgence ought to be given, in words that may flatter it; for we ought to subdue this Temper by all means possible, both in our selves and others. On the other hand, though we confess that there is a Disorder and Weakness that hangs heavy upon us, and that sticks close to us, yet this ought not to make us indulge our selves in our sins, as if they were the effects of an Infirmity that is inseparable from us. To consent to any Sin, if it were ever so small in it
2 Cor. 7. 1. self, is a very great sin: We ought to go on, still *cleansing our selves* more and more, *from all filthiness both of the flesh and of the spirit, and perfecting holiness in the fear of God.* Our readiness to sin should awaken both our diligence to watch against it, and our humility under it. For though we grow not up to a pitch of being above all sin, and of absolute Perfection, yet there are many degrees both of Purity and Perfection, to which we may arrive, and to which we must constantly aspire. So that we must keep a just Temper in this Matter, neither to ascribe so much to our own Works as to be lifted up by reason of them, or to forget our daily need of a Saviour both for Pardon and Intercession; nor on the other hand so far to neglect them, as to take no care about them. The due Temper is *to make*
Phil. 2. 12. Col. 3. 17. *our calling and election sure, and to work out our own salvation with fear and trembling*; but to *do all in the name of the Lord Jesus*, ever trusting to him, and *giving thanks to God by him.*

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the Grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God; forasmuch as they spring not of Faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School-Authors say) deserve Grace of Congruity: Yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath commanded and willed them to be done, we doubt not but that they have the nature of Sin.

THere is but one Point to be considered in this Article, which is, Whether Men can without any inward Assistances from God do any Action that shall be in all its circumstances so good, that it is not only acceptable to God, but meritorious in his sight, though in a lower degree of merit. If what was formerly laid down concerning a Corruption that was spread over the whole Race of Mankind, and that had very much vitiated their Faculties, be true, then it will follow from thence, That unassisted Nature can do nothing that is so good in it self, that it can be pleasant or meritorious in the sight of God. A great difference is here to be made between an external Action as it is considered in it self, and the same Action as it was done by such a Man. An Action is called good, from the Morality and Nature of the Action it self; so Actions of Justice and Charity are in themselves good, whatsoever the Doer of them may be: But Actions are considered by God with relation to him that does them, in another light; his Principles, Ends, and Motives, with all the other circumstances of the Action, come into this Account; for unless all these be good, let the Action in its own abstracted nature be ever so good, it cannot render the Doer acceptable or meritorious in the sight of God.

Another distinction is also to be made between the Methods of the Goodness and Mercy of God, and the strictness of Justice: For if God had such regard to the feigned Humiliation of *Ahab*, as to grant him and his Family a Reprieve for some time from those Judgments that had been denounced against them and him; and if *Jehu*'s executing the Commands of God upon *Ahab*'s Family, and upon the Worshippers of *Baal*, procured him the Blessing of a long continuance of the Kingdom in his Family, though he acted in it with a bad design, and retained still the old Idolatry of the Calves set up by *Jeroboam*; then we have all reason to conclude, according to the Infinite Mercy and Goodness of God, that no Man is rejected by him, or denied inward Assistances, that is, making the most of his Faculties, and doing the best that he can; but that he who is faithful in his little shall be made Ruler over more. 1 Kings 21. 29. 2 Kings 10. 30, 31.

The Question is only, Whether such Actions can be so pure, as to be free from all sin, and to Merit at God's hand, as being Works naturally perfect; for that is the formal Notion of the *Merit of Congruity*, as the Notion of the *Merit of Condignity* is, That the Work is perfect in the Supernatural Order.

To establish the Truth of this Article, beside what was said upon the Head of Original Sin, we ought to consider what St. *Paul*'s words in the 7th of the *Romans* do import: Nothing was urged from them on the former Articles, because there is just ground of doubting whether St. *Paul* is there speaking of himself in the state he was in when he writ it, or whether he is personating a *Jew*, and speaking of himself as he was while yet a

Art. 13. *Jew.* But if the words are taken in that lowest sense, they prove this, That an Unregenerate Man has in himself such a Principle of Corruption, that even a good and a holy *Law* revealed to him, cannot reform it; but that on
Rom. 7. 12, 13. the contrary, it will take *occasion from that very Law to deceive him and to slay him.* So that all the benefit that he receives even from that Revelation,
Ver. 14. is, that *sin in him becomes exceeding sinful*; as being done against such a degree of Light, by which it appears that he is *carnal, and sold under sin*; and that though his Understanding may be enlighten'd by the Revelation of the Law of God made to him, so that he has some Inclinations to obey it, yet he does not that which he would, but that which he would not: And
16, 17, 18, though his *Mind* is so far convinced, that he *consents to the Law that it is good*, yet *he still does that which he would not*; which was the effect of *sin that dwelt in him*; and from hence he knew, *that in him, that is in his flesh*, in his carnal part, or carnal state, *there dwelt no good thing*; for *though to will*, that is, to resolve on obeying the Law, *was present, yet he found not a way how to perform that which was good*; the good that he wished to do, that he did not; but he did the evil that he wished not to do; which he imputed
21, to the *sin that dwelt in him.* He found then a *Law*, a Bent and Biass within him, that when he wished, resolved, and endeavoured to do good, *evil was present with him*, it sprung up naturally within him; for though in his rational Powers he might so far approve the Law of God as to *delight* in it;
23, yet he found *another Law* arising upon his Mind from his Body, *which warred against the law of his mind, and brought him into captivity to the law of*
24, 25. *sin which was in his members*: All this made him conclude, that *he was carnal, and sold under sin*; and cry out, *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?* For this *he thanks God through our Lord Jesus Christ*: And he sums all up in these words; *So then, with the mind I my self serve the Law of God, but with the flesh the Law of Sin.*

If all this Discourse is made by St. *Paul* of himself when he had the Light which a Divinely-inspired Law gave him, he being educated in the exactest way of that Religion, both zealous for the Law, and blameless in his own observance of it; we may from thence conclude how little reason there is to believe that a Heathen, or indeed an unregenerated Man can be better than he was, and do Actions that are both good in themselves, which it is not denied but that he may do; and do them in such a manner that there shall be no mixture nor imperfection in them, but that they shall be perfect in a Natural Order, and be by consequence meritorious in a Secondary Order.

By all this we do not pretend to say, That a Man in that state can do nothing; or that he has no use of his Faculties: He can certainly restrain himself on many occasions; he can do many good works, and avoid many bad ones; he can raise his Understanding to know and consider things according to the Light that he has; he can put himself in good methods and good circumstances; he can Pray, and do many Acts of Devotion, which though they are all very imperfect, yet none of them will be lost in the sight of God, who certainly will never be wanting to those who are doing what in them lies, to make themselves the proper Objects of his Mercy, and fit Subjects for his Grace to work upon. Therefore this Article is not to be made use of to discourage Mens Endeavours, but only to encrease their Humility; to teach them not to think of themselves above measure, but soberly; to depend always on the mercy of God, and ever to fly to it.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XIV.

Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary Works, beſides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without Arrogancy and Impiety. For by them men do declare, That they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do: but that they do more for his ſake, than of bounden Duty is required. Whereas Chriſt ſaith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded to you, ſay, We are unprofitable Servants.

THERE are Two Points that ariſe out of this Article to be conſidered, *1ſt.* Whether there are in the New Teſtament Counſels of Perfection given; that is to ſay, ſuch Rules which do not oblige all Men to follow them, under the pain of Sin; but yet are uſeful to carry them on to a ſublimer Degree of Perfection, than is neceſſary in order to their Salvation? Luke 17 10.
2d. Whether men by following theſe do not more than they are bound to do, and by conſequence, Whether they have not there by a Stock of Merit to communicate to others? The Firſt of theſe leads to the Second; for if there are no ſuch Counſels, then the Foundation of Supererogoation fails.

We deny both, upon this Ground, That the great Obligations of *loving God with all our Heart, Soul, Strength and Mind, and our Neighbour as our ſelves*, which are reckoned by our Saviour, the *two great Commandments, on which hang all the Law and the Prophets*, are of that extent, that it ſeems not poſſible to imagine, How any thing can be acceptable to God that does not fall within them. Since if it is acceptable to God, then that Obligation to love God ſo entirely muſt bind us to it; for if it is a Sin not to love God up to this pitch, then it is a Sin not to do every thing that we imagine will pleaſe him: And by conſequence, if there is a Degree of pleaſing God, whether Precept or Counſel, that we do not ſtudy to attain to, we do not *love* him in a manner ſuitable to that. It ſeems a great many in the Church of *Rome* are aware of this conſequence, and therefore they have taken much pains to convince the World, that we are not bound to love God at all, or as others more cautiouſly word it, that we are only bound to value him above all things, but not to have a *love* of ſuch a vaſt intenſion for him. This is a propoſition that after all their ſoftning it, gives ſo much horror to every Chriſtian that I need not be at any pains to confute it. Matth. 22. 36, *to* 40.

We are further required in the New Teſtament, *to cleanſe our ſelves from all filthineſs both of the Fleſh and Spirit, perfecting holineſs in the fear of God*: And to reckon our ſelves *his and not our own*, and that *we are bought with a price*; and that therefore *we ought to glorify him both in our Bodies, and in our Spirits, which are his*. Theſe and many more like Expreſſions are plainly Precepts of general Obligation, for nothing can be ſet forth in more poſitive words than theſe are; And it is not eaſie to imagine, How any thing can go beyond them; for if we are Chriſt's Property, purchaſed by him, then we ought to apply our ſelves to every thing in which his honour, or the honour of his Religion can be concerned, or which will be pleaſing to him. 2 Cor. 7. 1. 1 Cor. 6. 20.

Our Saviour having charged the *Phariſees* ſo often, for adding ſo many of their Ordinances to the Laws of God, *teaching his fear by the Precepts of men*; and the Apoſtles condemning *a ſhew of Will-worſhip and* Coloſſ. 2.

voluntary

Art. 14. *voluntary humility*, seem to belong to this matter, and to be designed on purpose to repress the Pride and Singularities affected Hypocrites. Our Saviour said to him that asked, *What he should do that he might have eternal life? keep the Commandments:* These words I do the rather cite, because they are followed with a passage, that of all others in the New Testament, seems to look the likest a Counsel of Perfection; for when he who made the Question, replied upon our Saviour's Answer, That *he had kept all these from his youth up*, and added, *what lack I yet?* To that our Saviour Answered, *If thou wilt be perfect, go sell all that thou hast, and give to the Poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow me:* And by the words that follow, of the difficulty of a *rich Man's entring into the Kingdom of Heaven*; this is more fully Explained. The meaning of all that whole passage is this, Christ called that person to abandon all, and come and follow him, in such a manner as he had called his Apostles. So that here is no Counsel but a positive Command given to that particular person, upon this occasion. By *Perfect* is only to be meant compleat, in order to that to which he pretended, which was *Eternal Life*. And that also explains the word in that period, *Treasures in Heaven*, another Expression for *Eternal Life*, to compensate the loss which he would have made by the Sale of his Possessions. So that here is no Counsel, but a Special Command given to this person, in order to his own attaining *Eternal Life*.

Matth. 19. 16, 17.

V. 20, 21.

Nor is it to be inferred from hence, That this is proposed to others in the way of a Counsel; for as in Cases either of a Famine or Persecution, it may come to be to some a command, *to sell all* in order to the relief of others, as it was in the first beginnings of Christianity; so in ordinary cases to do it might be rather a tempting of Providence than a trusting to it, for then a Man should part with the means of his Subsistence, which God has provided for him, without a necessay and pressing occasion. Therefore our Saviour's words, *Sell that ye have and give Alms*, as they are delivered in the strain and peremptoriness of a Command, so they must be understood to bind as positive Commands do: Not so constantly as a Negative Command does, since in every minute of our Life, that binds: but there is a Rule and Order in our obeying positive Commands. We must not rest on the *Sabbath-day*, if a Work of Necessity or Charity calls us to put to our hands: We must not obey our Parents in disobeying a publick Law: So if we have Families, or the Necessities of a feeble Body, and a weak Constitution, for which God has supplied us with that which will afford us *food convenient for us*, we must not throw up those provisions and cast our selves upon others. Therefore that Precept must be moderated and expounded, so as to agree with the other Rules and Orders that God has set us.

Luke 12. 33.

Prov. 30.8

A distinction is therefore to be made between those things that do universally and equally bind all Mankind; and those things that do more specially bind some sorts of men, and that only at some times. There are greater degrees of Charity, Gravity, and all other Virtues, to which the Clergy for instance are more bound than other men; but these are to them Precepts and not Counsels. And in the first beginnings of Christianity there were greater Obligations laid upon all Christians, as well as greater Gifts were bestowed on them. It is true in the Point of Marriage S. *Paul* does plainly allow, that such as *marry do well, but that such as marry not do better*. But the meaning of that, is not, as if an unmarried Life were a state of Perfection, beyond that which a Man is obliged to: But only this, That as to the Course of this Life, and the *present distress*; and as to the judgment that is to be made of men by their Actions, no Man is to be thought to do amiss who *marries*; but yet he who marries not, is to be

1 Cor. 7. 38.

judged

judged to do *better*. But yet inwardly and before God this matter may be far otherwiſe; for he who *marries not* and burns, certainly does worſe than he who *marries and lives chaſtly*. But he who finding that he can limit himſelf without endangering his Purity; though no Law reſtrains him from Marrying, yet ſeeing that he is like to be Tempted to be too careful about the Concerns of this Life if he *marries*, is certainly under Obligations to follow that Courſe of Life in which there are fewer Temptations, and greater Opportunities to attend on the Service of God. *Art.* 14.

With Relation to outward Actions, and to the Judgments that from viſible Appearances are to be made of them, ſome Actions may be ſaid to be better than others, which yet are truly good: But as to the particular obligations that every Man is under, with Relation to his own State and Circumſtances, and for which he muſt Anſwer at the laſt Day, theſe being ſecret, and ſo not ſubject to the Judgments of Men, certainly every Man is ſtrictly bound to do the beſt he can; to chuſe that Courſe of Life in which he thinks he may do the beſt Services to God and Man: Nor are theſe free to him to chuſe or not: He is under Obligations, and he Sins if he ſees a more excellent thing that he might have done, and contents himſelf with a lower or leſs valuable thing. St. *Paul* had wherein to *Glory*, for whereas it was Lawful for him as an Apoſtle to ſuffer the *Corinthians* to ſupply him in temporals, when he was ſerving them in Spiritual Things; yet he choſe rather for the Honour of the Goſpel, and to take away all occaſion of Cenſure from thoſe who ſought for it, *to work with his own hands, and not to be burthenſome to them.* But in that State of Things, though there was no Law or outward Obligation upon him to *ſpare them*; he was under an inward Law of doing all things to the Glory of God: And by this Law he was as much bound, as if there had been an outward compulſory Law lying upon him. Acts 20. 34. 1 Cor. 9. 18. 2 Cor. 12. 13.

This diſtinction is to be remembred, between ſuch an Obligation as ariſes out of a Mans particular Circumſtances, and ſuch other Motives as can be only known to a Man himſelf, and ſuch an Obligation as may be faſtned on him by ſtated and general Rules: He may be abſolutely free from the latter of theſe, and yet be ſecretly bound by thoſe inward and ſtronger conſtraints of the Love of God, and of Zeal for his Glory. Enough ſeems to be ſaid to prove that there are no Counſels of Perfection in the Goſpel: That all the Rules ſet to us in it, are in the Stile and Form of Precepts; and that though there may be ſome Actions of more Heroical Virtue, and more Sublime Piety than others, to which all men are not obliged by equal or general Rules; yet ſuch men to whoſe Circumſtances and Station they do belong, are ſtrictly obliged by them, ſo that they ſhould Sin if they did not put them in practice.

This being thus made out, the Foundation of Works of Supererogation is deſtroyed: But if it ſhould be acknowledged that there were ſuch Counſels of Perfection in the Scripture, there are ſtill two other clear proofs, to ſhew that there can be no ſuch thing as Supererogating with God. Firſt, Every Man not only has Sinned; but has ſtill ſo much Corruption about him, as to feel the truth of that of St. *James*, *in many things we offend all.* Now unleſs it can be ſuppoſed that by obeying thoſe Counſels a Man can compenſate with Almighty God for his Sins, there is no ground to think that he can Supererogate: He muſt firſt clear his own Score, before he can imagine that any thing upon his account can be forgiven or imputed to another: and if the Guilt of Sin is Eternal, and the pretended Merit of obeying Counſels is only Temporary, no Temporary Merit can take off an Eternal Guilt. So that it muſt firſt be ſuppoſed, James 3. 2.

that

Art. 14. that a Man both is and has been perfect as to the Precepts of Obligation, before it can be thought that he ſhould have an Overplus of Merit.

The other clear Argument from Scripture againſt Works of Supererogation, is that there is nothing in the whole New Teſtament that does in any ſort favour them: We are always taught to truſt to the Mercies of God, and to the Death and Interceſſion of Chriſt, and *to work out our own Salvation*
Phil. 2.12. *with fear trembling*; but we are never once directed to look for any help from Saints, or to think that we can do any thing for another man's Soul
Pſal. 49.7. in this way. The *Pſalm* has it, *No man can by any means give a ranſom for his brother's Soul:* The words of Chriſt cited in the Article are full and expreſs againſt it.

The words in the Parable of the five fooliſh Virgins and the five wiſe, may ſeem to favour it, but they really contradict it; for it was the fooliſh Virgins that deſired the wiſe to give them of their *Oil*; which if any will apply to a ſuppoſed Communication of Merit, they ought
Mat. 25.9. to conſider that the Propoſition is made by the *fooliſh*, and the Anſwer of the wiſe Virgins is full againſt it: *Not ſo, leſt there be not enough for us and you:* What follows, of bidding them *go to them that ſell, and buy for themſelves*, is only a piece of the Fiction of the Parable, which cannot enter in-
Col. 1. 24. to any part of the Application of it. What St. *Paul* ſays of *his filling up that which was behind of the afflictions of Chriſt in his fleſh, for his body's ſake, which is the Church*; is, as appears by the words that follow, *whereof I am made a Miniſter*, only applicable to the Edification that the Church received from the Sufferings of the Apoſtles: It being a great confirmation to them of the Truth of the Goſpel, when thoſe who preached it, ſuffered ſo conſtantly and ſo patiently for it; by which they both confirmed what they had preached, and ſet an Example to others, of adhering firmly to it. And ſince Chriſt is related to his Church, as a Head to the Members, it is in ſome ſort his ſuffering himſelf, when his Members ſuffer; and that Conformity which they ought to expreſs to him as their Head, was neceſſary to make up the due Proportion that ought to be between the Head and the Members. So St. *Paul* rejoyced in his being made *conformable to him*. And this, as it is a Senſe that the words will well bear, ſo it is certain they are capable of no other ſenſe; for if the ſufferings of the Apoſtles were meritorious in behalf of the other Chriſtians, ſome plain account muſt have been given of this in the New Teſtament, at leaſt to do honour to the Memory of ſuch Apoſtles as had then died for the Faith. If it is ſuggeſted, that the living Apoſtles were too modeſt to claim it to themſelves; that will not ſatisfy, all runs quite in a contrary Stile: The Mercies of God and the blood of Chriſt being always repeated, whereas theſe are never once named. Now to imagine that there can be any thing of ſuch great uſe to us, in which the Scripture ſhould be not only ſilent, but ſhould run in a ſtrain totally different from it, is not conceivable: For if in any thing, the Goſpel ought to be full and explicite in all that which concerns our Peace and Reconciliation with God, and the means of our eſcaping his Wrath, and obtaining his Favour.

There is another Doctrine that does alſo belong to this Head, which is Purgatory, that is not to be entred on here, but is referred to its proper place. Thus it appears how ill this Doctrine of Works of Supererogation is founded; and upon how many accounts it is evidently falſe; and yet upon it has been built not only a Theory of a Communication of thoſe Merits, and a Treaſure in the Church, but a Practice of ſo foul a nature, that
Mark 11. 17. in it the words of our Saviour, ſpoken to the *Jews*, *My houſe is a houſe of Prayer, but ye have made it a den of Thieves*, are accompliſhed in a high and moſt ſcandalous manner. It has been pretended that this was of the nature

of

of a Bank, of which the Pope was the Keeper; and that he could grant such Bills and Assignments upon it as he pleased: This was done in so base and so crying a manner, that all who had any sense of Probity in their own Church were ashamed of it. *Art.* 14.

In the Primitive Church there were very severe Rules made, obliging all that had sinned publickly (and they were afterwards applied to such as had sinned secretly) to continue for many Years in a state of Separation from the Sacrament, and of Penance and Discipline. But because all such general Rules admit of a great variety of Circumstances, taken from Mens Sins, their Persons, and their Repentance, there was a Power given to all Bishops by the Council of *Nice*, to shorten the time, and to relax the severity of those Canons; and such Favour as they saw cause to grant, was called *Indulgence*. This was just and necessary, and was a Provision without which no Constitution or Society can be well governed. But after the Tenth Century, as the Popes came to take this Power in the whole extent of it into their own hands, so they found it too feeble to carry on the great Designs that they grafted upon it.

They gave it high Names, and called it a plenary Remission, and the pardon of all Sins: which the World was taught to look on as a thing of a much higher nature, than the bare excusing of Men from Discipline and Penance. Purgatory was then got to be firmly believed, and all Men were strangely possessed with the terror of it: So a deliverance from Purgatory, and by consequence an immediate admission into Heaven, was believed to be the certain effect of it. And to support all this, the Doctrine of *Counsels of Perfection*, of Works of *Supererogation*, and of the *Communication* of those Merits, was set up; and to that, this was added, That a Treasure made up of these, was at the Pope's disposal, and in his keeping. The use that this was put to, was as bad as the Forgery it self. Multitudes were by these means engaged to go to the *Holy Land*, to recover it out of the hands of the *Saracens*: Afterwards they armed vast Numbers against Hereticks to extirpate them: They fought also all those Quarrels which their ambitious Pretensions engaged them in with Emperors and other Princes, by the same Pay; and at last they set it to Sale with the same Impudence, and almost with the same Methods that Mountebanks use in the venting of their Secrets.

This was so gross even in an Ignorant Age, and among the ruder sort, that it gave the first Rise to the Reformation: and as the progress of it was a very signal Work of God, so it was in a great measure owing to the Scandals that this shameless Practice had given the World. And upon this single reason it is that this matter has been more fully examined than was necessary; for the thing is so plain, that it has no sort of difficulty in it.

ARTICLE XV.

Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things (sin only except) from which he was clearly void both in his flesh and in spirit. He came to be a Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the World: and sin, as St. John saith, was not in him. But all we the rest (although baptized and born again in Christ) yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us.

THis Article relates to the former, and is put here as another Foundation against all Works of Supererogation: for that Doctrine, with the Consequences of it, having given the first Occasion to the Reformation, it was thought necessary to overthrow it entirely: and because the Perfection of the Saints must be supposed, before their Supererogation can be thought on, that was therefore here opposed.

Heb. 7.26. That Christ was *holy, without spot and blemish, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners*; that there was *no guile in his mouth*; *that he never* 1Pet.1.19. *did amiss, but went about always doing good*, and was as a *lamb without spot*, is so oft affirmed in the New Testament, that it can admit of no Debate. This was not only true in his Rational Powers, the superior part called the *Spirit*, in opposition to the lower part, but also in those Appetites and Affections that arise from our Bodies, and from the Union of our Souls to them, called the *Flesh*. For tho' in these Christ having the Human Nature truly in him, had the Appetites of Hunger in him, yet the Devil could not tempt him by that to distrust God, or to desire a miraculous supply sooner than was fitting: He overcame even that necessary Appetite when- Joh. 4.34. soever there was an occasion given him *to do the will of his heavenly Father*: He had also in him the aversions to pain and suffering, and the horror at a violent and ignominious Death, which was planted in our Natures: and in this it was natural to him to wish and to pray that the Cup might pass from him. But in this his Purity appeared the most eminently, That tho' he felt the weight of his Nature to a vast degree, he did notwithstanding that, limit and conquer it so entirely, that he resigned himself absolutely to his Father's Will: *Not my will, but thy will be done.*

Besides all that has been already said upon the former Articles, to prove that some taint and degree of the Original Corruption remains in all Men; the peculiar Character of Christ's Holiness so oft repeated, looks plainly to be a distinction proper to him and to him only. We are called upon to follow him, to learn of him, and to imitate him without restriction; 1Cor.11.1 whereas we are required to *follow the Apostles, only as they were the followers* 1Pet.1.15. *of Christ*: And though we are commanded *to be holy as he was holy in all* Mat. 5.48. *manner of conversation*; that does no more prove that any man can arrive at that pitch, than our being commanded *to be perfect as our heavenly father is perfect*, will prove that we may become perfect as God is: The Importance of these words being only this, That we ought in all things to make God and Christ our patterns; and that we ought to endeavour to imitate and resemble them all we can.

There seems to be a particular design in the Contexture and Writing of the Scriptures, to represent to us some of the Failings of the best

best Men: For though *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth* are said to have been *blameless*, that must only be meant of the Exterior and Visible part of their Conversation, that it was free from blame, and of their being accepted of God; but that is not to be carried to import a sinless Purity before God: For we find the same *Zachary* guilty of misbelieving the Message of the Angel to him, to such a degree, that he was punished for it with a Dumbness of above Nine Months continuance. Perhaps the Virgin's Question to the Angel had nothing blame-worthy in it; but our Saviour's Answers to her, both when she came to him in the Temple, when he was Twelve Years old, and more particularly when she moved him at the Marriage in *Cana*, to furnish them with Wine, look like a Reprimand. The Contentions among the Apostles about the Preheminence, and in particular the Ambition of *James* and *John*, cannot be excused. St. *Peter's* Dissimulation at *Antioch* in the Judaizing Controversy, and the sharp Contention that happened between *Paul* and *Barnabas* are recorded in Scripture, and they are both Characters of the Sincerity of those who Penned them, and likewise Marks of the Frailties of Human Nature, even in its greatest Elevation, and with its highest Advantages. So that all the high Characters that are given of the best Men, are to be understood either comparatively to others whom they exceeded, or with relation to their outward Actions, and the visible parts of their Life: Or they are to be meant of their Zeal and Sincerity, which is valued and accepted of God; and, as it was to *Abraham*, is imputed to them for Righteousness.

Art. 15. Luk. 1. 6. Ver. 20. Luk. 2. 49. Joh. 2. 4. Matth. 20. 20, 24. Gal. 2. 11, 12, 13, 14. Act. 15. 39.

Yet this is not to be abused by any to be an encouragement to live in Sin; for we may carry this Purity and Perfection certainly very far, by the Grace of God. In every Sin that we commit, we do plainly perceive, that we do it with so much freedom, that we might not have done it; here is still just Matter for Humiliation and Repentance. By this Doctrine our Church intends only to repress the Pride of vain-glorious and hypocritical Men, and to strike at the Root of that filthy Merchandise that has been brought into the House of God, under the pretence of the Perfection, and even the over-doing or superetrogating of the Saints.

ARTICLE XVI.

Of Sin after Baptism.

Note very deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is the sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of Repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again and amend our Lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

THis Article, as it relates to the Sect of the *Novatians* of old, so it is probable it was made a part of our Doctrine, upon the Account of some of the Enthusiasts, who at that time, as well as some do in our Days, might boast their Perfection, and join with that part of the Character of a *Pharisee*, this other of an unreasonable rigour of Censure and Punishment against Offenders. By *deadly Sin* in the Article, we are not to understand such Sins as in the Church of *Rome* are called *mortal*, in opposition to others that are *venial*: As if some Sins, though Offences against God, and Violations of his Law, could be of their own nature such slight things, that they deserved only Temporal Punishment, and were to be expiated by some piece of Pennance or Devotion, or the Communication of the Merits of others. The Scripture no where teaches us to think so slightly of the Majesty of God or of his Law. There is a *curse* upon every
Gal. 3. 10. one *that continueth not in all things which are written in the Book of the Law to do them*: And the same Curse must have been on us all, if Christ had not redeemed us from it: *The wages of Sin is death*: And St. *James* asserts, that there is such a Complication of all the Precepts of the Law of God, both with one another, and with the Authority of the Lawgiver, that
Jam. 2. 10, 11. *he who offends in one point, is guilty of all.* So since God has in his Word given us such dreadful Apprehensions of his *Wrath*, and of the *guilt of Sin*, we dare not soften these to a degree below the Majesty of the Eternal God, and the Dignity of his most Holy Laws. But after all, we are far from the Conceit of the *Stoicks*, who made all Sins alike. We acknowledge that some Sins of Ignorance and Infirmity may consist with a state of Grace; which is either quite destroyed, or at least much eclipsed and clouded by other Sins, that are more heinous in their nature, and more deliberately gone about: It is in this sense that the word *deadly Sin* is to be understood in the Article: For though in the strictness of Justice every Sin is *deadly*, yet in the Dispensation of the Gospel, those Sins are only *deadly*, that do deeply wound the Conscience, and that drive away Grace.

Another Term in the Article needs also to be a little explained; *the sin against the Holy Ghost*; concerning which, since there is so severe a Sentence pronounced by Christ, it is necessary that it be rightly understood; and that can only be done by considering the Occasion of those Words, as well as the Words themselves. Christ wrought such Miracles in the sight of his Enemies, that when there was no room left for any other Ca-
Matth. 12. 24, 31. vil, they betook themselves to that, that *he did not cast out devils but by Belzebub the Prince of Devils*. And this was the occasion that led our Saviour to speak of the Sin or *blasphemy against the Holy Ghost*. It was their rejecting

ing the cleareſt Evidence that God could give to prove any thing by: The power by which thoſe Miracles were wrought, and which was afterwards communicated to the Apoſtles, is called through the whole New Teſtament, the *Holy Ghoſt*. By which is not to be meant here the Third Perſon of the Trinity, but the wonderful Effuſion of thoſe extraordinary Gifts and Powers that were then communicated, the Oeconomy and Diſpenſation of which is ſaid to be derived from that *one Spirit*. This was the utmoſt Proof that could be given of Truth: And when Men ſet themſelves to blaſpheme this, and to aſcribe the Works of Chriſt to a colluſion with the Devil, they did thereby ſo wilfully oppoſe God, and reproach his Power, they did ſo ſtifle their own Conviction, and ſet themſelves againſt the Conviction of others, that nothing could be done further for their Conviction; this being the higheſt degree of Evidence and Proof: And this was ſo high an Indignity to God, when he deſcended ſo far to ſatisfy their ſcruples, that it was not to be pardoned; as their Impenitence and Incredulity was ſo obſtinate as not to be overcome. *Art.* 16.

Upon this Occaſion given, our Saviour makes a difference between their Blaſpheming him, and inſtead of owning him to be the *Meſſias*, calling him a *deceiver*, a *glutton*, and a *wine-bibber*; of which, upon hearing his Doctrine, and ſeeing his Life, they were ſtill guilty. This was indeed a great Sin, but yet there were means left of convincing them of the Truth of his being the great Prophet ſent of God: And by theſe they might be ſo far prevailed on as to repent and believe, and ſo to obtain pardon: But when they had thoſe means ſet before them, when they ſaw plain and uncontеſted Miracles done before them; and when inſtead of yielding to them, that ſet up ſuch an Oppoſition to them, which might have been as reaſonably ſaid of every Miracle that could have been wrought, then it was not poſſible to convince them. This is an impious rejecting of the higheſt Method that God himſelf uſes for proving a thing to us. The ſcorn put upon it, as it flows from a Nature ſo depraved, that it cannot be wrought on; ſo it is a ſin not to be pardoned. All things of extream ſeverity in a Doctrine that is ſo full of Grace and Mercy as the Goſpel is, ought to be reſtrained as much as may be. From thence we infer, That thoſe dreadful words of our Saviour's, ought to be reſtrained to the ſubject to which they are applied, and ought not to be carried further. Since Miracles have ceaſed, no Man is any more capable of this Sin.

Theſe Terms being thus explained, the Queſtion in the Article is now to be explained. There are words in St. *John*'s Epiſtle and elſewhere, that ſeem to import, that *men born of God*, that is to ſay, Baptized or Regenerated Chriſtians, *ſin not: Whoſoever abideth in him, ſinneth not: whoſoever ſinneth hath not ſeen him, neither known him: whoſoever is born of God doth not commit ſin, for his ſeed remaineth in him; and he cannot ſin, for he is born of God.* This is again repeated in the end of that Epiſtle, together with theſe words, *He that is begotten of God, keepeth himſelf, and that wicked one toucheth him not.* As theſe words ſeem to import that a true Chriſtian ſins not, ſo in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* it is ſaid to be *impoſſible to renew again by Repentance, thoſe who fall away, after they had been once enlightened and had taſted of the heavenly gift, had been made partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and had taſted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come.* Upon theſe Expreſſions and ſome others, though not quite of their force, it was, that in the Primitive Church, ſome that fell after Baptiſm, were caſt out of the Communion of the Church; and though they were not cut off from all hopes of the Mercy of God, yet they were never reſtored to the Peace of the Church: This was done in *Tertullian*'s time, if what he ſays on this Subject, is not to be reckoned as a piece of his *Montaniſm*.

1 Joh. 3. 6, 9. 5. 18.

Heb. 6. 4. 5. 6.

But

Art. 16. But soon after, there were great Contests upon this Head, while the *Novatians* withdrew from the Communion of the Church, and believed it was defiled by the receiving of Apostates into it: Though that was not done so easily as some proposed, but after a long separation and a severe course of Penance. Upon this followed all those Penitentiary Canons concerning the several Measures and Degrees of Penance, and that not only for Acts of Apostacy from the Christian Religion, but for all other crying Sins. According to what has been already said upon the former Articles, it has appeared that the Sanctification of Regenerated Men is not so perfected in this Life, but that there is still a mixture of Defects and Imperfections left in them: And the state of the New Covenant is a continuance of Repentance and Remission of Sins; for as oft as one sins, if he repents truly of it, and forsakes his Sins, there is a standing Offer of the Pardon of all Sins: And therefore Christ has taught us to pray daily, *Forgive us our sins:* If there were but one general Pardon offered in Baptism, this would signify little to those who feel their Infirmities, and the Sins that do so easily beset them, so apt to return upon them. It was no wonder if the entertaining this Conceit brought in a Superstitious Error in Practice among the Ancient Christians, of delaying Baptism till Death; as hoping that all Sins were then certainly pardoned: A much more dangerous Error than even the Fatal One of trusting to a Death-bed Repentance. For Baptism might have been more easily compassed; and there was more offered in the way of Argument for building upon it, than has been offered at for a Death-bed Repentance.

St. *Peter*'s Denial, his Repentance, and his being restored to his Apostolical Dignity seem to be Recorded, partly on this account, to encourage us even after the most heinous Offences, to return to God, and never to reckon our Condition desperate, were our Sins ever so many, but as we find our Hearts hardened in them into an obstinate Impenitency. Our Saviour has made our pardoning the offences that others commit against us, the measure upon which we may expect pardon from God; and he being asked, What limits he set to the number of the faults that we were bound to pardon, by the Day, if Seven was not enough, he carried it up to *seventy times seven*, a vast number, far beyond the number of offences that any Man will in all probability commit against another in a Day. But if they should grow up to all that vast number of 490, yet if our Brother still *turns again* Luk. 17.4. *and repents*, we are still bound to forgive. Now since this is joined with what he declared, that if we pardoned our Brother his offences, *our heavenly Father* Matt. 18. 35. *would also forgive us*, then we may depend upon this, That according to the sincerity of our Repentance, our sins are always forgiven us. And if this is the Nature of the New Covenant, then the Church, which is a Society formed upon it, must proportion the Rules both of her Communion and Censure, to those set in the Gospel: A heinous Sin must give us a deeper sorrow, and higer degrees of Repentance; Scandals must also be taken off and forgiven when the offending Persons have repaired the offence that was given by them, with suitable degrees of sorrow. St. *Paul* in the beginnings of Christianity, in which it being yet tender and not well known to the World, was more apt to be both blemished and corrupted, did yet order 1 Cor. 5.5. the *Corinthians* to receive back into their Communion the Incestuous Person, whom by his own Directions they had *delivered to Satan*, they had ex- 2 Cor. 2.7. communicated him, and by way of reverse to the Gifts of the Holy Ghost poured out upon all Christians, he was possessed or haunted with an evil Spirit. And yet as St. *Paul* declares that he forgave him, so he orders them to forgive him likewise; and he gives a reason for this Conduct, from the

common principles of pity and humanity, *leſt he ſhould be ſwallowed up by overmuch ſorrow.* What is in that place mentioned only in a particular inſtance, is extended to a general rule in the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*: *If any one is overtaken in a fault, ye which are ſpiritual reſtore ſuch a one in the Spirit of meekneſs, conſidering thy ſelf leſt thou alſo be tempted.* Where both the ſuppoſition that is made, and the reaſon that is given, do plainly inſinuate that all Men are ſubject to their ſeveral infirmities: So that every Man may be overtaken in faults. The charge given to *Timothy* and *Titus* to *rebuke, and exhort*, does ſuppoſe that Chriſtians, and even Biſhops and Deacons, were ſubject to faults that might deſerve correction. Art. 16. Gal 6. 1. 2 Tim 4. 2. Tit. 1. 13. 1 Joh. 5. 16.

In that paſſage cited out of S. *John*'s Epiſtle, as mention is made of a *ſin unto death* for which they were not to *pray*, ſo mention is made both there and in S. *James*'s Epiſtle, of *ſins for which they were to pray*, and which upon their Prayers were to be forgiven. All which places do not only expreſs this to be the tenor of the New Covenant, That the ſins of Regenerated Perſons were to be pardoned in it, but they are alſo clear precedents and rules for the Churches to follow them in their Diſcipline. And therefore thoſe words in S. *John*, that *a man born of God doth not and cannot ſin*, muſt be underſtood in a larger ſenſe, of their not living in the practice of known ſins; of their not allowing themſelves in that courſe of Life, nor going on deliberately with it. Jam. 5. 15, 16.

By the *ſin unto death*, is meat the ſame thing with that Apoſtacy mentioned in the 6th of the *Hebrews*. Among the *Jews* ſome ſins were puniſhed by a total exciſion or cutting off, and this probably gave the riſe to that deſignation of a *ſin unto death*. The words in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* do plainly import thoſe who being not only Baptized, but having alſo received a ſhare of the Extraordinary Effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, had totally renounced the Chriſtian Religion, and apoſtatized from the Faith, which *was a Crucifying of Chriſt anew*. Such Apoſtates to Judaiſm were thereby involved in the crime and guilt of the crucifying of Chriſt, and *the putting him to open ſhame*. Now Perſons ſo Apoſtatizing could not be renewed again by Repentance, it not being poſſible to do any thing toward their conviction that had not been already done: and they hardning themſelves againſt all that was offer'd for their conviction, were arrived at ſuch a degree of wickedneſs, that it was impoſſible to work upon them; there was nothing left to be tried, that had not been already tried, and proved to be ineffectual. Yet it is to be obſerved, that it was an unjuſtifiable piece of rigor, to apply theſe words to all ſuch as had fallen in a time of trial and perſecution: for as they had not thoſe miraculous means of conviction, which muſt be acknowledged to be the ſtrongeſt, the ſenſibleſt, and the moſt eaſily apprehended of all Arguments; ſo that they could not ſin ſo heinouſly as thoſe had done, who after what they had ſeen and felt, revolted from the Faith. Heb. 6. 6.

Great difference is alſo to be made between a deliberate ſin that a Man goes into upon choice, and in which he continues; and a Sin that the fears of death and the infirmities of Human Nature betray him into, and out of which he quickly recovers himſelf; and for which he mourns bitterly. There was no reaſon to apply what is ſaid in the New Teſtament againſt the wicked Apoſtates of that time, to thoſe who were overcome in the Perſecution. The latter ſinned grievouſly; yet it was not in the ſame kind, nor are they in any ſort to be compar'd to the former. All affectations of exceſſive ſeverity look like Phariſaical Hypocriſy; whereas the Spirit of Chriſt which is made up of Humility and Charity, will make us look ſo ſeverely to our ſelves, that on that very account we will be gentle even to the failings of others.

Yet

Art. 16. Yet on the other hand, the Church ought to endeavour to conform her self so far to her Head, and to his Doctrine, as to *note those who obey not the Gospel, and to have no company with them, that they may be ashamed: yet not so as to hate such a one, or count him as an Enemy, but to admonish him as a Brother.* Into what neglect or prostitution soever any Church may have fallen in this great point of separating Offenders, of making them ashamed, and of keeping others from being corrupted with their ill Example and bad Influence, that must be confessed to be a very great defect and blemish. The Church of *Rome* had slackned all the ancient Rules of Discipline, and had perverted this matter in a most scandalous manner; and the World is now sunk into so much corruption, and to such a contempt of holy things, that it is much more easy here to find matter for lamentation, than to see how to remedy or correct it.

2 Thess. 3. 6. 14, 15.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XVII.

Predeſtination and Election.

Predeſtination to life is the everlaſting purpoſe of God, whereby (before the foundations of the World were laid) he hath conſtantly decreed by his Counſel, ſecret to us, to deliver from curſe and damnation thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt unto everlaſting Salvation as veſſels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with ſo excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpoſe, by his Spirit working in due ſeaſon. They through grace obey the calling, they be juſtified freely, they be made Sons of God by Adoption, they be made like the Image of his only begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt: they walk religiouſly in good works, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlaſting felicity.

As the godly conſideration of Predeſtination and our Election in Chriſt is full of ſweet, pleaſant, and unſpeakable comfort to godly perſons, and ſuch as feel in themſelves the working of the Spirit of Chriſt, mortifying the works of the fleſh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well becauſe it doth greatly eſtabliſh and confirm their Faith of eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Chriſt, as becauſe it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So for curious and carnal perſons, lacking the Spirit of Chriſt, to have continually before their eyes the ſentence of God's Predeſtination, is a moſt dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thruſt them either into deſperation, or into wretchleſneſs of moſt unclean living, no leſs perilous than deſperation.

Furthermore, We muſt receive God's promiſes in ſuch wiſe, as they be generally ſet forth to us in holy Scripture: and in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expreſſly declared unto us in the Word of God.

THere are many things in ſeveral of the other Articles which depend upon this; and therefore I will explain it more fully: For as this has given occaſion to one of the longeſt, the ſubtileſt, and indeed the moſt intricate of all the Queſtions in Divinity; ſo it will be neceſſary to open and examine it as fully as the Importance and Difficulties of it do require. In treating of it, I ſhall,

Firſt, State the Queſtion, together with the conſequences that ariſe out of it.

Secondly, Give an account of the differences that have ariſen upon it.

Thirdly, I ſhall ſet out the ſtrength of the Opinions of the Contending Parties, with all poſſible Impartiality and Exactneſs.

Fourthly, I ſhall ſee how far they agree, and how far they differ; and ſhall ſhew what reaſon there is for bearing with one another's Opinions in theſe matters; and in the

Fifth and laſt place, I ſhall conſider how far we of this Church are determined by this Article, and how far we are at liberty to follow any of thoſe different Opinions.

Art. 17. The whole Controversy may be reduced to this single Point as its head and source; Upon what Views did God form his Purposes and Decrees concerning Mankind? Whether he did it merely upon a design of advancing his own Glory, and for manifesting his own Attributes, in order to which he setled the great and universal Scheme of his whole Creation and Providence; Or whether he considered all the free motions of those rational Agents that he did intend to create, and according to what he foresaw they would chuse and do, in all the various circumstances in which he might put them, formed his Decrees? Here the Controversy begins; and when this is setled, the three main Questions that arise out of it, will be soon determined.

The First is, Whether both God and Christ intended that Christ should only dye for that particular number whom God intended to save? Or whether it was intended that he should dye for all, so that every Man that would, might have the benefit of his Death, and that no Man was excluded from it, but because he willingly rejected it?

The Second is, Whether those Assistances that God gives to Men to enable them to obey him, are of their own nature so efficacious and irresistible, that they never fail of producing the Effect for which they are given, or, Whether they are only sufficient to enable a Man to obey God; so that their Efficacy comes from the freedom of the Will, that either may co-operate with them, or may not, as it pleases?

The Third is, Whether such persons do and must certainly persevere, to whom such Grace is given; or, Whether they may not fall away both entirely and finally from that State?

There are also other Questions concerning the true Notion of Liberty, concerning the Feebleness of our Powers in this lapsed State, with several lesser ones; all which do necessarily take their determination from the decision of the first and main Question: About which there are four Opinions.

The First is, of those commonly called *Supralapsarians*, who think that God does only consider his own Glory in all that he does: and that whatever is done, arises as from its first Cause, from the Decree of God: That in this Decree God considering only the Manifestation of his own Glory, intended to make the World, to put a Race of Men in it, to constitute them under *Adam* as their Fountain and Head; That he decreed *Adam*'s Sin, the lapse of his Posterity, and Christ's Death, together with the Salvation or Damnation of such Men as should be most for his own Glory: That to those who were to be saved, he decreed to give such efficacious Assistances, as should certainly put them in the way of Salvation: And to those whom he rejected, he decreed to give such Assistances and means only as should render them inexcusable: That all Men do continue in a state of Grace, or of Sin, and shall be saved or damned, according to that first Decree: So that God views Himself only, and in that View he designs all things singly for his own Glory, and for the manifesting of his own Attributes.

The Second Opinion is of those called the *Sublapsarians*; who say, That *Adam* having sinned freely, and his Sin being imputed to all his Posterity, God did consider Mankind, thus lost, with an Eye of pity: and having designed to rescue a great number out of this lost state, he decreed to send his Son to dye for them, to accept of his Death on their account, and to give them such Assistances as should be effectual both to convert them to him, and to make them persevere to the end: But for the rest, he framed no positive Act about them, only he left them in that lapsed state, without intending that they should have the benefit of Christ's Death, or of efficacious and persevering Assistances.

The

The Third Opinion is of those who are called *Remonstrants*, *Arminians*, or *Universalists*, who think that God intended to create all Men free, and to deal with them according to the use that they should make of their liberty: that therefore he foreseeing how every one would use it, did upon that Decree all things that concerned them in this life, together with their Salvation and Damnation in the next: That Christ died for all Men; That sufficient Assistances are given to every Man, but that all Men may chuse whether they will use them, and persevere in them, or not. *Art.* 17.

The Fourth Opinion is of the *Socinians*, who deny the certain Prescience of future Contingencies; and therefore they think the Decrees of God from all Eternity were only general; that such as believe and obey the Gospel shall be saved, and that such as live and dye in Sin shall be damned: But that there were no special Decrees made concerning particular persons, these being only made in time, according to the state in which they are: They do also think that Man is by nature so free and so entire, that he needs no inward Grace; so they deny a special Predestination from all Eternity, and do also deny inward Assistances.

This is a Controversy that arises out of Natural Religion: For if it is believed that God governs the World, and that the Wills of Men are free; then it is natural to enquire which of these is subject to the other, or how they can be both maintained: Whether God determines the Will? Or if his Providence follows the motions of the Will? Therefore all those that believed a Providence have been aware of this difficulty. The *Stoicks* put all things under a Fate; even the God's themselves: If this Fate was a necessary Series of Things, a Chain of Matter and Motion that was fixed and unalterable, then it was plain and downright Atheism. The *Epicureans* set all things at liberty, and either thought that there was no God, or at least that there was no Providence. The Philosophers knew not how to avoid this difficuly, by which we see *Tully* and others were so differently moved, that it is plain they despaired of getting out of it. The *Jews* had the same Question among them; for they could not believe their Law, without acknowledging a Providence: And yet the *Sadducees* among them asserted Liberty in so intire a manner, that they set it free from all restraints: On the other hand, the *Essens* put all things under an absolute Fate: And the *Pharisees* took a middle way; they asserted the Freedom of the Will, but thought that all things were governed by a Providence. There are also subtle Disputes concerning this matter among the *Mahometans*, one Sect asserting Liberty, and another Fate, which generally prevails among them. Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib 18. c. 2. —de Bell. Jud. lib. 2, c. 7.

In the first Ages of Christianity, the *Gnosticks* fancied that the Souls of Men were of different Ranks, and that they sprang from different Principles or Gods who made them. Some were Carnal, that were devoted to Perdition; others were Spiritual and were certainly to be saved: Others were Animal, of a middle Order, capable either of Happiness or Misery. It seems that the *Marcionites* and *Manichees* thought that some Souls were made by the bad God, as others were made by the good. In opposition to all these, *Origen* asserted, That all Souls were by Nature equally capable of being either good or bad; and that the difference among Men arose merely from the freedom of the Will, and the various use of that Freedom: That God left Men to this liberty, and rewarded and punished them according to the use of it; yet he asserted a Providence; but as he brought in the Platonical Doctrine of Preexistence into the Government of the World; and as he explained God's loving *Jacob*, and his hating of *Esau*, before they were born, and had done either Good or Evil, by this of a regard to what they had done formerly; so he asserted the Fall of Iren. Adv. Her. lib. 1. c. 1. Epiph. Her. 31. Clem. Alex. Pæd. lib. 1. c. 6. Orig. Peri. archon l. 3. Philocal. c. 12. Explain. 21. Ep. ad Rom.

Art. 17. Man in *Adam*, and his being recoverd by Grace; but he ſtill maintained an unreſtrained Liberty in the Will. His Doctrine, though much hated in *Egypt*, was generally followed over all the Eaſt, particularly in *Paleſtine* and at *Antioch*. S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and S. *Baſil*, drew a ſyſtem of Divinity out of his Works, in which that which relates to the Liberty of the Will is very fully ſet forth: That Book was much ſtudied in the Eaſt. *Chryſoſtom*, *Iſidore* of *Damiete*, and *Theodoret*, with all their followers, taught it ſo copiouſly, that it became the received Doctrine of the *Eaſtern* Church. *Jerome* was ſo much in love with *Origen*, that he Tranſlated ſome parts of him, and ſet *Ruffin* on Tranſlating the reſt. But as he had a ſharp quarrel with the Biſhops of *Paleſtine*, ſo that perhaps diſpoſed him to change his Thoughts of *Origen*: For ever after that, he ſet himſelf much to diſgrace his Doctrine; and he was very ſevere on *Ruffin* for Tranſlating him: Though *Ruffin* confeſſes, that in Tranſlating his Works he took great Liberties in altering ſeveral paſſages that he diſliked. One of *Origen*'s Diſciples was *Pelagius*, a *Scottiſh* Monk, in great eſteem at *Rome*, both for his Learning, and the great ſtrictneſs of his Life: He carried theſe Doctrines further than the *Greek* Church had done; ſo that he was reckoned to have fallen into great Errors both by *Chryſoſtom* and *Iſidore*, (as it is repreſented by *Janſenius*, though that is denied by others, who think they meant another of the ſame Name.) He denied that we had ſuffered any harm by the Fall of *Adam*, or that there was any need of inward Aſſiſtances; and he aſſerted an entire Liberty in the Will. S. *Auſtin*, though in his Diſputes with the *Manichees* he had ſaid many things on the ſide of Liberty, yet he hated *Pelagius*'s Doctrine, which he thought aſſerted a Sacrilegious Liberty, and he ſet himſelf to beat down his Tenets which had been but feebly attackt by *Jerom*. *Caſſian*, a Diſciple of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s, came to *Marſeilles* about this time, having left *Conſtantinople* perhaps when his Maſter was baniſhed out of it. He taught a Middle Doctrine, Aſſerting an inward Grace, but ſubject to the freedom of the Will: And that all things were both decreed and done, according to the Preſcience of God, in which all future Contingents were foreſeen: He alſo taught, that the firſt Converſion of the Soul to God, was merely an effect of its free choice; ſo that all Preventing-grace was denied by him; which came to be the peculiar diſtinction of thoſe who were afterwards called the *Semi-Pelagians*. *Proſper* and *Hilary* gave an account of this Syſtem to S. *Auſtin*, upon which he writ againſt it, and his Opinions were defended by *Proſper*, *Fulgentius*, *Oroſius*, and others, as *Caſſian*'s were defended by *Fauſtus*, *Vincentius*, and *Gennadius*. In concluſion, St. *Auſtin*'s Opinions did generally prevail in the *Weſt*; only *Pelagius*, it ſeems, retiring to his own Country, he had many followers among the *Britans*: But *German* and *Lupus* being ſent over once and again from *France*, are ſaid to have conquered them ſo intirely, that they were all freed from thoſe Errors: Whatever they did by their Arguments, the Writers of their Legends took care to adorn their Miſſion with many very wonderful Miracles, of which the gathering all the pieces of a Calf, ſome of which had been dreſt, and the putting them together in its Skin, and reſtoring it again to Life, is none of the leaſt. The Ruin of the *Roman* Empire, and the diſorders that the *Weſtern* Provinces fell under by their new and brabarous Maſters, occaſioned in thoſe Ages a great decay of Learning: So that few Writers of Fame coming after that time, St. *Auſtin*'s great Labours and Piety, and the many vaſt Volumes that he had left behind him, gave him ſo great a Name, that few durſt conteſt what had been ſo zealouſly and ſo copiouſly defended by him: And though it is highly probable, that *Celeſtine* was not ſatisfied with his Doctrine; yet both he and the other Biſhops of *Rome*, together with many

Orig. Philocana.

Ruffin Peror. in Verſ. Com. Orig. in Ep. ad. Rom.

Chryſ. Ep. 4 ad. Olymp.

Iſid. Peluſ. Lib. 1. Ep. 314.

Provincial

Provincial Synods, have ſo often declared his Doctrine in thoſe Points to be the Doctrine of the Church, that this is very hardly got over by thoſe of that Communion. *Art.* 17.

The chief, and indeed the only material difference that is between St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine, and that of the *Sublapſarians*, is, That he, holding that with the Sacrament of Baptiſm there was joyned an inward Regeneration, made a difference between the *Regenerate* and the *Predeſtinate*, which theſe do not: He thought Perſons thus regenerate, might have all Grace, beſides that of *Perſeverance*; but he thought that they not being predeſtinated, were certainly to fall from that ſtate, and from the Grace of Regeneration. The other differences are but forced Strains, to repreſent him and the *Calviniſts* as of different Principles: He thought, that overcoming Delectation, in which he put the Efficacy of Grace, was as Irreſiſtible, though he uſed not ſo ſtrong a word for it as the *Calviniſts* do: And he thought that the Decree was as Abſolute, and made without any regard to what the Free-Will would chuſe, as any of theſe do. So in the main Points, the Abſoluteneſs of the Decree, the Extent of Chriſt's Death, the Efficacy of Grace, and the Certainty of Perſeverance, their Opinions are the ſame, though their ways of expreſſing themſelves do often differ. But if St. *Auſtin*'s Name, and the Credit of his Books went far, yet no Book was more read in the following Ages, than *Caſſian*'s *Collations*. There was in them a clear Thread of good Senſe, and a very high Strain of Piety that run through them; and they were thought the beſt Inſtitutions for a Monk to form his Mind, by reading them attentively: So they ſtill carried down among thoſe who read them, deep Impreſſions of the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church.

This broke out in the Ninth Century, in which *Godeſcalcus*, a Monk, was ſeverely uſed by *Hincmar*, and by the Church of *Rheims*, for aſſerting ſome of St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrines; againſt which *Scotus Erigena* wrote; as *Bertram*, or *Ratramne*, wrote for them. *Remigius* Biſhop of *Lyons*, with his Church, did zealouſly aſſert St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine, not without great ſharpneſs againſt *Scotus*. After this, the matter ſlept, till the School-Divinity came to be in great Credit: And *Thomas Aquinas* being counted the chief Glory of the *Dominican* Order, he not only aſſerted all St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine, but added this to it, That whereas formerly it was in general held, That the Providence of God did extend it ſelf to all things whatſoever, he thought this was done by God's concurring immediately to the Production of every Thought, Action, Motion, or Mode; ſo that God was the Firſt and Immediate Cauſe of every thing that was done: And in order to the explaining the joint Production of every thing by God as the Firſt, and by the Creature as the Second Cauſe, he thought, at leaſt as his Followers have underſtood him, That by a Phyſical Influence the Will was predetermined by God to all things, whether good or bad; ſo that the Will could not be ſaid to be free in that particular Inſtance *in ſenſu compoſito*, though it was in general ſtill free in all its Actions *in ſenſu diviſo*: A diſtinction ſo ſacred, and ſo much uſed among them, that I chuſe to give it in their on Terms, rather than tranſlate them. To avoid the conſequence of making God the Author of Sin, a diſtinction was made between the Poſitive Act of Sin, which was ſaid not to be Evil, and the want of its Conformity to the Law of God, which being a Negation, was no poſitive Being, ſo that it was not produced. And thus, though the Action was produced jointly by God as the firſt Cauſe, and by the Creature as the Second, yet God was not guilty of the Sin, but only the Creature. This Doctrine paſſed down among the *Dominicans*, and continues to do ſo to this day. *Scotus*, who was a *Franciſcan*, denied this Predetermination, and aſſerted

Art. 17. asserted the Freedom of the Will. *Durandus* denied this Immediate Concourse; in which he has not had many Followers, except *Adola*, and some few more.

When *Luther* began to form his Opinions into a Body, he clearly saw, that nothing did so plainly destroy the Doctrine of Merit and Justification by Works, as St. *Austin*'s Opinions: He found also in his Works very express Authorities against most of the Corruptions of the *Roman* Church: And being of an Order that carried his Name, and by consequence was accustomed to read and reverence his Works, it was no wonder if he, without a strict examining of the matter, espoused all his Opinions. Most of those of the Church of *Rome* who wrote against him, being of the other Persuasions, any one reading the Books of that Age, would have thought that St. *Austin*'s Doctrine was abandoned by the Church of *Rome*: So that when *Michael Baius*, and some others at *Louvain*, began to revive it, that became a matter of Scandal, and they were condemned at *Rome*: Yet at the Council of *Trent* the *Dominicans* had so much credit, that great care was taken in the penning their Decrees, to avoid all Reflections upon that Doctrine. It was at first received by the whole *Jesuit* Order, so that *Bellarmine* formed himself upon it, and still adhered to it: But soon after, that Order changed their Mind, and left their whole Body to a full liberty in those Points, and went all quickly over to the other Hypothesis, that differed from the *Semi-pelagians* only in this, that they allowed a Preventing-Grace, but such as were subject to the Freedom of the Will.

Molina and *Fonseca* invented a new way of explaining God's foreseeing future Contingents, which they called a *Middle*, or *Mean Science*: by which they taught, That as God sees all things as possible in his knowledge of *simple Apprehension*, and all things that are certainly future, as present in his knowledge of *Vision*; so by this knowledge he also sees the Chain of all Conditionate Futurities, and all the Connexions of them, that is, whatsoever would follow upon such or such conditions. Great Jealousies arising upon the Progress that the Order of the Jesuits was making, these Opinions were laid hold on to mortify them; so they were complained of at *Rome* for departing from St. *Austin*'s Doctrine, which in these Points was generally received as the Doctrine of the *Latin* Church; and many Conferences were held before Pope *Clement* the *Eighth*, and the Cardinals; where the Point in debate was chiefly, What was the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church? The Advantages that St. *Austin*'s Followers had, were such, that before fair Judges they must have triumphed over the other: Pope *Clement* had so resolved; but he dying, though Pope *Paul* the *Fifth* had the same Intentions, yet he happening then to be engaged in a Quarrel with the *Venetians* about the Ecclesiastical Immunities, and having put that Republick under an *Interdict*, the Jesuits who were there, chose to be banished, rather than to break the *Interdict*: And their adhering so firmly to the Papal Authority, when most of the other Orders forsook it, was thought so meritorious at *Rome*, that it saved them the Censure: So instead of a Decision, all sides were commanded to be silent, and to quarrel no more upon those Heads.

About Forty years after that, *Jansenius*, a Doctor of *Louvain*, being a zealous Disciple of S. *Austin*'s, and seeing the Progress that the contrary Doctrines were making, did with great Industry, and an equal Fidelity publish a Voluminous System of St. *Austin*'s Doctrine in all the several Branches of the Controversy: And he set forth the *Pelagians* and the *Semipelagians* in that Work under very black Characters; and not content with that, he compared the Doctrines of the Modern Innovators with theirs. This Book was received by the whole Party with great Applause, as a Work that had decided the Controversy. But the Author having writ with an extraordinary Force against

againſt the *French* Pretenſions on *Flanders*, which recommended him ſo much to the *Spaniſh* Court, that he was made a Biſhop upon it; all thoſe in *France* who followed St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine, and applauded this Book, were repreſented by their Enemies as being in the ſame Intereſts with him, and by conſequence as Enemies to the *French* Greatneſs; ſo that the Court of *France* proſecuted the whole Party. This Book was at firſt only prohibited at *Rome*, as a Violation of that Silence that the Pope had enjoined; afterwards Articles were pickt out of it, and condemned, and all the Clergy of *France* were required to ſign the Condemnation of them. Theſe Articles were certainly in his Book, and were manifeſt Conſequences of St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine, which was chiefly driven at; though it was ſtill declared at *Rome*, That nothing was intended to be done in prejudice of St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine: Upon this pretence his Party have ſaid, That thoſe Articles being capable of two Senſes, the one of which was ſtrained, and was Heretical, the other of which was clear, and according to St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine, it muſt be preſumed it was not in that ſecond, but in the other ſenſe, that they were condemned at *Rome*; and ſo they ſigned the Condemnation of them: But then they ſaid, that they were not in *Janſenius*'s Book in the ſenſe, in which they condemned them. *Art.* 17.

Upon that, followed a moſt extravagant Queſtion, concerning the Pope's Infallibility in Matters of Fact: It being ſaid on the one ſide, That the Pope heving condemned them as *Janſenius*'s Opinions, the belief of his Infallibity obliged them to conclude that they muſt be in his Book: Whereas the others with great Truth affirmed, That it had never been thought that in Matters of Fact either Popes or Councils were Infallible. At laſt a new Ceſſation of Hoſtilities upon theſe Points was reſolved on; yet the Hatred continues, and the War goes on, though more covertly, and more indirctely than before.

Nor are the Reformed more of a piece than the Church of *Rome* upon theſe Points. *Luther* went on long, as he at firſt ſet out, with ſo little diſguiſe, that whereas all Parties had always pretended that they aſſerted the *Freedom* of the Will, he plainly ſpoke out, and ſaid the Will was not *Free*, but *Enſlaved*: Yet before he died, he is reported to have changed his Mind; for tho he never owned that, yet *Melancthon*, who had been of the ſame Opinion, did freely retract it; for which he was never blamed by *Luther*. Since that time all the *Lutherans* have gone into the *Semipelagian* Opinions ſo entirely and ſo eagerly, that they will neither tolerate nor hold Communion with any of the other Perſuaſion. *Calvin* not only taught St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine, but ſeemed to go on to the *Supralapſarian* way; which was more openly taught by *Beza*, and was generally followed by the Reformed; only the difference between the *Supralapſarians* and the *Sublapſarians*, was never brought to a deciſion: Divines being in all the *Calviniſts* Churches left to their freedom as to that Point.

In *England* the firſt Reformers were generally in the *Sublapſarian* Hypotheſis: But *Perkins* and others have aſſerted the *Supralapſarian* way, *Arminius*, a Profeſſor in *Leyden*, writ againſt him: Upon this *Gomarus* and he had many diſputes; and theſe Opinions bred a great diſtraction over all the *United Provinces*: At the ſame time another Political matter occaſioning a diviſion of Opinion, Whether the War ſhould be carried on with *Spain*, or if Propoſitions for a Peace or Truce ſhould be entertained? It happened that *Arminius*'s followers were all for a Peace, and the others were generally for carrying on the War; which being promoted by the Prince of *Orange*, he joyned to them: And the *Arminians* were repreſented as Men, whoſe Opinions and Affections leaned to *Popery*: So that this, from being a Doctrinal Point, became the diſtinction of a Party, and by that means the differences were inflamed. A great Synod met at *Dort*;

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Art. 17. to which Divines were sent from hence, as well as from other Churches. The *Arminian* Tenets were condemned; but the difference between the *Supralapsarians* and *Sublapsarians* was not medled with. The Divines of this Church, though very moderate in the way of proposing their Opinions, yet upon the main adhered to St. *Austin*'s Doctrine. So the Breach was formed in *Holland*: But when the Point of State was no more mixed with it, these Questions were handled with less heat.

Those Disputes quickly crost'd the Seas, and divided us: The *Abbots* adhered to *Austin*'s Doctrine; while Bishop *Overal*, but chiefly Archbishop *Laud*, espoused the *Arminian* Tenets. All Divines were by Proclamation required not to preach upon those Heads: But those that favoured the new Opinions were incouraged, and the others were depressed. And unhappy Disputes falling in at that time concerning the extent of the Royal Prerogative beyond Law, the *Arminians* having declared themselves highly for that, they were as much favoured at Court, as they were censured in the Parliament: which brought that Doctrine under a very hard Character over all the Nation.

Twisse carried it high to the *Supralapsarian* Hypothesis, which grew to be generally followed by those of that Side: But that founded harshly; and *Hobb*'s grafting afterwards a Fate and Absolute Necessity upon it, the other Opinions were again revived; and no Political Interests falling in with them, as all prejudices against them went off, so they were more calmly debated, and became more generally acceptable than they were before. Men are now left to their liberty in them, and all Anger upon those Heads is now so happily extinguished, that diversity of Opinions about them begets no Alienation nor Animosity.

So far have I prosecuted a short View of the History of this Controversy: I come now to open the chief Grounds of the different Parties: And First for the *Supralapsarians*.

They lay this down for a Foundation, That God is Essentially Perfect, and Independent in all his Acts: So that he can consider nothing but himself and his own Glory: That therefore he designed every thing in and for himself: That to make him stay his Decrees till he sees what free Creatures will do, is to make him Decree dependently upon them; which seems to fall short of Infinite Perfection: That he himself can be the only End of his Counsels; and that therefore he could only consider the Manifestation of his own Attributes and Perfection: That Infinite Wisdom must begin its designs at that which is to come last in the Execution of them; and since the Conclusion of all things at the Last Day will be the Manifestation of the Wisdom, Goodness, and Justice of God; we ought to suppose, that God in the Order of Things designed that first, though in the Order of Time there is no First nor Second in God, this being supposed to be from all Eternity. After this great Design was laid, all the Means in order to the End were next to be designed. Creatures in the sight of *God* are as nothing, and by a strong Figure are said to be less than nothing, and Vanity. Now if we in our Designs do not consider Ants or Insects, not to say Straws, or Grains of Sand and Dust, then what lofty Thoughts soever our Pride may suggest to us, we must be confessed to be very poor and inconsiderable Creatures before God; therefore he himself and his own Glory can only be his own End in all that he designs or does.

This is the chief Basis of their Doctrine, and so ought to be well considered. They add to this, That there can be no certain Prescience of future Contingents. They say it involves a contradiction, that things which are not certainly to be, should be certainly foreseen: For if they are certainly foreseen, they must certainly be: So while they are supposed

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to be contingent, they are yet affirmed to be certain, by saying that they are certainly foreseen. When God decrees that any thing shall be, it has from that a certain futurition, and as such it is certainly foreseen by him: An uncertain foresight is an Act of its nature Imperfect, because it may be a mistake, and so is inconsistent with the Divine Perfection. And it seems to imply a contradiction to say that a thing happens freely, that is, may be, or may not be, and yet that it is certainly forseen by God. God cannot foresee things, but as he decrees them, and so gives them a futurition, and therefore this Prescience Antecedent to his Decree, must be rejected as a thing impossible. *Art.* 17.

They say further, That Conditionate Decrees are imperfect in their nature, and that they subject the Will and Acts of God to a Creature: That a Conditionate Decree is an Act in suspence, whether it shall be or not; which is inconsistent with Infinite Perfection. A general Will, or rather a willing that all Men should be Saved, but also plain Characters of Imperfection in it: As if God wished somewhat that he could not accomplish, so that his Goodness should seem to be more extended than his Power. Infinite Perfection can wish nothing but what it can execute, and if it is fit to wish it, it is fit also to execute it. Therefore all that Stile that ascribes Passions or Affections to God, must be understood in a Figure; so that when his Providence exerts it self in such Acts as among us Men would be the effects of those Passions, then the Passions themselves are in the Phrase of the Scriptures ascribed to God. They say we ought not to measure the Punishments of Sin by our Notions of Justice: God afflicts many good Men very severely, and for many Years in this Life, and this only for the Manifestation of his own Glory, for making their Faith and Patience to shine; and yet none think that this is unjust. It is a method in which God will be glorified in them: Some Sins are punished with other Sins, and likewise with a course of severe Miseries: If we transfer this from Time to Eternity, the whole will be then more conceivable; for if God may do for a little time that which is inconsistent with our Notions, and with our Rules of Justice, he may do it for a longer duration: Since it is as impossible that he can be unjust for a Day, as for all Eternity.

As God does every thing for himself and his own Glory, so the Scriptures teach us every where to offer up all Praise and Glory to God; to acknowledge that all is of him, and to humble our selves as being nothing before him. Now if we were Elected not by a free Act of his, but by what he foresaw that we would be, so that his Grace is not efficacious by its own force, but by the good use that we make of it, then the Glory and Praise of all the good we do, and of God's purposes to us, were due to our selves: He designs, according to the other Doctrine, equally well to all Men; and all the difference among them will arise neither from God's Intentions to them, nor from his Assistances, but from the good use that he foresaw they would make of these Favours that he was to give in common to all Mankind: Man should have whereof to glory, and he might say, That he himself made himself to differ from others. The whole strain of the Scriptures in ascribing all good things to God, and in charging us to offer up the Honour of all to him, seems very expresly to favour this Doctrine: Since if all our good is from God, and is particularly owing to his Grace, then Good Men have somewhat from God that Bad Men have not; for which they ought to Praise him. The Stile of all the Prayers that are used or directed to be used in the Scripture, is for a Grace that opens our Eyes, that turns our Hearts, that makes us to go, that leads us not into Temptation, but delivers us from Evil. All these Phrases do plainly Import that we desire more than a Power or Capacity to Act, such as is given to

Art. 17. all Men, and ſuch as after we have received it, may be ſtill ineffectual to us. For to pray for ſuch Aſſiſtances as are always given to all Men, and are ſuch that the whole good of them ſhall wholly depend upon our ſelves, would ſound very odly; whereas we pray for ſomewhat that is ſpecial, and that we hope ſhall be effectual. We do not and cannot pray earneſtly for that, which we know all Men as well as we our ſelves have at all times.

Humility and Earneſtneſs in Prayer ſeem to be among the chief means of working in us the Image of Chriſt, and of deriving to us all the Bleſſings of Heaven. That Doctrine which blaſts both, which ſwells us up with an Opinion that all comes from our ſelves, and that we receive nothing from God but what is given in common with us to all the World, is certainly contrary both to the Spirit, and to the Deſign of the Goſpel.

To this they add Obſervations from Providence. The World was for many Ages delivered up to Idolatry; and ſince the Chriſtian Religion has appeared, we ſee vaſt Tracts of Countries which have continued ever ſince in Idolatry: Others are fallen under *Mahometaniſm*: And the State of *Chriſtendom* is in the *Eaſtern* Parts of it under ſo much Ignorance, and the greateſt Part of the *Weſt* is under ſo much Corruption, that we muſt confeſs the far greateſt part of Mankind has been in all Ages left deſtitute of the Means of Grace, ſo that the Promulgating the Goſpel to ſome Nations, and the denying it to others, muſt be aſcribed to the Unſearchable Ways of God, that are paſt finding out. If he thus leaves whole Nations in ſuch Darkneſs and Corruption, and freely chuſes others to Communicate the knowledge of himſelf to them, then we need not wonder if he ſhould hold the ſame method with Individuals, that he doth with whole Bodies: For the Rejecting of whole Nations by the lump for ſo many Ages, is much more unaccountable than the Selecting of a few, and the leaving others in that State of Ignorance and Brutality. And whatever may be ſaid of his extending Mercy to ſome few of thoſe who have made a good uſe of that dim Light which they had; yet it cannot be denied but their Condition is more deplorable, and the Condition of the others is much more hopeful; ſo that great Numbers of Men are Born in ſuch Circumſtances, that it is morally impoſſible that they ſhould not periſh in them; whereas others are more happily Situated and Enlightned.

This Argument taken from common Obſervation, becomes much ſtronger,
Rom. 9 11. when we conſider what the Apoſtle ſays, particularly in the Epiſtles to the *Romans*, and the *Epheſians*, even according to the Expoſition of thoſe of the other ſide: For if God *loved Jacob*, ſo as to chuſe his Poſterity to be his People, and rejected or *hated Eſau* and his Poſterity, and if that was according to the *purpoſe* and deſign of his Election; if by the ſame purpoſe the *Gentiles* were to be grafted upon that Stock, from which the *Jews* were then to be cut off; and if the Counſel or Purpoſe of God had appeared in particular to thoſe of *Epheſus*, though the moſt corrupted both in Magick, Idolatry and Immorality, of any in the *Eaſt*; then it is plain, that the applying the means of Grace, ariſes meerly from a great Deſign that was long hid in God, which did then break out. It is reaſonable to believe, That there is a proportion between the Application of the Means, and the Decree it ſelf concerning the End. The one is reſolved into the Unſearchable Riches of God's Grace, and declared to be Free and Abſolute. God's chuſing the Nation of the *Jews* in ſuch a diſtinction beyond all other Nations, is by *Moſes* and the Prophets frequently ſaid not to be on their account, or on the account of any thing that God ſaw in them, but meerly from the Goodneſs of God to them. From all this, it ſeems, ſay they, as reaſonable to believe that the other is likewiſe free, according to thoſe words of our Saviour's,

Saviour's, *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes:* The reason of which is given in the following words, *Even so Father, for it seemed good in thy sight.* What goes before, of *Tyre* and *Sydon* and the Land of *Sodom*, that would have made a better use of his preaching, than the Towns of *Galilee* had done, among whom he lived, confirms this, That the means of Grace are not bestowed on those of whom it was foreseen that they would have made a good use of them; or denied to those who as was foreseen, would have made an ill use of them: The contrary of this being plainly asserted in those words of our Saviour's. It is further observable, That he seems not to be speaking here of different Nations, but of the different sorts of Men of the same Nation: The more Learned of the *Jews*, the Wise and Prudent, rejected him, while the simpler, but better sort, *the babes*, received him: So that the difference between Individual Persons seems here to be resolved into *the good pleasure of God.* Art. 17. Matth. 1. 25, 26. Ibid. 21, 22, 23.

It is further urged, that since those of the other side confess, that God by his Prescience foresaw what Circumstances might be happy, and what Assistances might prove efficacious to Bad Men; then his not putting them in those Circumstances, but giving them such Assistances only, which how effectual soever might be to others, he saw would have no efficacy on them, and his putting them in Circumstances, and giving them Assistances, which he foresaw they would abuse, if it may seem to clear the Justice of God, yet it cannot clear his Infinite Holiness and Goodness; which must ever carry him according to our Notions of these Perfections, to do all that may be done, and that in the most effectual way, to rescue others from misery, to make them truly good, and to put them in a way be happy. Since therefore this is not always done, according to the other Opinion, it is plain that there is an unsearchable depth in the ways of God which we are not able to fathom. Therefore it must be concluded, That since all are not actually good, and so put in a way to be saved, that God did not intend that it should be so; for *who hath resisted his will? The Counsel of the Lord standeth fast, and the Thoughts of his heart to all Generations.* It is true, His Laws are his Will in one respect: He requires all to obey them: He approves them, and he obliges all Men to keep them. All the Expressions of his desires that all Men should be saved, are to be explained of the Will of Revelation, commonly called *the Sign of his Will:* When it is said, *What more could have been done?* that is to be understood of outward Means and Blessings: But still God has a secret Will of his *good pleasure*, in which he designs all things; and this can never be frustrated. Rom. 9. 19. Ps. 33. 12. Isa. 5. 4.

From this they do also conclude, That though Christ's Death was to be offered to all Christians; yet that Intentionally and Actually he only died for those whom the Father had chosen and given to him to be saved by him. They cannot think that Christ could have *died in vain*, which St. *Paul* speaks of as a vast Absurdity. Now since if he had died for all, he should have *died in vain*, with relation to the far greater part of Mankind, who are not to be saved by him; they from thence conclude, That all those for whom he died, are certainly saved by him. Perhaps with relation to some subaltern Blessings, which are through him Communicated, if not to all Mankind, yet to all Christians, he may be said to have died for all: But as to Eternal Salvation, they believe his Design went no further than the secret Purpose and Election of God, and this they think is implied in these words, *all that are given me of my Father: Thine they were, and thou gavest them me.* He also limits his Intercession to those only; *I pray not for the world, but for those that thou hast given me; for they are thine, and all thine are mine,* Gal. 2. 21. John 17. 9. 10.

Art. 17. *and mine are thine.* They believe that he alſo limited to them the extent of his Death, and of that Sacrifice which he offered in it.

It is true, the Chriſtian Religion being to be diſtinguiſhed from the *Jewiſh* in this main Point, that whereas the *Jewiſh* was reſtrained to *Abraham*'s Poſterity, and confined within one Race and Nation, the Chriſtian was to be preached to *every Creature*; Univerſal words are uſed concerning the Death of Chriſt: But as the words, *preaching to every Creature*, and to *all the World*, are not to be underſtood in the utmoſt extent, for then they have never been verified; ſince the Goſpel has never yet, for ought that appears to us, been preached to every Nation under Heaven; but are only to be explained generally of a Commiſſion not limited to one or more Nations; none being excluded from it: The Apoſtles were to execute it in going from City to City, as they ſhould be inwardly moved to it by the Holy Ghoſt: So they think that thoſe large words that are applied to the Death of Chriſt, are to be underſtood in the ſame qualified manner; that no Nation or ſort of Men are excluded from it, and that ſome of all kinds and ſorts ſhall be ſaved by him: And this is to be carried no further, without an Imputation on the Juſtice of God: For if he has received a ſufficient Oblation and Satisfaction for the Sins of the whole World, it is not reconcileable to Juſtice, that all ſhould not be ſaved by it, or ſhould not at leaſt have the Offer and Promulgation of it made them; that ſo a trial may be made whether they will accept of it or not.

Mark. 16. 15.

The *Grace of God* is ſet forth in Scripture by ſuch Figures and Expreſſions as do plainly intimate its efficacy; and that it does not depend upon us to uſe it, or not to uſe it at pleaſure. It it ſaid to be a Creation, *we are created unto good works, and we become new Creatures*: It is called a Regeneration, or a *New Birth*; it is called a Quickning and a Reſurrection; as our former ſtate is compared to a feebleneſs, a blindneſs, and a death. God is ſaid *to work in us both to will and to do: His people ſhall be willing in the day of his power: He will write his Laws in their hearts, and make them to walk in them.* Mankind is compared to a Maſs of *Clay* in the hands of the *Potter*, who of the ſame lump makes at his pleaſure *Veſſels of honour or of diſhonour.* Theſe paſſages, this laſt in particular, do inſinuate an Abſolute and a Conquering power in Grace; and that the love of God conſtrains us, as S. *Paul* ſpeaks expreſly.

Eph. 2. 10. 2 Cor. 5. 17. Phil. 2. 13. Pſ. 110. 3. Jerem. 31. 33, 34. Ezek. 36. 26, 27. Rom. 9. 21.

All outward coaction is contrary to the nature of liberty, and all thoſe inward Impreſſions that drove on the Prophets, ſo that they had not the free uſe of their Faculties, but felt themſelves carried they knew not how, are inconſiſtent with it; yet when a Man feels that his Faculties go in their method, and that he aſſents or chuſes from a thread of inward Conviction and Ratiocination; he ſtill acts freely, that is, by an Internal Principle of Reaſon and Thought. A Man acts as much according to his Faculties, when he aſſents to a Truth, as when he chuſes what he is to do: And if his Mind were ſo enlightned, that he ſaw as clearly the good of Moral Things, as he percieves Speculative Truths, ſo that he felt himſelf as little able to reſiſt the one as the other; he would be no leſs a free and a rational Creature, than if he were left to a more unlimited Range: Nay, the more evidently that he ſaw the true good of things, and the more that he were determined by it, he ſhould then act more ſuitably to his Faculties, and to the Excellence of his Nature: For though the Saints in Heaven being made perfect in Glory, are no more capable of further Rewards, yet it cannot be denied but they act with a more accompliſhed Liberty, becauſe they ſee all things in a true Light, according to that, *in thy light we ſhall ſee light*: And therefore they conclude, that ſuch an overcoming degree of Grace, by which a Man is made willing through the Illumination

Pſal. 36. 9.

lumination of his Understanding, and not by any blind or violent Impulse, is no way contrary to the true Notion of Liberty. *Art.* 17.

After all, they think, That if a Debate falls to be between the Sovereignty of God, his Acts and his Purposes, and the freedom of Man's will, it is modest and decent rather to make the abatement on Man's part than on God's; but they think there is no need of this. They infer, That besides the outward Enlightening of a Man by Knowledge, there is an inward Enlightening of the Mind, and a secret forcible conviction stampt on it, otherwise what can be meant by the Prayer of St. *Paul* for the *Ephesians*, who had already heard the Gospel preached, and were instructed in it; *That the eyes of their understanding being enlightened, they might know what was the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what was the exceeding greatness of his power towards them that believed.* This seems to be somewhat that is both Internal and Efficacious. Christ compares the Union and Influence that he communicates to Believers, to that Union of a Head with the Members, and of a Root with the Branches; which imports an Internal, a Vital, and an Efficacious Influence. And though the outward means that are offered, may be, and always are rejected, when not accompanied with his overcoming Grace, yet this never returns empty: These outward means coming from God, the resisting of them is said to be the *resisting God*, the *grieving* or *quenching his Spirit*; and so in that sense we resist the Grace or Favour of God: But we can never withstand him when he intends to overcome us. Eph. 1.17, 18, 19. Act. 7. 51. Eph. 4.30. Jam. 1. 17, 18. Joh. 13.1. Heb. 13.5.

As for Perseverance, it is a necessary consequence of Absolute Decrees, and of Efficacious Grace: For since all depends upon God, and that as *of his own will he begat us*, so with him *there is neither variableness nor shadow of turning: Whom he loves, he loves to the end*; and he has promised, That *he will never leave nor forsake those to whom he becomes a God*; We must from thence conclude, That *the purpose and calling of God is without Repentance:* And therefore though good Men may fall into grievous Sins, to keep them from which there are dreadful things said in Scripture, against their falling away, or Apostacy; yet God does so uphold them, that though he suffers them often to feel the weight of their Natures, yet of all that are given by the Father to the Son to be saved by him, none are lost.

Upon the whole Matter, They believe that God did in himself and for his own Glory *foreknow* such a determinate Number whom he pitched upon, to be the persons in whom he would be both Sanctified and Glorified: That having thus foreknown them, he *predestinated* them to be holy, conformable to the Image of his Son: That these were to be *called*, not by a General Calling in the Sense of these words, *Many are called, but few are chosen*; but to be *called according to his purpose:* And those he *justified* upon their obeying that Calling; and he will in conclusion *Glorify* them. Nor are these words only to be limited to the Sufferings of good Men, they are to be extended to all the effects of the love of God, according to that which follows, *That nothing can separate us from the love of God in Christ.* The whole Reasoning in the 9*th* of the *Romans*, does so plainly resolve all the acts of God's Mercy and Justice, his *hardning* as well as his *pardoning*, into an Absolute Freedom, and an Unsearchable Depth, that more express words to that effect can hardly be imagined. Matth. 20. 16. Rom. 8. 29, 30. Rom. 9.18

It is in general said, *That the children being yet unborn, neither having done good, or evil; that the purpose of God according to election might stand not of work, but of him that calleth; Jacob was loved and Esau hated:* That *God raised up Pharaoh that he might shew his power in him*; and when an Objection is suggested against all this, instead of Answering it, it is silenced with this, *Who art thou, O Man,* ver. 11. ver. 17. ver. 20. ver. 22.

that

Art. 17. *that repliest against God?* And all is illustrated with the Figure of the Potter; and concluded with this solemn Question, *What if God willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much long-suffering, the Vessels of wrath fitted to destruction?* This carries the Reader to consider what is so often repeated in the Book of *Exodus*, concerning *God's hardning the heart of Pharaoh, so that he would not let his people go.* It is said, That *God has made the wicked man for the day of evil*; as it is written on the other hand, That *as many believed the Gospel, as were appointed to eternal life.* Some are said to *be written in the book of life, of the lamb slain before the foundation of the world*, or *according to God's purpose before the world began.* *Ungodly Men* are said to be *of old ordained to condemnation, and to be given up by God unto vile affections, and to be given over by him to a reprobate mind.* Therefore they think that Reprobation is an absolute and free act of God, as well as Election, to manifest his Holiness and Justice in them who are under it, as well as his Love and Mercy is manifested in the Elect. Nor can they think with the *Sublapsarians* That Reprobation is only God's passing by those whom he does not elect; this is an act unworthy of God, as if he forgot them, which does clearly imply Imperfection. And as for that which is said concerning their being fallen in *Adam*, they argue, That either *Adam*'s Sin, and the Connexion of all Mankind to him as their Head and Representative, was absolutely decreed, or it was not: If it was, then all is absolute; *Adam*'s Sin and the Fall of Mankind were decreed, and by consequence all from the beginning to the end are under a continued Chain of Absolute Decrees; and then the *Supralapsarian* and the *Sublapsarian* Hypothesis will be one and the same, only variously expressed. But if *Adam*'s Sin was only foreseen and permitted, then a conditionate Decree founded upon Prescience is once admitted, so that all that follows turns upon it; and then all the Arguments either against the Perfection of such Acts, or the Certainty of such a Prescience, turn against this; for if they are admitted in any one Instance, then they may be admitted in others as well as in that

Exod. 4. 21. 10. 18. 11. 10. 14. 8. Prov. 16. 4. Acts 1. 48. Rev. 13. 8. 3. 5. 20. 12. 21. 27. Rom. 1. 26, 28.

The *Sublapsarians* do always avoid to answer this; and it seems they do rather incline to think that *Adam* was under an Absolute Decree; and if so, then tho' their Doctrine may seem to those who do not examin things nicely, to look more plausible; yet really it amounts to the same thing with the other. For it is all one to say, that God decreed that *Adam* should sin, and that all Mankind should fall in him, and that then God should chuse out of Mankind thus fallen by his Decree, such as he would save, and leave the rest in that lapsed state to perish in it; as it is to say, That God intending to save some, and to damn others, did, in order to the carrrying this on in a method of of Justice, decree *Adam*'s Fall, and the Fall of Mankind in him, in order to the saving of his Elect, and the damning of the rest. All that the *Sublapsarians* say in this particular for themselves is, That the Scripture has not declared any thing concerning the Fall of *Adam*, in such formal terms, that they can affirm any thing concerning it. A Liberty of another kind seems to have been then in Man, when he was made after the Image of God, and before he was corrupted by Sin. And therefore though it is not easy to clear all difficulties in so Intricate a matter, yet it seems reasonable to think, that Man in a state of Innocency was a purer and a freer Creature to good, than now he is. But after all, this seems to be only a fleeing from the difficulty, to a less offensive way of talking of it; for if the Prescience of future Contingents cannot be certain, unless they are decreed, then God could not certainly foreknow *Adam*'s Sin, without he had made an Absolute Decree about it; and that as was just now said, is the same thing with the *Supralapsarians* Hypothesis; of which shall say no more, having now laid together

ther in a ſmall compaſs, the full Strength of this Argument. I go next to ſet out with the ſame Fidelity and Exactneſs the Remonſtrants Arguments. *Art.* 17.

They begin with this, That God is Juſt, Holy, and Merciful: That in ſpeaking of himſelf in the Scripture with relation to thoſe Attributes, he is pleaſed to make Appeals to Men, to call them to reaſon with him: Thus his Prophets did often beſpeak the *Jewiſh* Nation; the meaning of which is, That God Acts ſo, that Men according to the Notions that they have of thoſe Attributes, may examine them, and will be forced to juſtify and approve them. Nay, in theſe God propoſes himſelf to us, as our Pattern; we ought to imitate him in them, and by conſequence we may frame juſt Notions of them. We are required to be holy and merciful as he is merciful. What then can we think of a Juſtice that ſhall condemn us for a Fact that we never committed, and that was done many Years before we were born? As alſo that deſigns firſt of all to be glorified by our being eternally miſerable, and that decrees that we ſhall commit ſins, to juſtify the previous Decree of our Reprobation? If thoſe Decrees are thus originally deſigned by God, and are certainly effectuated, then it is unconceivable how there ſhould be a Juſtice in puniſhing that which God himſelf appointed by an Antecedent and Irreverſible Decree ſhould be done: So this ſeems to lye hard upon Juſtice. It is no leſs hard upon Infinite Holineſs, to imagine that a Being of *purer eyes than that it can behold iniquity*, ſhould by an Antecedent Decree fix our committing ſo many Sins, in ſuch a manner that it is not poſſible for us to avoid them: This is to make us to be born indeed under a Neceſſity of Sin; and yet this neceſſity is ſaid to flow from the Act and Decrees of God: God repreſents himſelf always in the Scriptures as *gracious, merciful, ſlow to anger, and abundant in goodneſs and truth.* It is often ſaid, That *he deſires that no man ſhould periſh, but that all ſhould come to the knowledge of the truth.* And this is ſaid ſometimes with the Solemnity of an Oath, *As I live, ſaith the Lord, I take no pleaſure in the death of ſinners.* They ask, What ſenſe can ſuch words bear, if we can believe that God did by an Abſolute Decree reprobate ſo many of them? If all things that happen, do ariſe out of the Decree of God as its Firſt Cauſe, then we muſt believe that God takes pleaſure both in his own Decrees, and in the execution of them; and by conſequence, that he takes pleaſure in the death of ſinners, and that in contradiction to the moſt expreſs and moſt ſolemn words of Scripture. Beſides, what can we think of the Truth of God, and of the Sincerity of thoſe Offers of Grace and Mercy, with the Obteſtations, the Exhortations, and Expoſtulations upon them, that occur ſo often in Scripture, if we can think that by Antecedent Acts of God he determined that all theſe ſhould be ineffectual; ſo that they are only ſo many ſolemn words that do indeed ſignify nothing, if God intended that all things ſhould fall out as they do, and if they do ſo fall out only becauſe he intended it? The chief Foundation of this Opinion lies in this Argument as its Baſis, That nothing can be believed, that contradicts the Juſtice, Holineſs, the Truth and Purity of God; that theſe Attributes are in God according to our Notions concerning them, only they are in him infinitely more perfect; ſince we are required to imitate them. Whereas the Doctrine of Abſolute Decrees does manifeſtly contradict the cleareſt Ideas that we can form of Juſtice, Holineſs, Truth, and Goodneſs.

Heb. 1.13. Exod. 34. 6. 2 Pet. 3. 9. Ezek. 18. 12. 33. 11.

From the Nature of God they go to the Nature of Man; and they think that ſuch an inward Freedom by which a Man is the Maſter of his own Actions, and can do or not do what he pleaſes, is ſo neceſſary to the Morality of our Actions, that without it our Actions are neither good nor evil, neither capable of Rewards or Puniſhments. Mad Men, or Men aſleep, are not

Art. 17. not to be charged with the good or evil of what they do; therefore at least some degrees of Liberty must be left with us, otherwise why are we praised or blamed for any thing that we do? If a Man thinks that he is under an Inevitable Decree, as he will have little remorse for all the Evil he does, while he imputes it to that inevitable Force that constrains him, so he will naturally conclude that it is to no purpose for him to struggle with Impossibilities: And Men being inclined both to throw all blame off from themselves, and to indulge themselves in Laziness and Sloth, these Practices are too natural to Mankind to be encouraged by Opinions that favour them. All Virtue and Religion, all Discipline and Industry, must arise from this as their first Principle, That there is a Power in us to govern our own Thoughts and Actions, and to raise and improve our Faculties. If this is denied, all Endeavours, all Education, all pains either on our selves or others, are vain and fruitless things. Nor is it possible to make a Man believe other than this; for he does so plainly perceive that he is a free Agent; he feels himself balance matters in his Thoughts, and deliberate about them so evidently, that he certainly knows he is a free Being.

This is the Image of God that is stampt upon his Nature; and tho' he feels himself often hurried on so impetuously, that he may seem to have lost his Freedom in some Turns, and upon some Occasions; yet he feels that he might have restrained that Heat in its first beginning; he feels he can divert his Thoughts, and master himself in most things, when he sets himself to it: He finds that Knowledge and Reflection, that good Company and good Exercises do tame and soften him, and that bad ones makes him wild, loose, and irregular. From all this they conclude, that Man is free, and not under Inevitable Fate, or Irresistable Motions either to good or evil. All this they confirm from the whole Current of the Scripture, that is full of Persuasions, Exhortations, Reproofs, Expostulations, Encouragements, and Terrors; which are all vain and Theatrical things, if there are no free Powers in us to which they are addrest: To what purpose is it to speak to dead Men, to persuade the Blind to see, or the Lame to run? If we are under an impotence till the Irresistable Grace comes, and if when it comes nothing can withstand it, then what occasion is there for all those solemn Discourses, if they can have no effect on us? They cannot render us inexcusable, unless it were in our power to be bettered by them; and to imagine that God gives Light and Blessings to those whom he before intended to Damn, only to make them inexcusable, when they could do them no good, and they will serve only to aggravate their Condemnation, gives so strange an Idea of that Infinite Goodness, that it is not fit to express it by those Terms which do naturally arise upon it.

It is as hard to suppose two contrary Wills in God, the one commanding us our Duty, and requiring us with the most solemn Obtestations to do it, and the other putting a certain Bar in our way, by Decreeing that we shall do the contrary. This makes God look as if he had a *Will* and a *Will*; though a Heart and a Heart import no good quality, when applied to Men: The one *Will* requires us to do our Duty, and the other makes it impossible for us not to sin: The *Will* for the good is ineffectual, while the Will that makes us sin is infallible. These things seem very hard to be apprehended; and whereas the Root of True Religion is the having right and high Ideas of God and of his Attributes, here such Ideas arise as naturally give us strange Thoughts of God; and if they are received by us as Originals upon which we are to Form our own Natures, such Notions may make us grow to be Spiteful, Imperious, and without Bowels, but do not seem proper to inspire us with Love, Mercy, and Compassion;

paſſion; tho' God is always propoſed to us in that view. All Preaching and Inſtruction does alſo ſuppoſe this: For to what purpoſe are Men called upon, taught, and endeavoured to be perſuaded, if they are not free Agents, and have not a power over their own Thoughts, and if they are not to be convinced and turned by Reaſon? The Offers of Peace and Pardon that are made to all Men are, deluſory things if they are by an Antecedent Act of God reſtrained only to a few, and all others are barred from them. *Art.* 17.

It is further to be conſidered, ſay they, That God having made Men free Creatures, his Governing them accordingly, and making his own Adminiſtration of the World ſuitable to it, is no diminution of his own Authority; it is only the carrying on of his own Creation according to the ſeveral Natures that he has put in that variety of Beings of which this World is compoſed, and with which it is diverſified: Therefore if ſome of the Acts of God, with relation to Man, are not ſo free as his other Acts are, and as we may ſuppoſe neceſſary to the ultimate Perfection of an Independent Being, This ariſes not from any defect in the Acts of God, but becauſe the Nature of the Creature that he intended to make free, is inconſiſtent with ſuch Acts.

The Divine Omnipotence is not leſſened, when we obſerve ſome of his Works to be more beautiful and uſeful than others are; and the Irregular Productions of Nature do not derogate from the Order in which all Things appear lovely to the Divine Mind. So if that Liberty with which he intended to endue Thinking Beings, is incompatible with ſuch poſitive Acts, and ſo poſitive a Providence as governs Natural Things and this material World; then this is no way derogatory to the Sovereignty of his Mind. This does alſo give ſuch an account of the Evil that is in the World, as does no way accuſe or leſſen the Purity and Holineſs of God; ſince he only ſuffers his Creatures to go on in the free uſe of thoſe Powers that he has given them; about which he exerciſes a ſpecial Providence, making ſome Mens Sins to be the immediate Puniſhments of their own or of other Mens Sins; and reſtraining them often in a great deal of that Evil that they do deſign, and bringing out of it a great deal of Good that they did not deſign; but all is done in a way ſuitable to their Natures, without any violence to them.

It is true, it is not eaſy to ſhew how thoſe future Contingences which depend upon the free choice of the Will, ſhould be certain and infallible. But we are on other accounts certain that it is ſo; for we ſee through the whole Scriptures a Thread of very poſitive Prophecies, the accompliſhment of which depended on the free Will of Man; and theſe Predictions, as they were made very preciſely, ſo they were no leſs punctually accompliſhed. Not to mention any other Prophecies, all thoſe that related to the Death and Sufferings of Chriſt, were fulfilled by the free Acts of the Prieſts and People of the *Jews*: They ſinned in doing it, which proves that they acted in it with their Natural Liberty. By theſe and all the other Prophecies that are in both Teſtaments, it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe things were certainly foreknown; but where to found that Certainy, cannot be eaſily reſolved: The Infinite Perfection of the Divine Mind ought here to ſilence all Objections. A clear Idea by which we apprehend a thing to be plainly contrary to the Attributes of God, is indeed a juſt ground of rejecting it; and therefore they think that they are in the right to deny all ſuch to be in God, as they plainly apprehend to be contrary to Juſtice, Truth, and Goodneſs: But if the Objection againſt any thing ſuppoſed to be in God, lies only againſt the manner and the unconceivableneſs of it, there the Infinite Perfection of God anſwers all.

It is further to be conſidered, That this Preſcience does not make the Effects certain, becauſe they are foreſeen; but they are foreſeen, becauſe that they

Art. 17. are to be: So that the Certainty of the Preſcience is not antecedent or cauſal, but ſubſequent and eventual. Whatſoever happens, was future before it happened; and ſince it happened, it was certainly future from all Eternity; not by a Certainty of Fate, but by a Certainty that ariſes out of its being once, from which this Truth, That it was future was eternally certain: Therefore the Divine Preſcience being only the knowing all things that were to come; that does not infer a Neceſſity or Cauſality.

The Scripture plainly ſhews on ſome occaſions a conditionate Preſcience; 1 Sam. 23. 11, 12. God anſwered *David*, That *Saul* was to come to *Keilah*, and that the Men of *Keilah* were to deliver him up; and yet both the one and the other was upon the condition of his ſtaying there; and he going from thence, neither the one nor the other ever happen'd: Here was a Conditionate Preſcience. Matth. 11. 21, 22. Such was Chriſt's ſaying, That thoſe of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, would have turned to him, if they had ſeen the Miracles that he wrought in ſome of the Towns of *Galilee:* Since then this Preſcience may be ſo certain, that it can never be miſtaken, nor miſguide the Deſigns or Providence of God; and ſince by this both the Attributes of God are vindicated, and the due Freedom of the Will of Man is aſſerted, all difficulties ſeem to be eaſily cleared this way.

As for the giving to ſome Nations and Perſons the Means of Salvation, and the denying theſe to others, the Scriptures do indeed aſcribe that wholly to the Riches and Freedom of God's Grace; but ſtill they think, that he gives to all Men that which is neceſſary to the ſtate in which they are, to anſwer the Obligations they are under in it: And that this Light and common Grace is ſufficient to carry them ſo far, that God will either accept of it or give them further degrees of Illumination: From which it muſt be inferred, That all Men are inexcuſable in his ſight; and that Pſal. 51. 4. *God is always juſt and clear when he judges*; ſince every Man had that which was ſufficient, if not to ſave him, yet at leaſt to bring him to a ſtate of Salvation. But beſides what is thus ſimply neceſſary, and is of it ſelf ſufficient, there are innumerable Favours, like Largeſſes of God's Grace and Goodneſs; theſe God gives freely as he pleaſes.

And thus the great Deſigns of Providence go on according to the Goodneſs and Mercy of God. None can complain, tho' ſome have more cauſe to rejoice and glory in God than others. What happens to Nations in a Body, may alſo happen to Individuals; ſome may have higher Privileges, be put in happier Circumſtances, and have ſuch Aſſiſtances given them as God foreſees will become *effectual*, and not only thoſe which though they be in their nature *ſufficient*, yet in the Event will be *ineffectual:* Every Man ought to complain of himſelf for not uſing that which was ſufficient, as he might have done; and all good Men will have matter of rejoycing in God, for giving them what he foreſaw would prove effectual. After all, they acknowledge there is a depth in this, of God's not giving all Nations an equal meaſure of Light, nor putting all Men into equally happy Circumſtances, which they cannot unriddle; but ſtill Juſtice, Goodneſs, and Truth are ſaved; tho' we may imagine a Goodneſs that may do to all Men what is abſolutely the beſt for them: And there they confeſs there is a difficulty, but not equal to thoſe of the other ſide.

From hence it is that they expound all thoſe Paſſages in the New Teſtament, concerning the *Purpoſe*, the *Election*, the *Foreknowledge*, and the *Predeſtination* of God, ſo often mentioned. All thoſe, they ſay, relate to God's deſign of calling the *Gentile* World to the knowledge of the *Meſſias:* This was kept ſecret, tho' Hints of it are given in ſeveral of the Prophets; ſo it was a Myſtery; but it was then revealed, when according to Chriſt's Commiſſion to his Apoſtles, *to go and teach all Nations*, they went Preaching the Goſpel

Goſpel to the *Gentiles*. This was a Stumbling-block to the *Jews*, and it was the chief Subject of Controverſy betwixt them and the Apoſtles at the time when the Epiſtles were writ: So it was neceſſary for them to clear this very fully, and to come often over it. But there was no need of amuſing People in the beginnings of Chriſtianity, and in that firſt infancy of it, with high and unſearchable Speculations concerning the Decrees of God: Therefore they obſerve, that the Apoſtles ſhew how that *Abraham* at firſt, *Iſaac* and *Jacob* afterwards, were choſen by a diſcriminating Favour, That they and their Poſterity ſhould be in Covenant with God: And upon that occaſion the Apoſtle goes on to ſhew, that God had always deſigned to call in the *Gentiles*, though that was not executed but by their Miniſtry. *Art.* 17

With this Key one will find a plain coherent ſenſe in all St. *Paul's* Diſcourſes on this Subject, without aſſerting antecedent and ſpecial Decrees as to particular Perſons. Things that happen under a permiſſive and directing Providence, may be alſo in a largeneſs of expreſſion aſcribed to the Will and Counſel of God; for a permiſſive and directing Will is really a Will, though it be not antecedent nor cauſal. The *hardning Pharaoh's heart*, may be aſcribed to God, though it is ſaid that his *heart hardned it ſelf*; becauſe he took occaſion from the ſtops God put in thoſe Plagues that he ſent upon him and his People, to encourage himſelf, when he ſaw there was a new Reſpite granted him: And he who was a cruel and bloody Prince, deeply engaged in Idolatry and Magick, had deſerved ſuch Judgments for his other Sins, ſo that he may be well conſidered as actually under his final Condemnation, only under a Reprieve, not ſwallowed up in the firſt Plagues, but preſerved in them, and raiſed up out of them, to be a laſting Monument of the Juſtice of God againſt ſuch hardned Impenitency. *Whom he will, he hardneth*, muſt be ſtill reſtrained to ſuch Perſons as that Tyrant was. Exod. 7. 22. Exod. 8. 15, 19, 32. Rom. 9. 18.

It is endleſs to enter into the diſcuſſion of all the Paſſages cited from the Scripture to this purpoſe; this Key ſerving as they think it does, to open moſt of them. It is plain theſe Words of our Saviour concerning thoſe *whom the Father had given him*, are only to be meant of a Diſpenſation of Providence, and and not of a Decree; ſince he adds, *And I have loſt none of them, except the ſon of Perdition*: For it cannot be ſaid that he was in the Decree, and yet was loſt. And in the ſame Period in which God is ſaid *to work in us both to will and to do*, we are required to *work out our own ſalvation with fear and trembling*. The Word rendered, *ordained to eternal life*, does alſo ſignify, fitted or prediſpoſed to Eternal Life. That Queſtion, *Who made thee to differ?* ſeems to refer to thoſe Gifts which in different degrees and meaſures were poured out on the firſt Chriſtians; in which Men were only paſſive, and diſcriminated from one another by the freedom of thoſe Gifts, without any thing previous in them to diſpoſe them to them. Joh. 17. 12. Phil. 2. 12. Acts 13. 48. 1 Cor. 4. 7.

Chriſt is ſaid to be the *Propitiation for the ſins of the whole world*, and the wicked are ſaid *to deny the Lord that bought them*; and his Death as to its extent to all men, is ſet in oppoſition to the Sin of *Adam*; ſo that *as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, ſo by the righteouſneſs of one, the free gift came upon all men to juſtification of life*. The *all* of the one ſide muſt be of the ſame extent with the *all* of the other: So ſince *all* are concerned in *Adam's* Sin, *all* muſt be likewiſe concerned in the Death of Chriſt. This they urge further, with this Argument, That all Men are obliged to believe in the Death of Chriſt, but no Man can be obliged to believe a Lye; therefore it follows that he muſt have died for *all*. Nor can it be thought that Grace is ſo efficacious of it ſelf, as to determine us; otherwiſe why are we required *not to grieve God's Spirit?* Why is it ſaid, *Ye do always reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt; as your fathers did, ſo do ye? How often would I have gathered you* 1 Joh. 2. 2. 2 Pet. 2. 1. Rom. 5. 18. Acts 7. 51. Matth. 23. 37.

Art. 17. *under my wings, but ye would not? What more could I have done in my vineyard, that has not been done in it?* Theſe ſeem to be plain Intimations of a Power
Iſa. 5. 4. in us, by which we not only can, but often do reſiſt the Motions of Grace.

If the determining Efficacy of *Grace* is not acknowledged, it will be yet much harder to believe that we are efficaciouſly determined to *Sin.* This ſeems to be not only contrary to the Purity and Holineſs of God, but is ſo manifeſtly contrary to the whole Strain of the Scriptures, that charges Sin upon Men, that in ſo copious a Subject it is not neceſſary to bring
Hoſ. 13. 9. Joh. 5. 40. Proofs. *O Iſrael, thou haſt deſtroyed thy ſelf, but in me is thy help:* And, *ye*
Ezek. 33. 11. *will not come unto me, that ye may have life: Why will you dye, O houſe of Iſrael?* And as for that Nicety of ſaying, That the Evil of Sin conſiſts in a Negation, which is not a poſitive Being, ſo that though God ſhould determine Men to the Action that is ſinful, yet he is not concerned in the Sin of it: They think it is too Metaphyſical, to put the Honour of God and his Attributes upon ſuch a Subtilty: For in Sins againſt Moral Laws, there ſeems to be an Antecedent Immorality in the Action it ſelf, which is inſeparable from it. But ſuppoſe that Sin conſiſted in a Negative, yet that Privation does immediately and neceſſarily reſult out of the Action, without any other thing whatſoever intervening: So that if God does infallibly determine a Sinner to commit the Action to which that Guilt belongs, tho' that ſhould be a Sin only by reaſon of a Privation that is dependent upon it, then it does not appear but that he is really the Author of Sin; ſince if he is the Author of the ſinful Action, on which the Sin depends as a Shadow upon its Subſtance, he muſt be eſteemed, ſay they, the Author of Sin.

And though it may be ſaid, That Sin being a Violation of God's Law, he himſelf, who is not bound by his Law, cannot be guilty of Sin; yet an Action that is Immoral, is ſo eſſentially oppoſite to Infinite Perfection, that God cannot be capable of it, as being a contradiction to his own Nature. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed that he can Damn Men for that, which is the neceſſary reſult of an Action to which he himſelf determined them.

As for Perſeverance, the many Promiſes made in the Scriptures to them
Rev. 2 & 3. that *overcome*, that continue *ſtedfaſt* and *faithful to the death*, ſeem to inſinuate, that a Man may fall from a good ſtate. Thoſe famous Words in the
Heb. 6. *Sixth* of the *Hebrews*, do plainly intimate, That *ſuch men may ſo fall away, that it may be impoſſible to renew them again by repentance.* And in that Epi-
Heb. 10. ſtle, where it is ſaid, *The juſt ſhall live by faith*; it is added, *but if he draw back* (*any man* is not in the Original) *my Soul ſhall have no pleaſure in him.*
Ezek. 18. 24. And it is poſitively ſaid by the Prophet, *When the righteous turneth away from his righteouſneſs, and committeth iniquity, all his righteouſneſs that he hath done ſhall not be mentioned; in his ſin that he hath ſinned ſhall he dye.* Theſe Suppoſitions, with a great many more of the ſame ſtrain that may be brought out of other places, do give us all poſſible reaſon to believe, that a good Man may fall from a good ſtate, as well as that a wicked Man may turn from a bad one. In concluſion, the End of all things, the Final Judgment at the Laſt Day, which ſhall be pronounced according to what Men have done, whether good or evil, and their being to be rewarded and puniſhed according to it, ſeems ſo effectually to aſſert a Freedom in our Wills, that they think this alone might ſerve to prove the whole Cauſe.

So far I have ſet forth the Force of the Argument on the ſide of the *Remonſtrants.* As for the *Socinians*, they make their Plea out of what is ſaid by the one and by the other ſide. They agree with the *Remonſtrants* in all that they ſay againſt Abſolute Decrees, and in urging all thoſe Conſequences that do ariſe out of them: And they do alſo agree with the *Calviniſts* in all that they urge againſt the poſſibility of a certain Preſcience of future Contingents:

tingents: So that it will not be neceſſary to ſet forth their Plea more ſpecially, nor needs more be ſaid in oppoſition to it, than what was already ſaid as part of the *Remonſtrants* Plea. Therefore without dwelling any longer on that, I come now to make ſome Reflections upon the whole Matter. *Art.* 17.

It is at firſt view apparent, That there is a great deal of weight in what has been ſaid of both Sides: So much, that it is no wonder if Education, the conſtant attending more to the Difficulties of the one ſide than of the other, and a Temper ſome way proportioned to it, does fix Men very ſteddily to either the one or the other Perſuaſion. Both Sides have their Difficulties, ſo it will be natural to chuſe that Side where the Difficulties are leaſt felt: But it is plain there is no reaſon for either of them to deſpiſe the other, ſince the Arguments of both are far from being contemptible.

It is further to be obſerved, That both Sides ſeem to be chiefly concerned to aſſert the Honour of God, and of his Attributes. Both agree in this, That whatever is fixed as the primary Idea of God, all other things muſt be Explained ſo as to be conſiſtent with that. Contradictions are never to be admitted; but things may be juſtly believed, againſt which Objections may be formed that cannot be eaſily anſwered.

The one Side think, That we muſt begin with the Idea of Infinite Perfection, of Independency and Abſolute Soveraignty: And if in the Sequel Difficulties occur which cannot be cleared, that ought not to ſhake us from this primary Idea of God.

Others think, That we cannot frame ſuch clear Notions of Independency, Soveraignty, and Infinite Perfection, as we can do of Juſtice, Truth, Holineſs, Goodneſs, and Mercy: And ſince the Scripture propoſes God to us moſt frequently under thoſe Ideas, they think that we ought to fix on theſe as the primary Ideas of God, and then reduce all other things to them.

Thus both Sides ſeem zealous for God and his Glory: Both lay down General Maxims that can hardly be Diſputed; and both argue juſtly from their Firſt Principles. Theſe are great Grounds for mutual Charity and Forbearance in theſe Matters.

It is certain, That one who has long interwoven his Thoughts of Infinite Perfection, with the Notions of Abſolute and Unchangeable Decrees, of carrying on every thing by a poſitive Will, of doing every thing for his own Glory, cannot apprehend Decrees depending on a foreſeen Free-will, a Grace Subject to it, a Merit of Chriſt's Death that's loſt, and a Man's being at one time loved, and yet finally hated of God, without horror. Theſe things ſeem to carry in them an appearance of feebleneſs, of dependence, and of changeableneſs.

On the other hand; a Man that has accuſtomed himſelf to think often on the Infinite Goodneſs and Mercy, the Long-ſuffering, Patience, and Slowneſs to Anger that appears in God; he cannot let the Thought of Abſolute Reprobation, or of determining Men to Sin, or of not giving them the Grace neceſſary to keep them from Sin and Damnation, enter into his Mind, without the ſame horror that another feels in the Reverſe of all this.

So that the Source of both Opinions being the different Ideas that they have of God, and both theſe Ideas being true; Men only miſtaking in the Extent of them; and in the Conſequences drawn from them; here are the cleareſt Grounds imaginable for a mutual Forbearance, for not judging Men imperiouſly, nor cenſuring them ſeverely upon either Side. And thoſe who have at different Times of their Lives been of both Opinions, and who upon the Evidence of Reaſon, as it has appeared to them,

have

Art. 17. have changed their Perſuaſions, can ſpeak more affirmatively here: For they know, that in great ſincerity of Heart they have thought both ways.

Each Opinion has ſome Practical Advantages of its ſide. A *Calviniſt* is Taught by his Opinions, To think meanly of himſelf, and to aſcribe the honour of all to God: Which lays in him a deep foundation for Humility: he is alſo much inclined to ſecret Prayer, and to a fixed dependence on God; which naturally both brings his Mind to a good ſtate, and fixes it in it. And ſo though perhaps he cannot give a coherent account of the Grounds of his Watchfulneſs and Care of himſelf; yet that Temper ariſes out of his Humility, and his Earneſtneſs in Prayer. A *Remonſtrant*, on the other hand, is ingaged to awaken and improve his Faculties, to fill his Mind with good Notions, to raiſe them in himſelf by frequent Reflection, and by a conſtant Attention to his own Actions: He ſees cauſe to reproach himſelf for his Sins, and to ſet about his Duty to purpoſe: Being aſſured that it is through his own fault if he miſcarries: He has no dreadful Terrors upon his Mind; nor is he tempted to an undue Security; or to ſwell up in (perhaps) an imaginary Conceit of his being unalterably in the Favour of God.

Both Sides have their peculiar Temptations as well as their Advantages: The *Calviniſt* is tempted to a falſe Security, and Sloth: And the *Arminian* may be tempted to truſt too much to himſelf, and too little to God. So equally may a Man of a calm Temper, and of moderate Thoughts, balance this Matter between both the Sides: And ſo unreaſonable it is to give way to a poſitive and dictating Temper in this Point. If the *Arminian* is zealous to aſſert Liberty, it is becauſe he cannot ſee, how there can be Good or Evil in the World without it: He thinks it is the Work of God, that he has made for great Ends; and therefore he can allow of nothing that he thinks deſtroys it. If on the other hand a *Calviniſt* ſeems to break in upon Liberty, it is becauſe he cannot reconcile it with the Sovereignty of God, and the Freedom of his Grace: And he grows to think that it is an Act of Devotion to offer up the one to ſave the other.

The common Fault of both Sides is, To charge one another with the Conſequences of their Opinions, as if they were truly their Tenets. Whereas they are apprehenſive enough of theſe Conſequences, they have no mind to them, and they fancy that by a few diſtinctions they can avoid them. But each Side thinks the Conſequences of the other are both worſe, and more certainly faſtned to that Doctrine, than the Conſequences that are urged againſt himſelf are. And ſo they think they muſt chuſe that Opinion that is the leaſt perplexed and difficult: Not but that Ingenuous and Learned Men of all Sides confeſs, that they feel themſelves very often pinched in theſe Matters.

Another very indecent way of managing theſe Points, is, That both Sides do too often ſpeak very boldly of God. Some petulent Wits in order to the repreſenting the contrary Opinion as Abſurd and Ridiculous, have brought in God, repreſenting him with indecent Expreſſions, as Acting or Decreeing according to their Hypotheſis, in a manner that is not only Unbecoming, but that borders upon Blaſphemy. From which though they think to eſcape by ſaying, That they are only ſhewing what muſt follow if the other Opinion were believed; yet there is a Solemnity and Gravity of Stile that ought to be moſt religiouſly obſerved, when we poor Mortals take upon us to ſpeak of the Glory or Attributes, the Decrees or Operations of the Great God of Heaven and Earth: And every thing relating to this, that is put in a burleſque Air, is intolerable. It is a ſign of a very daring Preſumption to pretend to aſſign the Order of all the

Acts

Acts of God, the Ends propoſed in them, and the Methods by which they are Executed. We who do not know how our Thoughts carry our Bodies to obey and ſecond our Minds, ſhould not imagine that we can conceive how God may move or bend our Wills. The hard thing to digeſt in this whole Matter, is Reprobation: They who think it neceſſary to aſſert the freedom of Election, would fain avoid it: They ſeek ſoft words for it, ſuch as the paſſing by, or leaving Men to periſh: They ſtudy to put that on *Adam*'s Sin, and they take all the methods they can to ſoften an Opinion that ſeems harſh, and that ſounds ill. But howſoever they will bear all the Conſequences of it, rather than let the Point of Abſolute Election go. *Art.* 17.

On the other ſide, Thoſe who do once perſuade themſelves that the Doctrine of Reprobation is falſe, do not ſee how they can deny it, and yet aſcribe a free Election to God. They are once perſuaded that there can be no Reprobation but what is conditionate, and founded on what is foreſeen concerning Mens Sins: And from this they are forced to ſay the ſame thing of Election. And both ſides ſtudy to begin the Controverſy with that which they think they can the moſt eaſily prove; the one at the Eſtabliſhing of Election, and the other at the overthrowing of Reprobation. Some have ſtudied to ſeek out middle-ways: For they obſerving that the Scriptures are writ in a great diverſity of Stile, in Treating of the Good or Evil that happens to us, aſcribing the one to God, and imputing the other to our ſelves, teaching us to aſcribe the honour of all that is Good to God, and to caſt the blame of all that is Evil upon our ſelves, have from thence concluded, That God muſt have a different Influence and Cauſality in the one, from what he has in the other: But when they go to make this out, they meet with great Difficulties; yet they chuſe to bear theſe rather than to involve themſelves in thoſe equally great, if not greater Difficulties, that are in either of the other Opinions. They wrap up all in Two General Aſſertions, that are great Practical Truths, *Let us Arrogate no good to our ſelves, and impute no evil to God*, and ſo let the whole matter reſt. This may be thought by ſome the lazier, as well as the ſafer way; which avoids Difficulties, rather than anſwers them; whereas they ſay of both the Contending Sides, That they are better at the ſtarting of Difficulties than at the reſolving of them.

Thus far I have gone upon the general, in making ſuch Reflections as will appear but too well grounded to thoſe who have with any Attention read the chief Diſputants of both Sides. In theſe great Points all agree; That Mercy is freely offered to the World in Chriſt Jeſus: That God did freely offer his Son to be our Propitiation, and has freely accepted the Sacrifice of his Death in our ſtead, whereas he might have Condemned every Man to have periſhed for his own Sins. That God does in the Diſpenſation of this Goſpel, and the Promulgation of it to the ſeveral Nations, act according to the Freedom of his Grace, upon Reaſons that are to us myſterious and paſt finding out: That every Man is inexcuſable in the ſight of God: That all Men are ſo far free as to be praiſe-worthy or blame-worthy for the Good or Evil that they do: That every Man ought to employ his Faculties all he can, and to pray and depend earneſtly upon God for his Protection and Aſſiſtance: That no Man in Practice ought to think that there is a Fate or Decree hanging over him, and ſo become ſlothful in his Duty, but that every Man ought to do the beſt he can, as if there were no ſuch Decree, ſince whether there is or is not, it is not poſſible for him to know what it is: That every Man ought to be deeply humbled for his Sins in the ſight of God, without excuſing himſelf by pretending a Decree was upon

Art. 17. upon him, or a want of Power in him: That all Men are bound to obey the Rules ſet them in the Goſpel, and are to expect neither Mercy nor Favour from God, but as they ſet themſelves diligently about that: And finally, That at the Laſt Day all Men ſhall be Judged, not according to ſecret Decrees, but according to their own Works. In theſe great Truths, of which the greater part are Practical, all Men agree. If they would agree as honeſtly in the Practice of them, as they do in Confeſſing them to be true, they would do that which is much more important and neceſſary, than to ſpeculate and diſpute about Niceties; by which the World would quickly put on a new Face, and then thoſe few that might delight in curious Searches and Arguments, would manage them with more Modeſty and leſs Heat, and be both leſs poſitive and leſs ſupercilious.

I have hitherto inſiſted on ſuch general Reflections as ſeemed proper to theſe Queſtions. I come now in the laſt place to examine how far our Church hath determined the Matter, either in this Article or elſewhere: How far ſhe hath reſtrained her Sons, and how far ſhe hath left them at liberty. For thoſe different Opinions being ſo intricate in themſelves, and ſo apt to raiſe hot Diſputes, and to kindle laſting Quarrels, it will not be ſuitable to that Moderation which our Church hath obſerved in all other things, to ſtretch her Words on theſe Heads beyond their ſtrict ſenſe. The natural equity or reaſon of things ought rather to carry us on the other hand to as great a Comprehenſiveneſs of all ſides, as may well conſiſt with the Words in which our Church has expreſſed herſelf on thoſe Heads.

It is not to be denied, but that the Article ſeems to be framed according to St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine: It ſuppoſes Men to be under a *Curſe and Damnation*, antecedently to *Predeſtination*, from which they are delivered by it, ſo it is directly againſt the *Supralapſarian* Doctrine: Nor does the Article make any mention of Reprobation, no, not in a hint: no Definition is made concerning it. The Article does alſo ſeem to aſſert the Efficacy of Grace: That in which the Knot of the whole Difficulty lies, is not Defined; that is, Whether God's Eternal Purpoſe or Decree was made according to what he foreſaw his Creatures would do, or purely upon an Abſolute Will, in order to his own Glory. It is very probable, that thoſe who Penned it, meant that the Decree was Abſolute; but yet ſince they have not ſaid it, thoſe who ſubſcribe the Articles do not ſeem to be bound to any thing that is not expreſſed in them: And therefore ſince the *Remonſtrants* do not deny but that God having foreſeen what all Mankind would, according to all the different Circumſtances in which they ſhould be put, do or not do, he upon that did by a firm and Eternal Decree lay that whole Deſign in all its Branches, which he Executes in time; they may ſubſcribe this Article without renouncing their Opinion as to this matter. On the other hand, the *Calviniſts* have leſs occaſion for Scruple; ſince the Article does ſeem more plainly to favour them. The Three Cautions that are added to it, do likewiſe intimate, that St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine was deſigned to be ſettled by the Article: *For the danger of Mens having the ſentence of God's Predeſtination always before their eyes, which may occaſion either deſperation on the one hand, or the wretchleſneſs of moſt unclean living on the other*, belongs only to that ſide; ſince theſe Miſchiefs do not ariſe out of the other Hypotheſis. The other Two, of taking *the Promiſes of God in the ſenſe in which they are ſet forth to us in Holy Scriptures*; and *of following that Will of God that is expreſly declared to us in the Word of God*, relate very viſibly to the ſame Opinion: Though others do infer from theſe Cautions, That the Doctrine laid down in the Article muſt be ſo underſtood as to agree with theſe Cautions; and therefore they argue, That ſince Abſolute *Predeſtination* cannot

not conſiſt with them, that therefore the Article is to be otherwiſe explained. They ſay the natural Conſequence of an Abſolute Decree, is either Preſumption or Deſpair; ſince a Man upon that bottom reckons, That which way ſoever the Decree is made, it muſt certainly be accompliſhed. They alſo argue, That becauſe we muſt receive the Promiſes of God as conditional, we muſt alſo believe the Decree to be conditional, for Abſolute Decrees exclude conditional Promiſes. An Offer cannot be ſuppoſed to be made in earneſt, by him that has excluded the greateſt number of Men from it by an antecedent Act of his own. And if we muſt only follow the revealed Will of God, we ought not to ſuppoſe that there is an Antecedent and Poſitive Will of God, that has decreed our doing the contrary to what he has commanded. *Art.* 17.

Thus the one ſide argues, That the Article as it lies, in the plain meaning of thoſe who conceived it, does very expreſly eſtabliſh their Doctrine: And the other argues from thoſe Cautions that are added to it, That it ought to be underſtood ſo as that it may agree with theſe Cautions. And both ſides find in the Article it ſelf ſuch grounds, that they reckon they do not renounce their Opinions by ſubſcribing it. The *Remonſtrant* ſide have this further to add, That the Univerſal Extent of the Death of Chriſt ſeems to be very plainly affirmed in the moſt ſolemn part of all the Offices of the Church: For in the Office of Communion, and in the Prayer of Conſecration, we own, That Chriſt *by the one Oblation of himſelf once offered, made there a full, perfect, and ſufficient Sacrifice, Oblation and Satisfaction for the Sins of the whole World.* Though the others ſay, That by *full, perfect, and ſufficient*, is not to be underſtood that Chriſt's Death was intended to be a compleat Sacrifice and Satisfaction for *the whole World*, but that in its own Value it was capable of being ſuch. This is thought too great a ſtretch put upon the words. And there are yet more expreſs words in our Church-Catechiſm to this purpoſe; which is to be conſidered as the moſt ſolemn Declaration of the ſenſe of the Church, ſince that is the Doctrine in which ſhe inſtructs all her Children: And in that part of it which ſeems to be moſt important, as being the ſhort Summary of the Apoſtles Creed, it is ſaid, *God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all Mankind:* Where *all* muſt ſtand in the ſame Extent of Univerſality, as in the precedent and in the following words; *The Father who made me and all the World; the Holy Ghoſt who ſanctifieth me and all the Elect People of God*; which being to be underſtood ſeverely, and without exception, this muſt alſo be taken in the ſame ſtrictneſs. There is another Argument brought from the Office of Baptiſm, to prove that men may fall from a ſtate of Grace and Regeneration: for in the whole Office, more particularly in the Thankſgiving after the Baptiſm, it is affirmed, That the Perſon baptized is *Regenerated by God's Holy Spirit*, and is *received for his own Child by Adoption:* Now ſince it is certain that many who are baptized, fall from that ſtate of Grace, this ſeems to import, That ſome of the Regenerate may fall away: Which tho' it agree well with St. *Auſtin*'s Doctrine, yet it does not agree with the *Calviniſts* Opinions.

Thus I have examined this matter in as ſhort a compaſs as was poſſible; and yet I do not know that I have forgot any important part of the whole Controverſy, though it is large, and has many Branches. I have kept as far as I can perceive, that Indifference which I propoſed to my ſelf in the proſecuting of this matter; and have not on this occaſion declared my

Art. 17. own Opinion, though I have not avoided the doing it upon other occasions. Since the Church has not been peremptory, but that a Latitude has been left to different Opinions, I thought it became me to make this Explanation of the Article such: And therefore I have not endeavoured to possess the Reader with that which is my own sense in this matter, but have laid the Force of the Arguments, as well as the Weight of the Difficulties of both Sides before him, with all the Advantages that I had found in the Books either of the one or of the other Persuasion. And I leave the Choice as free to my Reader, as the Church has done.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XVIII.

Of obtaining Eternal Salvation only by the Name of Christ.

They also are to be accursed, that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth; so that he be diligent to frame his Life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

THE Impiety that is condemned in this Article, was first taught by some of the Heathen Orators and Philosophers in the Fourth Century, who in their Addresses to the Christian Emperors for the Tolerance of *Paganism*, started this Thought, that how lively soever it may seem, when well set off in a piece of Eloquence, will not bear a severe Argument: That God is more honoured by the Varieties and different Methods of worshipping and serving him, than if all should fall into the same way: That this diversity has a Beauty in it, and a suitableness to the Infinite Perfections of God; and it does not look so like a mutual agreement or concert, as when all Men worship him one way. But this is rather a Flash of Wit, than true Reasoning.

The *Alcoran* has carried this matter further to the asserting, That all Men in all Religions are equally acceptable to God, if they serve him faithfully in them. The infusing this into the World, that has a shew of Mercy in it, made Men more easy to receive their Law; and they took care by their extream Severity to fix them in it, when they were once engaged; for though they use no Force to make Men *Musselmans*, yet they punish with all extremity every thing that looks like Apostacy from it, if it is once received. The Doctrine of *Leviathan*, that makes *Law* to be *Religion*, and *Religion* to be *Law*, that is, that obliges Subjects to believe that Religion to be true, or at least to follow that which is enacted by the Laws of their Countrey; must be built either on this foundation, That there is no such thing as Revealed Religion, but that it is only a Political Contrivance; or that all Religions are equally acceptable to God.

Others having observ'd that it was a very small part of Mankind that had the advantages of the Christian Religion, have thought it too cruel to damn in their thoughts all those who have not heard of it, and yet have lived morally and virtuously, according to their Light and Education. And some, to make themselves and others easy, in accommodating their Religion to their secular Interests, to excuse their changing, and to quiet their Consciences, have set up this Notion, that seems to have a largeness both of good Nature and Charity in it; looks plausiable, and is calculated to take in the greatest Numbers; They therefore suppose that God in his Infinite Goodness will accept equally the Services that all his Creratures offer to him, according to the best of their skill and strength.

In opposition to all which, they are here condemned, who think that every Man shall be saved by the *Law* or *Sect* which he professeth: Where a great difference is to be observed between the words *saved by the Law*, and *saved in the Law*; the one is condemned but not the other. To *be saved by a Law or Sect*, signifies, That by the virtue of that *Law* or *Sect* such Men who follow it may be *saved*: Whereas to be *saved in a Law or Sect*, imports only, That God may extend his Compassions to Men that are engaged in false Religions. The former is only condemned by this Article, which affirms nothing concerning the other. In sum; if we have fully proved that

Art. 18. the Chriſtian Religion was delivered to the World in the Name of God, and was atteſted by Miracles, ſo that we believe it's Truth, we muſt believe every part and tittle of it, and by conſequence thoſe Paſſages which denounce the Wrath and Judgments of God againſt Impenitent Sinners, and that promiſe Mercy and Salvation only upon the account of Chriſt and his Death: *We muſt believe with our hearts, and confeſs it with our mouths: We muſt not be aſhamed of Chriſt or of his words, leſt he ſhould be aſhamed of us, when he comes in the glory of his Father with his holy Angels.* This I ſay, being a part of the Goſpel, muſt be as true as the Goſpel it ſelf is; and theſe Rules muſt bind all thoſe to whom they are propoſed whether they are enacted by *Law* or not: For if we are aſſured that they are a part of the *Law of the King of Kings*, we are bound to believe and obey them whether Human Laws do favour them or not; it being an evident thing, that no ſubordinate Authority can derogate from that which is ſuperior to it: So if the *Laws* of God are clearly revealed, and certainly conveyed down to us, we are bound by them, and no Human Law can diſſolve this Obligation. If God has declared his Will to us, it can never be ſuppoſed to be free to us to chuſe whether we will obey it or not, and ſerve him under that or under another Form of Religion, at our pleaſure and choice. We are limited by what God has declared to us, and we muſt not fancy our ſelves to be at liberty after he has revealed his Will to us.

Rom. 10. 9, 10. Mark. 8. 38.

As to ſuch to whom the Chriſtian Religion is revealed, there no queſtion can be made, for it is certain they are under an indiſpenſable Obligation to obey and follow that which is ſo graciouſly revealed to them: They are bound to follow it according to what they are in their Conſciences perſuaded is its true ſenſe and meaning. And if for any Secular Intereſt they chuſe to comply with that which they are convinced is an Important Error, and is condemned in the Scripture, they do plainly ſhew that they prefer Lands, Houſes, and Life, to the Authority of God, in whoſe Will, when revealed to them, they are bound to acquieſce.

The only difficulty remaining, is concerning thoſe who never heard of this Religion, Whether, or How can they be ſaved? St. *Paul* having divided the World into *Jews* and *Gentiles*, called by him thoſe who were in the Law, and who were without Law; he ſays, Thoſe *who ſinned without Law*, that is, out of the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation, *ſhall be judged without Law*, that is, upon another foot. For he adds, when *the Gentiles which have not the Law, do by nature things contained in the Law*, (That is, the Moral parts of it) *theſe having not the Law, are a Law unto themſelves*; (that is, their Conſciences are to them inſtead of a Written Law); *which ſhew the work of the Law written in their hearts, their conſcience alſo bearing witneſs, and their thoughts the mean while accuſing or elſe excuſing one another.* This implies that there are either Seeds of Knowledg and Virtue laid in the Nature of Man, or that ſuch Notions paſs among them, as are carried down by Tradition. The ſame S. *Paul* ſays, *How can they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how can they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how can they hear without a Preacher?* Which ſeems plainly to intimate, that Men cannot be bound to believe, and by conſequence cannot be puniſhed for not believing, unleſs the Goſpel is preached to them. St. *Peter* ſaid to *Cornelius*, *Of a truth I perceive that God is no reſpecter of perſons; but in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted of him.* Thoſe places ſeem to import, that thoſe who make the beſt uſe they can of that ſmall meaſure of Light that is given them, ſhall be judged according to it; and that God will not require more of them than he has given them. This alſo agrees ſo well with the Ideas which we have both of Juſtice and Goodneſs, that this Opinion

Rom. 2. 12, 14, 15.

Rom. 10. 14.

Acts 10. 34, 35.

wants

wants not ſpecial colours to make it look well. But on the other hand, *Art.* 18.
the Pardon of Sin, and the Favour of God, are ſo poſitively limited to the
believing in Chriſt Jeſus, and it is ſo expreſly ſaid, That *there is no ſalvation in any other*; and that *there is none other name* (or Authority) *under Heaven given among Men, whereby we muſt be ſaved*; that the diſtinction which can only be made in this matter, is this, That it is only on the Account, and in the Conſideration of the Death of Chriſt, that Sin is pardoned, and men are ſaved. Acts 4.12.

This is the only Sacrifice in the ſight of God; ſo that whoſoever are received into mercy, have it through Chriſt as the Channel and Conveyance of it. But it is not ſo plainly ſaid that no Man can be ſaved, unleſs he has an explicit Knowledge of this, together with a belief in it. Few in the Old Diſpenſation could have that: Infants, and Innocents, or Ideots have it not, and yet it were a bold thing to ſay that they may not be ſaved by it. So it does not appear to be clearly Revealed, That none ſhall be ſaved by the Death of Chriſt, unleſs they do explicitely both know it, and believe in it. Since it is certain, That God may pardon Sin only upon that ſcore, without obliging all Men to believe in it, eſpecially when it is not Revealed to them. And here another diſtinction is to be made, which will clear this whole matter, and all the difficulties that ariſe out of it.

A great difference is to be made between a Fœderal certainty of Salvation, ſecured by the Promiſes of God, and of this New Covenant in Chriſt Jeſus, and the extent to which the Goodneſs and Mercy of God may go. None are in a Fœderal State of Salvation but Chriſtians: To them is given the Covenant of Grace, and to them the promiſes of God are made and offered; So that they have a certainty of it upon their performing thoſe conditions that are put in the promiſes. All others are out of this Promiſe to whom the Tidings of it were never brought; but yet a great difference is to be made between them, and thoſe who have been invited to this Covenant, and admitted to the outward Profeſſion, and the common Privileges of it, and that yet have in effect rejected it: Theſe are under ſuch poſitive denunciations of Wrath and Judgment, that there is no room left for any charitable Thoughts or Hopes concerning them: So that if any part of the Goſpel is true, that muſt be alſo true, that they are under Condemnation, for *having lov d darkneſs more than light*, when the Light ſhone upon them, and viſited them. But as for them whom God has left in Darkneſs, they are certainly out of the Covenant, out of thoſe Promiſes and Declarations that are made in it. So that they have no Fœderal Right to be ſaved, neither can we affirm that they ſhall be ſaved: But on the other hand, they are not under thoſe poſitive denunciations, becauſe they were never made to them: Therefore ſince God has not declared that they ſhall be damned, no more ought we to take upon us to damn them. Joh. 3. 19.

Inſtead of ſtretching the ſeverity of Juſtice by an Inference, we may rather venter to ſtretch the Mercy of God, ſince that is the Attribute which of all others is the moſt Magnificently ſpoken of in the Scriptures: So that we ought to think of it in the largeſt and moſt comprehenſive manner. But indeed the moſt proper way is, for us to ſtop where the Revelation of God ſtops: And not to be wiſe beyond what is written; but to leave the ſecrets of God as Myſteries too far above us to examine, or to ſound their depth. We do certainly know on what terms we our ſelves ſhall be ſaved or damned: And we ought to be contented with that, and rather ſtudy *to work out our own ſalvation with fear and trembling*, than to let our minds run out into uncertain Speculations concerning the Meaſures and the Conditions of God's uncovenanted Mercies: We ought to take all poſſible

care

Art. 18. care that we our ſelves come not into Condemnation, rather than to define poſitively of others, who muſt, or who muſt not, be condemned.

It is therefore enough to fix this according to the Deſign of the Article, That it is not to free Men to chuſe at pleaſure what Religion they will, as if that were left to them, or that all Religions were alike; which ſtrikes at the Foundation, and undermines the Truth of all Revealed Religion. None are within the Covenant of Grace but true Chriſtians, and all are excluded out of it, to whom it is offered, who do not receive and believe it, and live according to it. So in a word, all that are ſaved, are ſaved through Chriſt; but whether all theſe ſhall be called to the Explicite Knowledge of him, is more than we have any good ground to affirm. Nor are we to go into that other Queſtion; Whether any that are only in a ſtate of Nature, live fully up to its Light? This is that about which we can have no certainty, no more than whether there may be a Common Grace given to them all, proportioned to their State, and to the Obligations of it. This in general may be ſafely believed, That God will never be wanting to ſuch as do their utmoſt endeavours in order to the ſaving of their Souls: But that as in the Caſe of *Cornelius*, an Angel will be ſent, and a Miracle be wrought, rather than that ſuch a Perſon ſhall be left to periſh. But whether any of them do ever arrive at that ſtate, is more than we can determine, and it is a vain attempt for us to endeavour to find it out.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XIX.

Of the Church.

The Visible Church of Christ is a Congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duely administred according to Christ's Ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, **and** Antioch **have erred, so also the Church of** Rome **hath erred, not only in their Living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.**

THIS Article, together with some that follow it, Relates to the Fundamental difference between us and the Church of *Rome*: They teaching that we are to judge of Doctrines by the Authority and the Decisions of the Church; whereas we affirm, That we are first to examine the Doctrine, and according to that, to judge of the Purity of a Church. Somewhat was already said on the Sixth Article relating to this matter: What remains, is now to be considered.

The whole Question is to be reduced to this Point, Whether we ought to Examine and Judge of Matters of Religion, according to the Light and Faculty of judging that we have; or if we are bound to submit in all things to the Decision of the Church? Here the matter must be determined against private Judgment, by very express and clear Authorities, other wise the other side proves it self. For we having naturally a Faculty of judging for our selves, and using it in all other things, this freedom being the greatest of all our other Rights, must be still asserted, unless it can be made appear, that God has in some things put a Bar upon it by his Supreme Authority.

That Authority must be very express, if we are required to submit to it in a Point of such vast Importance to us. We do also see that Men are apt to be mistaken, and are apt likewise willingly to mistake, and to mislead others: and that particularly in matters of Religion the World has been so much imposed upon and abused, that we cannot be bound to submit to any sort of persons implicitely, without very good and clear grounds that do assure us of their Infallibility: Otherwise we have just reason to suspect that in matters of Religion, chiefly in Points in which Human Interests are concerned, Men may either through Ignorance, and Weakness, or Corruption, and on Design, abuse and mislead us. So that the Authorities or Proofs of this Infallibility must be very express; since we are sure no Man nor Body of Men can have it among them, but by a Privilege from God; and a Privilege of so extraordinary a nature must be given, if at all, in very plain, and with very evident Characters; since without these, Human Nature cannot and ought not to be so tame as to receive it. We must not draw it from an Inference, because we think we need it, and cannot be safe without it, That therefore it must be so, because if it were not so, great Disorder would arise from the want of it. This is certainly a wrong way of arguing. If God has clearly revealed it, we must acquiesce in it, because we are sure if he has lodged Infallibility any where, he will certainly maintain his own Work, and not require us to believe any one implicitly, and not the same time preserve us from the danger of being deceived by him. But we must not presume from our Notions of things to give Rules to God. It were, as we may think,

Art. 19. think, very neceſſary that Miracles ſhould be publickly done from time to time, for convincing every Age and Succeſſion of Men; and that good Men ſhould be ſo aſſiſted as generally to live without Sin: Theſe and ſeveral other things may ſeem to us extreme convenient, and even neceſſary; but things are not ſo ordered for all that. It is alſo certain, That if God has lodged ſuch an Infallibility on Earth, it ought not to be in ſuch hands as do naturally heighten our Prejudices againſt it. It will go againſt the grain to believe it, though all outward appearances lookt ever ſo fair for it: But it will be an unconceivable method of Providence, if God ſhould lodge ſo wonderful an Authority in hands that look ſo very unlike it, that of all others we ſhould the leaſt expect to find it with them.

If they have been guilty of Notorious Impoſtures, to ſupport their own Authority, if they have committed great Violences to extend it, and have been for ſome Ages together engaged in as many falſe, unjuſt, and cruel Practices, as are perhaps to be met with in any Hiſtory; Theſe are ſuch prejudices that at leaſt they muſt be overcome by very clear and unqueſtionable Proofs: And finally, if God has ſetled ſuch a Power in his Church, we muſt be diſtinctly directed to thoſe in whoſe hands it is put, ſo that we may fall into no miſtake in ſo important a Matter. This will be the more neceſſary, if there are different pretenders to it: We cannot be ſuppoſed to be bound to believe an Infallibility in general, unleſs we have an equal Evidence directing us to thoſe with whom it reſts, and who have the diſpenſing of it. Theſe general Conſiderations are of great weight in Deciding this Queſtion, and will carry us far into ſome Preliminaries, which will appear to be indeed great ſteps towards the concluſion of the matter.

There are Three ways by which it may be pretended that Infallibility can be proved: The one is, the way of *Moſes* and the Prophets, of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, who by clear and unqueſtionable Miracles, publickly done and well atteſted, or by expreſs and circumſtantiated Prophecies of things to come, that came afterwards to be verified, did evidently demonſtrate that they were ſent of God: Whereſoever we ſee ſuch Characters, and that a Miracle is wrought by Men who ſay they are ſent of God, which cannot be denied nor avoided; and if what ſuch Perſons deliver to us is neither contrary to our Ideas of God, and of Morality, nor to any thing already revealed by God; there we muſt conclude that God has lodged an Infallible Authority with them, as long and as far as that Character is ſtampt upon it.

That is not pretended here: For though they ſtudy to perſuade the World that Miracles are ſtill among them, yet they do not ſo much as ſay, that the Miracles are wrought by thoſe with whom this Infallibility is lodged, and that they are done to prove them to be Infallible. For though God ſhould beſtow the Gift of Miracles upon ſome particular Perſons among them, that is no more an Argument that their Church is Infallible, than the Miracles that *Elijah* or *Eliſha* wrought, were Arguments to prove that the *Jewiſh* Church was Infallible. Indeed the Publick Miracles that belong'd to the whole Body, ſuch as the Cloud of Glory, the Anſwers by the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the Trial of Jealouſy, and the conſtant Plenty of the Sixth Year, as preparatory to the Sabbatical Year, ſeem more reaſonably to infer an Infallibility; becauſe theſe were given to that whole Church and Nation. But yet the *Jewiſh* Church was far from being Infallible all that while; for we ſee they fell all in a Body into Idolatry upon ſeveral occaſions: Thoſe Publick Miracles proved nothing but that for which they were given, which was, That *Moſes* was ſent of God, and that his Law was from God, which they ſaw was ſtill Atteſted in a continuance of extraordinary Characters. If Infallibility had been promiſed by that Law, then the continuance

nuance of the Miracles might have been urged to prove the Continuance of the Infallibility; but that not being promiſed, the Miracles were only a ſtanding Proof of the Authority of their Law, and of God's being ſtill among them. And thus though we ſhould not diſpute the Truth of the many Legends that ſome are daily bringing forth, which yet we may well do, ſince they are believed to be true by few among themſelves, they being conſidered among the greater part of the knowing Men of that Church, as Arts to entertain the Credulity and Devotion of the People, and to work upon their fears and hopes, but chiefly upon their Purſes: All theſe, I ſay, when confeſſed, will not ſerve to prove that there is an Infallibility among them, unleſs they can prove that theſe Miracles are wrought to prove this Infallibility. *Art.* 19.

The ſecond ſort of Proofs that they may bring, is from ſome Paſſages in Scripture, that ſeem to import that it was given by Chriſt to the Church. But though in this diſpute all theſe Paſſages ought to be well conſidered and anſwered, yet they ought not to be urged to prove this Infallibility, till everal other things are firſt proved; ſuch as, That the Scriptures are the Word of God; That the Book of the Scriptures is brought down pure and uncorrupted to our hands; and that we are able to underſtand the meaning of it: For before we can argue from the parts of any Book, as being of Divine Authority, all theſe things muſt be previouſly certain, and be well made out to us; ſo that we muſt be well aſſured of all thoſe Particulars before we may go about to Prove any thing by any Paſſages drawn out of the Scriptures. Further, theſe Paſſages ſuppoſe that thoſe to whom this Infallibility belongs, are a Church: We muſt then know what a Church is, and what makes a Body of Men to be a Church, before we can be ſure that they are that Society to whom this Infallibility is given: And ſince there may be, as we know that in fact there are, great differences among ſeveral of thoſe Bodies of Men called Churches, and that they condemn one another as guilty of Error, Schiſm, and Hereſy; we are ſure that all theſe cannot be Infallible; for Contradictions cannot be true. So then we muſt know which of them is that Society where this Infallibility is to be found: And if in any one Society there ſhould be different Opinions about the Seat of this Infallibility, theſe cannot be all true, though it is very poſſible that they may be all falſe: We muſt be then well aſſured in whom this great Privillege is veſted, before we can be bound to acknowledge it, or to ſubmit to it. So here a great many things muſt be known, before we can either argue from, or apply thoſe Paſſages of Scripture in which it is pretended that Infallibility is promiſed to the Church: And if private Judgment is to be truſted in the Inquiries that ariſe about all theſe particulars, they being the moſt important and moſt difficult matters that we can ſearch into, then it will be thought reaſonable to truſt it yet much further.

It is evident by their proceeding this way, that both the Authority and the Senſe of the Scriptures muſt be known antecedently to our acknowledging the Authority or the Infallibility of any Church. For it is an Eternal Principle and Rule of Reaſon, never to prove one thing by another, till that other is firſt well proved: Nor can any thing be proved afterwards by that which was proved by it. This is as impoſſible, as if a Father ſhould beget a Son, and ſhould be afterwards begotten by that Son. Therefore the Scriptures cannot prove the Infallibility of the Church, and be afterwards proved by the Teſtimony of the Church. So the one or the other of theſe muſt be firſt ſettled and proved, before any uſe can be made of it to prove the other by it.

Art. 19. Bellar. Contr. Tom 2. l. 4. The laſt way they take to find out this Church by, is from ſome Notes that they pretend are peculiar to her, ſuch as the Name *Catholick*; *Antiquity*; *Extent*; *Duration*; *Succeſſion of Biſhops*; *Union among themſelves, and with their Head*; *Conformity of Doctrine with former times*; *Miracles*; *Prophecy*; *Sanctity of Doctrine*; *Holineſs of Life*; *Temporal Felicity*; *Curſes upon their Enemies*; *and a conſtant Progreſs or Efficacy of Doctrine*; *together with the Confeſſion of their Adverſaries*: And they fancy, that whereſoever we find theſe, we muſt believe that Body of Men to be Infallible. But upon all this, endleſs Queſtions will ariſe, ſo far will it be from ending Controverſies, and ſettling us upon Infallibility. If all theſe muſt be believed to be the Marks of the Infallible Church, upon the account of which we ought to believe it, and ſubmit to it, then two Enquires upon every one of theſe Notes muſt be diſcuſſed, before we can be obliged to acquieſce in the Infallibility: Firſt, Whether that is a true Mark of Infallibility or not? And next, Whether it belongs to the Church which they call Infallible, or not? And then another very intricate Queſtion will ariſe upon the whole, Whether they muſt all be found together? or, How many, or which of them together, will give us the entire Characters of the Infallible Church?

In diſcuſſing the Queſtions, Whether every one of theſe is a true Mark or not, no uſe muſt be made of the Scriptures; for if the Scriptures have their Authority from the Teſtimony, or rather the Deciſions of the Infallible Church, no uſe can be made of them till that is firſt fixed. Some of theſe Notes are ſuch as did not at all agree to the Church in the beſt and pureſt Times; for then ſhe had but a little Extent, a ſhort-liv'd Duration, and no Temporal Felicity; and ſhe was generally reproached by her Adverſaries. But out of which of theſe Topicks can one hope to fetch out an Aſſurance of the Infallibility of ſuch a Body? Can no Body of Men continue long in the conſtant Series, and with much Proſperity, but muſt they be concluded to be Infallible? Can it be thought that the aſſuming a Name can be a Mark? Why is not the Name *Chriſtian* as ſolemn as *Catholick*? Might not the Philoſophers have concluded from hence againſt the Firſt Chriſtians, That they were by the confeſſion of all Men, the *true Lovers of Wiſdom*: ſince they were called Philoſophers much more unanimouſly than the Church of *Rome* is called Catholick?

If a Conformity of Doctrine with former times, and a Sanctity of Doctrine, are Notes of the Church, theſe will lead men into Enquiries of ſuch a nature, that if they are once allowed to go ſo far with their private Judgment, they may well be ſuffered to go much further. Some Standard muſt be fixed on, by which the Sanctity of Doctrine may be examined; they muſt alſo be allowed to examine what was the Doctrine of former times; and here it will be natural to begin at the firſt times, the Age of the Apoſtles. It muſt therefore be firſt known what was the Doctrine of that Age, before we can examine the Conformity of the preſent Age with it. A Succeſſion of Biſhops is confeſſed to be ſtill kept up among corrupted Churches. An Union of the Church with its Head, cannot be ſuppoſed to be a Note, unleſs it is firſt made out by ſome other Topicks, That this Church muſt have a Head; and that he is Infallible: For unleſs it is proved by ſome other Argument, That ſhe ought to have a Head, ſhe cannot be bound to adhere to him, or to own him; and unleſs it is alſo proved that he is Infallible, ſhe cannot be bound abſolutely, and without reſtrictions, to adhere to him. Holineſs of Life cannot be a Mark, unleſs it is pretended that thoſe in whom the Infallibility is, are all holy. A few holy men here and there are indeed an Honour to any Body; but it will ſeem a ſtrange Inference, That becauſe ſome few in a Society are eminently holy, that

therefore others of that Body who are not ſo, but are perhaps as eminently vicious, ſhould be Infallible. Somewhat has been already ſaid concerning Miracles: The pretence to Prophecy falls within the ſame Conſideration: The one being as wonderful a Communication of Omniſcience, as the other is of Omnipotence. For the Confeſſion of Adverſaries, or ſome Curſes on them; theſe cannot ſignifie much, unleſs they were Univerſal. Fair Enemies will acknowledg what is good among their Adverſaries: But as that Church is the leaſt apt of any Society we know, to ſpeak good of thoſe who differ from her, ſo ſhe has not very much to boaſt as to others ſaying much good of her. And if Signal Providences have now and then happened, theſe are ſuch things, and they are carried on with ſuch a depth, that we muſt acquieſce in the Obſervation of the wiſeſt Men of all Ages, That *the race is not to the ſwift, nor the battel to the ſtrong: But that time and chance happeneth to all things.* *Art.* 19. Eccl. 9. 11.

And thus it appears, That theſe pretended Notes, inſtead of giving us a clear Thread to lead us up to Infallibility, and to end all Controverſies, they do ſtart a great variety of Queſtions that engage us into a Labyrinth, out of which it cannot be eaſy for any to extricate themſelves. But if we could ſee an end of this, then a new ſet of Queſtions will come on: When we go to examine all Churches by them: Whether the Church of *Rome* has them all? And if ſhe alone has them, ſo that no other Church has them equally with her or beyond her?

If all theſe muſt be diſcuſſed before we can ſettle this Queſtion, Which is the true Infallible Church? A Man muſt ſtay long e're he can come to a point in it.

Therefore there can be no other way taken here, but to examine firſt, What makes a particular Church? And then ſince the Catholick Church is an united Body of all particular Churches, when the true Notion of a particular Church is fixed, it will be eaſy from that to form a Notion of the Catholick Church.

It would ſeem reaſonable by the Method of all Creeds, in particular of that called the Apoſtles Creed, that we ought firſt to ſettle our Faith as to the great Points of the Chriſtian Religion, and from thence go to ſettle the Notion of a true Church: And that we ought not to begin with the Notion of a Church, and from thence go to the Doctrine

The Doctrine of Chriſtianity muſt be firſt ſtated, and from this we are to take our meaſures of all Churches: and that chiefly with reſpect to that Doctrine, which every Chriſtian is bound to believe: Here a diſtinction is to be made between thoſe Capital and Fundamental Articles, without which a Man cannot be eſteemed a true Chriſtian, nor a Church a true Church: And other Truths which being delivered in Scripture, all Men are indeed obliged to believe them, yet they are not of that nature that the Ignorance of them or an Error in them, can exclude from Salvation.

To make this ſenſible; It is a Propoſition of another ſort, That Chriſt died for Sinners, than this, That he died at the Third or at the Sixth Hour. And yet if the Second Propoſition is expreſly revealed in Scripture, we are bound to believe it, Since God has ſaid it, though it is not of the ſame nature with the other.

Here a Controverſie does naturally ariſe, that wiſe People are unwilling to meddle with, What Articles are Fundamental, and what are not?

The defining of Fundamental Articles ſeems on the one hand to deny Salvation to ſuch as do not receive them all, which Men are not willing to do.

And on the other hand, it may ſeem a leaving Men at liberty, as to all other particulars that are not reckoned up among the Fundamentals.

Art. 19. But after all, the Covenant of Grace, the Terms of Salvation, and the Grounds on which we expect it, ſeem to be things of another nature than all other truths, which though revealed, are not of themſelves the Means or Conditions of Salvation. Whereſoever true Baptiſm is, there it ſeems the Eſſentials of this Covenant are preſerved: For if we look on Baptiſm as a Fœderal admiſſion into Chriſtianity, there can be no Baptiſm where the Eſſence of Chriſtianity is not preſerved. As far then as we believe that any Society has preſerved that, ſo far we are bound to receive her Baptiſm, and no further. For unleſs we conſider Baptiſm as a ſort of a Charm, that ſuch words joined with a waſhing with Water make one a Chriſtian; which ſeems to be expreſly contrary to what St. *Peter* ſays of it, That *it is not the waſhing away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good Conſcience towards God that ſaves us*: We muſt conclude, That Baptiſm is a Fœderal thing, in which after that the Sponſions are made, the Seal of Regeneration is added.

1 Pet. 3. 21.

From hence it will follow, That all who have a true Baptiſm, that makes Men Believers and Chriſtians, muſt alſo have the true Faith as to the Eſſentials of Chriſtianity; The Fundamentals of Chriſtianity ſeems to be all that is neceſſary to make Baptiſm True and Valid. And upon this a diſtinction is to be made that will diſcover and deſtroy a Sophiſm that is often uſed on this occaſion. A True Church is, in one ſenſe, a Society that preſerves the Eſſentials and Fundamentals of Chriſtianity: In another ſenſe it ſtands for a Society, all whoſe Doctrines are true, that has corrupted no part of this Religion, nor mixed any Errors with it. A true Man is one who has a Soul and a Body that are the Eſſential Conſtituents of a Man: Whereas in another ſenſe a Man of Sincerity and Candor is called a true Man. Truth in the one Senſe imports the Eſſential Conſtitution, and in the other it imports only a Quality that is accidental to it. So when we acknowledge that any Society is a true Church, we ought to be ſuppoſed to mean no other, than that the Covenant of Grace in its Eſſential Conſtituent parts is preſerved entire in that Body; and not that it is true in all its Doctrines and Deciſions.

The Second thing to be conſidered in a Church, is their Aſſociation together in the uſe of the Sacraments. For theſe are given by Chriſt to the Society as the Rites and Badges of that Body. That which makes particular Men Believers, is their receiving the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity; ſo that which conſtitutes the Body of the Church, is the Profeſſion of that Faith, and the uſe of thoſe Sacraments which are the Rites and Diſtinctions of thoſe who profeſs it.

In this likewiſe a diſtinction is to be made between what is Eſſential to a Sacrament, and what is the exact obſervance of it according to the Inſtitution. Additions to the Sacraments do not annul them, though they corrupt them with that adulterate mixture. Therefore where the Sponſions are made, and waſhing with Water is uſed with the words of Chriſt, there we own that there is a true Baptiſm: Though there may be a large Addition of other Rites, which we reject as Superſtitious, though we do not pretend that they null the Baptiſm. But if any part of the Inſtitution is cut off, there we do not own the Sacrament to be true: Becauſe it being an Inſtitution of Chriſt's, it can no more be eſteemed a true Sacrament, than as it retains all that, which by the Inſtitution appears to be the main and eſſential parts of the Action.

Upon this account it is, That ſince Chriſt appointed Bread and Wine ſo his other Sacrament, and that he not only bleſſed both, but diſtributed both, with words appropriated to each kind, we do not eſteem that to be a true Sacrament, in which either the one or the other of theſe kinds is withdrawn.

But

But in the next place, there may be many things neceſſary in the way of Precept and Order, both with relation to the Sacraments, and to the other publick Acts of Worſhip, in which tho' Additions or Defects are Erroneous and Faulty, yet they do not annul the Sacraments. *Art.* 19.

We think none ought to Baptize but Men dedicated to the Service of God, and Ordained according to that Conſtitution that was ſettled in the Church by the Apoſtles; and yet Baptiſm by Laicks, or by Women, ſuch as is moſt commonly practiced in the *Roman* Church, is not eſteemed null by us, nor is it repeated: Becauſe we make a difference between what is Eſſential to a Sacrament, and what is requiſite in the regular way of uſing it.

None can deny this among us, but thoſe who will queſtion the whole Chriſtianity of the *Roman* Church, where the Midwives do generally Baptize: But if this Invalidates the Baptiſm, then we muſt queſtion all that is done among them: Perſons ſo Baptized, if their Baptiſm is void, are neither truly Ordained, nor capable of any other act of Church-Communion. Therefore mens being in Orders, or their being duly Ordained, is not neceſſary to the Eſſence of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, but only to the regularity of Adminiſtring it: And ſo the want of it does not void it, but does only prove ſuch Men to be under ſome Defects and Diſorder in their Conſtitution.

Thus I have laid down thoſe diſtinctions that will guide us in the right underſtanding of this Article. If we believe that any Society retains the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity, we do from that conclude it to be a true Church, to have a true Baptiſm, and the Members of it to be capable of Salvation. But we are not upon that bound to Aſſociate our ſelves to their Communion: For if they have the Addition of falſe Doctrines, or any unlawful parts of Worſhip among them, we are not bound to join in that which we are perſuaded is Error, Idolatry, or Superſtition.

If the Sacraments that Chriſt has appointed are obſerved and miniſtred by any Church as to the main of them, according to his Inſtitution, we are to own thoſe for valid Actions: But we are not for that bound to join in Communion with them, if they have Adulterated theſe with many Mixtures and Additions.

Thus a plain difference is made between our owning that a Church may retain the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity, a true Baptiſm, and true Orders, which are a conſequent upon the former, and our joining with that Church in ſuch acts as we think are ſo far vitiated, that they become unlawful to us to do them, Purſuant to this, we do neither repeat the Baptiſm, nor the Ordinations of the Church of *Rome*: We acknowledge that our Fore-fathers were both Baptized and Ordained in that Communion: And we derive our preſent Chriſtianity or Baptiſm, and our Orders from thence; yet we think that there were ſo many unlawful Actions, even in thoſe Rituals, beſides the other corruptions of their Worſhip, that we cannot join in ſuch any more.

The being Baptized in a Church does not tie a Man to every thing in that Church; it only ties him to the Covenant of Grace. The Stipulations which are made in Baptiſm, as well as in Ordination, do only bind a Man to the Chriſtian Faith, or to the faithful diſpenſing of that Goſpel, and of thoſe Sacraments of which he is made a Miniſter: So he who being convinced of the Errors and Corruptions of a Church, departs from them, and goes on in the Purity of the Chriſtian Religion, does purſue the true effect both of his Baptiſm, and of his Ordination Vows. For theſe are to be conſidered as ties upon him only to God and Chriſt, and not to adhere to the other Dictates of that body in which he had his Birth, Baptiſm, and Ordination.

The

Art. 19. The great Objection against all this is, That it sets up a private Judgment, it gives particular persons a right of judging Churches: Whereas the Natural Order is, That private persons ought to be Subject and Obedient to the Church.

This must needs feed Pride and Curiosity, it must break all Order, and cast all things loose, if every single Man according to his Reading and Presumption, will judge of Churches and Communions.

On this Head it is very easy to Employ a great deal of popular Eloquence, to decry private mens examining of Scriptures, and forming their judgments of things out of them, and not submitting all to the judgment of the Church. But how absurd soever this may seem, all Parties do acknowledg that it must be done.

Those of the Church of *Rome* do teach, That a Man born in the *Greek* Church, or among us, is bound to lay down his Error, and his Communion too, and to come over to them; and yet they allow our Baptism, as well as they do the Ordinations of the *Greek* Church.

Thus they allow private Men to judge, and that in so great a Point, as what Church and what Communion ought to be chosen or forsaken. And it is certain, That to judge of Churches and Communions, is a thing of that Intricacy, that if private judgment is allowed here, there is no reason to deny it its full scope as to all other Matters.

God has given us rational Faculties to guide and direct us: And we must make the most of these that we can: We must judge with our own Reasons, as well as see with our own Eyes: Neither can we, or ought we to resign up our Understandings to any others, unless we are convinced that God has Imposed this upon us, by his making them infallible, so that we are secured from Error if we follow them.

All this we must examine and be well assured of it, otherwise it will be a very rash, unmanly, and base thing in us, to muffle up our own Understandings, and to deliver our Reason and Faith over to others blindfold. Reason is God's Image in us; and as the Use and Application of our Reason, as well as of the Freedom of our Wills, are the highest Excellencies of the Rational Nature; so they must be always claimed, and ought never to be parted with by us, but upon clear and certain Authorities in the Name of God, putting us implicitly under the Dictates of others.

We may abuse the Use of our Reason, as well as the Liberty of our Will; and may be damn'd for the one as well as the other. But when we set our selves to make the best use we can of the freedom of our Wills, we may and do upon that expect secret assistances. We have both the like promises, Direction to the like Prayers, and Reason to expect the same Illumination to make us *see*, know, and comprehend the Truths of Religion, that we have to expect that our Powers shall be inwardly Strengthened to love and obey them. *David* prayes that God may *open his Eyes*, as well as that he may *make him to go in his ways*. The Promises in the Prophets concerning the Gospel-Dispensation, carry in them the being Taught of God, as well as the being made to walk in his ways; and *the enlightening the mind, and the eys of the mind* to know, is prayed for by St. *Paul*, as well as that *Christ might dwell in their hearts*.

Psal. 119. 18, 35.

Ephes. 1 18. 3. 17.

Since then there is an Assistance of the Divine Grace given to fortify the Understanding, as well as to enable the Will, it follows that our Understanding is to be imployed by us in order to the finding out of the Truth, as well as our Will in order to the obeying of it. And though this may have very ill consequences, it does not follow from thence that it is not true. No consequences can be worse than the Corruption that is in the World

World, and the Damnation that follows upon ſin; and yet God permits it, *Art.* 19. becauſe he has made us free Creatures: Nor can any reaſon be given why we ſhould be leſs free in the uſe of our underſtanding, than we are in the uſe of our Will; or why God ſhould make it to be leſs poſſible for us to fall into Errors, than it is to commit Sins. The Wrath of God is as much denounced againſt Men that *hold the Truth in unrighteouſneſs*, as againſt other Sins; and it is reckoned among the heavieſt of Curſes, *to be given up to ſtrong deluſions, to believe a lye.* Upon all theſe reaſons therefore it ſeems clear, that our Underſtandings are left free to us as well as our Wills; and if we obſerve the Stile and Method of the Scriptures, we ſhall find in them all over, a conſtant Appeal to a Man's Reaſon, and to his Intellectual Faculties. Rom. 1. 18, 24, 26. 2 Theſ. 2. 11.

If the mere dictates of the Church, or of Infallible Men, had been the reſolution or foundation of Faith, there had been no need of ſuch a long Thread of Reaſoning and Diſcourſe, as both our Saviour uſed while on Earth, and as the Apoſtles uſed in their Writings. We ſee the way of Authority is not taken, but Explanations are offered, Proofs and Illuſtrations are brought to convince the Mind; which ſhews that God in the cleareſt Manifeſtation of his Will, would deal with us as with reaſonable Creatures, who are not to believe but upon Perſuaſion; and are to uſe our Reaſons in order to the attaining that Perſuaſion. And therefore upon the whole matter we ought not to believe Doctrines to be true, becauſe the Church teaches them; but we ought *to ſearch the Scriptures*, and then according as we find the Doctrine of any Church to be true in the Fundamentals, we ought to believe her to be a true Church; and if beſides this, the whole Extent of the Doctrine and Worſhip, together not only with the eſſential parts of the Sacraments, but the whole Adminiſtration of them and the other Rituals of any Church are pure and true; then we ought to account ſuch a Church true in the largeſt Extent of the word *true*; and by conſequence we ought to hold Communion with it.

Another queſtion may ariſe out of the firſt words of this Article, concerning the Viſibility of this Church; Whether it muſt be always Viſible? According to the diſtinction hitherto made uſe of, the reſolution of this will be ſoon made. There ſeem to be Promiſes in the Scriptures, of a perpetual Duration of the Chriſtian Church: *I will be with you always, even to the end of the world:* And, *the gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt the Church.* The *Jewiſh* Religion had a Period perfixed, in which it was to come to an end; but the Prophecies that are among the Prophets, concerning the new Diſpenſation, ſeem to import not only its Continuance, but its being continued ſtill Viſible in the World. But as the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation was long continued, after they had fallen generally into ſome very groſs Errors; ſo the Chriſtian Church may be Viſible ſtill, though not Infallible. God may preſerve the Succeſſion of a true Church as to the Eſſentials and Fundamentals of Faith, in the World, even though this Society ſhould fall into Error. So a Viſible Society of Chriſtians in a true Chnrch, as to the Eſſentials of our Faith, is not controverted by us. We do only deny the Infallibility of this true Church: And therefore we are not afraid of that Queſtion, *Where was your Church before* Henry *the Eighth?* We Anſwer, It was where it is now, here in *England*, and in the other Kingdoms of the World: only it was then corrupted, and it is now pure. There is therefore no ſort of Inconvenience in owning the conſtant Viſibility of a conſtant Succeſſion and Church of *true* Chriſtians; *true* as to the Eſſentials of the Covenant of Grace, though not *true* in all their Doctrines. This ſeems to be a part of the Glory of the Meſſias, and of his Kingdom, That he ſhall be ſtill viſibly worſhipped in the World by a Body of Men called by his Name. But Matth. 28. 20. Matth. 16. 18.

when

Art. 19. when Viſibility is thus ſeparated from Infallibility, and it is made out that a Church may be a true Church, though ſhe has a large Allay of Errors and Corruptions mixed in her Conſtitution and Deciſions; there will be no manner of Inconvenience in owning a conſtant Viſibility, even at the ſame time that we charge the moſt eminent part of this Viſible Body with many Errors, and with much Corruption.

So far has the firſt part of this Article been treated of: From it we paſs to the ſecond, which affirms, That as the other Patriarchal and Apoſtolical Churches, ſuch as *Jeruſalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, have erred, ſo the Church of *Rome* has likewiſe erred, and that not only in their living, and manner of Ceremonies, but alſo in matters of *Faith*.

It is not queſtioned but that the other Patriarchal Churches have erred; both that where our Saviour himſelf firſt taught, and which was governed by two of the Apoſtles ſucceſſively, and thoſe which were founded by St. *Peter* in Perſon or by Proxy, as Church Hiſtory repreſents *Alexandria* and *Antioch* to have been. Thoſe of the Church of *Rome* by whom they are at this day condemned both of Hereſy and Schiſm, do not diſpute this. Nor do they diſpute that many of their Popes have led bad and flagitious Lives: They deny not that the Canons, Ceremonies, and Government of the Church are very much changed by the Influence and the Authority of their Popes: But the whole queſtion turns upon this, Whether the See of *Rome* has erred in matter of Faith, or not? In this thoſe of that Communion are divided: Some by the Church or See of *Rome*, mean the Popes perſonally; ſo they maintain, That they never have, and never can fall into Error: Whereas others, by the See of *Rome* mean that whole *Body* that holds Communion with *Rome*, which they ſay cannot be tainted with Error; and theſe ſeparate this from the Perſonal Infallibility of *Popes*; for if a Pope ſhould err, they think that a General Council has Authority to proceed againſt him, and to deprive him: And thus though he ſhould err, the *See* might be kept free from Error. I ſhall upon this Article only conſider the firſt Opinion, reſerving the Conſideration of the ſecond to the Article concerning General Councils.

As to the Popes their being ſubject to Error, that muſt be confeſſed, unleſs it can be proved that by a clear and expreſs Privilege, granted them by God, they are excepted out of the common condition of Human Nature. It is further highly probable that there is no ſuch Privilege, ſince the Church continued for many Ages, before it was ſo much as pretended to; and that in a time when that See was not only claiming all the Rights that belong'd to it, but challenging a great many that were flatly denied and rejected: Such as the right of receiving Appeals from the *African* Churches; in which reiterated Inſtances, and a bould Claim upon a Spurious Canon, pretended to be of the Council of *Nice*, were long purſued; but thoſe Churches aſſerted their Authority of ending all matters within themſelves. In all this Conteſt Infallibility was never claimed; no more than it had been by *Victor*, when he excommunicated the *Aſian* Churches for obſerving *Eaſter* on the Fourteenth Day of the Moon, and not on the Lord's-Day after according to the Cuſtom of the *Roman*, as well as of other Churches.

When Pope *Stephen* quarrelled with St. *Cyprian* about the rebaptizing of Hereticks, *Cyprian* and *Firmilian* were ſo far from ſubmitting to his Authority, that they ſpeak of him with a freedom uſed by Equals, and with ſeverity that ſhewed they were far from thinking him Infallible. When the whole *Eaſt* was diſtracted with the Diſputes occaſioned by the *Arian* Controverſy, there was ſo much Partiality in all their Councils, that it was decreed, That Appeals ſhould be made to Pope *Julius*, and afterwards to his Succeſſors; though

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 23, 24, 25.
Cypr. Ep. 74, & 75.
Firmil.
Con. Sard. C. 3, & 7.

though here was an occaſion given to aſſert this Infallibility, if it had been thought on, yet none ever ſpoke of it. Great Reverence was paid to that Church, both becauſe they believed it was founded by St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and chiefly becauſe it was the Imperial City; for we ſee that all other Sees had that degree of Dignity given them, which by the Conſtitution of the *Roman* Empire was lodged in their Cities: And ſo when *Byance* was made the Imperial City, and called *New Rome*, though more commonly *Conſtantinople*, it had a Patriarchal Dignity beſtowed on it; and was in all things declared equal to *Old Rome*, only the point of Rank and Order excepted. This was decreed in two General Councils, the Second and the Fourth, in ſo expreſs a manner, that it alone before equitable Judges would fully ſhew the Senſe of the Church in the Fourth and Fifth Century upon this Head. When Pope *Liberius* condemned *Athanaſius*, and ſubſcribed to *Semi-Arianiſm*, this was never conſidered as a New Deciſion in that matter, ſo that it altered the the ſtate of it. No uſe was made of it, nor was any Argument drawn from it. *Liberius* was univerſally condemned for what he done; and when he repented of it and retracted it, he was again owned by the Church.

Art. 19.

Con. Conſtant. Can. 3.

Con. Chalced. C 28.

We have in the Sixth Century a moſt undeniable Inſtance of the Senſe of the whole Church in this matter. *Pope Honorius* was by the Sixth General Council condemned as a *Monothelite*; and this in the preſence of the Popes Legates, and he was anathematized by ſeveral of the ſucceeding Popes: It is to no purpoſe here to examine whether he was juſtly or unjuſtly condemned; it is enough that the Senſe both of the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Church appeared evidently in that Age upon theſe two Points; That a Pope might be a Heretick, and that being ſuch he might be held accurſed for it: And in that time there was not any one that ſuggeſted, that either he could not fall into Hereſy, ſince our Saviour had prayed that St. *Peter's Faith might not fail*; or that if he had fallen into it, he muſt be left to the Judgment of God; but that the Holy See (according to the Fable of *P. Marcellin*) could be judged by no body. The Confuſions that followed for ſome Ages in the *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe*, more particularly in *Italy* gave occaſion to the Biſhops of *Rome* to extend their Authority.

Con. Sinueſs. An. 303. Tom. 1. Conc.

The Emperors at *Conſtantinople*, and their Exarchs at *Ravenna*, ſtudied to make them ſure to their Intereſts, yet ſtill aſſerting their Authority over them. The new Conquerors ſtudied alſo to gain them to their ſide; and they managed their matter ſo dextrouſly that they went on ſtill increaſing and extending their Authority, till being much ſtraitned by the Kings of the *Lombards*, they were protected by a new Conquering Family that aroſe in *France* in the Eighth Century; who to give Credit both to their Uſurpation of that Crown, and to the extending their Dominions into *Italy*, and the aſſuming the Empire of the *Weſt*, did both protect and enrich them, and enlarged their Authority; the greatneſs of which they reckoned could do them no hurt, as long as they kept the Confirmation of their Election to themſelves. That Family became quickly too feeble to hold that Power long, and then an Impoſture was publiſhed, of a Volume of the *Decretal Epiſtles* of the Popes of the firſt Ages, in which they were repreſented as acting according to thoſe high Claims to which they were then beginning to pretend. Thoſe Ages were too blind and too ignorant, to be capable of ſearching critically into the truth of this Collection; it quickly paſſed for current; and though ſome in the beginning diſputed it, yet that was ſoon born down, and the Credit of that Work was eſtabliſhed. It furniſhed them with Precedents that they were careful enough not only to follow, but to outdo. Thus a Work which is now as univerſally rejected by the Learned Men of their own Body as ſpurious, as it was then implicity taken for genuine,

Art. 19. gave the chief Foundation during many Ages to their unbounded Authority: And this furnishes us with a very just Prejudice against it, That it was managed with so much Fraud and Imposture; to which they added afterwards much *Cruelty* and *Violence*; the two worst Characters possible, and the least likely to be found joined with Infallibility: For it is reasonable enough to apprehend, that if God had lodged such a Privilege any where, that he would have so influenced those who were the Depositaries of it, that they should have appeared somewhat like that Authority to which they laid Claim; and that he would not have forsaken them so, that for above Eight hundred Years the Papacy, as it is represented by their own Writers, is perhaps the worst Succession of Men that is to be found in History.

But now to come more close, to prove what is here asserted in this part of the Article. If all those Doctrines which were established at *Trent*, and that have been confirmed by Popes, and most of them brought into a new Creed, and made parts of it, are found to be gross Errors; or if but any one of them should be found to be an Error, then there is no doubt to be made but that the Church of *Rome* hath erred: So the Proof brought against every one of these, is likewise a proof against their Infallibility. But I shall here give one Instance of an Error which will not be denied by the greater part of the Church of *Rome*. They have now for above Six hundred Years asserted, That they had an Authority over Princes, not only to convict and condemn them of Heresy, and to proceed against them with Church-Censures, but that they had a Power to depose them, to absolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, and to transfer their Dominions to such Persons as should undertake to execute their Sentences. This they have often put in execution, and have constantly kept up their Claim to it to this day. It will not serve them to get clear here, to say, That these were the violent Practices of some Popes: What they did in many particular Instances may be so turned off, and left as a Blemish on the Memories of some of them. But the Point at present in question, is, Whether they have not laid Claim to this, as a Right belonging to their See, as a part of St. *Peter*'s Authority descended to them? Whether they have not founded it on his being *Christ's Vicar*, who was the *King of kings, and Lord of lords*; *to whom all power in heaven and in earth was given?* Whether they have not founded it on *Jeremy*'s *being set over nations and kingdoms, to root out, pluck down, and to destroy*, and on other places of Scripture; not forgetting, that the first Words of the Bible are, *In the beginning*, and not *In the beginnings*; from which they inferred, That there is but one Principle, from whence all Power is derived: And that God made *two great lights, the Sun to rule by day*; which they applied to themselves.

Dict. Papæ l. 1. Ep. Greg. 7. Post Ep. 55. Extravag. de Major & Obed. c. 1.

This, I say, is the Question: Whether they did not assume this Authority as a Power given them by God? As for the applying it to particular Instances, to those Kings and Emperors whom they deposed, that is indeed a personal thing, Whether they were guilty of Heresy, or of being favourers of it, or not? And whether the Popes proceeded against them with too much Violence or not?

The Point now in Question, is, Whether they declared this to be a Doctrine, that there was an Authority lodged with their See for doing such things, and whether they alledged Scripture and Tradition for it?

Conc. Lat. 3. cap. 27. Conc. Lat. 4. Can. 3. Con. Lug.

Now this will appear evident to those who will read their Bulls: In the Preambles of which those Quotations will be found, as some of them are in the Body of the Canon Law: And it is decreed in it, that the belief of this is *absolutely necessary to Salvation.*

This

This was purſued in a Courſe of many Ages. General Councils as they are eſteemed among them, have concurred with the Popes both in General Decrees aſſerting this power to be in them, and in ſpecial Sentences againſt Princes: This became the univerſally-received Doctrine of thoſe Ages: *No Univerſity nor Nation declaring againſt it; not ſo much as one Divine, Civilian, Canoniſt, or Caſuiſt writ againſt it*, as *Card. Perron* truly ſaid. It was ſo certainly believed, that thoſe Writers whom the depoſed Princes got to undertake their defence, do not in any of their Books pretend to call the Doctrine in General in queſtion. *Art.* 19. Card. Perron Harangue au tiers eſtat.

Two things were diſputed: One was, Whether Popes had a direct power in Temporals over Princes; ſo that they were as much ſubject to them as Feudatory Princes were to their Superior Lords? This, to which *Boniface* the 8th laid claim, was indeed contradicted: The other Point was, Whether thoſe particulars for which Princes had been depoſed, ſuch as the giving the Inveſtitures to Biſhopricks, were Hereſies or not? This was much conteſted: But the power, in the caſe of manifeſt Hereſy, or of favouring it, to Depoſe Princes, and Transfer their Crowns to others, was never called in Queſtion. This was certainly a definition made in the Chair, *ex Cathedra:* For it was addreſt to all their Community, both Laity and Clergy: Plenary Pardons were beſtowed with it, on thoſe who executed it: The Clergy did generally preach the *Croiſades* upon it. Princes that were not concerned in him that was depoſed, gave way to the publication of thoſe Bulls, and gave leave to their Subjects to take the Croſs in order to the Executing of them: And the People did in vaſt Multitudes gather about the Standarts that were ſet up for leading on Armies to Execute them, while many Learned Men writ in defence of this Power, and not one Man durſt write againſt it.

This Argument lies not only againſt the Infallibility of Popes, but againſt that of General Councils likewiſe: And alſo againſt the Authority of Oral Tradition: For here in a Succeſſion of many Ages, the Tradition was wholly changed from the Doctrine of former times, which had been, That the Clergy was ſubject to Princes, and had no Authority over them or their Crowns. Nor can it be ſaid, That that was a Point of Diſcipline, for it was founded on an Article of Doctrine, Whether there was ſuch a power in the Popes or not? The Prudence of Executing or not Executing it, is a Point of Diſcipline and of the Government of the Church: But it is a Point of Doctrine, Whether Chriſt has given ſuch an Authorityto St. *Peter* and his followers? And thoſe Points of Speculation upon which a great deal turns as to practice, are certainly ſo important, that in them, if in any thing, we ought to expect an Infallibility: For in this caſe a Man is diſtracted between two contrary Propoſitions: The one is, That he muſt obey the Civil Powers, as ſet over him by an Ordinance of God; ſo that if he reſiſt them, he ſhall receive in himſelf Damnation: The other is, That the Pope being Chriſt's Vicar, is to be obeyed when he Abſolves him from his former Oath and Allegiance; and that the new Prince ſet up by him, is to be obeyed under the pain of Damnation likewiſe.

Here a Man is brought into a great ſtrait, and therefore he muſt be guided by Infallibility, if any thing.

So the whole Argument comes to this Head, that we muſt either believe that the *Depoſing Power* is lodged by Chriſt in the See of *Rome*, or we muſt conclude with the Article, that they have Erred: and by Conſequence, That they are not Infallible: For the Erring in any one Point, and at any one Time, does quite deſtroy the Claim of *Infallibility*,

Art. 19. Before this Matter can be concluded, we muſt conſider what is brought to prove it: What was laid down at firſt muſt be here remembred, That the Proofs brought for a thing of this Nature muſt be very expreſs and clear. A Privilege of ſuch a ſort, againſt which the appearances and prejudices are ſo ſtrong, muſt be very fully made out, before we can be bound to believe it: Nor can it be reaſonable to urge the Authority of any Paſſages from Scripture, till the Grounds are ſhewn for which the Scriptures themſelves ought to be believed.

Thoſe who think that it is in general well proved, That there muſt be an Infallibility in the Church, conclude from thence, that it muſt be in the Pope: For if there muſt be a living ſpeaking Judge always ready to guide the Church, and to decide Controverſies, they ſay this cannot be in the diffuſive Body of Chriſtians, for theſe cannot meet to judge: Nor can it be in a General Council, the meeting of which depends upon ſo many accidents, and on the conſent of ſo many Princes, that the Infallibility will lie dormant for ſome Ages, if the General Council is the Seat of it. Therefore they conclude, That ſince it is certainly in the Church, and can be no where elſe but in the Pope, therefore it is lodged in the See of *Rome*. Whereas we on the other hand, think this is a ſtrong Argument againſt the Infallibility in general, That it does not appear in whom it is veſted: And we think that every ſide does ſo effectually Confute the other, that we believe them all as to that; and think they argue much ſtronger when they prove where it cannot be, than when they pretend to prove where it muſt be.

This, in the Point now in hand, concerning the Pope, ſeems as evident, as any thing can poſſibly be. It not appearing, That after the words of Chriſt to S. *Peter*, the other Apoſtles thought the Point was thereby decided, Who among them ſhould be the greateſt? For that Debate was ſtill on foot and was canvaſſed among them in the very Night in which our Saviour was betrayed. Nor does it appear, That after the Effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, which certainly Inſpired them with the full underſtanding of Chriſt's words, that they thought there was any thing peculiarly given to S. *Peter* beyond the reſt. He was queſtioned upon his Baptizing *Cornelius*: He was not ſingly appealed to in the great Queſtion of Subjecting the *Gentiles* to the Yoke of the Moſaical Law: he delivered his Opinion as one of the Apoſtles: After which St. *James* ſummed up the Matter, and ſetled the Deciſion of it. He was charged by St. *Paul* as guilty of diſſimulation in that matter, for which St. *Paul* withſtood him to his Face: And he juſtifies that, in an Epiſtle confeſſed to be writ by Divine Inſpiration. St. *Paul* does alſo in the ſame Epiſtle plainly aſſert the equality of his own Authority with his: And that he received no Authority from him, and owed him no Dependance: Nor was he ever Appealed to in any of the Points that appear to have been Diſputed in the times that the Epiſtles were written. So that we ſee no Characters of any ſpecial Infallibility that was in him, beſides that which was the effect of the Inſpiration, that was in the other Apoſtles as well as in him: Nor is there a Tittle in the Scripture, not ſo much as by a remote Intimation, that he was to derive that Authority, whatſoever it was, to any Succeſſor, or to lodge it in any particular City or See.

The Silence of the Scripture in this Point, ſeems to be a full proof, that no ſuch thing was intended by God: Otherwiſe we have all reaſon to believe that it would have been clearly expreſſed. St. *Peter* himſelf ought to have declared this: And ſince both *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, as well as *Rome* pretend to derive from him, and that the Succeſſion to thoſe Sees began in him, this makes a deciſion in this Point ſo much the more neceſſary.

When

When St. *Peter* writ his 2d. Epiſtle, in which he mentions a Revelation that he had from Chriſt, of his *approaching diſſolution*, though that was a very proper occaſion for declaring ſuch an important Matter, he ſays nothing that relates to it, but gives only a new Atteſtation of the truth of Chriſt's Divine Miſſion, and of what he himſelf had been a witneſs to in the Mount, when he ſaw *the excellent glory, and heard the voice out of it.* He leaves a Proviſion in Writing for the following Ages, but ſays nothing of any Succeſſion or See: So that here the greateſt of all Privileges, is pretended to be lodged in a Succeſſion of Biſhops, without any one Paſſage in Scripture importing it. *Art.* 19. 2 Pet. 1. 17.

Another ſet of difficulties ariſe, concerning the Perſons who have a right to chuſe theſe Popes in whom this Right is Veſted, and what number is neceſſary, for a Canonical Election? How far Simony voids it, and who is the competent Judge of that; or who ſhall judge in the Caſe of two different Elections, which has often happened? We muſt alſo have a certain Rule to know when the Popes judge as private Perſons, and when they judge Infallibly? With whom they muſt conſult, and what Solemnities are neceſſary to make them ſpeak *ex Cathedra*, or *Infallibly?* For if this Infallibility comes as a Privilege from a *Grant* made by Chriſt, we ought to expect, that all thoſe neceſſary Circumſtances to direct us, in order to the receiving and ſubmitting to it, ſhould be fixed by the ſame Authority that made the *Grant.* Here then are very great difficulties: Let us now ſee what is offered to make out this great and important Claim.

The chief Proof is brought from theſe Words of our Saviour, when upon St. *Peter's* confeſſing, That *he was the Chriſt, the Son of the living God*; He ſaid to him, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it. I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on earth ſhall be bound in heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven.* This begins with an Alluſion to his Name; and Diſcourſes built upon ſuch Alluſions are not to be underſtood ſtrictly or Grammatically. By the *Rock* upon which Chriſt promiſes *to build his Church*, many of the Fathers have underſtood the *Perſon of Chriſt*, others have underſtood the *Confeſſion of him, or Faith in him*, which indeed is but a different way of expreſſing the ſame thing. And it is certain that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the *Church* can only be ſaid to be founded upon Chriſt, and upon his Doctrine. But in a Secondary ſenſe it may be ſaid to be founded upon the Apoſtles; and upon St. *Peter* as the firſt in order; which is not to be Diſputed. Mat. 16. 16, 17, 18, 19.

Now though this is a Senſe which was not put on theſe Words for many Ages; yet when it ſhould be allowed to be their true ſenſe, it will not prove any thing to have been granted to St. *Peter*, but what was common to the other Apoſtles; who are all called the *Foundations upon which the Church is built.* That which follows, of the *gates of hell* not being able *to prevail againſt the Church*, may be either underſtood of Death, which is often called *the gate to the grave:* Which is the ſenſe of the Word that is rendred *Hell:* And then the meaning of theſe Words will be, That the Church which Chriſt was to raiſe, ſhould never be extinguiſhed, nor die, or come to a period, as the *Jewiſh* Religion then did: Or according to the Cuſtom of the *Jews*, of holding their Courts and Councils about their Gates, by the Gates of Hell may be underſtood, the Deſigns and Contrivances of the Powers of Darkneſs, which ſhould never prevail over the *Church* to root it out, and deſtroy it; for the Word rendred *prevail*, does ſignify an intire Victory: This only imports, That the Church ſhould be ſtill preſerved Eph. 2. 20. Rev. 21. 2, 14.

againſt

Art. 19. againſt all the Attempts of Hell, but does not intimate that no Error was ever to get into it.

Mat. 3. 2. Mat. 4. 17. By the words *Kingdom of Heaven*, generally through the whole Goſpel, the Diſpenſation of the Meſſias is underſtood. This appears evidently from the words with which both St. *John Baptiſt* and our Saviour begun their Preaching, *Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand:* And the many Parables and Compariſons that Chriſt gave of the Kingdom of Heaven, can only be underſtood of the Preaching of the Goſpel. This being then agreed to, the moſt natural, and the leaſt forced Expoſition of thoſe words muſt be, that St. *Peter* was to open the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel. The proper uſe of a Key is to open a Door: And as this agrees with theſe words, *He that hath the Key of the Houſe of David, that openeth and no man* Rev. 3. 7. *ſhutteth, and ſhutteth and no man openeth*; and with the Phraſe of the *Key of* Luk. 11. 51. *Knowledge*, by which the Lawyers are deſcribed; for they had a Key with Writing-Tables given them, as the Badges of their Profeſſion: So it agrees with the accompliſhment of this promiſe in St. *Peter*, who firſt opened the Goſpel to the *Jews*, after the wonderful Effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt: And more eminently when he firſt opened the Door to the *Gentiles*, preaching to *Cornelius*, and Baptizing him, and his Houſhold, to which the Phraſe of the *Kingdom of Heaven*, ſeems to have a more particular relation. This Diſpenſation was committed to St. *Peter*; and ſeems to be claimed by him as his peculiar Privilege in the Council at *Jeruſalem*. This is a clear and plain ſenſe of theſe words. For thoſe who would carry them further, and underſtand by the Kingdom of Heaven our Eternal Happineſs, muſt uſe many diſtinctions, otherwiſe if they Expound them literally, they will aſcribe to St. *Peter* that which certainly could only belong to our Saviour himſelf. Though at the ſame time it is not to be denied, but that under the figure of Keys, the power of Diſcipline, and the Conduct and Management of Chriſtians may be underſtood. But as to this, all the Paſtors of the Church have their ſhare in it; nor can it be appropriated to any one Perſon. As for that of *binding* and *looſing*, and the confirming in *Heaven* what he ſhould do in *Earth*, whatever it may ſignify, it is no ſpecial Grant to St. *Peter*. For the ſame words are ſpoken by our Saviour elſewhere to all the Apoſtles: So this is given equally to them all. The words *binding* and *looſing*, are uſed by the *Jewiſh* Writers, in the ſenſe of affirming or denying the Obligation of any Precept of the Law that might be in diſpute. So according to this common Form of Speech, and the ſenſe formerly given to the words, *Kingdom of Heaven*, the meaning of theſe words muſt be, That Chriſt committed to the Apoſtles the Diſpenſing his Goſpel to the World, by which he Authorized them to diſſolve the Obligation of the Moſaical Laws; and to give other Laws to the Chriſtian Church, which they ſhould do under ſuch viſible Characters of a Divine Authority, impowering and conducting them in it, that it ſhould be very evident, that what they did on Earth was alſo ratifyed in Heaven. Theſe words thus underſtood, carry in them a clear ſenſe, which agrees with the whole Deſign of the Goſpel. But whatſoever their ſenſe may be, it is plain that there was nothing given peculiarly to St. *Peter* by them, which was not likewiſe given to the reſt of the Apoſtles. Nor do theſe words of our Saviour to St. *Peter*, import any thing of a Succeſſive Infallibility, that was to be derived from him with any diſtinction beyond the other Apoſtles: Unleſs it were a Priority of Order and Dignity; and whatever that was, there is not ſo much as a hint given, that it was to deſcend from him to any See or Succeſſion of Biſhops.

As for our Saviour's praying that St. *Peter's Faith might not fail:* And his restoring him to his Apostolical Function, by a thrice repeated charge, *Feed my sheep, feed my lambs,* that has such a visible Relation to his fall, and to his denying him, that it does not seem necessary to enlarge further on the making it out, or on shewing that these words are capable of no other Signification, and cannot be carried further. *Art.* 19. Luk. 22. 31. John 21. 15, 16, 17.

The Importance of this Argument, rather than the Difficulty of it, has made it necessary to dwell fully upon it: So much depends upon it, and the Missionaries of the Church of *Rome* are so well Instructed in it, that it ought to be well considered; for how little strength soever there may be in the Arguments brought to prove this Infallibility, yet the colours are specious, and they are commonly managed both with much Art, and with great Confidence.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XX.

Of the Authority of the Church.

The Church hath Power to decree Rights or Ceremonies, and Authority in Matters of Faith. And yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written; neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore although the Church be a Witness and Keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of Salvation.

THIS Article consists of Two parts; The first asserts a Power in the Church both to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and to judge in matters of Faith: The second limits this Power over matters of Faith to the Scriptures; so that it must neither contradict them, nor add any Articles as necessary to Salvation to those contained in them. This is suitable to some Words that were once in the Fifth Article, but were afterwards left out; instead of which the first words of this Article were put in this place, according to the Printed Editions; tho they are not in the Original of the Articles signed by both Houses of Convocation, that are yet extant.

As to the first part of the Article, concerning the Power of the Church, either with relation to Ceremonies or Points of Faith, the dispute lies only with those who deny all Church-Power, and think that Churches ought to be in all things limited by the Rules set in Scripture; and that where the Scriptures are silent, there ought to be no Rules made, but that all Men should be left to their Liberty: And in particular, That the appointing new Ceremonies, looks like a reproaching of the Apostles, as if their Constitutions had been so defective, that those defects must be supplied by the Inventions of Men: Which they oppose so much the more, because they think that all the Corruptions of Popery began at some Rites which seemed at first not only Innocent but Pious; but were afterwards abused to superstition and Idolatry, and swelled up to that bulk as to oppress and stifle true Religion with their Number and Weight.

A great part of this is in some respect true; yet that we may examine the matter methodically, we shall first consider, What Power the Church has in those matters; and then, What Rules she ought to govern her self by in the use of that Power. It is very visible, that in the Gospels and Epistles there are but few Rules laid down as to Ritual Matters: In the Epistles there are some general Rules given that must take in a great many Cases, such as, *Let all things be done to Edification, to Order, and to Peace:* And in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, many Rules are given in such general words, as, *Lay hands suddenly on no Man*, that in order to the guiding of particular Cases by them, many distinctions and specialties were to be interposed to the making them practicable and useful. In matters that are merely Ritual, the state of Mankind in different Climates and Ages is apt to vary; and the same things that in one Scene of Human Nature may look grave, and seem fit for any Society, may in another Age look light, and dissipate mens thoughts. It is also evident that there is not a System of Rules given in the New Testament about all these; and yet a due method in them is necessary to maintain the Order and Decency that become Divine things: This seems to be a

Rom. 14 19.
1 Cor. 14. 40.

part

part of the Goſpel-*Liberty*, That it is not a *Law of Ordinances*; theſe things being left to be varied according to the diverſities of Mankind. *Art.* 20.

The *Jewiſh* Religion was delivered to one Nation, and the main parts of it were to be performed in one place; they were alſo to be limited in Rituals, leſt they might have taken ſome Practices from their Neighbours round about them, and ſo by the uſe of their Rites have rendred Idolatrous Practices more familiar and acceptable to them: And yet they had many Rites among them in our Saviour's time, which are not mentioned in any part of the Old Teſtament; ſuch was the whole Conſtitution of their Synagogues, with all the Service and Officers that belonged to them: They had a Baptiſm among them, beſides ſeveral Rites added to the Paſchal Service. Our Saviour reproved them for none of theſe; he hallowed ſome of them to be the Fœderal Rites of his New Diſpenſation; he went to their Synagogues; and though he reproved them for overvaluing their Rites, for preferring them to the Laws of God, and making theſe void by their Traditions, yet he does not condemn them for the uſe of them. And while of the greater Precepts he ſays, *Theſe things ye ought to have done*; he adds concerning their Rites and leſſer matters, and *not to have left the other undone*. Gal. 2. 4. —4. 9. —5. 1. Matth. 23. 23.

If then ſuch a liberty was allowed in ſo limited a Religion, it ſeems highly ſuitable to the ſublimer ſtate of the Chriſtian Liberty, that there ſhould be room left for ſuch Appointments or Alterations as the different ſtate of times and places ſhould require. In hotter Countries, for inſtance, there is no danger in dipping; but if it is otherwiſe in colder Climates, than ſince *Mercy is better than even Sacrifice*, a more ſparing uſe may be made of Water; Aſperſion may anſwer the true end of Baptiſm. A ſtricter or gentler Diſcipline of Offenders, muſt be alſo proportioned to what the Times will bear, and what Men can be brought to ſubmit to. The dividing of Chriſtians into ſuch Diſtricts, that they may have the beſt Conveniences to aſſemble themſelves together for Worſhip, and for keeping up of Order; the appointing the Times as well as the Places of Worſhip, are certainly to be fixed with the beſt regard to preſent Circumſtances that may be. The bringing Chriſtian Aſſemblies into Order and Method, is neceſſary for their Solemnity, and for preventing that diſſipation of Thought that a diverſity of Behaviour might occaſion. And though a *Kiſs of Peace*, and an Order of Deaconeſſes, were the Practices of the Apoſtolical Time, yet when the one gave occaſion to Raillery, and the other to Scandal, all the World was, and ſtill is ſatisfied with the reaſons of letting both fall. Hoſ. 6. 6. Matth. 12. 7.

Now if Churches may lay aſide Apoſtolical Practices in Matters that are Ritual, it is certainly much eaſier to juſtifie their making new Rules for ſuch things; ſince it is a higher Attempt to alter what was ſettled by the Apoſtles themſelves, than to ſet up new Rules in Matters which they left untouch'd. Habits and Poſtures are the neceſſary Circumſtances of all Publick Meetings: The times of Faſting and of Prayer; the Days of Thankſgiving and Communions are all of the ſame nature. The Publick Confeſſion of Sins by ſcandalous Perſons; the time and manner of doing it; The previous ſteps that ſome Churches have made for the Trial of thoſe who were to be received into Holy Orders, that ſo by a longer Inſpection into their Behaviour, while in lower Orders, they might diſcover how fit they were to be admitted into the Sacred Ones: And chiefly the preſcribing ſtated Forms for the ſeveral Acts of Religious Worſhip, and not leaving that to the Capacities of Humours, to the Inventions, and often to the Extravagancies of thoſe who are to offi-

Art. 20. ciate: All these things, I say, fall within those general Rules given by the Apostles to the Churches in their time: Where we find that the *Apostles* had their *Customs*, as well as *the Churches of God*; which were then opposed to the innovating and the contentious humours of some factious Men. And such a Pattern have the Apostles set us of complying with those things that are regulary settled, wheresoever we are, that we find *they became all things to all Men: To the Jews they became Jews*; though that was a Religion then extinguished in its obligation, by the Promulgation of the Gospel; and was then fallen under great corruption: Yet in order to the gaining of some of them, such was the Spirit of Charity and Edification with which the Apostles were acted, that while they were among them they complied in the Practice of those abrogated Rites; though they asserted both the Liberty of the *Gentiles*, and even their own in that matter: It was only a Compliance, and not a Submission to their Opinions, that made them *observe days*, and distinguish *meats*; while among them. If then such Rites, and the Rites of such a Church, were still complied with by Inspired Men, this is an Infallible Pattern to us; and let us see upon how much stronger Reasons, we who are under those Obligations to Unity and Charity with all Christians, ought to maintain the *Unity of the Body*, and the Decency and Order that is necessary for *Peace and mutual Edification.*

1 Cor. 12. 16. —ch. 9. 19, to 23.

Therefore since there is not any one thing that Christ has enjoined more solemnly and more frequently than Love and Charity, Union and Agreement amongst his Disciples; since we are also required to assemble our selves together, to constitute our selves in a Body, both for worshipping God jointly, and for maintaining of Order and Love among the Society of Christians, we ought to acquiesce in such Rules as have been agreed on by common Consent, and which are recommended to us by long Practice, and that are established by those who have the lawful Authority over us. Nor can we assign any other Bounds to our Submission in this Case, than those that the Gospel has limited. *We must obey God, rather than Man*; and we must in the first place *render to God the things that are God's*, and then *give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*. So that if either Church or State have power to make Rules and Laws in such matters, they must have this Extent given them, That till they break in upon the Laws of God and the Gospel, we must be bound to obey them. A Mean cannot be put here; either they have no Power at all, or they have a Power that must go to every thing that is not forbid by any Law of God. This is the only measure that can be given in this matter.

Heb 10. 25.

Acts 5. 29. Matth. 22. 21.

But a great difference is here to be made between those Rules that both Church and State ought to set to themselves in their enacting of such matters, and the Measures of the Obedience of Subjects: The only question in the point of Obedience, must be Lawful or Unlawful. For Expedient or Inexpedient ought never to be brought into question, as to the point of Obedience; since no Inexpediency whatsoever can balance the breaking of Order, and the dissolving the Constitution and Society. This is a Consideration that arises out of a Man's apprehensions of the fitness or usefulness of things; in which though he might be in the right as to the antecedent fitness of them, and yet even there he may be in the wrong, and in common modesty every Man ought to think that it is more likely that he should be in the wrong, than the Governors and Rulers of the Society; yet I say allowing all this, it is certain that Order and Obedience are both in their own nature, and in their Consequences, to be

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preferred to all the particular considerations of Expediency or Inexpediency. Yet still those in whose Hands the making of those Rules is put, ought to carry their Thoughts much further: They ought to consider well the Genius of the Christian Religion, and therefore they are to avoid every thing that may lead to Idolatry, or feed Superstition; every thing that is apt to be abused to give false Ideas of God, or to make the World think that such Instituted Practices may balance the Violation of the Laws of God. They ought not to overcharge the Worship of God with too great a Number of them: The Rites ought to be grave, simple and naturally expressive of that which is intended by them. Vain Pomp and indecent Levity ought to be guarded against; and next to the Honour of God and Religion, the Peace and Edification of the Society ought to be chiefly considered. Due regard ought to be had to what Men can bear, and what may be most suitable to the present State of the whole; and finally, a great Respect is due to Ancient and Established Practices. Antiquity does generally beget Veneration; and the very changing of what has been long in use, does naturally startle many, and discompose a great part of the Body. So all Changes, unless the Expediency of making them is upon other Accounts very visible, labour under a great prejudice with the more staid Sort of Men; for this very Reason, because they are Changes. But in this matter, no certain or Mathematical Rules can be given: Every one of these that has been named, is capable of that Variety, by the diversity of Times and other Circumstances; that since Prudence and Discretion must Rule the use that is to be made of them, that must be left to the Conscience and Prudence of every Person who may be concerned in the Management of this Authority. He must Act as he will Answer it to God and to the Church; for he must be at liberty in applying those general Rules to particular Times and Cases. And a Temper must be observed: We must avoid a sullen adhering to things because they were once settled, as if Points of Honour were to be maintained here; and that it look'd like a reproaching a Constitution, or the Wisdom of a former Age, to alter what they did; since it is certain that what was wisely ordered in one Time, may be as wisely chang'd in another: As on the other hand, all Men ought to avoid the Imputations of a desultory Levity; as if they loved Changes for Changes sake: This might give occasion to our Adversaries to triumph over us, and might also fill the Minds of the weaker among our selves with Apprehensions and Scruples. *Art.* 20.

The next particular Asserted in this Article, is, **That the Church hath Authority in Matters of Faith.** Here a Distinction is to be made between an Authority that is absolute, and founded on Infallibility; and an Authority of Order. The former is very formally disclaimed by our Church, but the second may be well maintained, tho' we Assert no Unerring Authority. Every single Man has a Right to search the Scriptures, and to take his Faith from them; yet it is certain that he may be mistaken in it. It is therefore a much surer way for Numbers of Men to Meet together, and to Examine such Differences as happen to arise: To consider the Arguments of all Hands, with the Importance of such Passages of Scripture as are brought into the Controversy; and thus to enquire into the whole Matter; in which as it is very natural to think that a great Company of Men should see further than a less Number; so there is all Reason to expect a good Issue of such Deliberations, if Men proceed

Art. 20. in them with due Sincerity and Diligence: If Pride, Faction, and Intereſt, do not ſway their Councils, and if they ſeek for Truth more than for Victory.

But what abuſes ſoever may have crept ſince into the publick Conſultations of the Clergy, the Apoſtles at firſt met and conſulted together upon that Controverſy which was then moved concerning the Impoſing the Moſaical Law upon the *Gentiles*; They ordered the Paſtors of the Church to be able to convince Gainſayers, and not to reject a Man as an Heretick, till after a firſt and a ſecond Admonition: The moſt likely method both to find out the Truth, and to bring ſuch as are in Error over to it, is to conſult of theſe Matters in common: and that openly and fairly. For if every good Man that prays earneſtly to God for the Aſſiſtance and Direction of his Spirit, has reaſon to look for it; much more may a Body of Paſtors, brought together to ſeek out the Truth, in any point under debate, look for it if they bring with them ſincere and unprejudiced Minds, and do pray earneſtly to God. In that caſe they may expect to be directed and aſſiſted of Him. But this depends upon the Purity of their Hearts, and the Earneſtneſs of their Endeavours and Prayers.

Titus 1. 9. —3. 10.

When any Synod of the Clergy has ſo far examined a Point, as to ſettle their Opinions about it, they may certainly decree that ſuch is their Doctrine: And as they judge it to be more or leſs important, they may either reſtrain any other Opinion, or may require poſitive Declarations about it, either of all in their Communion, or at leaſt of all whom they admit to miniſter in Holy Things.

This is only an Authority of Order for the maintaining of Union and Edification: And in this a Body does no more as it is a Body, than what every ſingle Individual has a right to do for himſelf. He examines a Doctrine that is laid before him, he forms his own Opinion upon it, and purſuant to that he muſt judge with whom he can hold Communion, and from whom he muſt ſeparate.

When ſuch Definitions are made by the Body of the Paſtors of any Church, all Perſons within that Church, do owe great reſpect to their Deciſion. Modeſty muſt be obſerved in deſcanting upon it, and in diſputing about it. Every Man that finds his own thoughts differ from it, ought to examine the Matter over again, with much attention and care, freeing himſelf all he can from Prejudice and Obſtinacy; with a juſt diſtruſt of his own Underſtanding, and an humble reſpect to the Judgment of his Superiors.

This is due to the conſiderations of Peace and Union, and to that Authority which the Church has to maintain it. But if after all poſſible methods of Enquiry, a Man cannot maſter his Thoughts, or make them agree with the Publick Deciſions, his Conſcience is not under Bonds: Since this Authority is not abſolute nor grounded upon a promiſe of Infallibility.

This is a Tenet that with Relation to National Churches and their Deciſions, is held by the Church of *Rome*, as well as by us: For they place Infallibility either in the Pope, or in the Univerſal Church: But no Man ever dreamt of Infallibility in a particular or National Church: And the Point in this Article is only concerning particular Churches; for the Head of General Councils comes in upon the next. *That no Church can add any thing as neceſſary to Salvation*, has been already conſidered upon the Sixth Article.

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It is certain, that as we owe our hopes of Salvation only to Christ, and to what he has done for us; so also it can belong only to him who procured it to us, to fix the Terms upon which we may look for it: Nor can any Power on Earth clog the offers that he makes us in the Gospel, with new or other Terms than those which we find made there to us. There can be no dispute about this: For unless we believe that there is an Infallible Authority lodged in the Church, to explain the Scripture, and to declare Tradition; and unless we believe that the Scriptures are both obscure and defective, and that the one must be helped by an Infallible Commentary, and the other supplied by an Authentical Declarer of Tradition; we cannot ascribe an Authority to the Church, either to contradict the Scripture, or to add necessary conditions of Salvation to it. *Art.* 20.

We own after all, That the Church is the Dispositary of the whole Scriptures, as the *Jews* were of the Old Testament: But in that Instance of the *Jews*, we may see that a Body of Men may be faithful in the Copying of a Book exactly, and in the handing it down without corrupting it; and yet they may be mistaken in the true meaning of that which they preserve so faithfully. They are expresly called *the keepers of the Oracles of God*: And are no where reproved for having attempted upon this *Depositum*: And yet for all that Fidelity, they fell into great Errors about some of the most Important parts of their Religion; which exposed them to the rejecting the *Messias*, and to their utter ruin. Rom. 3. 2.

The Church's being called the Witness of Holy Writ is not to be resolved into any Judgment that they pass upon it, as a Body of Men that have Authority to Judge and give Sentence, so that the Canonicalness, or the Uncanonicalness of any Book shall depend upon their Testimony: But is resolv'd into this, that such Successions and Numbers of Men, whether of the Laity or Clergy, have in a course of many Ages had these Books preserved and read among them; so that it was not possible to corrupt that upon which so many Men had their Eyes, in all the Corners and Ages of *Christendom*.

And thus we believe the Scripture to be a Book written by inspired Men, and delivered by them to the Church, upon the Testimony of the Church that at first received it; knowing that those great Matters of Fact, contained and appealed to in it, were true: And also upon the like Testimony of the succeeding Ages, who Preserved, Read, Copied, and Translated that Book, as they had received it from the first.

The Church of *Rome* is guilty of a manifest Circle in this Matter: For they say they believe the Scriptures upon the Authority of the Church: And they do again believe the Authority of the Church, because of the Testimony of the Scripture concerning it.

This is as false reasoning as can be imagined: For nothing can be proved by another Authority, till that Authority is first fixed and proved: And therefore if the Testimony of the Church is believed to be sacred, by virtue of a Divine Grant to it, and that from thence the Scriptures have their Credit and Authority, then the Credit due to the Church's Testimony is Antecedent to the Credit of the Scripture: And so must not be proved by any passages brought from it; otherwise that is a manifest Circle. But no Circle is committed in our way, who do not prove the Scriptures from any supposed Authority in the Church, that has handed them down to us: But only as they are vast Companies

Art. 20. panies of Men who cannot be preſumed to have been guilty of any Fraud in this matter; it appeared further to be morally impoſſible for any that ſhould have attempted a Fraud in it, to have executed it. When therefore the Scripture it ſelf is proved by Moral Arguments of this kind, we may according to the ſtricteſt Rules of Reaſoning examine, What Authority the Scripture gives to the Paſtors of the Church met in leſſer or greater Councils.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XXI.

Of the Authority of General Councils.

General Councils may not be gathered together without the Commandment and Will of Princes. And when they be gathered together (forasmuch as they be an Assembly of men whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and sometime have erred even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore, things Ordained by them as necessary to Salvation, have neither Strength nor Authority, unless it may be declared that they are taken out of the Holy Scriptures.

THERE are two Particulars setled in this Article: The one is, The power of calling of Councils, at least an Assertion that they cannot be called without the Will of Princes: The other is, The Authority of general Councils, that they are not Infallible, and that some have erred: And therefore the Inference is justly made, That whatever Authority they may have in the Rule and Government of the Church, their Decisions in matters necessary to Salvation ought to be examined by the Word of God, and are not to be submitted to, unless it appears that they are conform to the Scripture.

The first of these is thus proved: Clergymen are Subject to their Princes, according to these words, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*: If they are then Subject to them, they cannot be obliged to go out of their Dominions upon the Summons of any other; their Persons being under the Laws and Authority of that Country to which they belong. Rom. 13. 1.

This is plain, and seems to need no other Proof. It is very visible how much the Peace of Kingdoms and States is concerned in this Point: For if a Foreign Power should call their Clergy away at pleasure, they might be not only left in a great destitution as to Religious Performances, but their Clergy might be practised upon, and sent back to them with such Notions, and upon such Designs, that, chiefly supposing the Immunity of their Persons, they might become, as they often were in dark and ignorant Ages, the Incendiaries of the World, and the Disturbers and Betrayers of their Countries. This is confirmed by the Practice of the first Ages, after the Church had the Protection of Christian Magistrates: In these the *Roman* Emperors called the First General Councils, which is expresly mentioned not only in the Histories of the Councils, but in their Acts, where we find both the Writs that Summoned them, and their Letters sometimes to the Emperors, and sometimes to the Churches, which do all set forth their being Summoned by the Sacred Authority of their Emperors, without mentioning any other. In calling some of these Councils, it does not appear that the Popes were much consulted: And in others we find Popes indeed supplicating the Emperors to call a Council, but nothing that has so much as a shadow of their pretending to an Authority to summon it themselves.

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Art. 21. This is a thing ſo plain, and may be ſo ſoon ſeen into by any Perſon who will be at the pains to turn to the Editions of the firſt Four General Councils made by themſelves, not to mention thoſe that followed in the *Greek* Church, that the Confidence with which it has been aſſerted, That they were ſummoned by the Popes, is an Inſtance to ſhew us that there is nothing at which men who are once engaged, will ſtick when their Cauſe requires it. But even ſince the Popes have got this matter into their own hands, though they ſummon the Council, yet they do not pretend to it, nor expect that the World would receive a Council as General, or ſubmit to it, unleſs the Princes of *Chriſtendom* ſhould allow of it, and conſent to the Publication of the Bull. So that by reaſon of this, Councils are now become almoſt unpracticable things.

When all *Chriſtendom* was included within the *Roman* Empire, then the calling of a Council lay in the Breaſt and Power of one Man; and during the Ages of Ignorance and Superſtition, the World was ſo ſubjected to the Popes Authority, that Princes durſt ſeldom oppoſe their Summons, or deny their Biſhops leave to go when they were ſo called: But after the ſcandalous Schiſm in the Popedom, in which there were for a great while Two Popes, and at laſt Three at a time, Councils began to pretend that the Power of Governing the Church, and of cenſuring, depriving, and making of Popes, was radically in them, as *Repreſenting the Univerſal Church*: So they fell upon Methods to have frequent Councils, and that whether both Popes and Princes ſhould oppoſe it or not; for they declared both the one and the other to be fallen from their Dignity, that ſhould attempt to hinder it. Yet they carried the Claim of the Freedom of Elections, and of the other Eccleſiaſtical Immunities ſo high, that all that followed upon this, was, That the Popes being terrified with the Attempts begun at *Conſtance*, and proſecuted at *Baſil* and *Piſa*, took pains to have Princes of their ſide, and then made Bargains and *Concordates* with them, by which they divided all the Rights of the Church, at leaſt the Pretenſions to them, between themſelves and the Princes. Matters of Gain and Advantage were reſerved to the See of *Rome*; but the Points of Power and Juriſdiction were generally given up to the Princes. The Temporal Authority has by that means prevailed over the Spiritual, as much as the Spiritual Authority had prevailed over the Temporal for ſeveral Ages before. Yet the Pretence of a General Council is ſtill ſo ſpecious, that all thoſe in the *Roman* Communion that do not acknowledge the Infallibility of their Popes, do ſtill ſupport this Pretenſion, That the Infallibility is given by Chriſt to his Church; and that in the Interval of Councils it is in the Community of the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church; and that when a Council meets, then the Infallibility is lodged with it; according to that, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to Us.*

Acts 15. 28.

The firſt thing to be ſettled in every Queſtion, is the meaning of the Terms: So we muſt begin and examine what makes a General Council; Whether all the Biſhops muſt be preſent in Perſon, or by Proxy? And what ſhare the Laity, or the Princes that are thought to repreſent their People, ought to have in a Council? It is next to be conſidered, Whether a General Citation is enough to make a Council General, were the appearance of the Biſhops ever ſo ſmall at their

their first opening? It is next to be considered, Whether any come thither and Sit there as representing others; and if Votes ought to be reckoned according to the Numbers of the Bishops, or of the others who Depute and send them? And whether Nations ought to Vote in a Body as Integral Parts of the Church; or of every single Bishop by himself? And finally, Whether the Decisions of Councils must be Unanimous, before they can be esteemed Infallible? Or whether the Major Vote, though exceeding only by One, or if some greater Inequality is necessary; such as Two Thirds, or any other Proportion? That there may be just cause of raising Scruples upon every one of these, is apparent at first View. It is certain, a bare Name cannot qualify a Number of Bishops Sitting together, to be this General Council. The Numbers of Bishops does it not neither. A Hundred and fifty was a small Number at *Constantinople*: Even the famous Three hundred and eighteen at *Nice* were far exceeded by those at *Arimini*. All the First General Councils were made up for the most part of *Eastern* Bishops; there being a very inconsiderable Number of the *Western* among any of them; scarce any at all being to be found in some. If this had been the Body to whom Christ had left this Infallibility, it cannot be imagined but that some Definition or Description of the Constitution of it, would have been given us in the Scripture: And the profound silence that is about it, gives just occasion to think, that how Wise and how Good soever such a Constitution may be, if well pursued, yet it is not of a Divine Institution; otherwise somewhat concerning so Important a Head as this is, must have been mentioned in the Scripture. *Art.* 21.

The Natural Idea of a General Council, is a Meeting of all the Bishops of *Christendom*, or at least of Proxies Instructed by them and their Clergy. Now if any will stand to this Description, then we are very sure that there was never yet a True General Council: Which will appear to every one that reads the Subscriptions of the Councils. Therefore we must conclude, That General Councils are not Constituted by a Divine Authority; since we have no Direction given us from God, by which we may know what they are, and what is necessary to their Constitution. And we cannot suppose that God has granted any Privileges, much less Infallibility, which is the greatest of all, to a Body of Men, of whom, or of whose Constitution he has said nothing to us. For suppose we should yield that there were an Infallibility lodged in general in the Church diffusive, so that the Church in some Part or other shall be always preserved from Error; yet the restraining this to the greater Number of such Bishops as shall happen to come to a Council, they living perhaps near it, or being more capable and more forward to undertake a Journey, being Healthier, Richer, or more Active than others; or which is as probable, because it has often fallen out, they being picked out by Parties or Princes to carry on Cabals, and manage such Intrigues as may be on Foot at the Council: The restraining the Infallibility, I say, to the greater Number of such Persons, unless there is Divine Authority for doing it, is the Transferring the Infallibility from the whole Body to a select Number of Persons, who of themselves are the least likely to Con-

Art. 21. ſent to the engroſſing this Privilege to the Majority of their Body, it being their Intereſt to maintain their Right to it, free from Intrigue or Management.

We need not wonder if ſuch things have happen'd in the latter Ages, when *Nazianzen* laments the Corruptions, the Ambition, and the Contentions that reigned in thoſe Aſſemblies in his own time; ſo that he never deſired to ſee any more of them. He was not only preſent at one of the General Councils, but he himſelf felt the Effects of Jealouſie and Violence in it.

Further, it will appear a thing incredible, That there is an Infallibility in Councils becauſe they are called General, and are Aſſembled out of a great many Kingdoms and Provinces; when we ſee them go backward and forward, according to the Influences of Courts, and of Intereſts directed from thence. We know how differently Councils Decreed in the *Arian* Controverſies; and what a variety of them *Conſtantius* ſet up againſt that at *Nice*. So it was in the *Eutychian* Hereſy, Approved in the Second Council at *Epheſus*, but ſoon after Condemned at *Chalcedon*. So it was in the buſineſs of Images, Condemned at *Conſtantinople* in the *Eaſt*; but ſoon after upon another Change at Court maintain'd in the Second at *Nice*; and not long after Condemned in a very Numerous Council at *Francfort*. And in the Point in Hand, as to the Authority of Councils, it was Aſſerted at *Conſtance* and *Baſil*; but Condemned in the *Lateran*; and was upon the matter laid aſide at *Trent*. Here were great Numbers of all Hands; both Sides took the Name of General Councils.

It will be a further Prejudice againſt this, if we ſee great Violences and Diſorders entring into the Management of ſome Councils; and Craft and Artifice into the Conduct of others. Numbers of Factious and Furious Monks came to ſome Councils, and drove on Matters by their Clamours: So it was at *Epheſus*. We ſee groſs Fraud in the Second at *Nice*, both in the Perſons ſet up to repreſent the Abſent Patriarchs; and in the Books and Authorities that were Vouched for the Worſhip of Images. The Intrigues at *Trent*, as they are ſet out even by Cardinal *Pallavicini*, were more ſubtile, but not leſs apparent, nor leſs ſcandalous. Nothing was truſted to a Seſſion, till it was firſt Canvaſſed in Congregations; which were what a Committee of the whole *Houſe* is in our *Parliaments*; and then every Man's Vote was known; ſo that there was hereby great occaſion given for Practice. This alone, if there had been no more, ſhewed plainly that they themſelves knew they were not Guided by the Spirit of God, or by Infallibility; ſince a Seſſion was not thought ſafe to be ventured on, but after a long previous Canvaſſing.

Another Queſtion remains yet to be cleared, concerning their Manner of Proceeding; Whether the Infallibility is affixed to their Vote, whatſoever their Proceedings may be? Or whether they are bound to Diſcuſs Matters fully? The firſt cannot be ſaid, unleſs it is pretended that they Vote by Special Inſpiration: If the ſecond is allowed, then we muſt examine both what makes a full Diſcuſſion; and whether they have made it?

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If we find Opinions ſafely repreſented, if Books that are ſpurious have been relied on; if Paſſages of Scripture, or of the Fathers on which it appears the ſtreſs of the Deciſion has turned, have been manifeſtly miſunderſtood and wreſted, ſo that in a more Enlightened Age no Perſon pretends to juſtify the Authorities that determined them; Can we imagine that there ſhould be more Truth in their Concluſions, than we do plainly ſee was in the Premiſſes out of which they were drawn? So it muſt either be ſaid, That they Vote by an immediate Inſpiration, or all Perſons cannot be bound to ſubmit to their Judgment till they have examined their Methods of Proceeding, and the Grounds on which they went: And when all is done, the Queſtion comes, concerning the Authority of ſuch Decrees after they are made, Whether it follows immediately upon their being made, or muſt ſtay for the Confirmatory Bulls? If it muſt ſtay for the Bull, then the Infallibility is not in the Council: And that is only a more ſolemn way of preparing Matters in order to the laying them before the Pope. If they are Infallible before the Confirmation, then the Infallibility is wholly in the Council; and the ſubſequent Bull does inſtead of confirming their Decrees, derogate much from them: For to pretend to confirm them, imports that they wanted that Addition of Authority, which deſtroys the ſuppoſition of their Infallibility, ſince what is Infallible cannot be made Stronger: And the pretending to add ſtrength to it, implies that it is not Infallible. Human Conſtitutions may be indeed ſo modelled, that there muſt be a joint Concurrence, before a Law can be made: And though it is the laſt conſent that ſettles the Law, yet the previous conſents were neceſſary ſteps to the giving it the Authority of a Law. *Art.* 21.

And thus it is not to be denied, but that as to the Matters of Government, the Church may caſt her ſelf into ſuch a Model, that as by a Decree of the Council of *Nice*, the Biſhops of a Province might conclude nothing without the conſent of the Metropolitan; ſo another Decree might even limit a General Council to ſtay for the conſent of one or more Patriarchs. But this muſt only take place in Matters of Order and Government, which are left to the diſpoſal of the Church, but not in Deciſions about Matters of Faith. For if there is an Infallibility in the Church, it muſt be derived from a ſpecial Grant made by Chriſt to his Church: And it muſt go according to the Nature of that Grant, unleſs it can be pretended that there is a Clauſe in that Grant empowering the Church to diſpoſe of it, and model it at pleaſure. For if there is no ſuch power, as it is plain there is not, then Chriſt's Grant is either to a ſingle perſon, or to the whole Community: If to a ſingle Perſon, then the Infallibility is wholly in him, and he is to manage it as he thinks beſt: For if he calls a Council, it is only an act of his humility and condeſcenſion, to hear the Opinions of many in different Corners of the Church, that ſo he may know all that comes from all Quarters: It may alſo ſeem a prudent way to make his Authority to be the more eaſily born and ſubmitted to, ſince what is gently managed, is beſt obeyed: But after all, theſe are only pru-

Art. 21. dential and diſcreet Methods. The Infallibility muſt be only in him, if Chriſt has by the Grant tied him to ſuch a Succeſſion. Whereas on the other hand, if the Infallibility is granted to the whole Community, or to their Repreſentatives, then all the Applications that they may make to any one *See*, muſt only be in order to the Execution of their Decrees, like the Addreſſes that they make to Princes for the Civil Sanction. But ſtill the Infallibility is where Chriſt put it. It reſts wholly in their Deciſion, and belongs only to that: And any other Confirmation that they deſire, unleſs it be reſtrained ſingly to the Execution of their Decrees, is a Wound given by themſelves to their own Infallibility, if not a direct diſclaiming of it.

When the Confirmation of the Council is over, a new Difficulty ariſes concerning the receiving the Decrees: And here it may be ſaid, That if Chriſt's Grant is to the whole Community, ſo that a Council is only the Authentical Declarer of the Tradition, the whole Body of the Church that is poſſeſſed of the Tradition, and conveys it down, muſt have a right to examine the Deciſion that the Council has made, and ſo is not bound to receive it, but as it finds it to be conformable to Tradition.

Here it is to be ſuppoſed, that every Biſhop, or at the leaſt all the Biſhops of any National Church, know beſt the Tradition of their own Church and Nation: And ſo they will have a right to re-examine things, after they have been judged in a General Council.

This will intirely deſtroy the whole Pretenſion to Infallibility: And yet either this ought to have been done, after the Councils at *Arimini*, or the ſecond of *Epheſus*, or elſe the World muſt have received *Semi-Arianiſm*, or *Eutychianiſm*, implicitly from them. It is alſo no ſmall prejudice againſt this Opinion, That the Church was conſtituted, the Scriptures were received, many Hereſies were rejected, and the Perſecutions were gone through in a courſe of Three Centuries; in all which time there was nothing that could pretend to be called a General Council. And when the Ages came in which Councils met often, neither the Councils themſelves, who muſt be ſuppoſed to underſtand their own Authority beſt, nor thoſe who writ in defence of their Decrees, who muſt be ſuppoſed to be inclined enough to magnify their Authority, being of the ſame ſide; neither of theſe, I ſay, ever pretended to argue for their Opinions, from the Infallibility of thoſe Councils that Decreed them.

They do indeed ſpeak of them with great Reſpect, as of Bodies of Men that were guided by the Spirit of God: And ſo do we of our Reformers, and of thoſe who prepared our Liturgy: But we do not aſcribe Infallibility to them, and no more did they. Nor did they lay the ſtreſs of their Arguments upon the Authority of ſuch Deciſions; they knew that the Objection might have been made as ſtrong againſt them, as they could put the Argument for them. And therefore they offered to wave the Point, and to appeal to the Scripture, ſetting aſide the Definitions that had been made in Councils both ways.

To

To conclude this Argument.

If the Infallibility is ſuppoſed to be in Councils, then the Church may juſtly apprehend that ſhe has loſt it: For as there has been no Council that has pretended to that Title, now during 130 Years, ſo there is no great probability of our ever ſeeing another. The Charge and Noiſe, the Expectations and Diſappointments of that at *Trent*, has Taught the World to expect nothing from one: They plainly ſee that the management from *Rome* muſt carry every thing in a Council: Neither Princes nor People, no nor the Biſhops themſelves, deſire or expect to ſee one.

The Claim ſet up at *Rome* for Infallibility, makes the demand of one ſeem not only needleſs there, but to imply a doubting of their Authority, when other methods are lookt after, which will certainly be always unacceptable to thoſe who are in poſſeſſion, and act as if they were Infallible: Nor can it be apprehended that they will deſire a Council to Reform thoſe abuſes in Diſcipline, which are all occaſioned by that Abſolute and Univerſal Authority, of which they are now poſſeſſed.

So by all the Judgments that can be made from the State of Things, from the Intereſts of Men, and the laſt Managemnt at *Trent*, one may without a Spirit of Prophecy conclude, That *Chriſtendom* puts on a new Face, there will be no more General Councils. And ſo here Infallibility is at an end, and has left the Church at leaſt for a very long Interval.

It remains that thoſe Paſſages ſhould be conſidered that are brought to ſupport this Authority. Chriſt ſays, *Tell the Church; and if he neglects to hear the Church, let him be to thee as a Heathen, and a Publican.* Mat. 18. 17.

Theſe words in themſelves, and ſeparated from all that went before, ſeem to ſpeak out this matter very fully: But when the occaſion of them, and the matter that is treated of in them, are conſidered, nothing can be plainer than that our Saviour is ſpeaking of ſuch private Differences, as may ariſe among Men, and of the Practice of forgiving Injuries, and compoſing their Differences. *If thy Brother ſin againſt thee*; firſt private Endeavours were to be uſed, then the Interpoſition of Friends was to be tried: And finally, the matter was to be referred to the Body, or Aſſembly to which they belonged: And thoſe who could not be gained by ſuch Methods, were no more to be eſteemed Brethren, but were to be looked on as very bad Men, like Heathens. They might upon ſuch refractorineſs be Excommunicated, and Proſecuted afterwards in Temporal Courts, ſince they had by their Perverſneſs forfeited all ſort of right to that Tenderneſs and Charity that is due to true Chriſtians.

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Art. 21. This Expoſition does ſo fully agree to the Occaſion and Scope of theſe words, that there is no colour of Reaſon to carry them further.

The Character given to the Church of *Epheſus*; in St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle
1 Tim. 3. to *Timothy*, That it was *the pillar and ground of Truth*, is a Figurative Expreſſion: And it is never ſafe to build upon Metaphors, much leſs to lay much weight upon them.

The *Jews* deſcribed their Synagogues by ſuch honourable Characters, in which it is known how profuſe all the *Eaſtern* Nations are: Theſe are by St. *Paul* applied to the Church of *Epheſus*: For he there ſpeaks of the Church where *Timothy* was then, in which he inſtructs him to behave himſelf well. It has viſibly a relation to thoſe Inſcriptions that were made on Pillars, which reſted upon firm Pedeſtals: But whatſoever the ſtrict Importance of the Metaphor may be, it is a Metaphor, and therefore it can be no Argument. Chriſt's promiſe of the
Joh. 16. 13. Spirit to his Apoſtles, that *ſhould lead them into all truth*, relates viſibly to that extraordinary Inſpiration, by which they were to be acted, and that was *to ſhew them things to come*; ſo that a Succeſſion of Prophecy may be inferred from theſe words, as well as of Infallibility.

Thoſe words of our Saviour, with which St. *Matthew* concludes his
Matth. 28. 20. Goſpel, *Lo I am with you always, even to the end of the World*, infer no Infallibility, but only a promiſe of Aſſiſtance and Protection: Which was a neceſſary encouragement to the Apoſtles, when they were ſent upon ſo laborious a Commiſſion, that was to involve them into ſo much danger. God's *being with any, his walking with them, his being in the*
2 Cor. 6. 16. *midſt of them, his never leaving nor forſaking them*, are Expreſſions often uſed in the Scripture, which ſignifie no more but God's watchful Provi-
Heb. 13. 5. dence, Guiding, Supporting, and Protecting his People: All this is far from Infallibility.

The Laſt Objection to be propoſed, is that which ſeems to relate moſt to the Point in hand, taken from the Decree made by a Council at *Je-*
Act 15. 28. *ruſalem*, which begins, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us*: From which they infer, That the Holy Ghoſt is preſent with Councils, and that what ſeems good to them is alſo approved by the Holy Ghoſt. But it will not be eaſie to prove that this was ſuch a Council, as to be a pattern to ſucceeding ones to copy after it. We find *Brethren* are here joined with the Apoſtles themſelves: Now ſince theſe were no other than the Laity, here an Inference will be made, that will not go eaſily down. If they ſate and voted with the Apoſtles, it will ſeem ſtrange to deny them the ſame privilege among Biſhops. By *Elders* here it ſeems *Presbyters* are meant, and this will give them an Entrance into a General Council, out of which they cannot be well excluded, if the Laity are admitted. But here was no citation, no time given to all Churches to ſend their Biſhops or Proxies: It was an Occaſional Meeting of ſuch of the Apoſtles as happened to be then at *Jeruſalem*, who called to them the *Elders* or *Presbyters*, and other *Chriſtians* at *Jeruſalem*: For the Holy Ghoſt was then poured out ſo plentifully on ſo many, that no wonder if there was then about that truly *Mother Church*, a great many of both ſorts, who were of ſuch Eminence, that the Apoſtles might deſire them to meet and to joyn with them.

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The Apoſtles were Divinely Aſſiſted in the delivering that Commiſſion which our Saviour gave them in charge, *To preach to every creature*; and ſo were Infallibly Aſſiſted in the Executing of it; yet when other Matters fell in, which were no Parts of that Commiſſion, they no doubt did as St. *Paul*, who ſometimes *writ by Permiſſion*, as well as at other times *by Commandment*: Of which he gives notice, by ſaying, *It is I, and not the Lord*: He ſuggeſted Advices, which to him, according to his Prudence and Experience ſeemed to be well founded; and he offered them with great Sincerity; for though he had ſome reaſon to think that what he propoſed, flowed from the *Spirit of the Lord*, from that Inſpiration that was Acting him; yet becauſe that did not appear diſtinctly to him, he ſpeaks with Reſerves, and ſays, he *gives his judgment as one that had obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful*. So the Apoſtles here, receiving no Inſpiration to Direct them in this Caſe, but obſerving well what St. *Peter* put them in mind of, concerning God's ſending him by a Special Viſion to Preach to the *Gentiles*, and that God had poured out the Holy Ghoſt on them, even as he had done upon the Apoſtles, who were *Jews* by Nature, and that *he did put no difference in that between Jews and Gentiles; purifying the hearts of the Gentiles by Faith*: They upon this did by their Judgment conclude from thence, That what God had done in the particular Inſtance of *Cornelius*, was now to be extended to all the *Gentiles*. So by this we ſee that thoſe Words, *ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt*, relate to the Caſe of *Cornelius*; and thoſe Words, *ſeemed good to us*, import that they reſolved to extend that to be a general Rule to all the *Gentiles*.

Art. 21. Mark 16. 15. — 1 Cor. 7. 6 12. — ver. 40. — ver. 25. — Acts 15. 9.

This gives the Words a clear and a diſtinct Senſe, which agrees with all that had gone before; whereas it will otherwiſe look very ſtrange to ſee them add their Authority to that of the Holy Ghoſt; which is too Abſurd to ſuppoſe: Nor will it be eaſy to give any other conſiſting Senſe to theſe Words,

Here is no Precedent of a Council, much leſs of a General one; but a Deciſion is made by Men that were in other things Divinely Inſpired, which can have no relation to the Judgment of other Councils. And thus it appears that none of thoſe Places which are brought to prove the Infallibility of Councils, come up to the Point: For ſo great and ſo important a Matter as this is, muſt be ſuppoſed to be either expreſly declared in the Scriptures, or not at all.

The Article affirming, That *ſome General Councils have erred*, muſt be underſtood of Councils that paſs for ſuch; and that may be called General Councils, much better than many others that go by that Name: For that at *Arimini* was both very Numerous, and was drawn out of many different Provinces. As to the ſtrict Notion of a General Council, there is great Reaſon to believe that there was never any Aſſembly to which it will be found to agree. And for the Four General Councils, which this Church declares ſhe receives, they are received only becauſe we are perſuaded from the Scriptures that their Deciſions were made according to them: That the Son is truly God, of the ſame Subſtance with the Father. That

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Art. 21. the Holy Ghoſt is alſo truly God. That the Divine Nature was truly united to the Human in Chriſt; and that in One Perſon. That both Natures remain diſtinct; and that the Human Nature was not ſwallowed up of the Divine. Theſe Truths we find in the Scriptures, and therefore we believe them. We reverence thoſe Councils for the ſake of their Doctrine; but do not believe the Doctrine for the Authority of the Councils. There appeared too much of Human Frailty in ſome of their other Proceedings, to give us ſuch an Implicite Submiſſion to them, as to believe things only becauſe they ſo Decided them.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XXII.

Of Purgatory.

The Romiſh Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worſhipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Relicks, and alſo Invocation of Saints is a fond thing, vainly invented and grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.

THERE are two ſmall Variations in this Article from that publiſhed in King *Edward's* Reign. What is here called the *Romiſh Doctrine*, is there called the *Doctrine of School-men.* The plain reaſon of this, is, that theſe Errors were not ſo fully eſpouſed by the Body of the *Roman* Church, when thoſe Articles were firſt publiſhed, ſo that ſome Writers that ſoftened matters threw them upon the *School-men*; and therefore the Article was cautiouſly worded, in laying them there: But before theſe that we have now, were publiſhed, the *Decree* and *Canons* concerning the *Maſs* had paſſed at *Trent*, in which moſt of the Heads of this Article are either affirmed or ſuppoſed; though the formal Decree concerning them, was made ſome Months after theſe Articles were publiſhed. This will ſerve to juſtifie that diverſity. The ſecond difference is only the leaving out a ſevere word. *Perniciouſly repugnant to the Word of God*, was put at firſt; but *perniciouſly* being conſidered to be only a hard word, they judged very right in the Second Edition of them, that it was enough to ſay *repugnant to the Word of God.*

There are in this Article five Particulars that are all Ingredients in the Doctrine and Worſhip of the Church of *Rome*, Purgatory, Pardons, the Worſhip of Images, and of Relicks, and the Invocation of Saints; that are rejected not only as ill grounded, brought in and maintained without good warrants from the Scripture, but as contrary to it.

The firſt of theſe is Purgatory; concerning which, the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, is that every Man is liable both to Temporal and to Eternal Puniſhment for his Sins; that God upon the Account of the Death and Interceſſion of Chriſt, does indeed pardon Sin as to its Eternal Puniſhment; but the Sinner is ſtill liable to Temporal Puniſhment, which he muſt expiate by Acts of Pennance and Sorrow in this World, together with ſuch other Sufferings as God ſhall think fit to lay upon him; but if he does not expiate theſe in this Life, there is a State of Suffering and Miſery in the next World, where the Soul is to bear the Temporal puniſhment of its Sins; which may continue longer or ſhorter, till the Day of Judgment. And in order to the ſhortening this, the Prayers and Supererogations of Men here on Earth, or the Interceſſion of the Saints in Heaven, but above all things, the Sacrifice of the Maſs are of great Efficacy. This is the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, aſſerted in the Councils of *Florence* and *Trent*. What has been taught among them concerning the Nature and the Degrees of thoſe Torments, though ſupported by many pretended Apparitions and Revelations, is not to be imputed to the

Art. 22. whole Body; and is indeed only the Doctrine of Schoolmen, though it is generally preached and infused into the Consciences of the People. Therefore I shall only examine that which is the established Doctrine of the whole *Roman* Church. And first as to the Foundation of it, that Sins are only pardoned as to their Eternal Punishment, to those *who being justified by faith have peace with God through our Lord* Rom. 5. 1. *Jesus Christ.* There is not a colour for it in the Scriptures. Remission of Sins is in general that with which the Preaching of the Gospel ought always to begin; and this is so often repeated, without any such reserve, that it is a high assuming upon God, and his Attributes of Goodness and Mercy, to limit these when he has not limited them; but has expresly said, that this is a main part of the New Jer. 31. 34 Covenant, that *he will remember our sins and iniquities no more.* Now Heb. 8. 12. it seems to be a Maxim, not only of the Law of Nations, but of Nature, that all offers of Pardon are to be understood in the full extent of the Words, without any secret Reserves or Limitations; unless they are plainly expressed. An Indemnity being offered by a Prince to persuade his Subjects to return to their Obedience, in the fullest Words possible, without any reserves made in it, it would be lookt on as a very perfidious thing, if when the Subjects come in upon it, trusting to it, they should be told that they were to be secured by it against Capital Punishments; but that as to all Inferior Punishments, they were still at Mercy. We do not dispute whether God, if he had thought fit so to do, might not have made this distinction; nor do we deny that the Grace of the Gospel had been infinitely valuable, if it had offered us only the Pardon of Sin with relation to its Eternal Punishment, and had left the Temporal Punishment on us, to be expiated by our selves; but then we say, this ought to have been expressed: The Distinction ought to have been made between Temporal and Eternal; and we ought not to have been drawn into a Covenant with God, by words that do plainly import an intire Pardon and Oblivion, upon which there lay a limited Sense, that was not to be told the World till it was once well engaged in the Christian Religion. Upon these Reasons it is, that we conclude that this Doctrine not being contained in the Scriptures, is not only without any warrant in them, but that it is contrary to those full offers of Mercy, Peace, and Oblivion, that are made in the Gospel; it is contrary to the Truth and Veracity, and to the Justice and Goodness of God, to affirm that there are Reserves to be understood for Punishments, when the Offers and Promises are made to us in such large and unlimited Expressions.

Thus we lay our Foundation in this matter, which does very fully overthrow theirs. We do not deny but that God does in this World punish good Men for those Sins, which yet are forgiven them through Psal. 99. 8. Christ, according to these words in the *Psalm*, *Thou wast a God that forgavest them, though thou tookest vengeance of their inventions:* But this is a consideration quite of another nature. God in the Government of this World, thinks fit by his Providence sometimes to interpose in visible Blessings, as well as Judgments, to shew how he protects and favours the Good, and punishes the Bad; and that the bad Actions of good Men are odious to him, even though he has recieved their Persons into his favour. He has also in the Gospel plainly excepted the Government of this World, and the secret Methods of his Providence

Providence out of the Mercy that he has promiſed, by the Warnings that are given to all Chriſtians to prepare for Croſſes and Afflictions in this Life. He has made Faith and Patience in Adverſities a main Condition of this New Covenant; he has declared that theſe are not the Puniſhments of an Angry God, but the Chaſtiſements of a Kind and Merciful Father, who deſigns by them both to ſhew to the World, the Impartiality of his Juſtice in puniſhing ſome crying Sins, in a very ſignal manner, and to give good Men deep Impreſſions of their odiouſneſs, to oblige them to a ſeverer Repentance for them, and to a greater Watchfulneſs againſt them; as alſo to give the World ſuch Examples of Reſignation and Patience under them, that they may edify others by that, as much as by their Sins they may have offended them. So that upon all theſe Accounts, it ſeems abundantly clear, that no Argument can be drawn from the Temporal Puniſhments of good Men, for their Sins in this World, to a reſerve of others in another State. The one are clearly mentioned and reſerved in the offers of Mercy, that are made in the Goſpel, whereas the others are not. This being the moſt plauſible thing that they ſay for this Diſtinction of thoſe twofold Puniſhments, it is plain that there is no foundation for it. *Art.* 22.

As for thoſe words of Chriſt's, *Ye ſhall not come out till ye have paid the uttermoſt farthing*; from which they would infer that there is a State in which, after we ſhall be caſt into Priſon, we are paying off our Debts; this, if an Argument at all, will prove too much; that in Hell the Damned are clearing Scores; and that they ſhall be delivered when all is paid off. For by *Priſon* there, that only can be meant, as appears by the whole Contexture of the Diſcourſe, and by other Parables of the like nature. It is a Figure taken from a Man Impriſoned for a great Debt, and the continuance of it, till the laſt Farthing is paid, does imply their perpetual Continuance in that State, ſince the Debt is too great to be ever paid off: From a Phraſe in a Parable, no Conſequence is to be drawn, beyond that which is the true Scope of the Parable, which in this particular, is only intended by our Saviour, to ſhew the ſevere Puniſhment of thoſe, who hate implacably, which is a Sin that does certainly deſerve Hell, and not Purgatory. Matth. 5. 26.

Our Saviour's Words concerning the *Sin* againſt the *Holy Ghoſt*, That *it is neither forgiven in this Life, nor in that which is to come*; is alſo urged to prove that ſome Sins are pardoned in the next Life, which are not pardoned in this. But ſtill this will ſeem a ſtronger Argument againſt the Eternity of Hell-Torments, than for Purgatory; and will rather import that the Damned may at laſt be pardoned their Sins, ſince theſe are the only Perſons whoſe Sins are not pardoned in this World; for of thoſe who are juſtified, it cannot be ſaid, that their Sins are not forgiven them, and ſuch only go to Purgatory: Therefore, either this is only a general way of ſpeaking, to exclude all hopes of Pardon, and to imply that God's Judgments will purſue ſuch Blaſphemers, both in this Life, and in the next; or if we will underſtand them more critically, by *this Life*, or *this Age*, and the *next*, according to a common Opinion and Phraſe of the *Jews*, which is founded on the Prophecies, are to be underſtood the *Diſpenſation of the Law*, and the *Diſpenſation of the Meſſias*; the *Age to come* being a common Phraſe for the times of the Meſſias; according to thoſe Words in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, *He hath not put in ſubjection to* Matth. 12. 32. Heb. 2. 5.

Art. 22. *Angels the world to come:* By the *Moſaical* Law, Sacrifices were only received, and by conſequence Pardon was offered for Sins of a leſs heinous Nature; but thoſe that were more heinous were to be puniſhed by Death, or by *cutting off* without Mercy; whereas a full promiſe of the Pardon of all Sins is offered in the Goſpel: So that the meaning of theſe words of Chriſt's, is, that ſuch a Blaſphemy was a Sin not only beyond the Pardon offered in the Law of *Moſes*, which was the *Age* that then was, but that it was a Sin beyond that Pardon which was to be offered by the Meſſias in the *Age to come*, that is, in the Kingdom of Heaven, that was then at hand. But theſe Words can by no means be urged to prove this Diſtinction of Temporal and Eternal Puniſhment; therefore we muſt conclude, that ſince *Repentance and Remiſſion of Sins* are joyned together in the firſt Commiſſion to Preach the Goſpel; and ſince Life, Peace, and Salvation, are promiſed to ſuch as believe, that all this is to be underſtood ſimply and plainly, without any other Limitation or Exception than that which is expreſſed, which is only of ſuch Chaſtiſements as God thinks fit to exerciſe good Men with in this Life.

Luk. 24. 47.

In the next place, we ſhall conſider what reaſon we have to reject the Doctrine of Purgatory; as we have already ſeen how weak the Foundation is upon which it is built. The Scripture ſpeaks to us of Two States after this Life, of Happineſs, and Miſery; and as it divides all Mankind into good and bad, into thoſe that do Good, and thoſe that do Evil, into Believers and Unbelievers, Righteous and Sinners; ſo it propoſes always the end of the one to be everlaſting Happineſs, and the end of the other to be everlaſting Puniſhment, without the leaſt hint of any Middle State after Death. So that it is very plain there is nothing ſaid in Scripture, of Men too good to be Damned, but not ſo good as to be immediately Saved. Now if there had been yet a great deal to be ſuffered after Death, and that there were many very effectual ways to prevent and avoid, or at leaſt to ſhorten thoſe Sufferings; and if the Apoſtles knew this, and yet ſaid not a Word of it, neither in their firſt Sermons, nor in their Epiſtles; here was a great Treachery in the diſcharge of their Function, and that to the Souls of Men, not to warn them of their Danger, nor to direct them to the proper Methods of avoiding it; but on the contrary, to ſpeak and write to them, juſt as we can ſuppoſe Impoſtors would have done, to terrify thoſe who would not receive their Goſpel, with Eternal Damnation, but not to ſay a Word to thoſe who received it, of their danger, in caſe they lived not up to that Exactneſs that their Religion required, and yet upon the main adhered to it, and followed it. This is a Method that does not agree with common Honeſty, not to ſay Inſpiration. A fair way of proceeding, is to make Men ſenſible of Dangers of all ſorts, and to ſhew them how to avoid them: The Apoſtles told their Converts, That *through much tribulation we muſt enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*; they aſſured them, That *their preſent ſufferings were not worthy to be compared to the Glory that was to be revealed: and that thoſe light afflictions which are for a moment, wrought for them a more exceeding and eternal weight of Glory.* Here, if they knew any thing of Purgatory, a powerful Conſideration was paſt over in ſilence, that by theſe Afflictions they ſhould be delivered from thoſe Torments.

Acts 14. 22. Rom. 8. 18. 2 Cor. 4. 17.

This

This Argument goes further than meer Silence; though that is very strong. The Scriptures ſpeak always as if the one did immediately follow the other; and that the Saints or true Chriſtians paſs from the Miſeries of this State, to the Glories of the next. So does our Saviour repreſent the matter in the Parable of *Lazarus* and the *Rich Glutton*; whoſe Souls were preſently carried to their different abodes; the one to be *comforted*, as the other was *tormented*. He promiſed alſo to the repenting Thief, *To day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe*. St. *Paul* comforts himſelf in the apprehenſion of his diſſolution that was approaching, with the proſpect of the *crown of righteouſneſs that ſhould be given him* after death, and ſo he ſtates theſe two as certain Conſequents one of another, *to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt, to be abſent from the body and preſent with the Lord*: And he makes it appear that it was no peculiar Privilege that he promiſed to himſelf, but that which all Chriſtians had a Right to expect; for he ſays in general; *this we know, that if our earthly houſe of this Tabernacle be diſſolved, we have a building of God, a houſe not made with hands eternal in the heavens*. In the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* the Patriarchs under the Old Diſpenſation, are repreſented as *looking for that City whoſe builder and founder is God*: Though in that State the manifeſtations of another Life were more imperfect than in this: In which *life and immortality are brought to light*; they being veiled and darkned in that State. And finally St. *John* heard a voice commanding him to Write, *Bleſſed are the dead who die in the Lord* (that is, being true Chriſtians) *from henceforth* (or immediately) *yea, ſaith the Spirit*; *that they may reſt from their labours, and their works do follow them*. The ſolemnity in which theſe words are delivered, carry in them an Evidence ſufficient to determine the whole matter. So that we muſt have very hard thoughts of the ſincerity of the Writers of the New Teſtament, and very much diſparage their Credit, not to ſay their Inſpiration, if we can imagine that there are Scenes of Suffering, and thoſe very diſmal ones to be gon through, of which they gave the World no ſort of notice: But ſpoke in the ſame ſtyle that we do, who believe no ſuch diſmal Interval between the Death of good Men and their final Bleſſedneſs. The Scriptures do indeed ſpeak of a *full reward*, and of different Degrees in Glory, *as one Star exceeds another*. They do alſo repreſent the Day of Judgment upon the Reſurrection of the Body, as that which gives the full and entire poſſeſſion of Bleſſedneſs; ſo that from hence ſome have thought upon very probable Grounds, that the Bleſſed, though admitted to Happineſs immediately upon their Death, yet were not ſo compleatly Happy as they ſhall be after the Reſurrection: And in this there aroſe a diverſity of Opinions, which is very natural to all who will go and form Syſtems out of ſome general Hints. Some thought that the Souls of good Men were at Reſt, and in a good meaſure Happy, but that they did not ſee God before the Reſurrection. Others thought that Chriſt was to come down and Reign viſibly upon Earth a Thouſand Years before the End of the World: And that the Saints were to riſe and to Reign with him, ſome ſooner and ſome later. Some thought that the laſt Conflagration was ſo to affect all, that every one was to paſs through it, and that it was to give the laſt and higheſt Purification to thoſe Bodies, that were then to be glorified; but that the better Chriſtians that any had been, they ſhould feel the leſs of the Pain of that laſt Fire. Theſe Opinions were very early entertained in the

Art. 22.

Acts 24. 43.
2 Tim. 4. 8.
Phil. 1. 23.
2 Cor. 5. 6. 8.
v. 1, 2.
Heb. 11. 10.
Rev. 14. 13.
2 Ep. John v. 8.
1 Cor. 15. 41.

Church

Art. 22. Church: An itch of intruding too far into things which Men did not throughly underſtand, concerning Angels, began to diſturb the Church, even in the days of the Apoſtles: which made St. *Paul* charge the *Coloſſians* to beware of vain Philoſophy. *Plato* thought there was a middle Sort of Men, who though they had ſinned yet had repented of it, and were in a curable condition, and that they went down for ſome time into Hell to be purged and abſolved by grievous Torments. The *Jews* had alſo a Conceit, that the Souls of ſome Men continued for a Year, going up and down in a ſtate of Purgation. From theſe Opinions ſomewhat of a Curioſity in deſcribing the Degrees of the next State began pretty early to enter into the Church.

As for that Opinion of the *Platoniſts*, and the Fictions of *Homer* and *Virgil* ſetting forth the Complaints of Souls departed, for their not being relieved by Prayers and Sacrifices, though theſe perhaps are the true Sources of the Doctrine of Purgatory, and of redeeming Souls out of it, yet we are not ſo much concerned in them, as in what is repreſented to us by the Author of the *Second* Book of the *Maccabees*, concerning the Sacrifice that was offered by *Judas Maccabeus*, for thoſe, about whom after they were killed; they found ſuch things as ſhewed that they had defiled themſelves with the Idolatry of the Heathens. All this is of leſs Authority with us, who do not acknowledge that Book to be Canonical: According to what was ſet out in its proper Place. And although we ſet a due value upon ſome of the Apocryphal Books, yet others are, of a lower Character. The *Firſt* Book of *Maccabees* is a very grave Hiſtory, writ with much exactneſs and a true Judgment; but the *Second* is the Work of a mean Writer: He was an Abridger of a larger Work, and as he has the Modeſty to ask his Readers Pardon for his Defects, ſo it is very plain to every one that reads him, that he needs often many grains of allowance. So that this Book is one of the leaſt valuable Pieces of the Apocrypha; and there are very probable Reaſons to queſtion the Truth of that Relation, concerning thoſe who were thus prayed for. But becauſe that would occaſion too long a Digreſſion, we are to make a difference between the Story that he relates, and the Author's own Reflections upon it; for as we ought not to make any great Account of his Reflections, theſe being only his private Thoughts, who might probably have imbibed ſome of the Principles of the *Greek* Philoſophy, as ſome of the *Jews* had done, or he might have believed that Notion which is now very generally received by the *Jews*, that every *Jew* ſhall have a ſhare in the World to come, but that ſuch as have lived ill muſt be purged before they arrive at it.

2 Maccab. 12. 40. It is of much more importance to conſider what *Judas Maccabeus* did; which even by that Relation ſeems to be no more than this, That he finding ſome things Conſecrated to the Idols of the *Jamnites*, about the Bodies of thoſe who were killed, concluded that to have been the cauſe of their Death: And upon this he and all his Men betook themſelves to Prayer, and beſought God that the Sin might be wholly put out of remembrance: He exhorted his People to keep themſelves, by that Example from the like Sin, and he made a Collection of a Sum of Money, and ſent it to *Jeruſalem* to offer a Sin-offering before the Lord. So far the matter agrees well enough with the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation. It had appeared in the days of *Joſhua*, how much guilt the Sin of *Achan*, though but one Perſon, had brought upon the whole Con-

Joſhua 7.

gregation;

gregation; and their Law had upon another Occaſion preſcribed a Sin-offering for the whole Congregation, to expiate Blood that was ſhed, when the Murderer could not be diſcovered: That ſo the Judgments of God might not come upon them, by reaſon of the cry of that Blood. And by a parity of Reaſon, *Judas* might have ordered ſuch an Offering to free himſelf and his Men, from the guilt which the Idolatry of a few might have brought upon greater Numbers; ſuch a Sacrifice as this might according to the nature of that Law, have been offered: But to offer a *Sin-offering* for the Dead, was a new thing without ground, or any intimation of any thing like it in their Law. So there is no reaſon to doubt, but that if the Story is true, *Judas* offered this Sin-offering for the Living, and not for the Dead. If they had been alive then, by their Law, no Sin-offering could have been made for them; for Idolatry was to be puniſhed by *cutting off*, and not to be expiated by Sacrifice: What then could not have been done for them if alive, could much leſs be done for them after their death. So we have reaſon to conclude that *Judas* offered this Sacrifice only for the Living: And we are not much concerned in the Opinion which ſo ſlight a Writer, as the Author of that Book, had concerning it. But whatever might be his Opinion, it was far from that of the *Roman* Church. By this Inſtance of the *Maccabees*, Men who died in a State of mortal Sin, and that of the higheſt nature, had Sacrifices offered for them: Whereas according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, Hell, and not Purgatory, is to be the Portion of all ſuch: So this will prove too much, if any thing at all, that Sacrifices are to be offered for the Damned. The deſign of *Judas* his ſending to make an Offering for them, as that Writer ſtates it, was that their Sins might be forgiven, and that they might have a happy Reſurrection: Here is nothing of Redeeming them out of Miſery, or of ſhortening or alleviating their Torment: So that the Author of that Book ſeems to have been poſſeſſed with that Opinion, received commonly among the *Jews*, That no *Jew* could finally periſh; as we find S. *Jerom* expreſſing himſelf with the like partiality for all Chriſtians. But whatever the Author's Opinion was, as that Book is of no Authority, it is highly probable that *Judas*'s deſign in that Oblation was miſunderſtood by the Hiſtorian, and we are ſure that even his ſenſe of it differs totally from that of the Church of *Rome*. *Art.* 22.

A Paſſage in the New Teſtament is brought as a full proof of the Fire of Purgatory: When St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* is reflecting on the Diviſions that were among them, and on that diverſity of Teachers that formed Men into different Principles and Parties, he compares them to different Builders. Some raiſed upon a Rock an Edifice like the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, of *Gold* and *Silver* and noble *Stones*, called *precious Stones*; whereas others upon the ſame Rock raiſed a mean Hovel of *Wood, Hay, and Stubble*; of both he ſays, *every man's work ſhall be made manifeſt. For the day ſhall reveal it; becauſe it ſhall be revealed by fire; for the fire ſhall try every man's work of what ſort it is.* And he adds, *If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he ſhall receive a reward; and if any man's work ſhall be burnt, he ſhall ſuffer loſs, but he himſelf ſhall be ſaved, yet ſo as by fire.* From the firſt view of theſe words it will not be thought ſtrange if ſome of the Ancients who were too apt to Expound places of Scripture according 1 Cor. 3. *from* V. 10. *to* 16.

to

Art. 22. to their firſt appearences, might fancy, that at the laſt day all were to paſs through a great Fire; and to ſuffer more or leſs in it: But it is viſible that that Opinion is far enough from the Doctrine of Purgatory. Theſe words relate to a Fire that was ſoon to appear; and that was to try every Man's work: It was to be revealed, and in it every Man's work was to be made manifeſt. So this can have no relation to a ſecret Purgatory Fire. The meaning of it can be no other, but that whereas ſome with the Apoſtles were building up the Church, not only upon the Foundation of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Belief of his Doctrine, but were teaching Men Doctrines and Rules that were Vertuous, Good and Great: Others at the ſame time were daubing with a profane mixture, both of Judaiſm and Gentiliſm, joining theſe with ſome of the Precepts of Chriſtianity; a *day* would ſoon appear, which probably is meant of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and of the *Jewiſh* Nation; or it may be applied to the Perſecution that was ſoon to break out; in that day thoſe who had true Notions, generous Principles, and ſuitable Practices, would weather that Storm: Whereas others that were entangled with weak and ſuperſtitious Conceits, would then run a great risk, though their firm believing that Jeſus was the Meſſias would preſerve them: Yet the weakneſs and folly of thoſe Teachers would appear, their Opinions would involve them in ſuch danger, that their eſcaping would be difficult; like one that gets out of a Houſe that is all on fire round about him. So that theſe words cannot poſſibly belong to Purgatory; but muſt be meant of ſome ſignal diſcrimination that was to be made, in ſome very dreadful appearances which would diſtinguiſh between the true and the falſe Apoſtles; and that could be no other but either in the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, or in the perſecution that was to come on the Church; though the firſt is the more probable,

It were eaſy to purſue this Argument further, and to ſhew that the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, as it is now in the *Roman* Church, was not known in the Church of God for the firſt ſix hundred Years; that then it began to be doubtfully received. But in an ignorant Age, Viſions, Legends, and bold Stories prevailed much; yet the *Greek Church* never received it. Some of the Fathers ſpeak indeed of the laſt probatory Fire; but though they did not think the Saints were in a ſtate of conſummate Bleſſedneſs, enjoying the Viſion of God, yet they thought they were in a ſtate of eaſe and quiet, and that in Heaven. St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks in this whole matter very doubtfully; he varies often from himſelf; he ſeems ſometimes very poſitive only for two States; at other times as he aſſerts the laſt probatory Fire, ſo he ſeems to think that good Souls might ſuffer ſome grief in that ſequeſtred ſtate before the laſt Day, upon the account of ſome of their paſt Sins, and that by degrees they might ariſe up to their Conſummation. All theſe Conteſts were propoſed very doubtfully before *Gregory* the *Great*'s days; and even then ſome Doubts ſeem to have been made: But the Legends were ſo copiouſly plaid upon all thoſe Doubts, that this Remnant of *Paganiſm* got at laſt into the *Weſtern* Church. It was no wonder that the Opinions formerly mentioned, which began to appear in the Second Age, had produced in the Third the practice of Praying for the Dead; of which we find ſuch full evidence in *Tertullain* and St. *Cyprian*'s Writings, that the matter of Fact is not to be denied. This appears alſo in all the Antient Liturgies. And *Epiphanius* charges *Aerius* with this of rejecting

Aug. *de Civit. Dei. l.* 21. *c.* 18. *ad* 22. *Enchir. c.* 67, 68, 69. *Ad Dulcid. quæſt. prima.*

Tertul. de. Cor. mil. c. 3. *de Ex. hor. c.* 13. *Cyprian. Ep.* 34. 37. *Epiph. hær.* 75. *l.* 3. *n.* 3.

rejecting all Prayers for the Dead, asking why were they prayed for? *Art.* 22.
The Opinions that they fell into concerning the State of departed Souls, in the Interval between their Death and the Day of Judgment, gave occasion enough for Prayer; they thought they were capable of making a Progress, and of having an early Resurrection. They also had this Notion among them, That it was the peculiar Priviledge of Jesus Christ to be above all our Prayers; but that no Men, not excepting the Apostles, nor the Blessed Virgin, were above the Prayers of the Church. They thought this was an Act of Church-Communion, that we were to hold even with the Saints in Heaven, to pray for them. Thus in the Apostolical Constitutions, in the Books of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and in the Liturgies that are ascribed to St. *Basil* and St. *Chrysostom*, they offer unto God these Prayers which they thought their reasonable Service, for those who were at rest in the Faith, their Forefathers, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Religious Persons, and for every Spirit perfected in the Faith; especially for our most Holy, Immaculate, most Blessed Lady, the Mother of God, the ever Virgin *Mary*. Particular Instances might also be given of this, out of St. *Cyprian*, St. *Ambrose*, *Nazianzen*, and St. *Austin*; who in that famous and much cited Passage concerning his Mother, *Monica*, as he speaks nothing of any Temporal Pains that she suffered, so he plainly intimates his belief that God had done all that he desired. Thus it will appear to those, who have examined all the Passages which are brought out of the Fathers concerning their Prayers for the Dead, that they believed they were then in Heaven, and at rest; and by consequence, though these Prayers for the Dead, did very probably give the chief rise to the Doctrine of Purgatory; yet as they then made them, they were utterly inconsistent with that Opinion. *Tertullian*, who is the first that is cited for them, says, we make Oblations for the Dead, and we do it for that Second Nativity of theirs (*Natalitia*) once a year. The Signification of the word *Natalitia*, as they used it, was the Saint's Days of Death, in which they reckoned he was born again to Heaven: So, though they judged them there, yet they offered up Prayers for them: And when *Epiphanius* brings in *Aerius* asking, Why those Prayers were made for the Dead? Though it had been very natural, and indeed unavoidable, if he had believed Purgatory to have answered, that it was to deliver them from thence; yet he makes no such answer, but only asserts that it had been the Practice of the Church so to do. The *Greek* Church retains that Custom, though she has never admitted of Purgatory. Here then an Objection may be made to our Constitution, that in this of praying for the Dead, we have departed from the practice of the Ancients: We do not deny it, both the Church of *Rome* and we in another Practice, of equal Antiquity, of giving the Eucharist to Infants, have made changes and let that Custom fall. The Curiosities in the Second Century seem to have given rise to those Prayers in the Third; and they gave the rise to many other Disorders in the following Centuries. Since therefore God has commanded us, while we are on Earth, to pray for one another, and has made that a main Act of our Charity and Church-Communion, but has no where directed us to pray for those that have finished their Course; and since the only pretence that is brought from Scripture, of St *Paul*'s praying that *Onesiphorus might find mercy*

Dion. de Eccl. Hierar. Cap. 7.

Aug. Conf. l. 9. c. 19.

Supra.

Art. 22. *in the day of the Lord*, cannot be wrought up into an Argument, for it cannot be proved that he was then Dead; and ſince the Fathers reckon this of praying for the Dead, only as one of their Cuſtoms, for which they vouch no other Warrant, but Practice; ſince alſo, this has been groſly abuſed, and has been applied to ſupport a Doctrine totally different from theirs, we think that we have as good a Plea for not following them in this, as we have for not giving Infants the Sacrament; and therefore we think it no Imputation on our Church, that we do not in this follow a groundleſs, and a much abuſed Precedent, though ſet us in Ages which we highly reverence.

The greateſt Corruption of this whole matter, comes in the laſt place to be conſidered; which is the Methods propoſed for redeeming Souls out of Purgatory. If this Doctrine had reſted in a Speculation, we muſt ſtill have conſidered it as derogatory to the Death of Chriſt, and the Truth of the Goſpel; but it raiſes our Zeal a little more, when we conſider the uſe that was made of it; and that Fears and Terrors being by this means infuſed into Mens minds, new Methods were propoſed to free them from theſe. The chief of which was the ſaying of *Maſſes* for departed Souls. It was pretended, that this being the higheſt Act of the Communion of Chriſtians, and the moſt ſublime Piece of Worſhip, therefore God was ſo well pleaſed with the frequent Repetition of it, with the Prayers that accompanied it, and with thoſe that made Proviſions for Men, who ſhould be conſtantly imployed in it, that this was a moſt acceptable Sacrifice to God. Upon this followed all thoſe vaſt Endowments, for ſaying *Maſſes* for departed Souls. Though in the Inſtitution of that Sacrament, and in all that is ſpoken of it in the Scripture, there is not an hint given of this. Sacraments are poſitive Precepts which are to be meaſured only by the Inſtitution, in which there is not room left for us to carry them further. We are *to take eat and drink, and thereby ſhew forth the Lord's death till his ſecond coming:* All which has no relation to the applying this to others who are gone off this Stage; therefore if we can have any juſt Notions either of Superſtition, or of Will-worſhip, they are applicable here. Men will fancy that there is a virtue in an Action, which we are ſure it has not of it ſelf, and we cannot find that God has put in it; and yet they without any Authority from God, do ſet up a new piece of Worſhip; and imagine that God will be pleaſed with them in every thing they do or ask, only becauſe they are perverting this piece of Worſhip clearly contrary to the Inſtitution, to be a Solitary Maſs. In the Primitive Church, where all the Service of the whole Aſſembly ended in a Communion, there was a Roll read, in which the Names of the more Eminent Saints of the Catholick Church, and of the Holy Biſhops, Martyrs or Confeſſors of every particular Church, were regiſtred. This was an honourable remembrance that was kept up of ſuch as had died in the Lord. When the ſoundneſs of any Perſons Faith was brought in ſuſpicion, his Name was not read till that Point was cleared, and then either his Name continued to be read, or it was quite daſht out. This was thought an Honour due to the Memory of thoſe who had died in the Faith: And in St. *Cyprian's* time in the Infancy of this Practice, we ſee he counted the leaving a Man's Name out, as a thing that only left a Blot upon him, but not as a thing of any Conſequence to his Soul: for when a Prieſt had died, who

Cypr. Epiſt. 1. Oxon. ad fleb. Furer.

who had by his Laſt Will named another Prieſt the Tutor (or Guardian) of his Children, this ſeemed to him a thing of ſuch ill Example, to put thoſe Secular Cares upon the Minds of the Clergy, that he appointed that his Name ſhould be no more read in the daily Sacrifice; which plainly ſhews, unleſs we will tax St. *Cyprian* with a very unreaſonable Cruelty, that he conſidered that only as a ſmall Cenſure laid on his Memory, but not as a Prejudice to his Soul. This gives us a very plain View of the Senſe that he had of this Matter. After this Roll was read, then the general Prayer followed, as was formerly acknowledged for all their Souls, and ſo they went on in the Communion-Service. This has no relation to a Maſs ſaid by a ſingle Prieſt to deliver a Soul out of Purgatory. *Art.* 22.

Here without going far in Tragical expreſſions, we cannot hold ſaying what our Saviour ſaid upon another occaſion, *My houſe is a houſe of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.* A Trade was ſet up on this Foundation. The World was made believe, that by the Virtue of ſo many Maſſes, which were to be purchaſed by great Endowments, Souls were redeemed out of Purgatory; and Scenes of Viſions and Apparitions, ſometimes of the tormented, and ſometimes of the delivered Souls, were publiſhed in all Places; which had ſo wonderful an effect that in two or three Centuries, Endowments increaſed to ſo vaſt a degree, that if the Scandals of the Clergy on the one hand, and the Statutes of *Mortmain* on the other, had not reſtrained the Profuſeneſs that the World was wrought up to, upon this account; it is not eaſy to imagine how far this might have gone, perhaps to an entire ſubjecting of the Temporalty to the Spiritualty. The Practices by which this was managed, and the Effects that followed on it, we can call by no other Name than downright Impoſtures; worſe than the making or venting falſe Coyn; when the World was drawn in by ſuch Arts to plain Bargains, to redeem their own Souls, and the Souls of their Anceſtors and Poſterity, ſo many Maſſes were to be ſaid, and Forfeitures were to follow upon their not being ſaid: Thus the Maſſes were really the Price of the Lands. An Endowment to a Religious Uſe, though mixed with Error or Superſtition in the Rules of it, ought to be held Sacred, according to the Deciſion given concerning the Cenſures of thoſe that were in the Rebellion of *Corah*: So that we do not excuſe the Violation of ſuch from Sacrilege; yet we cannot think ſo of Endowments, where the only Conſideration was a falſe Opinion firſt of Purgatory, and then of Redemption out of it by Maſſes; this being expreſſed in the very Deeds themſelves. By the ſame Reaſons, by which private Perſons are obliged to reſtore what they have drawn from others by baſe Practices, by falſe Deeds, or counterfeit Coyn: Bodies are alſo bound to reſtore what they have got into their Hands by ſuch fraudulent Practices; ſo that the States and Princes of *Chriſtendom* were at full liberty, upon the diſcovery of theſe Impoſtures, to void all the Endowments that had followed upon them; and either to apply them to better Uſes, or to reſtore them to the Families from which they had been drawn, if that had been practicable, or to convert them to any other uſe. This was a crying Abuſe, which thoſe who have obſerved the progreſs that this matter made from the Eighth Century to the Twelfth, cannot reflect on without both Amazement and Indig- Mark 11. 17. Numb 16. 38.

Art. 22. nation. We are ſenſible enough that there are many political Reaſons and Arguments for keeping up the Doctrine of Purgatory. *But we have not ſo learned Chriſt.* We ought not to lie even for God, much leſs for our ſelves; or for any other pretended ends of keeping the World in awe and order; therefore all the Advantages that are ſaid to ariſe out of this, and all the Miſchief that may be thought to follow on the rejecting of it, ought not to make us preſume to carry on the Ends of Religion by unlawful Methods. This were to call in the Aſſiſtance of the Devil to do the Work of God: If the juſt Apprehenſions of the Wrath of God, and the Guilt of Sin, together with the Fear of Everlaſting Burnings, will not Reform the World, nor Reſtrain Sinners, we muſt leave this Matter to the wiſe and unſearchable Judgments of God.

The next Particular in this Article is, the condemning the *Romiſh* Doctrine concerning *Pardons:* That is founded on the Diſtinction between the Temporal and Eternal Puniſhment of Sin; and the Pardon is of the Temporal Puniſhment, which is believed to be done by a Power lodged ſingly in the Pope, derived from thoſe Words, *Feed my Sheep*, and *To thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.* This may be by him derived as they Teach, not only to Biſhops and Prieſts, but to the Inferior Orders, to be diſpenſed by them; and it excuſes from Penance, unleſs he who purchaſes it, thinks fit to uſe his Penance in a medicinal way as a Preſervative againſt Sin. So the Virtue of Indulgences, is the applying the Treaſure of the Church upon ſuch Terms as Popes ſhall think fit to preſcribe, in order to the redeeming Souls from Purgatory, and from all other Temporal Puniſhments, and that for ſuch a number of Years as ſhall be ſpecified in the Bulls; ſome of which have gone to Thouſands of Years; one I have ſeen to Ten hundred thouſand: And as theſe Indulgences are ſometimes granted by ſpecial Tickets, like Tallies ſtruck on that Treaſure; ſo ſometimes they are affixed to particular Churches and Altars, to particular Times, or Days, chiefly to the Year of Jubilee; they are alſo affixed to ſuch things as may be carryed about, to *Agnus Dei*'s, to Medals, to Roſaries and Scapularies; they are alſo affixed to ſome Prayers, the Devout ſaying of them being a mean to procure great Indulgences. The granting theſe is left to the Pope's Diſcretion, who ought to diſtribute them as he thinks may tend moſt to the Honour of God, and the Good of the Church, and he ought not to be too profuſe, much leſs to be too ſcanty in diſpenſing them.

This has been the received Doctrine and Practice of the Church of *Rome* ſince the Twelfth Century; and the Council of *Trent* in a hurry, in its laſt Seſſion, did in very general Words, approve of the Practice of the Church in this Matter, and Decreed that Indulgences ſhould be continued; only they reſtrained ſome Abuſes, in particular that of ſelling them; yet even thoſe Reſtraints were wholly referred to the Popes themſelves: So that this crying Abuſe, the Scandal of which had occaſioned the firſt beginnings and progreſs of the Reformation; was upon the matter eſtabliſhed; and the correcting the Exceſſes in it, was truſted to thoſe who had been the Authors of them, and the chief Gainers by them. This Point of their Doctrine is more fully opened than might perhaps ſeem neceſſary, if it were not that a great part of the Confutation of ſome Doctrines, is the expoſing of them. For though

though in Ages and Places of Ignorance, these things have been, and still are Practised with great assurance, and to very extravagant excesses; yet in Countries and Ages of more Light, when they come to be questioned, they are disowned with an assurance equal to that with which they are Practised elsewhere. Among us some will perhaps say, that these are only exemptions from Penance; which cannot be denied to be within the Power of the Church; and they argue, that though it is very fit to make severe Laws, yet the execution of these must be softened in practice. This is all that they pretend to justify, and they give up any further Indulgences, as an abuse of corrupt Times. Whereas at the same time a very different Doctrine is Taught among them, where there is no danger but much profit in owning it. All this is only a pretence; for the Episcopal Power in the inflicting, abating, or commuting of Penance, is stated among them, as a thing wholly different from the power of Indulgences. They are derived from different Originals; and designed for Ends totally different from one another. The one is for the outward Discipline of the Church, and the other is for the inward quiet of Consciences; and in order to their future State. The one is in every Bishop, and the other is asserted to be peculiar to the Pope. Nor will they escape by laying this Matter upon the Ignorance and Abuses of former Times. It was published in Bulls and received by the whole Church: So that if either the Pope, or the diffusive Body of the Church are Infallible, there must be such a Power in the Pope; and the Decree of the Council of *Trent* confirming and approving the Practice of the Church in that Point, must bind them all. For if this Doctrine is False, then their Infallibility must go with it: For in every Hypothesis in which Infallibility is said to be lodged, whether in the Pope, or in Councils, this Doctrine has that Seal to it. *Art.* 22.

As for the Doctrine it self, all that has been already said, against the distinction of Temporal and Eternal Punishment, and against Purgatory, overthrows it; since the one is the Foundation on which it is built; and the other is that which it pretends to secure Men from: And therefore this falls with those. All that was said upon the Head of the Sufficiency of the Scriptures comes also in here: For, if the Scriptures ought to be our Rule in any thing, it must be chiefly in those Matters which relate to the Pardon of Sin, to the quiet of our Consciences, and to a future State. Therefore a Doctrine and Practice that have not so much as Colours from Scripture, in a matter of such Consequence, ought to be rejected by us, upon this single Account. If from the Scripture we go to the Practice and Tradition of the Church, we are sure that this was not thought on for above Ten Centuries, all the Indulgences that were then known, being only the abatements of the severity of the Penitentiary Canons: But in the Ages in which aspiring and insolent Popes imposed on Ignorant and Superstitious multitudes, a jumble was made of Indulgences formerly granted, of Purgatory, and of the Papal Authority, that was then very implicitly submitted to; and so out of all that mixture this arose: Which was as ill managed as it was ill grounded. The natural tendency of it, is not only to relax all publick Discipline, but also all secret Penance, when shorter Methods to Peace and Pardon may be more easily purchased. The vast Application to the executing the many trifling

Art. 22. trifling performances to which Indulgences are granted, has brought in among them ſuch a Proſtitution of Holy Things, that either it muſt be ſaid, that thoſe are publick Cheats, and that they were ſo from the beginning, or that their Vertue is now exhauſted, though the Bulls that grant them are perpetual: Or elſe a Man may on very eaſy Terms preſerve himſelf and redeem his Friends out of Purgatory. If the ſaying a Prayer before a priviledged Altar, or the Viſiting ſome Churches in the time of Jubilee, with thoſe ſlight Devotions, that are then enjoined, have ſuch efficacy in them, it is ſcarce poſſible for any Man to be in danger of Purgatory.

The *Third* Head rejected in this Article is the Worſhipping of Images. Here thoſe of the Church of *Rome* complain much of the Charge of Idolatry, that our Church has laid upon them, ſo fully, and ſo ſeverely in the Homilies. Some among our ſelves have alſo thought, that we muſt either Renounce that Charge, or that we muſt deny the Poſſibility of ſalvation in that Church, and in Conſequence to that conclude, that neither the Baptiſm nor the Orders of that Church are valid: For ſince Idolaters are excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven, they argue, That if there can be no Salvation where Idolatry is committed, by the whole Body of a Church, then that can be no Church, and in it there is no Salvation. But here we are to conſider, before we enter upon the Specialties of this Matter, that Idolatry is a general Word, which comprehends many ſeveral Sorts and Ranks of Sins under it. As Lying is capable of many Degrees, from an officious Lye to the ſwearing falſly againſt the Life of an innocent Man, in Judgment: The one is the loweſt and the other is the higheſt Act of that kind: But all are Lying: And yet it would appear an unreaſonable Thing, to urge every thing that is ſaid of any Act in General, and which belongs to the higeſt Acts of it, as if all the Inferior Degrees did neceſſarily involve the Guilt of the higheſt. There is another diſtinction to be made between Actions, as they ſignify either of themſelves, or by the publick Conſtructions that are put on them, by thoſe who Authoriſe them; and thoſe ſame Actions as they may be privately intended by particular Perſons. We, in our weighing of Things, are only to conſider, what Actions ſignify of their own Nature, or by Publick Authority, and according to that we muſt Form our Judgments about them and in particular in the Point of Idolatry; but as for the ſecret Thoughts or Intentions of Men, we muſt leave theſe to the Judgment of God, who only knows them, and who being infinitely Gracious, ſlow to Anger and ready to Forgive, will we do not doubt make all the Abatements in the weighing Men's Actions, that there is Reaſon for. But we ought not to enter into that Matter; we ought neither to aggravate, nor to mollify Things too much: We are to judge of Things as they are in themſelves, and to leave the Caſe of Mens Intentions and ſecret Notions, to that God who is to Judge them. As for the Buſineſs of Images, we know that the Heathens had them of ſeveral Sorts. Some they believed were real Reſemblances of thoſe Deities that they Worſhipped: Thoſe Divinities had been Men, and the Statues made for them reſembled them. Other Images they believed had a Divine Vertue affixed to them, perhaps from the Stars, which were believed to be Gods, and it was thought that the Influences of their Aſpects and Poſitions, were by ſecret Charms called down and faſtened to ſome Figures.

gures. Other Images were considered as Emblems, and Representations of their Deities: So that they only gave them occasion to represent them to their Thoughts. These Images thus of different Sorts, were all Worshipped; some more, some less: They kneeled before them; they prayed to them, and made many Oblations to them; they set Lights before them, and burnt Incense to them; they set them in their Temples, Market-places, and High-ways; and they had them in their Houses: They set them off with much Pomp, and had many Processions to their Honour. But in all this, though it is like the Vulgar among them might have gross Thoughts of those Images, yet the Philosophers not only after the Christian Religion had obliged them, to consider well of that Matter, and to express themselves cautiously about it; but even while they were in the peaceable Possession of the World, did believe that the Deity was not in the Image, but was only represented by it: That the Deity was Worshipped in the Image, so that the Honour done the Image did belong to the Deity it self. Here then were two false Opinions: The one was concerning those Deities themselves; the other was concerning this way of Worshipping them; and both were blamed: Not only the Worshipping a false God, but the Worshipping that God by an Image. If Idolatry had only consisted in the acknowledging a false God, and if the Worshipping the true God in an Image, had not been Idolatry, then all the Fault of the Heathenish Idolatries, should have consisted in this, that they Worshipped a false God, but their Worshipping Images should not of it self have been an additional Fault. But in opposition to this, what can we think of those full and copious Words, in which God did not only forbid the having of false Gods, but the making of *a graven Image, or the likeness of any thing in heaven, in earth or under the earth: The bowing down to it, and the worshipping it* are also forbid. Where besides the copiousness of these Words we are to consider, that *Moses* in the rehearsal of that Law in *Deuteronomy*, does over and over again add and insist on this, that *they saw no manner of similitude*, when God spoke of them, *lest they should corrupt themselves and make to them a graven Image*; an enumeration is made of many different likenesses; and after that comes another species of Idolatry; *their worshipping the host of heaven*; and therefore *Moses* charges them in that Chapter again and again, *to take heed, to take good heed to themselves, lest they should forget the covenant of the Lord their God, and make them a graven Image:* And he lays the same charge a third time upon them in the same Chapter. A special Law is also given against the most Innocent of all the Images that could be made: They were required not only not to have Idols, nor graven Images, but *not to rear up a standing image or pillar; nor to set up any image of stone, or any carved stone*; such were the *Baitulia*; the least tempting or ensnaring of all Idols: *They were not to bow down before it*; and the reason given is, *For I am the Lord your God.* The importance of those Laws will appear clearer if they are compared with the practice of those times, and particularly in those symbolical Images, which were sacred Emblems and Hieroglyphicks, that were not meant to be a true representation of the Divine being, but were a combination of many Symbols, intended to represent at once to the thoughts of the Worshipper, many of the Perfections of God: These were most particularly practised in *Egypt*, and to them the copiousness of the Second Commandment

Art. 22.

Deut. 4. 12, 15, 23.

Verse 23. Deut. 12. 30. Levit. 26. 1. Deut. 16. 22.

Art. 22. mandment seems to have a particular respect, such having been the Images which they have lately seen, and which seem the most excusable of all others; when, I say, all this is laid together, with the Commandment it self, and with those other Laws that accompany and explain it, nothing seems more evident, than that God intended to forbid all outward Representations, that should be set up as the Objects of Worship. It is also very plain, That the Prophets expostulated with the People of *Israel* for their carved and molten Images, as well as for their false *Gods*: And among the Reasons given against Images, one is often repeated, *To whom will ye liken me?* Which seems to import, that by these Images they represented the Living God.

Isaiah 40. 18. to 27. 44.9.to21. Jer. 10. to ver. 17. Hab. 2. 18, 19, 20.

And *Isaias* often, as also both *Jeremiah* and *Habakkuk*, when they set forth the folly of making an Image; of praying to it, and trusting in it, bring in the Greatness and Glory of the Living God, in opposition to these Images. Now, though it is possible enough to apprehend, how that the *Jews* might make Images in imitation of the Heathens, to represent that God whom they served; yet it is no way credible, that they could have fallen into such a degree of Stupidity, as to fancy that a piece of Wood which they had carved into such a Figure was a real Deity. They might think it a God by Representation, as the Heathens thought their Idols were; but more than this cannot be easily apprehended. So that it is most reasonable to think, that they knew the God they had thus made, and prayed to, was only a piece of Wood; but they might well fall into that Corruption of many of the Heathen, of thinking that they honoured God by serving him in such an Image. If the Sin of the *Jews* was only their having other Gods; and if the worshipping an Image was only Evil, because a false Deity was honoured by it, Why is Image-worship condemn'd, with Reasons that will hold full as strong against the Images of the True God, as of false Gods, if it had not been intended to condemn simply all Image-worship? Certainly, if the Prophets had intended to have done it, they could not have expressed themselves more clearly and more fully than they did.

Exod. 32 1, 4, 5.

To this it is to be added, That it seems very clear from the History of the Golden Calf, that the *Israelites* did not intend by setting it up, to cast off the true *Jehovah*, *that had brought them out of Egypt*. They plainly said the contrary, and appointed a Feast to *Jehovah*. It is probable they thought *Moses* was either burnt or starv'd on Mount *Sinai*, so they desired some visible Representation of the Deity to go before them; they intended still to serve him, but since they thought they had lost their Prophet and Guide, they hoped that this should have been perhaps as a *Teraphim* to them; yet for all this, the Calf is called an *Idol*; and they are said *to have changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass*. So that here an Emblem of the Deity is called an Idol. They could take the *Calf* for no other, but as a visible Sign or Simbol in which they intended to Worship their God or Elohim, and the *Lord* or *Jehovah*. Such very probably were also the Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*, set up by *Jeroboam*, who seemed to have no design to change the Object of their Worship, or the Nature of their Religion; but only to divert them from going up to *Jerusalem*, and to furnish them with Conveniences to Worship the Living God nearer home. His design was only to establish the

Acts 7.41. Psal. 106. 19, 20.

1 King.12. 27, to the end.

1 King.16. 31. 2 King.10. 28, 29.

Kingdom

Kingdom to himſelf; and in order to that, we muſt think that he would venture on no more than was neceſſary for his purpoſe. Beſides we do clearly ſee an oppoſition made between the Calves ſet up by *Jeroboam*, and the Worſhip of *Baal* brought from *Tyrus* by *Ahab*. Thoſe who hated that Idolatry, ſuch as *Jehu* and his Family, yet continued in the Sin of *Jeroboam*; and they are repreſented as *zealous for Jehovah*, though they Worſhipped the Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel*. Theſe are called *Idols* by *Hoſea*. From all which it ſeems to be very evident that the Ten Tribes ſtill feared and worſhipped the true *Jehovah*. This appears yet more clear from the ſequel of their Hiſtory when they were carried away by the Kings of *Aſſyria*; and new Inhabitants were ſent to People the Country, who brought their Idols along with them, and did not acknowledge *Jehovah the true God*; but upon their being plagued with Lions, to prevent this, the King of *Aſſyria* ſent one of the Prieſts, that had been carried out of the Country, who taught them how they ſhould *fear the Lord*: out of which that mixture aroſe, that they *feared the Lord, and ſerved their own Images*. This proves beyond all contradiction, that the Ten Tribes did ſtill Worſhip *Jehovah* in thoſe Calves that they had at *Dan* and *Bethel*: And thus it appears very clear that through the whole Old Teſtament, the uſe of all Images in Worſhip was expreſly forbid; and that the Worſhipping them, even when the true God was worſhipped by them, was called Idolatry. The words in which this matter is expreſſed are copious and full, and the reaſons given for the Precept, are taken from the Nature of God, who could be likened to nothing, and who had ſhewed no ſimilitude of himſelf when he appeared to their Fathers and delivered the Law to them.

Art. 22.

Hoſea 8. 4, 5.

2 Kings 17. 28, 32, 41.

The New Diſpenſation does in all reſpects carry the Ideas of God and of true Religion, much higher, and raiſes them much above thoſe compliances that were in the Old, to Mens Senſes, and to ſenſitive natures; and it would ſeem to contradict the whole deſign of it, if we could imagine that ſuch things were allowed in it, which were ſo expreſly forbid in the Old. Upon this occaſion it is remarkable, that the two fulleſt paſſages in the New Teſtament concerning Images, are written upon the occaſion of the moſt refined Idolatry that was then in the World, which was at *Athens*. When St. *Paul* was there his Spirit was moved within him, when he ſaw that City *full of Idols*: He upon that charges them for thinking that the *Godhead was like unto gold or ſilver, or ſtone graven by art or man's device*: He argues from the Majeſty of God, who made the World and all things therein, and was the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and therefore was not to be *Worſhipped by mens hands* (that is, Images made by them) *who needed nothing ſince he gives us life, breath* (or the continuance of Life) *and all things*. He therefore condemns that way of Worſhip as an effect of *Ignorance*, and tells them *of a day in which God will judge the World*. It is certain that the *Athenians* at that time did not think their Images were the proper reſemblances of the Divinity. *Tully*, who knew their Theology well, gives us a very different account of the notion that they had of their Images: Some Images were of no Figure at all, but were only Stones and Pillars that had no particular ſhape; others were Hieroglyphicks made up of many ſeveral Emblems, of which ſome ſignified one perfection of the Deity, and ſome another; and others were

Acts 17. 16, 25 to 29.

Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. cap. 27.

Art. 22. indeed the Figures of Men and Women; but even in theſe the Wiſer among them ſaid, they Worſhipped One Eternal Mind, and under him ſome Inferior Beings, Demons, and Men; who they believed were ſubordinate to God, and governed this World. So it could not be ſaid of ſuch Worſhippers, that they thought that the Godhead was like unto their Images; ſince the beſt Writers among them tell us plainly, that they thought no ſuch thing. St. *Paul* therefore only argues in this againſt Image-Worſhip in it ſelf, which does naturally lead Men to theſe low thoughts of God; and which is a very unreaſonable thing in all thoſe who do not think ſo of him. It is contrary to the Nature and Perfections of God: Few men can think God is like to thoſe Images, therefore that is a very good Argument againſt all Worſhipping of them. And we may upon very ſure grounds ſay, that the *Athenians* had ſuch elevated Notions both of God and of their Images, that whatſoever was a good Argument againſt Image-Worſhip among them, will hold good againſt all Image-Worſhip whatſoever.

But as St. *Paul* ſtaid long enough at *Athens* to underſtand their Opinions well, and that no doubt he learned their Doctrine very particularly from his Convert *Dionyſius*, ſo at his coming to *Corinth* from thence, when he had learned from *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* the ſtate of the Church in *Rome*, and no doubt had learned among other things that the *Romans* admired the *Greeks*, and made them their Patterns; he in the beginning of his Epiſtle to them, having ſtill deep impreſſions upon his Spirit of what he had ſeen and known at *Athens*, arraigns the whole *Greek* Philoſophy; and ſpecially thoſe among them *who profeſſed themſelves wiſe, but became fools; who though they knew God, yet glorified him not as God, nor were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, ſo that their fooliſh heart was darkened.* They had high ſpeculations of the Unity and Simplicity of the Divine Eſſence; but they ſet themſelves to find ſuch excuſes for the Idolatry of the Vulgar, that they not only continued to comply with them in the groſſeſt of all their practices, but they ſtudied more laboured Defences for them, than the ruder multitudes could ever have fallen upon. They knew the true God, for God had ſhewed to them, *that which might be known of him; but they held the truth in unrighteouſneſs, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds and fourfooted beaſts, and to creeping things:* Which ſeems to be a deſcription of Hieroglyphick Figures, the moſt excuſable of all thoſe Images by which they repreſented the Deity. This St. *Paul* makes to be the original of all the Corruption and Immorality that was ſpread over the *Gentile* World, which came in, partly as the natural conſequence of Idolatry, of its debaſing the Ideas of God, and wounding true Religion and Virtue in its ſource and firſt ſeeds, and partly as an effect of the juſt Judgments of God upon thoſe who thus diſhonoured him, That was to a very monſtrous degree ſpread over both *Greece* and *Rome*. Of theſe St. *Paul* gives us ſome very enormous Inſtances, with a Catalogue of the Vices that ſprang from thoſe vitiated Principles. Theſe two paſſages, the one of St. *Paul*'s Preaching, and the other of his Writing, being both applied to thoſe who had the fineſt Speculations among the Heathen, do evidently demonſtrate how contrary the Chriſtian Doctrine, is to the Worſhipping of Images of all ſorts, how ſpecioufly ſoever that may be diſguiſed.

Rom. 1. 20. to the end.

If these things wanted an Explanation, we find it given us very fully in all the Writings of the Fathers during their Disputes with the Heathens; They do not only charge them with the false Notions that they had of God, the many Deities they Worshipped, the absurd Legends that they had concerning them; but in particular they dwell long upon this of the Worshipping God in or by an Image, with Arguments taken both from the pure and spiritual Nature of God, and from the plain Revelation he made of his Will in this matter. Upon this Argument many long Citations might be gathered from *Justin Martyr*, from *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, *Minutius Felix*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Ambrose*, and St. *Austin*. Their Reasonings are so clear and so full, that nothing can be more evident, than that they condemned all the use of Images in the Worship of God: And yet both *Celsus*, *Porphiry*, *Maximus Tyrius*, and *Julian*, told them very plainly, that they did not believe that the Godhead was like their Images, or was shut up within them; they only used them as helps to their Imagination and Apprehension, that from thence they might form suitable thoughts of the Deity. This did not satisfy the Fathers, who insisted on it to the last, that all such Images as were made the objects of Worship, were Idols; so that if in any one thing we have a very full account of the sense of the whole Church for the first Four Centuries, it is in this matter. They do not speak of it now and then only by the way, as in a Digression; in which the heat of Argument, or of Rhetorick may be apt to carry men too far; they set themselves to treat of this Argument very nicely; and they were engaged in it with Philosophers, who were as good at Subtleties and Distinctions as other Men. This was one of the main parts of the Controversy; so if in any Head whatsoever, they writ exactly upon those Subjects. They attack'd the established Religion of the *Roman* Empire; and this was not to be done with Clamour, nor could they offer at it in a plain contradiction to such Principles as are consistent with the Christian Religion, if the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church is true. Here then we have not only the Scripture but Tradition fully of our side. *Art.* 22.

Just. Mart. Apol. 2. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. 5. Prot. Orig. Cont. Cels. l. 2. 3. 5. 7. Tertull. Apol. Cypr. de Idol. Vanitate. Arnob. Lib. 5. Minut. Felix Oct. Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 3. Lactan, l. 2. c. 2. Ambros. Resp. ad Sym. August. de Civitate Dei. l. 7. c. 5.

Orig. Con. Cels. l. 7. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 3. c. 7. Max. Tyr. diss. 38. Jul. Frag. Ep. Euseb. præp. Evan. l. 4. c. 1.

Some pretended Christians, it is true, did very early Worship Images; but those were the *Gnosticks*, held in detestation by all the Orthodox. *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, and St. *Austin* tell us, that they Worshipped the Images of Christ, together with *Pythagoras*, *Plato* and *Aristotle*: Nor are they only blamed for Worshipping the Images of Christ, together with these of the Philosophers, but they are particularly blamed for having several sorts of Images, and Worshipping these as the Heathens did; and that among these there was an Image of Christ, which they pretended to have had from *Pilate*. Besides these Corrupters of Christianity, there were no others among the Christians of the first Ages that Worshipped Images. This was so well known to the Heathens, that they bring this, among other things, as a reproach against the Christians, that they had no Images: Which the first Apologists are so far from denying, that they answered them, That it was impossible for him who knew God, to Worship Images. But as human

Iren. l. 1. c. 24. Epiph. Hæres. 27. August. de Hæres. cap. 7.

Art. 22. Nature is inclined to viſible Objects of Worſhip, ſo it ſeems ſome began to Paint the Walls of their Churches with Pictures, or at leaſt moved for it. In the beginning of the Fourth Century this was condemned by the Council of *Eliberis*, Can. 36. *It pleaſes us to have no Pictures in Churches, leſt that which is Worſhipped ſhould be Painted upon the Walls.* Towards the end of that Century, we have an account given us by *Epiphanius*, of his Indignation occaſioned by a Picture that he ſaw upon a Veil at *Anablatha.* He did not much conſider whoſe Picture it was, whether a Picture of Chriſt, or of ſome Saint; he poſitively affirms it was againſt the Authority of the Scriptures, and the Chriſtian Religion, and therefore he tore it, but ſupplied that Church with another Veil. It ſeems private Perſons had Statues of Chriſt and the Apoſtles; which *Euſebius* cenſures where he reports it, as a *remnant of Heatheniſm.* It is plain enough from ſome paſſages in St. *Auſtin*, that he knew of no Images in Churches in the beginning of the Fifth Century. It is true they began to be brought before that time into ſome of the Churches of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, which was done very probably to draw the Heathens, by this piece of conformity to them, to like the Chriſtian Worſhip the better. For that humour began to work, and appeared in many Inſtances of other kinds as well as in this.

Epiph. ep. ad Joan. Hieroſ.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 7. c. 18. Aug. in Pſal. 113. de Moribus Eccl. Cath. c. 34.

It was not poſſible that People could ſee Pictures in their Churches long without paying ſome marks of reſpect to them, which grew in a little time to the downright worſhip of them. A famous inſtance we have of this in the Sixth Century; *Serenus*, Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, finding that he could not reſtrain his People from the Worſhip of Images, broke them in pieces; upon which Pope *Gregory* writ to him, blaming him indeed for breaking the Images, but commending him for not allowing them to be worſhipped: This he proſecutes in a variety of very plain Expreſſions; *It is one thing to worſhip an Image, and another thing to learn by it, what is to be worſhipped:* He ſays they were ſet up not to be worſhipped, but to inſtruct the Ignorant, and cites our Saviour's Words, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*, to prove that it was not lawful to worſhip the work of mens hands. We ſee by a fragment cited in the Second *Nicene* Council, that both *Jews* and *Gentiles* took advantages from the Worſhip of Images, to reproach the Chriſtians ſoon after that time. The *Jews* were ſcandalized at their Worſhipping Images, as being expreſly againſt the Command of God. The *Gentiles* had alſo by it great advantages of turning back upon the Chriſtians all that had been written againſt their Images in the former Ages.

Greg. Epiſt. l. 9. Ep. 9.

At laſt in the beginning of the Eighth Century, the famous Controverſy about the having or breaking of Images grew hot. The Churches of *Italy* were ſo ſet on the worſhipping of them, that Pope *Gregory* the Second gives this for the reaſon of their Rebelling againſt the Emperor, becauſe of his oppoſition to Images. And here in little more than an Hundred Years, the See of *Rome* changed its Doctrine, Pope *Gregory* the Second being as poſitive for the worſhipping them, as the firſt of that Name had been againſt it. Violent Contentions aroſe upon this Head. The breakers of Images were charged with *Judaiſm*, *Samaritaniſm*, and *Manicheiſm*; and the worſhippers of them were charged with

This is owned by all the Hiſtorians of that Age, Anaſtaſius, Zonaras, Cedrenus, Glycas, Theophanes, Sigebert, Otho. Friſ. Urſpergenſis, Sigonius, Rubens, *and* Baronius.

with *Gentiliſm* and *Idolatry*. One General Council at *Conſtantinople* *Art.* 22.
conſiſting of about Three hundred and thirty eight Biſhops, condemned the Worſhipping them as Idolatrous; but another at *Nice* of Three hundred and fifty Biſhops, though others ſay they were only Three hundred, aſſerted the Worſhip of them. Yet as ſoon as this was known in the *Weſt*, how active ſoever the See of *Rome* was for eſtabliſhing their Worſhip, a Council of about Three hundred Biſhops met at *Francfort*, under *Charles* the *Great*, which condemned the *Nicene Council*, together with the Worſhip of Images. The *Gallican Church* inſiſted long upon this matter; Books were publiſhed in the Name of *Charles* the *Great* againſt them. A Council held at *Paris* under his Son did alſo condemn Image-worſhip as contrary to the Honour that is due to God only, and to the Commands that he has given us in Scripture. The *Nicene* Council was rejected here in *England*, as our Hiſtorians tell us, becauſe it aſſerted the Adoration of Images, *which the Church of God abhors*. *Agobard* Biſhop of *Lions*, and *Claud* of *Turin*, writ againſt it; the former writ with great vehemence: The Learned Men of that Communion do now acknowledge, that what he writ was according to the ſenſe of the *Gallican* Church in that Age: And even *Jonas* of *Orleans*, who ſtudied to moderate the matter, and to reconcile the *Gallican* Biſhops to the See of *Rome*, yet does himſelf declare againſt the Worſhip of Images.

We are not concerned to examine how it came that all this vigorous oppoſition to Image-worſhip, went off ſo ſoon. It is enough to us that it was once made ſo reſolutely; let thoſe who think it ſo incredible a thing, that Churches ſhould depart from the received Traditions, anſwer this as they can. As for the Methods then uſed, and the Arguments that were then brought to infuſe this Doctrine into the World, he who will read the Hiſtory and Acts of the *Nicene* Council, will find enough to incline him to a very bad Opinion, both of the Men and of their Doctrine; though he were ever ſo much inclined to think well of them. After all, though that Council laid the Foundation of Image-worſhip, yet the Church of *Rome* has made great Improvements in it ſince. Thoſe of *Nice* expreſſed a deteſtation of an Image made to repreſent the Deity; they go no higher than the Images of Chriſt and the Saints; whereas ſince that time the Deity and the Trinity have been repreſented by Images and Pictures; and that not only by connivance, but by Authority in the Church of *Rome*. *Bellarmine*, *Suarez*, and others, prove the Lawfulneſs of ſuch Images from the general practice of the Church. Others go further, and from the caution given in the Decree of the Council of *Trent*, concerning the Images of God, do infer that they are allowed by that Council, provided they be decently made. Directions are alſo given concerning the uſe of the Image of the Trinity in Publick Offices among them. In a word, all their late Doctors agree, That they are lawful, and reckon the calling that in queſtion to be not only raſhneſs, but an error; and ſuch as have held it unlawful to make ſuch Images, were eſpecially condemned at *Rome*, *December* 17. 1690. The varieties of thoſe Images, and the boldneſs of them are things apt to give horror to modeſt Minds, not accuſtomed to ſuch Attempts. It muſt be acknowledged, that the Old Emblematical

Acta Con. Nic. 2. Action. 4, 5, 6, 7.

Aquin. To. 1. quæſt. 25. diſput. 54. Sect. 2.

Bellarm. de Imag. l. 2. c. 8. Suarez. M. 3. Yſambert de Miſt. Incarn. ad quæſt. 25. diſ. 3.
Vaſquez. in 3 Aquin. diſp. 103. c. 3.
Cajetan. in 3. Aquin. quæſt. 25. A. 3.

Images

Art. 22. Images of the *Egyptians*, and the groſſer ones now uſed by the *Chineſes*, are much more inſtructing, and much leſs ſcandalous Figures.

Con. Nic. 2. Act. 7. Act. 6. As the *Roman* Church has gone beyond the *Nicene* Council in the Images, that they allow of, ſo they have alſo gone beyond them in the degrees of the Worſhip that they offer to them. At *Nice* the Worſhip of Images was very poſitively decreed, with Anathema's againſt thoſe who did it not: A bare Honour they reckoned was not enough. They thought it was a very valuable Argument, that was brought from thoſe words of Chriſt to the Devil, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*; that here Service is only appropriated to God, but not Worſhip. Among the Acts of Worſhip they reckon the Oblation of Incenſe and Lights; and the reaſon given by them for all this, is, becauſe the *Honour of the Image or Type, paſſes to the Original or Prototype:* So that plain and direct Worſhip was to terminate on the Image it ſelf: And *Durandus* paſſed for little leſs than a Heretick, becauſe he thought that Images were worſhipped only improperly and abuſively, becauſe, at their preſence we call to mind the Object repreſented by them, which we worſhip before the Image, as if the Object it ſelf were before us.

Con. Nic. Act. 5.

Durand. in Sentent. l. 3. diſt. 9. qu. 2. n. 15.

The Council of *Nice* did plainly aſſert the direct Worſhip of Images, but they did as poſitively declare, That they meant only that it ſhould be an honorary Adoration, and not the true *Latria*, which was only due to God. And whatever ſome Modern *Repreſenters* and *Expoſitors* of the *Roman* Doctrine may ſay, to ſoften the harſhneſs of the Worſhip of Images, it is very copiouſly proved, both from the Words of the Council of *Nice*, and from all the Eminent Writers in that Communion, ever from the time of *Aquinas*, and of the Modern Schoolmen, and Writers of Controverſy, that direct Worſhip ought to be offered to the Image it ſelf. This reſerve of the *Latria* to God, being an evident proof, that all inferior Acts of Worſhip were allowed them. But this reſerve does no way pleaſe the later Writers; for *Aquinas*, and many from him, do teach, that the ſame Acts and Degrees of Worſhip which are due to the Original, are alſo due to the Image; they think an Image has ſuch a relation to the Original, that both ought to be worſhiped in the ſame Act, and that to Worſhip the Image with any other ſort of Acts, is to Worſhip it on its own account, which they think is Idolatry. Whereas others adhering to the *Nicene* Doctrine, think that the Image is to be worſhipped with an inferior Degree, that otherwiſe Idolatry muſt follow. So here the danger of Idolatry is threatned of both ſides; and ſince one of them muſt be choſen, thus it will follow, that let a Man do what he can he muſt commit Idolatry, according to the Opinion of ſome very Subtile and Learned Men among them.

Con. 2. Act. 2.

Aquin. 3. p. q. 25. Art. 3. *See to the ſame purpoſe*, Alex. Hales, Bonaventure, Ricardus de Media villa palud Almanſ. Biel Summa Angelica, *and many more cited by Biſhop* Stillingfleet's *Defence of the Charge of Idolatry*. Part. 2. Chap. 2.

Con. Trid. Seſſ. 25. The Council of *Trent* did indeed decline to give a clear Deciſion in this Matter, and only decreed, that *due Worſhip* ſhould be given to Images; but did not determine what that *due Worſhip* was. And though it appears by the Decree, that there were Abuſes committed among them in that Matter, yet they only appoint ſome Regulations, concerning ſuch Images as were to be ſuffered, and that others were to be removed; but they left the Divines to fight out the Matter concerning

cerning the *due Worſhip* that ought to be given to Images. They were then in haſt, and intended to offend no Party; and as they would not juſtifie all that had been ſaid or done concerning the Worſhip of Images, ſo they would condemn no part of it; yet they confirmed the *Nicene* Council, and in particular made uſe of that Maxim of theirs, that the *Honour of the Type goes to the Prototype*; and thus they left it as they found it. So that the Diſpute goes on ſtill as hot as ever. The Practice of the *Roman* Church is expreſs for the *Latria* to be given to Images; and therefore all that write for it, do frequently cite that Hymn, *Crux Ave ſpes unica, auge piis juſtitiam, reiſque dona veniam.* It is expreſly ſaid in the Pontifical, *Cruci debetur Latria*, and the Prayers uſed in the Conſecration of a Croſs; it is prayed, That the *Bleſſing of that Croſs on which Chriſt hung, may be in it, that it may be a healthful Remedy to Mankind, a Strengthner of Faith, an Increaſer of Good Works, the Redemption of Souls, and a Comfort, Protection, and Defence againſt the Cruelty of our Enemies.* Theſe with all the other Acts of Adoration uſed among them, ſeem to favour thoſe who are for a *Latria* to be given to all thoſe Images, to the Originals of which it is due; and in like the Proportion for *Dulia* and *Hyperdulia* to other Images. It is needleſs to proſecute this Matter further.

Art. 22.

See Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, ut Supra.

Pont. Rom. Ordo ad Recip. Imper. Rubri.

In benedictione novæ Crucis.

Rogamus te Domine Sancte Pater Omnipotens ſempiterne Deus, ut digneris benedicere hoc lignum Crucis tuæ ut ſit Remedium Salutare generi humano, ſit Solidicas fidei, profectus bonorum operum, Redemptio animarum, ſit Solamen & protectio ac tutela contra ſæva jacula Inimicorum. Per Dom.

Sanctificetur lignum iſtud in nomine Patris & Filii, & Spiritûs ſancti, & benedictio illius ligni in quo membra ſancta Salvatoris ſuſpenſa ſunt ſit in iſto ligno ut orantes inclinanteſque ſe propter Deum ante iſtum crucem inveniant corporis & animæ ſanitatem per eundem.

It ſeemed neceſſary to ſay ſo much, to juſtify our Church which has in her Homilies laid this Charge of Idolatry, very ſeverely on the Church of *Rome*; and this is ſo high an Imputation, that thoſe who think it falſe, as they cannot without a good Conſcience, Subſcribe, or require others to Subſcribe the Article, concerning the Homilies, ſo they ought to retract their own Subſcriptions, and to make Solemn Reparations in Juſtice and Honour, for laying ſo heavy an Imputation unjuſtly upon that whole Communion.

There is nothing that can be brought from Scripture, that has a ſhew of an Argument for ſupporting Image-Worſhip, unleſs it be that of the *Cherubims* that were in the *holieſt of all*; and that as is ſuppoſed were worſhipped, at leaſt by the High Prieſt when he went thither, once a Year, if not by the whole People. But firſt there is a great difference to be made, between a Form of Worſhip immediately preſcribed by God, and another Form that not only has no warrant for it, but ſeems to be very expreſly forbidden. It is plain, the *Cherubims* were not ſeen by the People, and ſo they could be no viſible Object of Worſhip to them. They were ſcarce ſeen by the High Prieſt himſelf, for the Holieſt of all was quite dark; no light coming into it, but what came through the Veil from the Holy Place, and even that had very little Light. Nor is there a word concerning the High Prieſts Worſhipping, either the Ark, or the *Cherubim*. It is true, there is a place in the *Pſalms* that ſeems to favour this; as it is rendred by the Vulgar, *worſhip his footſtool, for it is holy*; but both the *Hebrew*, and the *Septuagint* have it, as it is in our Tranſlation, *worſhip at his footſtool, for he is holy*; and all the

Heb. 9. 3, 7.

Pſal. 99. 5, 9.

Greek

Art. 22. *Greek* Fathers cite theſe Words ſo. Many of the *Latin* Fathers do alſo cite them according to the *Greek*; and the laſt Words of the *Pſalm*, in which the ſame words are repeated, make the Senſe of it evident: For there it is thus varied, *Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worſhip at his holy hill, for the Lord our God is holy.* Theſe words coming ſo ſoon after the former, are a Paraphraſe to them, and determine their Senſe. No doubt the High Prieſt worſhipped God, who dwelt between the *Cherubims*, in that Cloud of Glory in which he ſhewed himſelf viſibly preſent in his Temple; but there is no ſort of reaſon to think, that in ſo Majeſtick a Preſence, Adoration could be offered to any thing elſe; or that after the High Prieſt had adored the Divine Eſſence ſo manifeſted, he would have fallen to Worſhip the Ark, and the *Cherubims*. This agrees ill with the Figure that is ſo much uſed in this Matter of a King, and his Chair of State; for in the Preſence of the King, all Reſpects terminate in his Perſon, whatſoever may be done in his Abſence.

And thus, this being not ſo much as a Precedent, much leſs an Argument for the uſe of Images; and there being nothing elſe brought from Scripture, that with any ſort of wreſting can be urged for it, and the Senſe and Practice of the whole Church being ſo expreſs againſt it, the Progreſs of it having been ſo long, and ſo much diſputed, the tendency of it to Superſtition and Abuſe, being by their own Confeſſion ſo viſible; the Scandal that it gives to *Jews* and *Mahometans* being ſo apparent, and it carrying in its outward appearances ſuch a Conformity (to ſay at preſent no more) to Heatheniſh Idolatry, we think we have all poſſible advantages in this Argument. We adhere to that Purity of Worſhip which is in both Teſtaments ſo much inſiſted on, we avoid all Scandal, and make no Approaches to Heatheniſm, and follow the Pattern ſet us by the Primitive Church. And as our ſimplicity of Worſhip needs not be defended, ſince it proves it ſelf; ſo no proofs are brought for the other ſide, but only a pretended uſefulneſs in outward Figures, to raiſe the Mind by the Senſes to juſt Apprehenſions of Spiritual Objects; which allowing it true, will only conclude for the Hiſtorical Uſe of Images, but not for the directing our Worſhip towards them. But the effect is quite contrary to the pretence, for inſtead of raiſing the Mind by the Senſes, the Mind is rather ſunk by them into groſs Ideas.

The Bias of Human Nature lies to Senſe, and to form groſs Imaginations of Incorporeal Objects; and therefore inſtead of gratifying theſe, we ought to wean our Minds from them, and to raiſe them above them all we can. Even Men of Speculation and Abſtraction feel Nature in this grows too hard for them; but the Vulgar is apt to fall ſo headlong into theſe Conceits, that it looks like the laying of Snares for them, to furniſh them with ſuch methods and helps for their having groſs Thoughts of Spiritual Objects. The fondneſs that the People have for Images, their readineſs to believe the moſt incredible Stories concerning them, the expence they are at to Enrich and Adorn them, their Proſtrations before them, their Confidence in them, their humble and tender Embracing and Kiſſing of them, their pompous and heatheniſh Proceſſions to do them Honour, the Fraternities erected for particular Images, not to mention the more univerſal and eſtabliſhed Practices of directing their Prayers

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to them, of ſetting Lights before them, and of Incenſing them; theſe, *Art.* 22.
I ſay, are things too well known, to ſuch as have ſeen the way of that Religion, that they ſhould need to be much enlarged on; and yet they are not only allowed of, but encouraged. Thoſe among them who have too much good ſenſe that they ſhould ſink into thoſe fooliſh apprehenſions themſelves, yet muſt not only bear with them, but often comply with them to avoid the giving of Scandal, as they call it; not conſidering the much greater Scandal that they give, when they encourage others by their practice to go on in theſe Follies. The enlarging into all the corruptions occaſioned by this way of Worſhip would carry me far, but it ſeems not neceſſary, the thing is ſo plain in it ſelf.

The next Head in this Article is a full inſtance of it, which is the Worſhip of Relicks. It is no wonder that great care was taken in the beginnings of Chriſtianity, to ſhew all poſſible reſpect and tenderneſs even to the Bodies of the Martyrs. There is ſomething of this planted ſo deep in Human Nature, that though the Philoſophy of it cannot be ſo well made out, yet it ſeems to be ſomewhat more than an univerſal Cuſtom; Humanity is of its ſide, and is apt to carry Men to the profuſions of Pomp and Coſt; all Religions do agree in this, ſo that we need not wonder if Chriſtians in the firſt fervour of their Religion, believing the Reſurrection ſo firmly as they did, and having a high ſenſe of the Honour done to Chriſt and his Religion by the ſufferings of the Martyrs; if, I ſay, they ſtudied to gather their Bones and Aſhes together, and Bury them decently. They thought it a ſign of their being joined with them in one Body, to hold their Aſſemblies at the places where they were buried: This might be alſo conſidered as a motive to encourage others to follow the example that they had given them, even to Martyrdom: And therefore all the marks of Honour were put even upon their Bodies that could be thought on, except Worſhip. After the Ages of Perſecution were over, a fondneſs of having and keeping their Relicks, began to ſpread it ſelf in many places. Monks fed that humour by carrying them about. We find in St. *Auſtin*'s Works that Superſtition was making a great progreſs in *Africk* upon theſe heads, of which he complains frequently. *Vigilantius* had done it more to purpoſe in *Spain*; and did not only complain of the exceſſes, but of the thing in it ſelf. St. *Jerom* fell unmercifully upon him for it, and ſets a high value upon Relicks, yet he does not ſpeak one word of worſhipping them; he denies and diſclaims it, and ſeems only to allow of a great fondneſs for them; and with moſt of that Age, he was very apt to believe, that Miracles were oft wrought by them. When Superſtition is once ſuffered to mix with Religion, it will be ſtill gaining ground, and it admits of no bounds: So this matter went on, and new Legends were invented; but when the Controverſy of Image-worſhip began, it followed that as an acceſſary. The Enſhrining of Relicks occaſioned the moſt excellent ſort of Images; and they were thought the beſt preſervatives poſſible both for Soul and Body; no Preſents grew to be more valued than Relicks; and it was an eaſy thing for the Popes to furniſh the World plentifully that way, but chiefly ſince the diſcovery of the *Catacombs*, which has furniſhed them with Stores not to be exhauſted. The Council of *Trent* did in this, as in the point of *Images*: it ap-

Ep. Ecc. Smirn. apud Euſeb. l. 4. c. 15.

Jul. Ap. Cyril. lib. 6. lib. 10.

Ennap. in vita Ædeſ.

Aug. de opere monach. c. 28.

Hieron. adv. Vigilant. To. 2.

Art. 22. pointed *Relicks* to be *Venerated*, but did not determine the degree; ſo it left the World in poſſeſſion of a moſt exceſſive dotage upon them. They are uſed every where by them as ſacred Charms, Kiſſed and Worſhipped, they are ſerved with Lights and Incenſe.

In oppoſition to all this we think, that all decent Honours are indeed due to the Bodies of the Saints, which were once the *Temples of*
1 Cor. 6. 19. *the Holy Ghoſt*: But ſince it is ſaid, that God took that care of the
Deut. 34. 6. *Body of Moſes*, ſo as to Bury it in ſuch a manner that no Man knew of his Sepulchre, there ſeems to have been in this a peculiar caution guarding againſt that Superſtition, which the *Jews* might very probably have fallen into with relation to his Body. And this ſeems ſo clear an indication of the Will of God in this matter, that we reckon we are very ſafe when we do no further honour to the Body of a Saint, than to Bury it. And though that Saint had been ever ſo Eminent, not only for his Holineſs, but even for Miracles wrought by him, by his ſhadow, or even by looking upon him; yet the Hiſtory of the
2 Kings 18. 4. *Brazen Serpent* ſhews us, that a fondneſs even on the Inſtruments, that God made uſe of to work Miracles by, degenerates eaſily to the ſuperſtition of burning Incenſe to them; but when that appears it is to be check'd, even by breaking that which was ſo abuſed. *Hezekiah* is commended for breaking in pieces that noble Remain of *Moſes*'s time till then preſerved; neither its Antiquity, nor the ſignal Miracles once wrought by it, could balance the ill uſe that was then made of it: That good King broke it, for which he might have had a worſe Name than an *Iconoclaſt*, if he had lived in ſome Ages. It is true Miracles
2 Kings 13. 21. were of old wrought by *Aaron's Rod*, by *Eliſha's Bones* after his death, and the one was preſerved but not worſhipped; nor was there any Superſtition that followed on the other. Not a word of this fondneſs appears in the beginnings of Chriſtianity; though it had been an eaſy thing at that time to have furniſhed the World with pieces of our Saviour's Garments, Hair, or Nails; and great ſtore might have been had of the Virgin's and the Apoſtle's Relicks: St. *Stephen*'s and St. *James*'s Bones might have been then parcelled about: And if that Spirit had then reigned in the Church, which has been in the *Roman* Church now above a Thouſand Years, we ſhould have heard of the Relicks that were ſent about from *Jeruſalem* to all the Churches. But when ſuch things might have been had in great abundance, and have been known not to be Counterfeits, we hear not a word of them. If a fondneſs for Relicks had been in the Church upon Chriſt's Aſcenſion, what care would have been taken to have made great Collections of them!

Then we ſee no other care about the Body of St. *Stephen* but to Bury it; and not long after that time upon St. *Polycarp*'s Martyrdom, when the *Jews* who had ſet on the Proſecution againſt him, ſuggeſted, that if the Chriſtians could gain his Body, they would perhaps forſake Chriſt and worſhip him; they rejected the accuſation with horror, for in the Epiſtle which the Church of *Smirna* writ upon his Martyrdom, after they mention this Inſinuation, they have thoſe remarkable words, which belong both to this head and to that which follows it
Ep. Euſeb. l. 4. c. 15. of the Invocation and Worſhip of Saints. *Theſe Men know not that we can neither forſake Chriſt, who ſuffered for the ſalvation of all that are ſaved, the Innocent for the Guilty, nor worſhip any other; Him truly being*

the

the Son of God we adore: But the Martyrs, and Diſciples, and Follow- Art. 22.
ers of the Lord, we juſtly love, for that extraordinary good mind, which they have expreſſed toward their King and Maſter, of whoſe happineſs God grant that we may partake, and that we may learn by their Examples. The *Jews* had ſo perſuaded the *Gentiles* of *Smirna* of this matter, that they burnt St. *Polycarp*'s Body; but the Chriſtians gathered up his Bones with much reſpect, ſo that it appeared how they honoured them, though they could not worſhip them; and they buried them in a convenient place, which they intended to make the place where they *ſhould hold by the Bleſſing of God, the Yearly Commemoration of that Birth-day of his Martyrdom, with much Joy and Gladneſs, both to Honour the Memory of thoſe who had overcome in that Glorious Engagement, and to Inſtruct and Confirm all others by their Example.* This is one of the moſt valuable Pieces of true and genuine Antiquity; and it ſhews us very fully the Senſe of that Age both concerning the Relicks, and the Worſhip of the Saints. In the following Ages, we find no Characters of any other regard to the Bones or Bodies of the Saints, but that they buried them very decently, and did annually commemorate their Death, calling it their *Birth-day*. And it may incline Men ſtrongly to ſuſpect the many Miracles that were publiſhed in the Fourth Century, as wrought at the Tombs, or Memories of the Martyrs, or by their Relicks, that we hear of none of thoſe in the former Three Centuries; for it ſeems there was more occaſion for them during the Perſecution, than after it was over; it being much more neceſſary than to furniſh Chriſtians with ſo ſtrong a Motive as this muſt have been, to *reſiſt even to Blood*, when God was pleaſed to Glorify himſelf ſo ſignally in his Saints. This, I ſay, forces us to fear, that Credulity and Imagination, or ſomewhat worſe than both theſe, might have had a large ſhare in thoſe extraordinary things that are related to us by great Men in the Fourth Century. He muſt have a great Diſpoſition to believe wonderful things, that can digeſt the extraordinary Relations that are even in St. *Baſile*, St. *Ambroſe*, and St. *Auſtin*; and moſt ſignally in St. *Jerom*, for inſtance, That after one had ſtolen *Hilarion*'s Body out of *Cyprus*, and brought it to *Paleſtine*, upon which *Conſtantia* that went formerly conſtantly to his Tomb, was ready to have broke her heart; God took ſuch pity on her, that as the true Body wrought great Miracles in *Paleſtine*, ſo likewiſe very great Miracles continued ſtill to be wrought at the Tomb, where it was at firſt laid. One in reſpect to thoſe Great Men is tempted to ſuſpect that many things might have been foiſted into their Writings in the following Ages. A great many Practices of this kind have been made manifeſt beyond Contradiction. Whole Books have been made to paſs for the Writings of Fathers, that do evidently bear the Marks of a much later date, where the Fraud was carried too far not to be diſcovered. At other times parcels have been laid in among their genuine Productions, which cannot be ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed; they not being liable to ſo many Critical Enquiries, as may be made on a larger Work. It is a little unaccountable how ſo many marvellous things ſhould be publiſhed in that Age; and yet that St. *Chryſoſtom*, who ſpent his whole Life between two of the publickeſt Scenes of the World, *Antioch* and *Conſtantinople*, and was an active and inquiſitive Man, ſhould not ſo much

Baſil. in 40 Martyr in Hom. 26. in Mamar. Paul. in vita Ambroſ. Aug. de Civit. Dei lib. 22. c. 8.

Chryſoſt. Hom. 6. in 1 ad Cor. 2.

Art. 22. much as have heard of any such wonderful Stories; but should have taken pains to remove a prejudice out of the Minds of his Hearers, that might arise from this, that whereas they heard of many Miracles that were wrought in the times of the Apostles, none were wrought at that time; upon which he gives very good reasons why it was so. His saying so positively, *That none were wrought at that time*, without so much as a *Salvo* for what he might have heard from other Parts, shews plainly, that he had not heard of any at all. For he was Orator enough to have made even looser Reports look probable. This does very much shake the Credit of those amazing Relations that we find in St. *Jerom*, St. *Ambrose*, and St. *Austin*. It is true, there seems to have been an Opinion very generally received both in the *East* and the *West*, at that time, which must have very much heightned the growing Superstition for Relicks. It was a Remnant both of *Judaism* and *Gentilism*, that the Souls of the Martyrs hovered about their Tombs, called their Memories; and that therefore they might be called upon, and spoke to there. This appears even in the Council of *Elliberis*, where the Superstition of lighting Candles about their Tombs in Day-light is forbidden; the reason given, is, because the *Spirits were not to be disquieted.* St. *Basil*, and the other Fathers, that do so often mention the going to their Memories, do very plainly insinuate their being present at them, and hearing themselves called upon. This may be the reason why among all the Saints that are so much magnified in that Age, we never find the Blessed Virgin so much as once mentioned. They knew not where her Body was laid, they had no Tomb for her, no nor any of her Relicks or Utensils. But upon the occasion of *Nestorius*'s denying her to be the *Mother of God*; and by carrying the Opposition to that too far, a Superstition for her was set on foot, it made a progress sufficient to ballance the slowness of its beginning; the whole World was then filled with very extravagant Devotions for her.

Basil in 40 Martyr.

The great noise we find concerning Relicks in the end of the Fourth Century, has all the Characters of Novelty possible in it; for those who speak of it, do not derive it from former times. One circumstance in this is very remarkable, that neither *Trypho*, *Celsus*, *Lucian*, nor *Cecilius*, do object to the Christians of their time, their fondness for dead Bodies, or praying about their Tombs, which they might well have alledged in opposition to what the Christians charged them with, if there had been any occasion for it. Whereas this Custom was no sooner begun, than both *Julian* and *Eunapius* reproach the Christians for it. *Julian*, it is true, speaks only of their calling on God over Sepulchres: *Eunapius* writ after him, and it seems in his time, that which *Julian* sets forth as a calling upon God, was advanced to an Invocation of them. He says, They *heaped together the Bones and Sculls of Men, that had been punished for many Crimes*, (it was natural enough for a spiteful Heathen, to give this Representation of their Martyrdom) *holding them for Gods:* And after some scurrilous Invectives against them, he adds, *they are called Martyrs, and made the Ministers and Messengers of Prayer to the Gods.* This seems to be a very evident proof of the Novelty of this matter. As for the adoring them, when *Vigilantius* asked, *Why dost thou Kiss and Adore a little Dust put up in fine Linnen?* St. *Jerom*, though excessively fond of them, denies this very positively, and that in very injurious

Ap. Cyr. lib. 10. con. Julian. Eunap. in vita Ædess.

injurious Terms, being offended at the injuſtice of the Reproach. Yet as long as the Bodies of the Martyrs were let lie quietly in their Memories, the fond Opinion of their being preſent and hearing what was ſaid to them, made the Invocating them look like one Mans deſiring the Aſſiſtance of another good Man's Prayers; ſo that this Step ſeemed to have a fair colour: But when their Bodies were pulled aſunder and carried up and down; ſo that it was believed Miracles abounded every where about them; and when their Bones and Relicks grew to encreaſe and multiply, ſo that they had more Bones and Limbs than God and Nature had given them; then new *Hypotheſes* were to be found out to juſtify the calling upon them every where, as their Relicks were ſpread. St. *Jerom* in his careleſs way ſays, *they followed the lamb whitherſoever he went*, and ſeems to make no doubt of their being, if not every where, yet in ſeveral places at once. But St. *Auſtin* who could follow a conſequence much further in his Thoughts, though he doubted not but that Men were much the better for the Prayers of the Martyrs, yet he confeſſes that it paſſed the ſtrength of his Underſtanding to determine, whether they heard thoſe who called upon them at their Memories, or whereſoever elſe they were believed to have appeared, or not? But the Devotions that are ſpoken of by all of that Age, are related, as having been offered at their Memories, ſo that this ſeems to have been the general Opinion, as well as it was the common Practice of that Age, though it is no wonder if this Conceit once giving ſome colour and credit, to the Invocating them, that did quickly encreaſe it ſelf to a general Invocation of them every where. And thus a fondneſs for their Relicks, joined with the opinion of their Relation and nearneſs to them, did in a ſhort time grow up to a direct worſhipping of them: And by the fruitfulneſs that always follows Superſtition, did ſpread it ſelf further, to their Cloaths, Utenſils, and every thing elſe that had any relation to them.

Art. 22.

Hieron. ad Vigil.

Aug. cura pro mortuis. c. 16.

There was cauſe given in St. *Auſtin*'s time to ſuſpect that many of the Bones which were carried about by Monks, were none of their Bones but Impoſtures: Which very much ſhakes the Credit of the Miracles wrought by them; ſince we have no reaſon to think that God would ſupport ſuch Impoſtures with Miracles: As on the other hand there is no reaſon to think that falſe Relicks would have paſſed upon the World, if Miracles had been believed to accompany true ones, unleſs they had their Miracles likewiſe, to atteſt their Value; ſo let this Matter be turned which way it may, the credit both of Relicks and of the Miracles wrought by them, is not a little ſhaken by it. But in the following Ages we have more than Preſumptions, that there was much of this falſe Coin that went abroad in the World. It was not poſſible to diſtinguiſh the Falſe from the True. The freſhneſs of Colour and Smell ſo often boaſted might have been eaſily managed by Art; the varieties of thoſe Relicks, the different Methods of diſcovering them, the Shinings that were ſaid to be about their Tombs, with the Smells that broke out of them, the many Apparitions that accompanied them, and the ſignal Cures that were wrought by them; as they grew to fill the World with many Volumes of Legends, many more lying yet in the Manuſcripts in many Churches, than have been publiſhed; all theſe I ſay carry in them ſuch Characters of Fraud and Impoſture, on the one hand, and of Cruelty and Superſtition on the other

Aug. de opere Monach. c. 28.

Art. 22. other, ſo much Craft and ſo much Folly, that they had their full Effect upon the World; even in contradiction to the cleareſt Evidence poſſible: The ſame Saints having more Bodies and Heads than one, in different Places; and yet all equally celebrated with Miracles. A great profuſion of Wealth and Pomp was laid out in honouring them; new Devotions were ſtill invented for them: And though theſe things are too palpably Falſe to be put upon us now, in Ages of more Light, where every thing will not go down becauſe it is confidently affirmed; yet as we know how great a Part of the Devotion of the *Latin* Church, this continued to be for many Ages before the Reformation, ſo the ſame Trade is ſtill carried on, where the ſame Ignorance and the ſame Superſtition does ſtill continue.

I come now to conſider the laſt Head of this Article, which is the Invocation of Saints; of which much has been already ſaid by an Anticipation: For there is that Connection between the Worſhip of Relicks and the Invocation of Saints, that the treating of the one, does very naturally carry one to ſay ſomewhat of the other. It is very evident that Saints were not Invocated in the Old Teſtament. God being called ſo oft, the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob* ſeems to give a much better warrant for it, than any thing that can be alledged from the New Teſtament. *Moſes* was their Lawgiver and their Mediator and Interceſſor with God; and his Interceſſion as it had been very effectual for them, ſo it had ſhewed it ſelf in a very extraordinary
Exod. 32. 32. Inſtance of his deſiring that his Name might be *blotted out of the Book which he had written* rather than the People ſhould periſh; when God had offered to him, that he would raiſe up a New Nation to himſelf, out of his Poſterity. God had alſo made many Promiſes to that Nation by him: So that it might be natural enough conſidering the Genius of Superſtition, for the *Jews* to have called to him in their Miſeries, to obtain the Performance of thoſe Promiſes made by him to them. We may upon this refer the Matter to every Mans judgment, whether *Abraham* and *Moſes* might not have been much more reaſonably Invocated by the *Jews* according to what we find in the Old Teſtament, than any Saint can be, under the New: Yet we are ſure they were not prayed to. *Elijah*'s going up to Heaven in ſo miraculous a manner, might alſo have been thought a good Reaſon for any to have prayed to him: But nothing of that kind was then practiſed. They underſtood Prayer to be a Part of that Worſhip which they owed to God only: So that the praying to any other, had been to a certain Degree the having another *God before*, or beſides the *true Jehovah*. They never prayed to any other, they called upon him and made mention of no
Pſal. 50. 15. other: The Rule was without exception, *Call upon me in the time of trouble, I will hear thee and thou ſhalt glorify me.* Upon this Point there is no diſpute.

In the New Teſtament, we ſee the ſame method followed, with this only exception, that Jeſus Chriſt is propoſed as our Mediator: And that not only in the point of Redemption, which is not denied by thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, but even in the point of Interceſſion; for when St. *Paul* is treating concerning the Prayers and Supplications that are to be offered *for all Men*, he concludes that Direction in theſe Words:
1 Tim. 2. *For there is one God and one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Chriſt Jeſus.* We think the ſilence of the New Teſtament, might be a ſufficient

cient Argument for this: But theſe Words go farther, and imply a Prohibition to addreſs our Prayers to God by any other Mediator. All the Directions that are given us of truſting in God and praying to him, are upon the matter Prohibitions of truſting to any other, or of calling on any other. Invocation and Faith are joyned together: *How ſhall they call on him in whom they have not believed?* So that we ought only to pray to God, and to Chriſt, according to thoſe words, *Ye believe in God, believe ye alſo in me.* We do alſo know that it was a part of Heatheniſh Idolatry to Invocate either Demons, or departed Men, whom they conſidered as good Beings ſubordinate to the Divine Eſſence, and imployed by God in the Government of the World; and they had almoſt the ſame Speculations about them, that have been ſince introduced into the Church, concerning Angels and Saints. In the condemning all Idolatry, no reſerve is made in Scripture for this, as being faulty, only becauſe it was applied wrong; or that it might be ſet right when directed better. On the contrary, when ſome Men under the pretence of *Humility and of Will-worſhip*, did according to the *Platonick* Notions, offer to bring in the *Worſhip of Angels* into the Church of *Coloſſe*, pretending as is probable, that thoſe Spirits who were imployed by God in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, ought in gratitude for that Service, and out of reſpect to their Dignity, to be worſhipped: St. *Paul* condemns all this, without any reſerves made for lower degrees of Worſhip; he charges the Chriſtians to *beware of that vain Philoſophy*, and not to be deceived by thoſe ſhews of *Humility*, or the Speculations of Men, who pretended to explain that which they did not know, as *intruding into things which they had not ſeen, vainly puffed up by their fleſhly Mind.* If any degrees of invocating Saints or Angels, had been conſiſtent with the Chriſtian Religion; this was the proper place of declaring them: But the condemning that matter ſo abſolutely, looks as a very expreſs Prohibition of all ſort of Worſhip to Angels. And when St. *John* fell down to Worſhip the Angel, that had made him ſuch glorious Diſcoveries upon two ſeveral Occaſions: The Anſwer he had, was, *See thou do it not: worſhip God: I am thy fellow ſervant.* It is probable enough, that St. *John* might imagine, that the Angel who had made ſuch Diſcoveries to him, was *Jeſus Chriſt*; but the Anſwer plainly ſhews that no ſort of Worſhip ought to be offered to Angels, nor to any but God. The reaſon given excludes all ſort of *Worſhip*, for that cannot be among Fellow-Servants.

Art. 22.

Rom. 10. 14.

John 14. 1.

Col. 2. 18.

Verſe 8, 9, 10.

Rev. 19. 10. Rev. 22. 9.

As Angels are thus forbid to be worſhipped, ſo no mention is made of worſhipping or invocating any Saints that had died for the Faith, ſuch as St. *Stephen* and St. *James*. In the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, they are required to *Remember them which had the rule over them, and to follow their faith*; but not a word of praying to them. So that if either the Silence of the Scriptures on this Head, or if plain Declarations to the contrary could decide this Matter, the Controverſy would be ſoon at an end. Chriſt is always propoſed to us as the only Perſon by whom we come unto God: And when St. *Paul* ſpeaks againſt the worſhipping of Angels, he ſets Chriſt out in his Glory in Oppoſition to it. *For in him dwelleth all the fulneſs of the Godhead bodily; and ye are compleat in him, which is the Head of all Principality and Power*; purſuing that reaſon in a great many particulars.

Heb. 13. 7.

Col. 2. 9, 10.

From

Art. 22. From the Scriptures, if we go to the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, we find nothing that favours this, but a great deal to the contrary. *Irenæus* diſclaims the Invocation of Angels. The memorable Paſſage of the Church of *Smirna*, formerly cited, is a full Proof of their Senſe in this matter. *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tertullian* do often mention the Worſhip that was given to God only, by Prayer; and ſo far were they at that time from praying to Saints, that they prayed for them as was formerly explained: They thought they were not yet in the Preſence of God, ſo they could not pray to them as long as that Opinion continued. That Form of praying for them is in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions. In all that Collection, which ſeems to be a Work of the Fourth or Fifth Century, there is not a word that intimates their Praying to Saints. In the Council of *Laodicea*, there is an expreſs Condemnation of thoſe who invocated Angels; this is called a *Secret Idolatry, and a forſaking of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. The firſt Apologiſts for Chriſtianity do arraign the Worſhip of Demons, and of ſuch as had once lived on Earth, in a Stile that ſhewed they did not apprehend that the Argument could be turned againſt them, for their worſhipping either Angels or departed Saints. When the *Arian* Controverſy aroſe, the Invocation of Chriſt is urged by *Athanaſius, Baſil, Cyril*, and other Fathers, as an evident Argument that he was neither made nor created; ſince they did not pray to Angels, or any other Creatures, from whence they concluded that Chriſt was God. Theſe are convincing Proofs of the Doctrine of the Three firſt, and of a good part of the Fourth Century.

Clem. Protrep. Tertul. Apol. c. 17.

Con. Laod. c. 35.
Juſt. Mart. Apol. 2. Iren. l. 2. c. 35.
Orig. Con. Celſ. l. 8. Tert. de Orat. c. 1.
Athanaſ. cont. Arian. Orat. 1, 3, 4.
Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 40. Greg. Niſſ. in Baſil. cont. Eunap.
Baſil. Hom. 27. cont. Eunom. l. 4.
Epiph. Hæreſ. 64, 69, 78, 79.
Theod. de Hær. Fabul. l. 5. c. 3.
Chryſoſt. de Trinit.

It is true, as was confeſſed upon the former Head, they began with Martyrs in the end of the Fourth Century. They fancied they heard thoſe that called to them; and upon that it was no wonder, if they invocated them, and ſo private Prayers to them began. But as appears both by the *Conſtitutions*, and ſeveral of the Writers of that time, the Publick Offices were yet preſerved pure. St. *Auſtin* ſays plainly, *The* Gentiles *built* Temples, *raiſed* Altars, *ordained* Prieſts, *and offered* Sacrifices *to their Gods*; *but we do not erect Temples to our* Martyrs, *as if they were Gods*; *but Memories as to dead Men, whoſe Spirits live with God*; *nor do we erect* Altars, *upon which we Sacrifice to* Martyrs; *but to one God only do we offer*; *to the God of* Martyrs, *and our* God; *at which Sacrifice they are* named *in their Place and Order, as Men of God, who in confeſſing Him have overcome the* World, *but they are not invocated by the Prieſt that Sacrifices*. It ſeems the Form of Praying for the Saints mentioned in the Conſtitutions, was not uſed in the Churches of *Africk* in St. *Auſtin*'s Time: He ſays very poſitively, That they did not pray for them, but did praiſe God for them: And he ſays in expreſs words, *Let not the Worſhip of dead Men be any part of our Religion, they ought ſo to be honoured, that we may imitate them, but not worſhipped*. God was indeed prayed to, in the Fifth Century, to hear the Interceſſion of the Saints and Martyrs; but there is a great difference between Praying to God to favour us on their account, and praying immediately to them to hear us.

Aug. con. Serm. Ar. c. 29. con. Max. l. 13. c. 4. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 22. c. 10. l. 8. c. 27.

Aug. de vera Rel. c. 55.

The

The Praying to them imports either their being every where, or their knowing all things; and as it is a blaſphemous Piece of Idolatry to aſcribe that to them without a Divine Communication; ſo it is a great Preſumption in any Man to fancy that they may be prayed to, and to build ſo many parts of Worſhip upon it, barely upon ſome probabilites and inferences, without an expreſs Revelation about it. For the Saints may be perfectly happy in the enjoyment of God without ſeeing all things in him; nor have we any reaſon to carry that farther than the Scripture has done. But as the Invocating of Martyrs grew from a calling to them at their Memories, to a general calling to them in all places; ſo from the Invocating Martyrs, they went on to pray to other Saints; yet that was at firſt ventured on doubtfully, and only in Funeral Orations; where an addreſs to the dead Perſon to pray for thoſe that were then honouring his Memory, might, perhaps, come in as a figure of pompous Eloquence; in which *Nazianzen*, one of the firſt that uſes it, did often give himſelf a very great compaſs; yet he and others ſoften ſuch Figures with this, *If there is any ſenſe or knowledge of what we do below.* *Art.* 22.

From Prayers to God to receive the Interceſſions of Martyrs and Saints, it came in later Ages to be uſual to have Litanies to them, and to pray immediately to them; but at firſt this was only a deſire to them to pray for thoſe who did thus Invocate them, *Ora pro nobis.* But ſo impoſſible is it to reſtrain Superſtition when it has once got head, and has prevailed, that in concluſion all things that were asked either of God or Chriſt, came to be asked from the Saints in the ſame humility both of Geſture and Expreſſion; in which if there was any difference made, it ſeemed to be rather on the ſide of the B. Virgin and the Saints, as appears by the Ten *Ave's* for one *Pater*, and that humble Proſtration in which all fall down every day to worſhip her: The Prayer uſed conſtantly to her, *Maria, Mater gratiæ Mater miſerecordiæ, tu nos ab hoſte protege, & hora mortis ſuſcipe*, is an immediate acknowledgment of her as the giver of theſe things; ſuch are, *Solve vincla reis, profer lumen cæcis*; with many others of that nature. The Collection of theſe ſwells to a huge bulk, *Jure Matris impera Redemptori*, is an allowed Addreſs to her; not to mention an infinity of moſt ſcandalous ones, that are not only tolerated, but encouraged in that Church. Altars are conſecrated to her honour, and to the honour of other Saints; but which is more, the Sacrifice of the Maſs is offered up to her honour, and to the honour of the Saints: And in the Form of Abſolution, the pardon of Sins, the increaſe of Grace, and eternal Life, are prayed for to the Penitent by the vertue of the Paſſion of Chriſt, and the Merits of the B. Virgin, and of all the Saints. The pardon of Sins and eternal Life, are alſo prayed for from Angels, *Angelorum concio ſacra, Archangelorum Turma inclyta, noſtra diluant jam peccata, præſtando ſupernam Cœli gloriam.* Many ſtrains of this kind are to be found in the Hymns and other publick Offices of that Church: And though in the late Corrections of their Offices, ſome of the more ſcandalous are left out, yet thoſe here cited, with a great many more to the ſame purpoſe, are ſtill preſerved. And the Council of *Trent* did plainly intend to connive at all theſe things, for they did not reſtrain the Invocation of Saints, only to be an Addreſs to them to pray for us, which is the common diſguiſe with which they ſtudy to cover this matter: But by the Decree of the Council, the flying to *their help and aſſiſtance* as well as to their *Interceſſion*, is encouraged: Which ſhews that the Council would not limit this part of their Devotion to a bare *Ora pro nobis*; that might have ſeemed flat and low, and ſo it might have diſcouraged it; therefore they made uſe of words that will go as far

Art. 22 as Superſtition can carry them. So that if the Invocating them, if the making Vows to them, the Dedicating themſelves to them; if the flying to them in all diſtreſſes, in the ſame acts and in the ſame words that the Scriptures teach us to fly to God with; and if all the ſtudied honours of Proceſſions, and other pompous Rites towards their Images, that are invented to do them honour; if, I ſay, all this does amount to Idolatry, then we are ſure they are guilty of it; ſince they
Rom. 1. 25. *honour the creature* not only *beſides* (but in the full extent of that Phraſe *more than*) *the Creator.*

And now let us ſee what is the Foundation of all theſe Devotions, againſt which we bring Arguments, that to ſpeak modeſtly of them, are certainly ſuch that there ſhould be matters of great weight in the other Scale to balance them. Nothing is pretended from Scripture, nor from any thing that is genuine, for above Three hundred and fifty years after Chriſt. In a word, the practice of the Church, ſince the end of the Fourth Century, and the Authority of Tradition, of Popes and Councils, muſt bear this Burden. Theſe are Conſequences that do not much affect us; for though we pay great reſpect to many great Men that flouriſhed in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, yet we cannot compare that Age with the Three that went before it. Thoſe great Men give us a ſad account of the Corruptions of that time, not only among the Laity, but the Clergy; and their being ſo flexible in matters of Faith, as they appeared to be in the whole courſe of the *Arian* Controverſy, gives us very juſt reaſon to ſuſpect the practices of that Age, in which the protection and encouragements that the Church received from the firſt Chriſtian Emperors, were not improved to the beſt advantage.

The juſteſt abatement that we can offer for this Corruption, which is too manifeſt to be either denied or juſtified, is this, They were then engaged with the Heathens, and were much ſet on bringing them over to the Chriſtian Religion. In order to that, it was very natural for them to think of all methods poſſible to accommodate Chriſtianity to their taſte. It was, perhaps, obſerved how far the Apoſtles complied with the *Jews* that they
1 Cor. 9. 19, 20. might gain them. St. *Paul* had ſaid, that to *the Jews he became a Jew; and to them that were without law*, that is, the *Gentiles*, *as one without law; that by all means he might gain ſome.* They might think, that if the *Jews*, who had abuſed the light of a Revealed Religion, who had rejected and crucified the *Meſſias*, and perſecuted his Followers, and had in all reſpects corrupted both their Doctrine and their Morals, were waited on and complied with, in the obſervance of that very Law which was abrogated by the Death of Chriſt, but was ſtill inſiſted on by them as of perpetual Obligation; and yet that after the Apoſtles had made a ſolemn deciſion in the matter, they continued to conform themſelves to that Law; all this might be applied with ſome advantages to this matter. The *Gentiles* had nothing but the Light of Nature to Govern them; they might ſeem willing to become Chriſtians, but they ſtill deſpiſed the nakedneſs and ſimplicity of that Religion. And it is reaſonable enough to think that the Emperors and other great Men, might in a Political view, conſidering the vaſt ſtrength of *Heatheniſm*, preſs the Biſhops of thoſe times to uſe all imaginable ways to adorn Chriſtianity with ſuch an exterior Form of Worſhip, as might be moſt acceptable to them, and might moſt probably bring them over to it.

The Chriſtians had long felt the weight of Perſecution from them, and were, no doubt, much frighted with the danger of a Relapſe in *Julian*'s time. It is natural to all Men to deſire to be ſafe, and to weaken the numbers of their implacable Enemies. In that ſtate of things we do plainly ſee they

they began to comply in leſſer Matters: For whereas in the Firſt Ages, the Chriſtians were often reproached with this, that they had no Temples, Altars, Sacrifices, nor Prieſts, they changed their dialect in all thoſe Points, ſo we have reaſon to believe that this was carried further. The Vulgar are more eaſily wrought upon in greater Points of Speculation, than in ſome ſmall Ritual Matters: Becauſe they do not underſtand the one, and ſo are not much concerned about it: But the other is more ſenſible and lies within their compaſs. We find ſome in *Paleſtine* kept Images in their Houſes, as *Euſebius* tells us; others began in *Spain* to light Candles by Day-light, and to paint the Walls of their Churches: And though theſe things were condemned by the Council of *Elliberis*, yet we ſee by what St. *Jerom* has cited out of *Vigilantius*, that the Spirit of Superſtition did work ſtrongly among them: We hear of none that writ againſt thoſe abuſes beſides *Vigilantius*; yet *Jerom* tells us, that many Biſhops were of the ſame Mind with him, with whom he is ſo angry as to doubt, whether they deſerved to be called Biſhops. Moſt of theſe abuſes had alſo ſpecious beginnings; and went on inſenſibly: Where they made greater ſteps, we find an oppoſition to them. *Epiphanius* is very ſevere upon the *Collyridians*, for their Worſhipping the Bleſſed Virgin. And though they did it by Offering up a Cake to her, yet if any will read all that he ſays againſt that Superſtition, they will clearly ſee, that no Prayers were then Offered up to her, by the Orthodox: And that he rejects the thought of it with Indignation. But the reſpect paid the Martyrs, and the opinion that they were ſtill hovering about their Tombs, might make the calling to them for their Prayers, ſeem to be like one Mans deſiring the Prayers of other Good Men; and when a thing of this kind is once begun, it naturally goes on. Of all this we ſee a particular Account in a Diſcourſe writ on purpoſe on this Argument, of curing the Affections and Inclinations of the *Greeks*, by *Theodoret*, who may be juſtly reckoned among the greateſt Men of Antiquity, and in it he inſiſts upon this particular of propoſing to them the Saints and Martyrs inſtead of their Gods. And there is no doubt to be made, but that they found the effects of this compliance; many Heathens were every day coming over to the Chriſtian Religion: And it might then perhaps be intended, to lay all thoſe aſide, when the Heathens were once brought over.

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Epiph. Hereſ. 79.

Theod. de cur. Gr. affect. l. 8. de Martyr.

To all which this muſt be added, that the good Men of that time had not the Spirit of Propheſy, and could not foreſee what Progreſs this might make, and to what an Exceſs it might grow; they had nothing of that kind in their View: So that between Charity and Policy, between a deſire to bring over Multitudes to their Faith, and an Inclination to ſecure themſelves, it is not at all to be wondred at, by any who conſiders all the Circumſtances of thoſe Ages, that theſe Corruptions ſhould have got into the Church, and much leſs having once got in, they ſhould have gone on ſo faſt, and be carried ſo far.

Thus I have offered all the Conſiderations that ariſe from the State of Things at that time, to ſhew how far we do ſtill preſerve the Reſpect due to the Fathers of thoſe Ages, even when we confeſs that they were Men, and that ſomething of human Nature appeared in this Piece of their Conduct. This can be made no Argument for later Ages, who having no Heathens among them, are under no Temptations to comply with any of the Parts of Heatheniſm, to gain them. And now that the abuſe of theſe Matters, is become ſo ſcandalous, and has ſpread it ſelf ſo far, how

Art. 22. much ſoever we may excuſe thoſe Ages, in which we diſcern the firſt beginnings, and as it were the ſmall Heads of that which has ſince over-flow'd Chriſtendom: Yet we can by no means bear even with thoſe beginnings, which have had ſuch diſmal Effects; and therefore we have reduced the Worſhip of God, to the Simplicity of the Scripture Times, and of the Firſt Three Centuries: And for the Fourth we reverence it ſo much on other Accounts, that for the Sake of theſe we are unwilling to Reflect too much on this.

Another Conſideration urged for the Invocation of Saints, is, that they ſeeing God, we have reaſon to believe that they ſee in him, if not all things, yet at leaſt all the Concerns of the Church, of which they are ſtill Parts; and they being in a moſt perfect State of Charity, they muſt certainly love the Souls of their Brethren here below: So that if Saints on Earth whoſe Charity is not yet perfect, do pray for one another here on Earth, they in that State of Perfection do certainly pray moſt fervently for them. And as we here on Earth do deſire the Prayers of others, it may be as reaſonable and much more uſeful to have recourſe to their Prayers, who are both in a higher State of Favour with God, and have a more exalted Charity: By which their Interceſſions will be both more earneſt, and more prevalent. They think alſo that this Honour paid the Saints, is an Honour done to God, who is glorified in them: And ſince he is the acknowledged Fountain of all, they think that all the Worſhip offered to them ends and terminates in God. They think as Princes are come at by the means of thoſe that are in Favour with them; ſo we ought to come to God by the Interceſſion of the Saints: That all our Prayers to them are to be underſtood to amount to no more than a deſire to them, to interceed for us; and finally that the Offering of Sacrifice is an Act of Worſhip, that can indeed be made only to God, but that all other Acts of Devotion and Reſpect, may be given to the Saints: And the ſublimeſt Degrees of them, may be offered to the Bleſſed Virgin, as the Mother of Chriſt in a peculiar rank by her ſelf. For they range the order of Worſhip into *Latria*, that is due only to God; *Hyperdulia*, that belongs to the Bleſſed Virgin, and *Dulia*, that belongs to the other Saints.

It were eaſy to retort all this, by putting it into the Mouth of a Heathen; and ſhewing how well it would fit all thoſe Parts of Worſhip, that they offered to Demons or Intelligent Spirits, and to Deified Men among them. This is obvious enough to ſuch as have read what the firſt Apologiſts for Chriſtianity have writ upon thoſe Heads. But to take this to pieces; we have no reaſon to believe that the Saints ſee all the Concerns of the Church. God can make them perfectly happy without this; and if we think, the ſeeing them is a neceſſary Ingredient of perfect Happineſs, we muſt from thence conclude, that they do alſo ſee the whole Chain of Providence: Otherwiſe they may ſeem to be in ſome ſuſpence, which according to our Notions, is not conſiſtent with perfect Happineſs. For if they ſee the Perſecutions of the Church, and the Miſeries of Chriſtians, without ſeeing on to the end, in what all that will iſſue, this ſeems to be a ſtop to their entire joy. And if they ſee the final Iſſue, and know what God is to do, then we cannot imagine that they can interceed againſt it, or indeed for it. To us who know not the hidden Counſels of God, Prayer is neceſſary and commanded: But it ſeems inconſiſtent with a State in which all theſe Events are known. This which they lay for the Foundation of Prayers to Saints, is a thing concerning which

God

God has revealed nothing to us; and in which we can have no certainty. God has commanded us to pray for one another, to join our Prayers together, and we have clear Warrants for desiring the Intercession of others. It is a high Act of Charity, and a great Instance of the mutual Love that ought to be among Christians: It is a part of the Communion of the Saints: And as they do certainly know, that those whose assistance they desire, understand their Wants when they signify them to them; so they are sure that God has commanded this mutual Praying one for another. It is a strange thing therefore to argue from what God has commanded, and which may have many good Effects, and can have no bad one, to that which he has not commanded; on the contrary, against which there are many plain Intimations in Scripture, and which may have many bad Effects, and we are not sure that it can have any one that is good. Beside, that the Solemnity of Devotion and Prayer, is a thing very different from our desiring the Prayers of such as are alive: The one is as visibly an Act of religious Worship, as the other is not. God has called himself *a jealous God, that will not give his Glory to another.* And through the whole Scripture Prayer is represented as a main Part of the Service due to him; and as that in which he takes the most Pleasure. It is a Sacrifice, and is so called: And every other Sacrifice can only be accepted of God, as it is accompanied with the internal Acts of Prayers and Praises; which are the spiritual Sacrifices with which God is well pleased. The only thing which the Church of *Rome* reserves to God, proves to be the *Sacrifice of the Mass*: Which as shall appear upon another Article, is a Sacrifice that they have invented; but which is no where commanded by God: So that if this is well made out, there will be nothing reserved to God to be the act of their *Latria*: Though it is not to be forgotten, that even the Virgin and the Saints have a share in that Sacrifice.

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Isa. 42. 8.

Psal. 141. 2. Hos. 14. 2.

Psal. 65. 2.

The excusing this, from the Addresses made to Princes by those that are in Favour with them, is as bad as the thing it self; it gives us a low Idea of God, and of Christ, and of that Goodness and Mercy, that is so often declared to be Infinite, as if he were to be addressed to by those about him, and might not be come to without an Interposition: Whereas the Scriptures speak always of *God*, as a *hearer of Prayer*, and as ready to accept of and answer the Prayers of his People: To seek to other Assistances, looks as if the Mercies of God were not Infinite, or the Intercessions of Christ were not of infinite Efficacy. This is a Corrupting of the main Design of the Gospel, which is to draw our Affections wholly to God, to free us from all low Notions of him, and from every thing that may incline us to Idolatry or Superstition.

Thus I have gone through all the Heads contained in this Article. It seemed necessary to explain these with a due Copiousness; they being not only Points of Speculation, in which Errors are not always so dangerous, but practical Things; which enter into the Worship of God, and that run through it. And certainly it is the Will of God, that we should preserve it pure, from being corrupted with Heathenish or Idolatrous Practices. It seems to be the chief End of Revealed Religion to deliver the World from Idolatry: A great Part of the Mosaical Law did consist of Rites of which we can give no other account, that is so like to be true, as, that they were Fences and Hedges, that were intended to keep that Nation in the greatest Opposition,

Art. 22. ſition, and at the utmoſt diſtance poſſible from Idolatry; we cannot therefore think that in the Chriſtian Religion, in which we are carried to higher Notions of God, and to a more ſpiritual way of Worſhipping him, that there ſhould be ſuch an approach to ſome of the worſt Pieces of Gentiliſm; that it ſeems to be outdone by Chriſtians, in ſome of its moſt ſcandalous Parts: Such as the Worſhip of ſubordinate Gods, and of Images. Theſe are the chief Grounds upon which we ſeparate from the *Roman* Communion: Since we cannot have fellowſhip with them, unleſs we will join in thoſe Acts, which we look on as direct violations of the Firſt and Second Commandment. God is a jealous God, and therefore we muſt rather venture on their Wrath, how *burning* ſoever it may be, than on his, who is a *conſuming Fire*.

ARTICLE

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ARTICLE XXIII.

Of Miniſtring in the Congregation.

It is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of publick Preaching or Miniſtring the Sacraments in the Congregation; before he be lawfully called and ſent to execute the ſame. And thoſe we ought to judge lawfully called and ſent, which be choſen and called to this work by Men, who have publick Authority given unto them, in the Congregation, to call and ſend Miniſters into the Lord's Vineyard.

WE have two particulars fixed in this Article: The *Firſt* is againſt any that ſhall aſſume to themſelves, without a lawful Vocation, the authority of diſpencing the things of God: The *Second* is, the defining in very general Words, what it is that makes a lawful Call. As to the Firſt, it will bear no great difficulty: We ſee in the old Diſpenſation, that the Family, the Age, and the Qualifications of thoſe that might ſerve in the Prieſthood, are very particularly ſet forth. In the New Teſtament our Lord called the Twelve Apoſtles, and ſent them out: He alſo ſent out upon another occaſion Seventy Diſciples: And before he left his Apoſtles, He told them, that *as his Father had ſent him, ſo he ſent them*: Which ſeems to Import, that as he was ſent into the World with this, among other Powers, that he might ſend others in his Name; ſo he likewiſe empowered them to do the ſame: And when they went planting Churches, as they took ſome to be Companions of Labour with themſelves, ſo they appointed others over the particular Churches in which they fixed them: Such were *Epaphras* or *Epaphroditus* at *Coloſſe*, *Timothy* at *Epheſus*, and *Titus* in *Crete*. To them the Apoſtles gave Authority: Otherwiſe it was a needleſs thing to write ſo many directions to them, in order to their conduct. They had the *Depoſitum* of the Faith, with which they were chiefly entruſted: Concerning the ſucceſſion in which that was to be continued, we have theſe Words of St. *Paul*, *The things which thou haſt heard of me, among many witneſſes, the ſame commit thou to faithful Men, who ſhall be able to teach others alſo.* To them directions are given, concerning all the different Parts of their Worſhip: *Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions and giving of thanks*; and alſo the keeping up the decency of the Worſhip, and the not ſuffering of Women to Teach; like the Women Prieſts among the Heathen, who were believed to be filled with a Bacchick Fury. To them are directed all the Qualifications of ſuch as might be made, either *Biſhops* or *Deacons*: They were to examine them according to theſe, and either to receive or reject them. All this was directed to *Timothy*, that he might know how he ought to *behave himſelf in the houſe of God.* He had Authority given him to *Rebuke* and *Entreat*, to *Honour* and to *Cenſure.* He was to Order what Widows might be received into the *Number* and who ſhould be refuſed. He was *to receive Accuſations againſt Elders* or Presbyters according to directed Methods, and was either to Cenſure ſome, or to lay Hands on others as ſhould agree with the Rules that were ſet him: And in concluſion he is very ſolemnly charged, *to keep that which was committed to his Truſt.* He is required rightly *to divide the word of truth, to preach the word, to be inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, to reprove, rebuke*

John 20. 21.
2 Tim. 1. 13.
2 Tim. 2. 2.
1 Tim. 2. 1, 2, 3.
1 Tim. 2. 1. 12.
1 Tim. 3. &c.
1 Tim. 3. 15.
1 Tim. 5. 1, 3, 17, 19, 22.
1 Tim. 6. 20.
2 Tim. 2. 15.
2 Tim. 4. 2, 5.

Art. 23. *buke and exhort, and to do the work of an Evangelist, and to make full proof of his ministry.* Some of the same things are charged upon *Titus*, whom St. *Paul* had left in *Crete* to *set in order the things that were wanting, and to ordain Elders in every City:* Several of the Characters by which he was to try them are also set down: He is charged to *rebuke the people sharply*, and to *speak the things that became sound doctrine:* He is instructed concerning the Doctrines which he was to *Teach*, and those which he was to *Avoid*; and also how to Censure an *Heretick:* He was to *admonish him twice*, and if that did not prevail, he was to *reject him*, by some publick Censure.

Tit. 1. 5, 9, 13.

Tit. 3. 10.

These Rules given to *Timothy* and *Titus* do plainly Import, that there was to be an Authority in the Church; and that no Man was to assume this Authority to himself; according to that Maxim, that seems to be founded on the Light of Nature, as well as it is set down in Scripture, as a standing Rule agreed to in all Times and Places: *No Man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.*

Heb. 5. 4.

St. *Paul* in his Epistles to the *Romans* and *Corinthians* did reckon up the several Orders and Functions, that God had set in his Church, and in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, he shews that these were not transient but lasting Constitutions: For there as he reckons the *Apostles*, *Prophets*, *Evangelists*, *Pastors* and *Teachers*, as the *Gifts* which Christ at his Ascension had given to Men; so he tells the Ends for which they were given: *For the perfecting the Saints* (by Perfecting seems to be meant the initiating them by Holy Mysteries; rather than the compacting or putting them in joint: For as that is the proper Signification of the Word, so it being set first, the other things that come after it make that the strict Sense of *Perfecting*, that is, *Compleating* does not so well agree with the Period,) *for the work of the Ministry* (the whole Ecclesiastical or Sacred Services,) *for the edifying the Body of Christ* (to which instructing, exhorting, comforting, and all the other Parts of Preaching may well be reduced) and then the duration of these Gifts is defined, *Till we all come in the Unity of the Faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect Man.* This seems to Import the whole State of this Life.

Rom. 12. 6, 7, 8. 1 Cor. 12. 28. Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13, 16.

We cannot think that all this belonged only to the Infancy of the Church; and that it was to be laid aside by her, when she was farther advanced: For when we consider that in the Beginnings of Christianity, there was so liberal an Effusion of the Holy Spirit, poured out upon such great Numbers, who had very extraordinary Credentials, Miracles, and the Gift of Tongues, to prove their Mission; it does not seem so necessary, in such a Time, or rather for the sake of such a Time only, to have setled those Functions in the Church, and that the Apostles should have *ordained Elders in every Church.* Those extraordinary Gifts that were then, without any authoritative Settlement, might have served in that Time, to have procured to Men so qualified all due Regards. We have therefore much better Reason to Conclude, that this was setled at that Time, chiefly with respect to the following Ages; which as they were to fall off from that Zeal and Purity that did then reign among them, so they would need Rule and Government, to maintain the Unity of the Church, and the Order of sacred Things. And for that Reason chiefly we may conclude, that the Apostles setled Order and Government in the Church, not so much for the Age in which they themselves lived, as once to establish and give credit to Constitutions, that they foresaw would be yet more necessary to the succeeding Ages.

Acts 14. 23.

This

This is confirmed by that which is in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, both concerning thoſe *who had ruled over them*, and thoſe who were then their Guides. St. *Peter* gave directions to the Elders of the Churches to whom he writ, how they ought both to *feed* and *govern* the *flock*; and his charging them not to do it out of Covetouſneſs, or with Ambition; inſinuates that either ſome were beginning to do ſo, or that in a Spirit of Prophecy he foreſaw that ſome might fall under ſuch Corruptions: This is hint enough to teach us, that though ſuch things ſhould happen, they could furniſh no Argument againſt the Function: Abuſes ought to be corrected, but upon that pretence the Function ought not to be taken away. *Art.* 23 Heb. 13. 7, 17. 1 Pet. 5. 2, 3.

If from the Scriptures we go to the firſt Writings of Chriſtians, we find that the main ſubject of St. *Clemens* and St. *Ignatius* Epiſtles is to keep the Churches in order and union; in ſubjection to their Paſtors, and in the due ſubordination of all the Members of the Body one to another. After the firſt Age the thing grows too clear to need any further proof. The Argument for this from the ſtanding Rules of Order, of Decency, of the Authority in which the Holy things ought to be maintained, and the care that muſt be taken to repreſs Vanity and Inſolence, and all the extravagancies of light and ungoverned Fancies, is very clear. For if every Man may aſſume Authority to Preach and Perform Holy Functions, it is certain Religion muſt fall into diſorder and under contempt: Hot-headed Men of warm Fancies, and voluble Tongues, with very little knowledge and diſcretion, would be apt to thruſt themſelves on to the Teaching and Governing others, if they themſelves were under no Government. This would ſoon make the publick Service of God to be loathed, and break and diſſolve the whole Body.

A few Men of livelier Thoughts, that begin to ſet on foot ſuch ways, might for ſome time maintain a little credit, yet ſo many others would follow in at that breach which they had once made on publick Order, that it could not be poſſible to keep the Society of Chriſtians under any method, if this were once allowed. And therefore thoſe who in their heart hate the Chriſtian Religion, and deſire to ſee it fall under a more general contempt, know well what they do, when they encourage all thoſe Enthuſiaſts that deſtroy order; hoping by the credit which their outward appearances may give them, to compaſs that which the others know themſelves to be too obnoxious to hope that they can ever have credit enough to perſuade the World to. Whereas thoſe poor deluded Men do not ſee what Properties the others make of them. The Morals of Infidels ſhew that they hate all Religions equally, or with this difference, that the ſtricter any are, they muſt hate them the more; the root of their quarrel being at all Religion and Virtue. And it is certain, as it is that which thoſe who drive it on, ſee well, and therefore they drive it on, that if once the publick Order and the National Conſtitution of a Church is diſſolved, the ſtrength and power, as well as the order and beauty of all Religion will ſoon go after it: For humanly ſpeaking, it cannot ſubſiſt without it.

I come in the next place to conſider the Second Part of this Article, which is the Definition here given of thoſe that are lawfully Called and Sent: This is put in very general words, far from that Magiſterial ſtiffneſs in which ſome have taken upon them to dictate in this matter. The Article does not reſolve this into any particular Conſtitution, but leaves the matter open and at large, for ſuch accidents as had happened, and ſuch as might ſtill happen. They who drew it had the ſtate of the ſeveral Churches before their Eyes that had been differently reformed, and although their own had been leſs forced to go out of the beaten path than any other, yet

Art. 23. they knew that all things among themſelves had not gone according to thoſe Rules that ought to be ſacred in Regular times. Neceſſity has no Law, and is a Law to it ſelf.

This is the difference between thoſe things that are the means of Salvation, and the Precepts that are only neceſſary, becauſe they are Commanded. Thoſe things which are the means, ſuch as Faith, Repentance, and new Obedience, are indiſpenſable; they oblige all Men, and at all times alike; becauſe they have a natural influence on us, to make us fit and capable Subjects of the Mercy of God: But ſuch things as are neceſſary only by virtue of a Command of God, and not by virtue of any real Efficiency which they have to reform our Natures, do indeed oblige us to ſeek for them, and to uſe all our endeavours to have them. But as they of themſelves are not neceſſary in the ſame order with the firſt, ſo much leſs are all thoſe methods neceſſary in which we may come at the regular uſe of them. This diſtinction ſhall be more fully enlarged on when the Sacraments are Treated of. But to the matter in hand; That which is ſimply neceſſary, as a mean to preſerve the Order and Union of the Body of Chriſtians, and to maintain the Reverence due to holy things, is, that no Man enter upon any part of the holy Miniſtry, without he be Choſen and Called to it, by ſuch as have an Authority ſo to do; that, I ſay, is fixed by the Article. But Men are left more at liberty as to their Thoughts concerning the ſubject of this lawful Authority.

That which we believe to be *Lawful Authority*, is that Rule which the Body of the Paſtors, or Biſhops and Clergy of a Church, ſhall ſettle, being met in a Body under the due Reſpect to the Powers that God ſhall ſet over them: Rules thus made, being in nothing contrary to the Word of God, and duly executed by the particular Perſons to whom that care belongs, are certainly the *Lawful Authority*. Thoſe are the Paſtors of the Church, to whom the care and watching over the Souls of the People is committed; and the Prince, or Supreme Power, comprehends virtually the whole Body of the People in him: Since according to the Conſtitution of the Civil Government, the Wills of the People are underſtood to be concluded by the Supreme, and ſuch as are the ſubject of the Legiſlative Authority. When a Church is in a ſtate of Perſecution under thoſe who have the Civil Authority over her, then the *People*, who receive the Faith, and give both protection and encouragement to thoſe that labour over them; are to be conſidered as the Body that is Governed by them. The natural effect of ſuch a ſtate of things, is to ſatisfy the People in all that is done, to carry along their conſent with it, and to conſult much with them in it. This does not only ariſe out of a neceſſary regard to their preſent circumſtances, but from the Rules given in the Goſpel, of not Ruling as the Kings of the ſeveral Nations did; nor *lording* it, or carrying it with a High Authority over *God's Heritage* (which may be alſo rendred over their ſeveral *lots* or portions.) But when the Church is under the Protection of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate, then he comes to be in the ſtead of the whole People; for they are concluded in and by him; he gives the Protection and Encouragement, and therefore great regard is due to him, in the exerciſe of this Lawful Authority, in which he has a great ſhare, as ſhall be explained in its proper place. Here then we think this Authority is rightly lodged and ſet on its proper Baſis.

And

And in this we are confirmed, becauſe by the Decrees of the firſt General Councils, the concerns of every Province were to be ſetled in the Province it ſelf: and it ſo continued till the Uſurpations of the Papacy broke in every where, and diſordered this Conſtitution. Through the whole *Roman* Communion the chief Juriſdiction is now in the Pope; only Princes have laid checks upon the extent of it; and by *Appeals* the Secular Court takes Cognizance of all that is done, either by the Pope or the Clergy. This we are ſure is the effect of Uſurpation and Tyranny: Yet ſince this Authority is in fact ſo ſetled, we do not pretend to Annul the Acts of that Power, nor the Miſſions or Orders given in that Church; becauſe there is among them an Order *in Fact*, though not as it ought to be *in Right*. On the other hand, when the Body of the Clergy comes to be ſo Corrupted, that nothing can be truſted to the Regular deciſions of any Synod or Meeting, called according to their Conſtitution, then if the Prince ſhall ſelect a peculiar Number, and commit to their care the Examining and Reforming both of Doctrine and Worſhip, and ſhall give the Legal Sanction to what they ſhall offer to him; we muſt confeſs that ſuch a Method as this runs contrary to the eſtabliſhed Rules, and that therefore it ought to be very ſeldom put in practice; and never, except when the greatneſs of the occaſion will balance this Irregularity that is in it. But ſtill here is an Authority both in *Fact* and *Right*; for if the Magiſtrate has a Power to make Laws in Sacred Matters, he may order thoſe to be prepared, by whom, and as he pleaſes. *Art.* 23.

Finally, if a Company of Chriſtians find the publick Worſhip where they live to be ſo defiled that they cannot with a good Conſcience join in it, and if they do not know of any place to which they can conveniently go, where they may Worſhip God purely, and in a regular way; if, I ſay, ſuch a Body finding ſome that have been Ordained, though to the lower Functions, ſhould ſubmit it ſelf intirely to their Conduct, or finding none of thoſe, ſhould by a common Conſent, deſire ſome of their own Number to Miniſter to them in Holy things, and ſhould upon that beginning grow up to a Regulated Conſtitution, though we are very ſure that this is quite out of all Rule, and could not be done without a very great Sin, unleſs the neceſſity were great and apparent; yet if the Neceſſity is real and not feigned, this is not Condemned nor Annulled by the Article; for when this grows to a Conſtitution, and when it was begun by the Conſent of a Body, who are ſuppoſed to have an Authority in ſuch an extraordinary caſe, whatever ſome hotter Spirits have thought of this ſince that time; yet we are very ſure, that not only thoſe who Penned the Articles, but the Body of this Church for above half an Age after, did notwithſtanding thoſe Irregularities, acknowledge the Foreign Churches ſo Conſtituted, to be true Churches as to all the Eſſentials of a Church, though they had been at firſt irregularly formed, and continued ſtill to be in an imperfect ſtate. And therefore the general words in which this part of the Article is framed, ſeem to have been deſigned on purpoſe not to exclude them.

Here it is to be conſidered, that the High Prieſt among the *Jews* was the chief Perſon in that Diſpenſation; not only the chief in Rule, but he that was by the Divine Appointment to Officiate in the chief act of their Religion, the yearly Expiation for the Sins of the whole Nation; which was a ſolemn renewing their Covenant

Art. 23. with God, and by which Atonement was made for the Sins of that People. Here it may be very reaſonably ſuggeſted, that ſince none beſides the High Prieſt might make this Atonement, then no Atonement was made, if any other beſides the High Prieſt ſhould ſo Officiate. To this it is to be added, that God had by an expreſs Law fixed the High Prieſthood in the Eldeſt of *Aaron*'s Family; and that therefore, though that being a Theocracy, any Prophet empowered of God might have transferred this Office from one Perſon, or branch of that Family to another; yet without ſuch an Authority, no other Perſon might make any ſuch change. But after all this, not to mention the *Maccabees*, and all their Succeſſors of the *Aſmonean* Family, as *Herod* had begun to change the High Prieſthood at pleaſure, ſo the *Romans* not only continued to do this, but in a moſt mercenary manner, they ſet this ſacred Function to ſale. Here were as great Nullities in the High Prieſts that were in our Saviour's time, as can be well imagined to be. For the *Jews* keeping their Genealogies ſo exactly as they did, it could not but be well known in whom the Right to this Office reſted; and they all knew, that he who had it, purchaſed it, yet theſe were in Fact High Prieſts; and ſince the People could have no other, the Atonement was ſtill performed by their Miniſtry. Our Saviour owned *Caiaphas* the Sacrilegious and Uſurping High Prieſt, and as ſuch he *Propheſied:* This ſhews that where the neceſſity was real and unavoidable, the *Jews* were bound to think that God did, in conſideration of that, diſpenſe with his own Precept. This may be a juſt inducement for us to believe, That whenſoever God by his Providence brings Chriſtians under a viſible neceſſity, of being either without all Order and joint Worſhip, or of joining in an unlawful and defiled Worſhip, or finally, of breaking through Rules and Methods, in order to the being United in Worſhip and Government; that of theſe Three, of which one muſt be choſen, the laſt is the leaſt Evil, and has the feweſt Inconveniences hanging upon it, and that therefore it may be choſen.

John 11. 51. 18.22,23.

Our Reformers had alſo in view two famous Inſtances in Church-Hiſtory of Lay-men that had Preached and Converted Nations to the Faith: It is true they came, as they ought to have done, to be regularly Ordained, and were ſent to ſuch as had Authority ſo to do. So *Frumentius* preached to the *Indians*, and was afterwards made a Prieſt and a Biſhop by *Athanaſius*. The King of the *Iberians* before he was Baptiſed himſelf, did Convert his Subjects; and as, ſays the Hiſtorian, he became the Apoſtle of his Country before he himſelf was *Initiated*. It is indeed added, that he ſent an Embaſſy to *Conſtantine* the Emperor, deſiring him that he would ſend Prieſts for the further eſtabliſhment of the Faith there.

Theſe were regular practices; but if it ſhould happen that Princes or States ſhould take up ſuch a jealouſy of their own Authority, and ſhould apprehend that the ſuffering their Subjects to go elſewhere for Regular Ordinations, might bring them under ſome dependance on thoſe that had Ordained them; and give them ſuch influence over them, that the Prince of ſuch a Neighbouring and Regular Church, ſhould by ſuch Ordinations have ſo many Creatures, Spies, or Inſtruments in their own Dominions; and if upon other Political reaſons, they had juſt cauſe of being jealous of that, and ſhould thereupon hinder any ſuch thing; in that caſe, neither our Reformers, nor their Succeſſors for near Eighty Years after thoſe Articles were publiſhed, did ever queſtion the Conſtitution of ſuch Churches.

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We have reaſon to believe that none ought to Baptiſe but Perſons Lawfully Ordained, yet ſince there has been a practice ſo univerſally ſpread over the Chriſtian Church, of allowing the Baptiſm not only of Laicks, but of Women to be Lawful, though we think that this is directly contrary to the Rules given by the Apoſtles; yet ſince this has been in fact ſo generally received and practiſed, we do not Annul ſuch Baptiſms, nor Rebaptiſe Perſons ſo Baptiſed; though we know that the original of this bad practice was from an Opinion of the indiſpenſable neceſſity of Baptiſm to Salvation. Yet ſince it has been ſo generally received, we have that regard to ſuch a common practice, as not to Annul it, though we Condemn it. And thus what Thoughts ſoever private Men, as they are Divines, may have of thoſe Irregular ſteps, the Article of the Church is conceived in ſuch large and general Words, that no Man by Subſcribing it, is bound up from freer and more comprehenſive Thoughts. *Art.* 23.

ARTICLE

Art. 24.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Of ſpeaking in the Congregation in ſuch a Tongue as the People underſtandeth.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church, to have Publick Prayer in the Church, or to Miniſter the Sacraments in a Tongue not underſtanded of the People.

This Article, though upon the Matter very near the ſame, yet was worded much leſs poſitively in thoſe at firſt ſet forth by King *Edward*.

It is moſt fit, and moſt agreeable to the Word of God, that nothing be read or rehearſed in the Congregation in a Tongue not known unto the People, which St. Paul **hath forbidden to be done, unleſs ſome be preſent to Interpret.**

In King *Edward*'s Articles they took in *Preaching* with *Prayer*, but in the preſent Article this is reſtrained to *Prayer*. The former only affirms the uſe of a known Tongue, to be moſt fit and agreeable to the Word of God; the later denies the Worſhip in an Unknown Tongue to be lawful, and affirms it to be repugnant to the **Word of God**; to which it adds, **and the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church.**

THIS Article ſeems to be founded on the Law of Nature. The Worſhip of God is a Chain of Acts by which we acknowledge God's Attributes, rejoyce in his Goodneſs, and lay claim to his Mercies. In all which the more we raiſe our thoughts, the more Seriouſneſs, Earneſtneſs, and Affection that animates our Mind, ſo much the more acceptably do we ſerve God, who is a *Spirit*, and will be worſhipped in *Spirit and Truth*. All the Words uſed in Devotion are intended to raiſe in us the thoughts that naturally belong to ſuch words. And the various Acts, which are as it were the Breaks in the Service, are intended as Reſts to our Minds, to keep us the longer without wearineſs and wandring in thoſe Exerciſes. One great end of continuance in Worſhip, is that by the frequent repeating and often going over of the ſame things, they may come to be deeply rooted in our Thoughts. The chief Effect that the Worſhip of God has by its own Efficiency, is the infixing thoſe things, about which the Branches of it are imployed, the deeper on our Minds; upon which God gives his Bleſſing as we grow to be prepared for it, or capable of it. Now all this is loſt, if the Worſhip of God is a Thread of ſuch ſounds, as makes the Perſon who officiates, a Barbarian to the reſt. They have nothing but noiſe and ſhew to amuſe them, which how much ſoever they may ſtrike upon and entertain the Senſes, yet they cannot affect the Heart, nor excite the Mind: So that the natural effect of ſuch a way of Worſhip is to make Religion a Pageantry, and the Publick Service of God an *Opera*.

John 4. 23, 24.

If from plain Senſe, and the natural Conſequences of things, we carry on this Argument to the Scriptures, we find the whole practice of the Old Teſtament, was to Worſhip God, not only in a Tongue that was underſtood, for it may be ſaid there was no occaſion then to uſe any other; but that the Expreſſions uſed in the Prayers and Pſalms that we find in the Old

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Teſtament, ſhew they were intended to affect thoſe who were to uſe them; and if that is acknowledged, then it will clearly follow, that all ought to underſtand them; for who can be affected with that which he does not underſtand? So this ſhews that the end of Publick Devotion, is the exciting and inflaming thoſe who bare a ſhare in it. When *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* were inſtructing the People out of the Law, they took care to have it read *diſtinctly, one giving the Senſe of it.* After they were long in Captivity, though it had not worn out quite the knowledge of the *Hebrew*, yet the *Chaldee* was more familiar to them, ſo a Paraphraſe was made of the *Hebrew* into that Language, though it was rather a different Dialect than another Language; and by the Forms of their Prayers, we ſee that one cried with a loud Voice, *Stand up and bleſs the Lord your God for ever and ever*, which ſhews, that all did underſtand the Service. When the *Syriac* Tongue became more familiar to them, the *Jews* had their Prayers in *Syriac*; and they did read the Law in their Synagogues in *Greek*, when that Language was more familiar to them; when they read the Law in *Greek*, we have reaſon to believe that they prayed likewiſe in it. In the New Teſtament, we ſee the Gift of Tongues was granted to enable the Apoſtles, and others, to go every where preaching the Goſpel, and performing Holy Functions in ſuch a Language as might be underſtood: The World was amaz'd when every Man heard them ſpeak in his own Language. *Art.* 24 Neh. 8. 8. Neh. 9. 5.

One of the general Rules given by St. *Paul*, with relation to the Worſhip of God, is, *Let every thing be done to Edification:* Since then the ſpeaking either to God in the Name of the People, or to the People in the Name of God, in an unknown Tongue, can edify no Perſon; then by this Rule, it is to be underſtood to be forbidden. When ſome who had the Gift of Tongues did indiſcreetly ſhew it in the Church of *Corinth*, St. *Paul* was ſo offended at that, and thought it would appear to the World ſo undecent, as well as unfruitful, that he beſtows a whole Chapter upon it; and tho' a great part of the Diſcourſe, is againſt the pretending to teach the People in an unknown Tongue, which yet is not near ſo bad, as the reading the Word of God to them in a Tongue not underſtood by them, it being much more important that the People ſhould underſtand the words of the living God than the Expoſitions of Men; yet there are many Paſſages in that Chapter that belong to Prayer: The reaſon of the thing is common to both, ſince unleſs the words were underſtood, they who uttered them ſpoke only to the Air; and how ſhould it be known what was ſpoken? For if the meaning of the Voice was not known, they would be Barbarians to one another. As to Prayer he ſays, *If I pray in an unknown tongue, my ſpirit* (that is the Inſpiration or Gift that is in me) *prayeth, but my underſtanding* (that is my rational Powers) *is unfruitful*; and therefore he concludes that he will both *Pray* and *give Thanks* with the *Spirit*, and with the *underſtanding alſo*; he will do it in ſuch a manner that the Inſpiration with which he was acted, and his rational Powers ſhould joyn together. The reaſon given for this, ſeems evident enough to determine the whole matter: *Elſe when thou ſhalt bleſs with the Spirit, how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned ſay* Amen *at thy giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? For thou verily giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified.* In which Words it is plain that the People, even the moſt unlearned among them, were to joyn in the Prayers and Praiſes, and to teſtify that by ſaying *Amen* at the concluſion of them: And in order to their doing this, as became reaſonable Creatures, it was neceſſary that they ſhould underſtand what that was which they were to confirm by their *Amen*. It is alſo evident that St. *Paul* judged, that the People ought to be edified by all that 1 Cor. 14. 14. Verſe 15. Verſe 16.

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Art. 24. Verse 26. was said in the Church; and so he says a little after this, *Let all things be done to edifying.* After such plain Authorities from Scripture, supporting that which seems to be founded on the Light of Nature; we need go no farther to prove that which is mainly designed by this Article.

The Custom of the Primitive Church is no less clear in this Point. As the Christian Religion was spread to different Nations, so they all worshipped God in their own Tongue. The *Syriac*, the *Greek*, and the *Latin*, were indeed of that extent, that we have no particular History of any Churches that lay beyond the compass of those Languages; but there was the same reason for putting the Worship of God in other Languages, that there was for these: That which is drawn from the Three Languages, in which the Title on our Saviour's Cross was written, is too trifling a thing to deserve an Answer: As if a humour of *Pilate*'s were to be considered as a Prophetical Warrant; what he did being only designed to make that Title to be understood by all who were then at *Jerusalem*. There are very large Passages both in *Origen* and St. *Basil*, which mention every Tongues *praising of God*; and that the Gospel being spread to many Nations, he was in every Nation praised in the Language of that Nation. This continued so long to be the practice even of the *Latin* Church, that in the Ninth Century, when the *Slavons* were converted, it was considered at *Rome* by Pope *John* VIII. in what Language they should be allowed to Worship God. And as is pretended, a Voice was heard, *Let every Tongue confess to God*; upon which that Pope writ both to the Prince, and to the Bishop of the *Slavons*, allowing them to have their Publick Service in their own Tongue. But in the other Parts of the *Western* Church, the *Latin* Tongue continued to be so universally understood, by almost all sorts of People, till the Tenth or Eleventh Century, that there was no occasion for changing it; and by that time the Clergy were affecting to keep the People in Ignorance, and in a blind dependance upon themselves; and so were willing to make them think that the whole business of reconciling the People to God lay upon them, and that they were to do it for them. A great part of the Service of the Mass was said so low, that even they who understood some *Latin*, could not be the better for it, in an Age in which there was no printing, and so few Copies were to be had of the Publick Offices. The Scriptures were likewise kept from the People, and the Service of God was filled with many Rites, in all which the Clergy seemed to design to make the People believe, that these were sacred Charms, of which they only had the Secret. So that all the Edification which was to be had in the Publick Worship, was turned to Pomp and Shew, for the Diversion and Entertainment of the Spectators.

Cont Celsum l. 8. p. 402. Ep. 63. ad Neocef.

Johan. 8. Ep. 247. Concil. Tom. 9.

In defence of this Worship in an unknown Tongue, the main Argument that is brought, is the Authority and Infallibility of the Church which has appointed it; and since she ought to be supposed not to have erred, therefore this must be believed to be lawful: We are not much moved with this, especially with the Authority of the later Ages; so the other Arguments must be considered, which indeed can scarce be called Arguments. The Modern Tongues change so fast, that they say, if the Worship were in them, it must either be often changed, or the Phrases would grow old and sound harshly. A few Alterations once in an Age will set this matter right; besides, that the use of such Forms does fix a Language, at least as to those Phrases that are used in it, which grow to be so familiar to our Ears by constant use, that they do not so easily wear out. It is above Eighty Years since the present Translation of the Bible was made, and above

Con. Trid. Chap. 8. Sess. 22.

above One hundred and forty ſince our Liturgy was compiled, and yet we perceive no uncouthneſs in the Phraſes. The ſimplicity in which ſuch Forms muſt be drawn, makes them not ſo ſubject to Alteration as other Compoſures of Rhetorick or Poetry; but can it be thought any inconveniency now and then to alter a little the Words or Phraſes of our Service? Much leſs, can that be thought of weight enough to balance the vaſter prejudice of keeping whole Nations in Ignorance, and of extinguiſhing Devotion by entertaining it with a Form of Worſhip, that is not underſtood? *Art.* 24.

Nor can this be avoided by ſaying, that the People are furniſhed with Forms in their own Language, into which the greateſt part of the Publick Offices are tranſlated: For as this is not done but ſince the Reformation began, and in thoſe Nations only where the Scandal that is given by an Unknown Language, might have, as they apprehend, ill effects; ſo it is only an Artifice to keep thoſe ſtill in their Communion, whom ſuch a groſs Practice, if not thus diſguiſed, might otherwiſe drive from them. But ſtill the Publick Worſhip has no Edification in it; nor can thoſe who do not underſtand it, ſay *Amen* according to St. *Paul.* Finally, they urge the *Communion of Saints*, in order to which they think it is neceſſary, that Prieſts whereſoever they go, may be able to officiate, which they cannot do if every Nation Worſhips God in its own Language. And this was indeed very neceſſary in thoſe Ages in which the See of *Rome* did by Proviſions, and the other Inventions of the Canoniſts, diſpoſe of the beſt Benefices to their own Creatures and Servants. That Trade would have been ſpoiled, if Strangers might not have been admitted, till they had learned the Language of the Country. And thus inſtead of taking care of the People that ought to be edified by the Publick Worſhip, Proviſion was made at their coſt, for ſuch Vagrant Prieſts as have been in all Ages, the Scandals of the Church, and the Reproaches of Religion.

Art. 25.

ARTICLE XXV.

Of the Sacraments.

Sacraments ordained of Christ, be not only Badges or Tokens of Christian Mens Profession, but rather they be certain sure Witnesses, and effectual Signs of Grace, and God's Will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

There are Two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel; that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extream Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel; being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are States of Life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like Nature of Sacraments with Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; for that they have not any visible Sign or Ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholsome Effect or Operation; but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves Damnation, as St. Paul saith.

THERE is a great Diversity between the Form of this Article, as it is now settled, and that published by King *Edward*, which begun in these Words, *Our Lord Jesus Christ gathered his People into a Society by Sacraments, very few in number, most easily to be kept, and of most excellent Signification; that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.* There is nothing in that Edition, instead of the Paragraph concerning the other five pretended Sacraments. Next comes the Paragraph which is here the last, only with the Addition of these Words, after Operation, *Not as some say,* ex opere operato, *which Terms as they are strange and utterly unknown to the Holy Scripture, so do they yield a Sense which savoureth of little Piety, but of much Superstition:* And in conclusion, the Paragraph comes, with which the Article does now begin; so that in all this Diversity there is no real difference: For the Virtue of the Sacraments being put in the worthy receiving, excludes the Doctrine of *Opus operatum*, as formally as if it had expresly been condemned; and the naming the Two Sacraments instituted by Christ, is upon the Matter the rejecting of all the rest.

It was most natural to begin this Article with a Description of Sacraments in General. This difference is to be put between Sacraments, and other Ritual Actions; that whereas other Rites are Badges and Distinctions by which the Christians are known, a Sacrament is more than a bare matter of Form; and as in the Old Testament, Circumcision and Propitiatory Sacrifices were things of a different Nature and Order, from all the other Ritual Precepts concerning their Cleansings, the Distinctions of Days, Places, and Meats. These were indeed Precepts given them of God, but they were not federal Acts of renewing the Covenant,

or

or reconciling themſelves to God. By Circumciſion they received the Seal of the Covenant, and were brought under the Obligation of the whole Law; they were by it made Debtors to it, and when by their Sins they had provoked God's Wrath, they were reconciled to him by their Sacrifices, with which Atonement was made, and ſo their Sins were forgiven them: The Nature and End of thoſe, was to be federal Acts, in the offering of which, the *Jews* kept to their part of the Covenant, and in the accepting of which, God maintained it on his part, ſo we ſee a plain difference between theſe and a meer Rite, which though commanded, yet muſt paſs only for the Badge of a Profeſſion, as the doing of it is an Act of Obedience to a Divine Law. Now, in the new Diſpenſation, though our Saviour has eaſed us of that *Law of Ordinances*, that *grievous Yoke*, and thoſe *beggarly Elements* which were laid upon the *Jews*; yet, ſince we are ſtill in the Body, ſubject to our Senſes, and to ſenſible things, he has appointed ſome federal Actions, to be both the viſible Stipulations and Profeſſions of our Chriſtianity, and the conveyances to us of the Bleſſings of the Goſpel. *Art.* 25.

There are two Extremes to be avoided in this Matter. The one is of the Church of *Rome*, that teaches, That as ſome Sacraments imprint a Character upon the Soul, which they define to be a Phyſical Quality, that is, Supernatural and Spiritual, ſo they do all carry along with them ſuch a Divine Virtue, that by the very receiving them (the *Opus operatum*) it is conveyed to the Souls of thoſe to whom they are applied; unleſs they themſelves put a Bar in the way of it by ſome mortal Sin. In conſequence of this, they reckon that by the Sacraments given to a Man in his Agonies, though he is very near paſt all Senſe, and ſo cannot joyn any lively Acts of his Mind with the Sacraments, yet he is juſtified; not to mention the common practice of giving Extreme Unction in the laſt Agony, when no appearance of any Senſe is left. This we reckon a Doctrine that is not only without all Foundation in Scripture, but that tends to deſtroy all Religion, and to make Men live on ſecurely in Sin, truſting to this, that the Sacraments may be given them when they die. The Conditions of the New Covenant, are Repentance, Faith, and Obedience; and we look on this as the corrupting the Vitals of this Religion, when any ſuch means are propoſed, by which the main Deſign of the Goſpel is quite overthrown. The buſineſs of a Character is an unintelligible Notion. We acknowledge Baptiſm is not to be repeated, but that is not by virtue of a Character imprinted in it, but becauſe it being a Dedication of the Perſon to God in the Chriſtian Religion, what is once ſo done, is to be underſtood to continue ſtill in that State, till ſuch a Perſon falls into an open Apoſtacy. In caſe of the Repentance of ſuch a Perſon, we finding that the Primitive Church did reconcile, but not rebaptize Apoſtates, do imitate that their Practice; but not becauſe of this late and unexplicable Notion of a Character. We look on all Sacramental Actions as acceptable to God only with regard to the Temper, and the inward Acts of the Perſon to whom they are applied, and cannot conſider them as Medicines or Charms, which work by a Virtue of their own, whether the Perſon to whom they are applied co-operates with them or not. Baptiſm is ſaid by St. *Peter to ſave us*, not as it is an Action that waſhes us; *Not the putting away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience towards God.* And therefore Baptiſm without this Profeſſion, is no Baptiſm, but ſeems to be uſed as a Charm; unleſs it is ſaid, that this Anſwer or Profeſſion is implied, whenſoever Baptiſm is deſired. When a Perſon of Age deſires Baptiſm, he muſt make thoſe Anſwers and Sponſions, otherwiſe he is not truly

1 Pet. 3. 21.

Art. 25. truly Baptized; and though his outward making of them being all that can fall under Human Cognizance, he who does that muſt be held to be truly baptized, and all the outward Priviledges of a baptized Perſon muſt belong to him; yet as to the effect of Baptiſm on the Soul of him that is baptized, without doubt that depends upon the ſincerity of the Profeſſions and Vows made by him. The Wills of Infants are by the Law of Nature and Nations in their Parents, and are transferred by them to their Sureties; the Sponſions that are made on their behalf are conſidered as made by themſelves; but there the outward Act is ſufficient; for the inward Acts of one Perſon cannot be ſuppoſed neceſſary to give the Sacrament its Virtue in another.

1 Cor. 10. 16. In the Euchariſt, by *our ſhewing forth our Lord's Death till he comes*, we are admitted to the *Communion of his Body and Blood:* To a ſhare in Partnerſhip with other Chriſtians in the Effects and Merits of his Death. But the unworthy Receiver is guilty of his Body and Blood, and brings thereby down Judgments upon himſelf; ſo that to fancy a Virtue in Sacraments that works on the Perſon to whom they are applied without any inward Acts accompanying it, and upon his being only Paſſive, is a Doctrine of which we find nothing in the Scriptures; which teach us that every thing we do is only accepted of God, with regard to the Diſpoſition of Mind that he knows us to be in when we go about it. Our Prayers and Sacrifices are ſo far from being accepted of God, that they are *Abomination* to him, if they come from wicked and defiled Hearts. The making Men believe that Sacraments may be effectual to them when they are next to a State of Paſſivity, not capable of any ſenſible thoughts of their own, is a ſure way to raiſe the Credit of the Clergy, and of the Sacrament; but at the ſame time it will moſt certainly diſpoſe Men to live in Sin, hoping that a few Rites which may be eaſily procured at their Death, will clear all at laſt. And thus we reject, not without great Zeal againſt the fatal Effects of this Error, all that is ſaid of the *Opus operatum*; the very doing of the Sacrament: we think it looks liker the Incantations of Heathenism, than the Purity and Simplicity of the Chriſtian Religion.

But the other Extream that we likewiſe avoid, is that of ſinking the Sacraments ſo low, as to be meer Rites and Ceremonies. St. *Peter* ſays, Tit. 3. 5. *Baptiſm ſaves us.* St. *Paul* calls it, The *laver of Regeneration*; to which Mark 16. 16. he joyns the *renewing of the Holy Ghoſt.* Our Saviour ſaith, *He that be-* John 3. 3, 5. *lieveth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved*; and *except ye are born again of Water, and of the Spirit, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* Theſe Words have a Senſe and Signification, that riſes far above a meer Ceremony done to keep up Order, and to maintain a ſettled Form. The Phraſe *Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt*, is above the Nature of an Anniverſary or Memorial Feaſt: This Opinion we think is very unſuitable to thoſe high Expreſſions; and we do not doubt but that Chriſt, who inſtituted thoſe Sacraments, does ſtill accompany them with a particular Preſence in them, and a Bleſſing upon them; ſo that we coming to them with Minds well prepared, with pure Affections and holy Reſolutions, do certainly receive in and with them particular largeſſes of the Favour and Bounty of God. They are not bare and naked Remembrances and Tokens, but are actuated and animated by a Divine Bleſſing that attends upon them. This is what we believe on this Head, and theſe are the Grounds upon which we found it.

A Sacrament is an Inſtitution of Chriſt, in which ſome material thing is ſanctified, by the uſe of ſome Form or Words, in and by which, federal Acts of this Religion do paſs on both ſides; on ours by Stipulations,

Pro-

Profeſſions, or Vows; and on God's by his ſecret Aſſiſtances: by theſe we are alſo united to the Body of Chriſt, which is the Church. It muſt be Inſtituted by Chriſt, for though Ritual Matters that are only the Expreſſions of our Duty, may be appointed by the Church; yet federal Acts, to which a conveyance of Divine Grace is tied, can only be inſtituted by him who is the Author and Mediator of this New Covenant, and who lays down the Rules or Conditions of it, and derives the Bleſſings of it by what Methods and in what Channels he thinks fit. Whatſoever his Apoſtles ſettled, was by Authority and Commiſſion from him; therefore it is not to be denied, but that if they had appointed any Sacramental Action, that muſt be reckoned to be of the ſame Authority, and is to be eſteemed Chriſt's Inſtitution, as much as if he himſelf, when on Earth had appointed it. *Art.* 25.

Matter is of the Eſſence of a Sacrament; for Words without ſome material thing, to which they belong, may be of the Nature of Prayers or Vows, but they cannot be Sacraments: Receiving a Sacrament is on our part our Faith plighted to God in the uſe of ſome material Subſtance or other; for in this conſiſts the difference between Sacraments, and other Acts of Worſhip. The latter are only Acts of the Mind declared by Words or Geſture, whereas Sacraments are the Application of a material Sign, joyned with Acts of the Mind, Words, and Geſtures: With the *Matter* there muſt be a *Form*, that is, ſuch Words joyned with it as do appropriate the Matter to ſuch an uſe, and ſeparate it from all other uſes, at leaſt in the Act of the Sacrament. For in any piece of *Matter* alone, there cannot be a proper ſuitableneſs to ſuch an end, as ſeems to be deſigned by Sacraments, and therefore a *Form* muſt determine and apply it; and it is highly ſuitable to the nature of Things, to believe that our Saviour, who has Inſtituted the Sacrament, has alſo either Inſtituted the Form of it, or given us ſuch hints as to lead us very near it. The end of Sacraments is double; the one is by a Solemn Federal Action both to unite us to Chriſt, and alſo to derive a ſecret Bleſſing from him to us: And the other is to joyn and unite us by this publick Profeſſion, and the joynt partaking of it, with his Body, which is the Church. This is in general, an Account of a *Sacrament:* This, it is true, is none of thoſe Words that are made uſe of in Scripture, ſo that it has no determined Signification given to it in the Word of God; yet it was very early applied by *Pliny* to thoſe Vows by which the Chriſtians tied themſelves to their Religion, taken from the Oaths by which the Soldiery among the *Romans*, were ſworn to their Colours or Officers; and from that time this Term has been uſed in a Senſe conſecrated to the Federal Rites of Religion. Yet if any will diſpute about Words, we know how much St. *Paul* condemns all thoſe curious and vain Queſtions, which have in them the Subtilties and *Oppoſitions of Science falſly ſo called.* If any will call every Rite uſed in Holy Things, a Sacrament, we enter into no ſuch Contentions. Lib. 10. Ep. 97. 1 Tim. 6. 20.

The Rites therefore that we underſtand when we ſpeak of Sacraments, are the conſtant Federal Rites of Chriſtians, which are accompanied by a Divine Grace and Benediction, being inſtituted by Chriſt to unite us to him, and to his Church; and of ſuch we own that there are Two, *Baptiſm*, and the *Supper of our Lord.* In Baptiſm there is *Matter*, *Water*; there is a *Form*, the Perſon *Dipped* or *Waſhed*, with words, *I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* There is an Inſtitution, *Go preach and baptize*; there is a Federal Sponſion, *The anſwer of a good Conſcience*; there is a Bleſſing conveyed with it, *Baptiſm ſaves.* Matth. 28. 19. 1 Pet. 3. 21. Matth. 26. 26, 27.

Art. 25. *save us*; there is *one baptism, as there is one body and one spirit; we are all baptized into one body.* So that here all the constituent and necessary Parts of a Sacrament are found in Baptism. In the Lord's Supper, there is *Bread* and *Wine* for the *Matter.* The giving it to be Eat and Drunk, with the Words that our Saviour used in the first Supper, are the *Form: Do this in remembrance of me*, is the Institution. *Ye shew forth the Lord's death till he come again*, is the Declaration of the Federal Act of our part: It is also the *Communion of the body, and of the blood of Christ*, that is, the conveyance of the Blessings of our Partnership in the Effects of the Death of Christ. *And we being many, are one Bread and one Body, for we are all partakers of that one Bread*; this shews the Union of the Church in this Sacrament. Here then we have in these two Sacraments, both Matter, Form, Institution, Federal Acts, Blessings conveyed, and the Union of the Body in them. All the Characters which belong to a Sacrament agree fully to them.

1 Cor. 11. 23, to 27.

1 Cor. 10. 16, 17.

In the next place we must, by these Characters, examine the other pretended Sacraments. It is no wonder, if the word *Sacrament* being of a large extent, there should be some Passages in Ancient Writers, that call other Actions so besides *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*; for in a larger Sense every Holy Rite may be so called. But it is no small prejudice against the number of Seven Sacraments, that *Peter Lombard*, a Writer in the Twelfth Century, is the first that reckons *Seven* of them: From that Mystical Expression of the Seven Spirits of God, there came a conceit of the sevenfold Operation of the Spirit; and it looked like a good Illustration of that to assert Seven Sacraments. This, Pope *Eugenius* put in his Instruction to the *Armenians*, which is published with the Council of *Florence*; and all was finally settled at *Trent.* Now there might have been so many fine Allusions made on the number Seven, and some of the Ancients were so much set on such Allusions, that since we hear nothing of that kind from any of them; we may well conclude that this is more than an ordinary Negative Argument against their having believed, that there were Seven Sacraments. To go on in order with them:

Lib. 3. Dist. 2.

The first that we reject, which is reckoned by them the second, is *Confirmation.* But to explain this, we must consider in what respect our Church receives *Confirmation*, and upon what reasons it is that she does not acknowledge it to be a *Sacrament.* We find that after *Philip*, the Deacon and Evangelist, had converted and baptized some in *Samaria*; *Peter* and *John* were sent thither by the Apostles, who *laid their hands* on such as were baptized, and *prayed that they might receive the Holy Ghost*; upon which it is said, that *they received the Holy Ghost.* Now though ordinary Functions, when performed by the Apostles, such as their laying on of Hands in those whom they Ordained or Confirmed, had extraordinary Effects accompanying them; but when the extraordinary Effects ceased, the end for which these were at first given being accomplished, the Gospel having been fully attested to the World, yet the Functions were still continued of Confirmation as well as Ordination: And as the *laying on of Hands*, that is reckoned among the Principles of the Christian Doctrine, after *Repentance*, and *Faith*, and subsequent to *Baptism*, seems very probably to belong to this; so from these Warrants, we find in the earliest Writings of Christianity, mention of a *Confirmation* after *Baptism*, which for the greater Solemnity and Awe of the Action, and from the precedent of St. *Peter* and St. *John*, was reserved to the Bishop, to be done only by him.

Acts 8. 12, 14, 15, 16, 17.

Heb. 6. 2.

Upon these Reasons we think it is in the Power of the Church to require all such as have been baptized, to come before the Bishop and

and renew their Baptiſmal Vow, and pray for God's Holy Spirit to enable them to keep their Vow; and upon their doing this, the Biſhop may ſolemnly pray over them, with that ancient and almoſt natural Ceremony, of laying his Hands upon them, which is only a Deſignation of the Perſons ſo prayed over, and bleſt, that God may ſeal and defend them with his Holy Spirit; in which, according to the nature of the New Covenant, we are ſure that ſuch as do thus Vow and Pray, do alſo receive the Holy Spirit, according to the Promiſe that our Saviour has made us. In this Action there is nothing but what is in the Power of the Church to do, even without any other Warrant or Precedent. The doing all things to *Order*, and to *Edifying*, will authorize a Church to all this; eſpecially, ſince the now univerſal Practice of *Infant Baptiſm*, makes this more neceſſary than it was in the firſt times, when chiefly the *Adult* were baptized. It is highly reaſonable that they who gave no actual Conſent of their own, ſhould come, and by their own expreſs Act make the Stipulations of Baptiſm. It may give greater impreſſions of awe and reſpect, when this is reſtrained to the higheſt Order in the Church. Upon the ſincere Vows and earneſt Prayers of Perſons thus Confirmed, we have reaſon to believe that a proportioned degree of God's Grace and Spirit will be poured out upon them. And in all this we are much confirmed when we ſee ſuch warrants for it in Scripture. A thing ſo good in it ſelf, that has at leaſt a probable Authority for it, and was certainly a practice of the firſt Ages, is upon very juſt grounds continued in our Church. Would to God it were as ſeriouſly gone about, as it is lawfully eſtabliſhed. *Art.* 25.

But after all this, here is no Sacrament, no expreſs Inſtitution, neither by Chriſt nor his Apoſtles; no Rule given to practiſe it, and which is the moſt eſſential, there is no matter here; for the laying on of Hands is only a geſture in Prayer; nor are there any federal Rites declared to belong to it; it being indeed rather a Ratifying and Confirming the Baptiſm, than any new Stipulation. To ſupply all this, the Church of *Rome* has appointed *Matter* for it. The *Chriſm*, which is a mixture of *Oil*, Olive, and *Balm*, (*Opobalſamum*) the *Oil* ſignifying the clearneſs of a good Conſcience, and the *Balm* the ſavour of a good Reputation. This muſt be peculiarly bleſſed by the Biſhop, who is the only Miniſter of that Function. The *Form* of this Sacrament is the applying the *Chriſm* to the Forehead, with theſe words, *Signo te ſigno crucis, & confirmo te chriſmate ſalutis, in Nomine Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti:* I ſign thee with the ſign of the Croſs, and confirm thee with the Chriſm of Salvation, in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. They pretend Chriſt did Inſtitute this; but they ſay the Holy Ghoſt which he breathed on his Diſciples, being a thing that tranſcended all Sacraments, he ſettled no determined *Matter* nor *Form* to it: And that the ſucceeding Ages appropriated this *Matter* to it.

We do not deny, but that the Chriſtians began very early to uſe Oil in Holy Functions. The Climates they lived in making it neceſſary to uſe Oil much, for ſtopping the Perſpiration, that might diſpoſe them the more to uſe Oil in their Sacred Rites. It is not to be denied, but that both *Theophilus* and *Tertullian*, in the end of the Second, and the beginning of the Third Century, do mention it. The frequent mention of *Oil*, and of *Anointing* in the Scripture, might incline them to this: It was Propheſied of Chriſt, That he was to be *anointed with the oil of joy and gladneſs above his fellows:* And the Names of *Meſſias* and *Chriſt* do alſo import this; but yet we hold all *that* to be Myſtical, and that it is to be meant of that fulneſs of the Spirit which he received *without meaſure*. Upon the ſame account we do underſtand thoſe words of St. *Paul*, in

Theophil. l. 1. ad Autolyc. Tert. de Bapt. c. 7, 8. de Reſur. car. c. 8. Cypr. Ep. 70.

Art. 25. in the same mystical Sense, *he that establisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God; who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts:* As also those words of St. *John, but ye have an Unction from the holy one, and ye know all things. The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you; and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you all things.* These words do clearly relate to somewhat that the Christians received immediately from God, and so must be understood figuratively: For we do not see the least hint of the Apostles using of Oil, except to the sick; of which afterwards. So that if this Use of Oil is considered only as a Ceremony of a natural Signification, that was brought into the Rituals of the Church, it is a thing of another Nature: But if a Sacrament is made of it, and a divine Vertue is joined to that, we can admit of no such thing, without an express Institution and Declaration in Scripture.

2 Cor. 1. 21, 22. 1 John 2. 20, 27.

Con. Arausi. c. 1, 2. Cod. Affr. Can. 6. Con. Tol. c. 20.

The Invention that was afterwards found out, by which the Bishop was held to be the only Minister of *Confirmation*, even tho' Presbyters were suffered to *Confirm*, was a piece of Superstition without any colour from Scripture. It was settled, that the Bishop only might consecrate the *Chrism*; and tho' he was the ordinary Minister of Confirmation, yet Presbyters were also suffered to do it, the Chrism being consecrated by the Bishop: Presbyters thus Confirming, was thought like the Deacons giving the Sacrament, tho' Priests only might consecrate the Eucharist. In the *Latin* Church *Jerom* tells us, that in his Time the Bishop only Confirmed; and tho' he makes the Reason of this, to be rather for doing an Honour to them, than from any necessity of the Law, yet he positively says the Bishops went round praying for the Holy Ghost on those whom they Confirmed. It is said by *Hilary*, that in *Egypt the Presbyters did Confirm in the Bishops absence:* So that custom joined with the distinction between the Consecration, and the applying of the Chrism, grew to be the universal Practice of the *Greek* Church. The greatness of Dioceses with the increasing Numbers of the Christians, made that both in *France*, in the Councils of *Orange*; and in *Spain*, in the Council of *Toledo*, the same Rule was laid down that the *Greeks* had begun. In *Spain* some Priests did consecrate the *Chrism*, but that was severely forbid in one of the Councils of *Toledo:* Yet at *Rome* the ancient Custom was observed, of appropriating the whole business of Confirmation to the Bishop; even in *Gregory the Great's* time: Therefore he reproved the Clergy of *Sardinia*, because among them the Priests did Confirm, and he appointed it to be reserved to the Bishop: But when he understood that some of them were offended at this, he writ to the Bishop of *Carali*, that tho' his former Order was made according to the ancient Practice of the Church of *Rome*, yet he consented that for the future the Priests might *Confirm* in the Bishops absence. But Pope *Nicholas* in the IX. Century pressed this with more rigor: For the *Bulgarians* being then converted to the Christian Religion, and their Priests having both Baptized and Confirmed the new Converts, Pope *Nicholas* sent Bishops among them with Orders to Confirm even those who had already been Confirmed by Priests: Upon which the contest being then on foot, between *Rome* and *Constantinople*, *Photius* got it to be decreed in a Synod at *Constantinople*, That the Chrism being hallowed by a Bishop, it might be administred by Presbyters: And *Photius* affirmed that a Presbyter might do this, as well as Baptize or Offer at the Altar. But Pope *Nicholas* with the confidence that was often assumed by that See upon as bad grounds, did affirm, that this had never been allowed of. And upon this many of the *Latins* did in the Progress of their Disputes with the *Greeks*, say,

Hieron. ad. Lucifer.

Hilar. in cap. 4. ad. Ephes. ut Supra.

Greg. Ep. l. 3. Ep. 9.

ſay, that they had no Confirmation. This has been more enlarged on, than was neceſſary by the deſigned ſhortneſs of this Work, becauſe all thoſe of the *Roman* Communion among us, have now no Confirmation, unleſs a Biſhop happens to come amongſt them. And therefore it is now a common Doctrine among them, that tho' Confirmation is a Sacrament, yet it is not neceſſary. *Art.* 25. In decr. Con. Florent.

About this there were fierce Diſputes among them, about Sixty years ago, whether it was neceſſary for them to have a Biſhop here to Confirm according to the ancient Cuſtom or not? The Jeſuites, who had no mind to be under any Authority but their own, oppoſed it; for the Biſhop being by Pope *Eugenius* declared to be the ordinary Miniſter of it, from thence it was inferred, that a Biſhop was not ſimply neceſſary. This was much cenſured by ſome of the *Gallican* Church. If Confirmation were conſidered only as an Eccleſiaſtical Rite, we could not diſpute the power of the Church about it; but we cannot allow that a Sacrament ſhould be thus within the power of the Church; or that a new Function of Conſecrating Oil, without applying it, diſtinct from Confirmation, and yet neceſſary to the very eſſence of it, could have been ſet up by the power of the Church; for if Sacraments are federal conveyances of Grace, they muſt be continued according to their firſt Inſtitution. The Grace of God being only tied to the Actions with which it is promiſed.

We go next to the Second of the Sacraments here rejected, which is *Penance*, that is reckoned the Fourth in order among them. *Penance*, or *Penitence*, is formed from the Latin Tranſlation of a *Greek* word that ſignifies a *change*, or *renovation of Mind*; which Chriſt has made a neceſſary condition of the New Covenant. It conſiſts in ſeveral acts, all which, when joined together, and producing this real change, we become then true Penitents, and have a right to the *Remiſſion of Sins*, which is in the New Teſtament often joined with *Repentance*, and is its certain conſequent. The firſt act of this Repentance is Confeſſion to God, before whom we muſt humble our ſelves, and confeſs our Sins to him; upon which we believe that *he is faithful*, and true to his Promiſes, and *juſt to forgive us our ſins*; and if we have wronged others, or have given publick offence to the Body or Church, to which we belong, we ought to *confeſs our faults* to them likewiſe; and as a mean to quiet Mens Conſciences, to direct them to compleat their Repentance, and to make them more humble and aſhamed of their Sins, we adviſe them to uſe ſecret Confeſſion, to *their Prieſt, or to any other Miniſter of God's Word*; leaving this matter wholly to their diſcretion. 1 John 1. 9. James 5. 16.

When theſe acts of ſorrow have had their due effect, in reforming the natures and lives of Sinners, then their Sins are forgiven them: In order to which, we do teach them to Pray much, to give Alms according to their Capacity, and to faſt as often as their Health and Circumſtances will admit of; and moſt indiſpenſably to reſtore or repair, as they find they have ſinned againſt others. And as we teach them thus to look back on what is paſt, with a deep and hearty ſorrow, and a profound ſhame, ſo we charge them to look chiefly forward, not thinking that any acts with relation to what is paſt, can, as it were, by an account or compenſation free us from the guilt of our former Sins, unleſs we amend our Lives and change our Tempers for the future. The great deſign of Repentance being to make us like God, Pure and Holy as he is. Upon ſuch a Repentance ſincerely begun, and honeſtly purſued, we do in general, as the Heralds of God's Mercy, and the Miniſters of his Goſpel, pronounce to our People daily, the offers that are made us of Mercy and Pardon by Chriſt Jeſus. This we do in our daily Service, and in a more peculiar manner before we go to the Holy Communion. We do alſo, as we are a Body

Art. 25. that may be offended with the ſins of others, forgive the Scandals committed againſt the Church; and that ſuch as we think die in a ſtate of Repentance, may die in the full Peace of the Church, we join both Abſolutions in one; in the laſt Office likewiſe praying to our Saviour that he would forgive them, and then we, as the Officers of the Church, authoriſed for that end, do forgive all the Offences and Scandals committed by them againſt the whole Body. This is our Doctrine concerning Repentance; in all which we find no Characters of a Sacrament, no more than there is in Prayer or Devotion. Here is no Matter, no application of that Matter by a peculiar Form, no Inſtitution, and no peculiar federal acts. The Scene here is the Mind, the acts are Internal, the effect is ſuch alſo; and therefore we do not reckon it a Sacrament, not finding in it any of the Characters of a Sacrament.

The matter that is aſſigned in the Church of *Rome*, are the acts of the Penitent; his Confeſſion by his Mouth to the Prieſt, the Contrition of his Heart, and the ſatisfaction of his Work, in doing the enjoined Penance. The Aggregate of all theſe is the *Matter*; and the *Form*, are the words, *Ego te Abſolvo*. Now beſides what we have to ſay upon every one of theſe particulars, the Matter of a Sacrament muſt be ſome viſible Sign applied to him that receives it. It is therefore a very abſurd thing to imagine that a Man's own Thoughts, Words, or Actions, can be the *Matter* of a Sacrament: How can this be ſanctified or applied to him? It will be a thing no leſs abſurd to make the *Form* of a Sacrament to be a practice not much elder than Four hundred Year; ſince no Ritual can be produced, nor Author cited for this Form, for above a Thouſand Years after Chriſt. All the ancient Forms of receiving Penitents, having been by a Bleſſing in the Form of a Prayer, or a Declaration; but none of them in theſe poſitive words, *I Abſolve thee*. We think this want of *Matter*, and this new invented *Form*, being without any Inſtitution in Scripture, and different from ſo long a practice of the whole Church, are ſuch reaſons that we are fully juſtified in denying Penance to be a *Sacrament*. But becauſe the Doctrine of Repentance is a point of the higheſt importance, there ariſe ſeveral things here that ought to be very carefully examined.

Innoc. 3. in 4. later. Can. 21, 22. Conc. Trid. Seſſ. 14. c. 5.

As to *Confeſſion*, we find in the Scriptures, that ſuch as deſired St. *John's* Baptiſm, came *confeſſing their ſins*, but that was previous to Baptiſm. We find alſo that ſcandalous Perſons were to be *openly rebuked before all*, and ſo to be put to ſhame, in which, no doubt, there was a Confeſſion, and a publication of the Sin; but that was a matter of the Diſcipline and Order of the Church; which made it neceſſary to *note ſuch perſons as walked diſorderly, and to have no fellowſhip with them*, ſometimes *not ſo much as to eat with them*, who being Chriſtians, and ſuch as were called *Brothers*, were a reproach to their Profeſſion: But beſides the Power given to the Apoſtles of *binding and looſing*, which as was ſaid on another Head, belonged to other matters; we find that when our Saviour breathed on his Apoſtles and gave them the Holy Ghoſt, he with that told them, That *whoſe ſoever ſins they remitted, they were remitted*; *and whoſe ſoever ſins they retained, they were retained*. Since a Power of remitting or retaining ſin was thus given to them, they infer that it ſeems reaſonable, that in order to their diſpenſing it with a due caution, the knowledge of all ſins ought to be laid open to them.

Matt. 3. 6. 1 Tim. 5. 10. 2 Theſſ. 3. 14. 1 Cor. 5. 11. John 20. 23.

Some have thought that this was a Perſonal thing given to the Apoſtles with that Miraculous effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt; with which ſuch a diſcerning of Spirits was communicated to them, that they could diſcern the ſincerity or hypocriſy of theſe that came before them; by this St. *Peter* diſcovered the ſin of *Ananias* and *Saphira*; and he alſo ſaw that

Acts 5. 3, 9.

Simon

Simon of *Samaria* was *in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of iniquity*: So they conclude that this was a part of that extraordinary and miraculous Authority which was given to the Apoſtles, and to them only. But others, who diſtinguiſh between the full extent of this Power, and the Miniſterial Authority that is ſtill to be continued in the Church, do believe that theſe Words may in a lower and more limited Senſe belong to the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles; but they argue very ſtrongly, that if theſe Words are to be underſtood in their full extent as they lie, a Prieſt has by them an abſolute and unlimited Power in this Matter, not reſtrained to Conditions or Rules; ſo that if he does Pardon or retain ſins, whether in that he does right or wrong, the ſins muſt be pardoned or retained accordingly: He may indeed ſin in uſing it wrong, for which he muſt anſwer to God; but he ſeems by the literal meaning of theſe Words, to be cloathed with ſuch a Plenipotentiary Authority, that his Act muſt be valid, though he may be puniſhed for imploying it amiſs. *Art.* 25. Acts 8. 23.

An Ambaſſador that has full Powers, though limited by ſecret Inſtructions, does bind him that ſo empowered him, by every Act that he does, purſuant to his Powers, how much ſoever it may go beyond his Inſtructions; for how obnoxious ſoever that may render him to his Maſter, it does not at all leſſen the Authority of what he has done, nor the Obligation that ariſes out of it. So theſe words of Chriſt's, if applied to all Prieſts, muſt belong to them in their full extent, and if ſo, the Salvation, or the Damnation of Mankind is put abſolutely in the Prieſt's Power. Nor can it be anſwered, That the Conditions of the Pardon of ſin that are expreſſed in the other parts of the Goſpel, are here to be underſtood, though they are not expreſſed. As we are ſaid to be ſaved if we believe, which does not imply that a ſingle Act of believing the Goſpel, without any thing elſe puts us in a ſtate of Salvation.

In Oppoſition to this, we Anſwer, That the Goſpel having ſo deſcribed *Faith* to us, as the Root of all other Graces and Virtues, as that which produces them, and which is known by them, all that is promiſed upon our *Faith*, muſt be underſtood of a *Faith* ſo qualified, as the Goſpel repreſents it; and therefore that cannot be applied to this Caſe, where an unlimited Authority is ſo particularly expreſt; that no Condition ſeems to be implied in it. If any Conditions are elſewhere laid upon us, in order to our Salvation, then according to their Doctrine, we may ſay that of them, which they ſay of Contrition upon this occaſion, That they are neceſſary when we cannot procure the Prieſt's Pardon; but that by it the want of them all may be ſupplied, and that the Obligation to them all is ſuperſeded by it: And if any Conditions are to be underſtood as limits upon this Power, why are not all the Conditions of the Goſpel, Faith, Hope, and Charity, Contrition and New Obedience made neceſſary, in order to the lawful diſpenſing of it, as well as Confeſſion, Attrition, and the doing the Penance enjoyned? Therefore ſince no Condition is here named as a reſtraint upon this General Power, that is pretended to be given to Prieſts by thoſe words of our Saviour, they muſt either be underſtood as ſimple and unconditional, or they muſt be limited to all the Conditions that are expreſſed in the Goſpel. For there is not the colour of a reaſon to reſtrain them to ſome of them, and to leave out the reſt: And thus we think we are fully juſtified by ſaying, that by theſe Words, our Saviour did indeed fully empower the Apoſtles to publiſh his Goſpel to the World, and to declare the Terms of Salvation, and of obtaining the Pardon of Sin, in which they were to be infallibly aſſiſted, ſo that they could not err in diſcharging their Commiſſion; and the

Art. 25. Terms of the Covenant of Grace being thus ſettled by them, all who were to ſucceed them, were alſo empowered to go on with the Publication of this Pardon, and of thoſe glad Tidings to the World: So that whatſoever they declared in the Name of God, conform to the Tenor of that which the Apoſtles were to ſettle, ſhould be always made good. We do alſo acknowledge, that the Paſtors of the Church have in the way of Cenſure and Government, a Miniſterial Authority to remit, or to retain Sins, as they are Matters of Scandal or Offence; tho' that indeed does not ſeem to be the meaning of thoſe Words of our Saviour; and therefore we think that the power of pardoning and retaining is only declaratory, ſo that all the exerciſes of it are are then only effectual, when the Declarations of the Pardon are made conform to the Conditions of the Goſpel. This Doctrine of ours how much ſoever decried of late in the *Roman* Church, as ſtriking at the Root of the Prieſtly Authority, yet has been maintained by ſome of their beſt Authors, and ſome of the greateſt of their School-men.

Thus we have ſeen upon what reaſon it is, that we do not conclude from hence, that Auricular Confeſſion is neceſſary; in which we think that we are fully confirmed by the Practice of many of the Ages of the Chriſtian Church, which did not underſtand theſe words as containing an Obligation to Secret Confeſſion. It is certain that the Practice and Tradition of the Church muſt be relied on here, if in any thing, ſince there was nothing that both Clergy and Laity were more concerned both to know, and to deliver down faithfully than this, on which the Authority of the one, and the Salvation of the other, depended ſo much. Such a Point as this could never have been forgot or miſtaken; many and clear Rules muſt have been given about it. It is a thing to which Humane Nature has ſo much repugnancy, that it muſt in the firſt forming of Churches have been infuſed into them, as abſolutely neceſſary in order to Pardon and Salvation.

A Church could not now be formed, according to the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of *Rome*, without very full and particular Inſtructions, both to Prieſts and People concerning Confeſſion and Abſolution. It is the moſt intricate Part of their Divinity, and that which the Clergy muſt be moſt ready at. In Oppoſition to all this let it be conſidered, that though there is a great deal ſaid in the New Teſtament concerning Sorrow for Sin, Repentance and Remiſſion of Sins, yet there is not a Word ſaid, nor a Rule given concerning Confeſſion to be made to a Prieſt, and Abſolution to be given by him. There is indeed a Paſſage in St. *James*'s Epiſtle relating to Confeſſion; but *it is to one another*, not reſtrained to the Prieſt; as the Word rendred *Faults* ſeems to ſignify thoſe Offences, by which others are wronged, in which caſe Confeſſion is a degree of Reparation, and ſo is ſometimes neceſſary; but whatever may be in this, it is certain, that the Confeſſion which is there appointed to be made, is a thing that was to be mutual among Chriſtians; and it is not commanded in order to Abſolution, but in order to the procuring the Interceſſions of other good Men; and therefore it is added, and *Pray for one another*. By the words that follow, *that ye may be healed*, joyned with thoſe that went before concerning the *Sick*, it ſeems the Direction given by St. *James* belongs principally to Sick Perſons; and the concluſion of the whole Period ſhews, That it relates only to the private Prayers of good Men for one another, *The effectual fervent Prayer of a righteous man availeth much*. So that this place does not at all belong to Auricular Confeſſion or Abſolution.

James 5. 16.

Nor

Nor does there any Prints appear, before the Apoſtacies that happened in the Perſecution of *Decius*, of the Practice even of confeſſing ſuch heinous Sins as had been publickly committed. Then aroſe the famous conteſts with the *Novatians*, concerning the receiving the lapſed into the Communion of the Church again. It was concluded not to exclude them from the hopes of Mercy, or of Reconciliation; yet it was reſolved not to do that, till they had been kept at a diſtance for ſome time from the Holy Communion; at laſt they were admitted to make their Confeſſion, and ſo they were received to the Communion of the Church. This time was ſhortned, and many things were paſt over, to ſuch as ſhewed a deep and ſincere Repentance; and one of the Characters of a true Repentance upon which they were always treated with a great diſtinction of Favour, was, if they came and firſt accuſed themſelves. This ſhewed that they were deeply affected with the Senſe of their Sins, when they would not bear the load of them, but became their own Accuſers, and diſcovered their Sins. There are ſeveral Canons that make a difference in the degrees and time of the Penance, between thoſe who had accuſed themſelves, and thoſe againſt whom their Sins were proved. A great deal of this ſtrain occurs often in the Writings of the Fathers, which plainly ſhews that they did not look on the neceſſity of an Enumeration of all their Sins as commanded by God. Otherwiſe it would have been enforced with Conſiderations of another nature, than that of ſhortning their Penance. *Art.* 25.

The firſt occaſion that was given to the Church to exerciſe this Diſcipline, was from the frequent Apoſtacies, into which many had lapſed during the Perſecutions, and when theſe went off, another ſort of Diſorders began to break in upon the Church, and to defile it. Great numbers followed the Example of their Princes, and became Chriſtians; but a mixed Multitude came among them, ſo that there were many Scandals amongſt that Body which had been formerly remarkable for the purity of their Morals, and the ſtrictneſs of their Lives. It was the chief buſineſs of all thoſe Councils that met in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, to ſettle many Rules concerning the degrees and time of Penance, the Cenſures both of the Clergy and Laity, the Orders of the Penitents, and the Methods of receiving them to the Communion of the Church. In ſome of thoſe Councils they denied Reconciliation after ſome ſins, even to the laſt, though the general Practice was to receive all at their Death; but while they were in a good ſtate of Health, they kept them long in Penance, in a publick Separation from the Common Priviledges of Chriſtians, and chiefly from the Holy Sacrament, and under ſevere Rules, and that for ſeveral Years, more or fewer, according to the Nature of their Sins, and the Characters of their Repentance; of which a free and unextorted Confeſſion being one of the chief, this made many prevent that, and come in of their own accord to confeſs their ſins, which was much encouraged and magnified. Dallæus de Confeſſione. Morinus de Pœnitentia.

Confeſſion was at firſt made publickly, but the Inconveniences of that appearing, and particularly many of thoſe ſins being Capital, inſtead of a publick there was a private Confeſſion practiſed. The Biſhops either attended upon theſe themſelves, or they appointed a Penitentiary Prieſt to receive them: All was in order to the executing the Canons, and for keeping up the Diſcipline of the Church. Biſhops were warranted by the Council of *Nice* to excuſe the ſeverity of the Canons, as the occaſion ſhould require. The Penitents went through the Penance impoſed, which was done publickly; the Separation and Penance being viſible, even when the ſin was kept ſecret; and when the time of the Penance was finiſhed, they received the Penitents by Prayer and Impoſition of Hands, into the Communion

Art. 25. nion of the Church, and so they were received. This was all the Absolution that was known during the first Six Centuries.

Penitents were enjoyned to publish such of their secret Sins, as the Penitentiary Priest did prescribe. This happened to give great Scandal at *Constantinople*, when *Nectarius* was Bishop there; for a Woman being in a Course of Penance, confessed publickly that she had been guilty of Adultery, committed with a Deacon in the Church. It seems by the Relation that the Historian gives of this matter, that she went beyond the Injunctions given her; but whether the fault was in her, or in the Penitentiary Priest, this gave such offence, that *Nectarius* broke that Custom. And *Chrysostom*, who came soon after him to that See, speaks very fully against secret Confession, and advises Christians to confess only to God, yet the practice of secret Confession was kept up elsewhere; but it appears by a vast number of Citations from the Fathers, both in different Ages, and in the different Corners of the Church, that though they pressed Confession much, and magnified the value of it highly, yet they never urged it as necessary to the Pardon of Sin, or as a Sacrament; they only prest it as a mean to compleat the Repentance, and to give the Sinner an Interest in the Prayers of the Church. This may be positively affirmed concerning all the Quotations that are brought in this matter, to prove that Auricular Confession is necessary in order to the Priest's Pardon, and that it is founded on those Words of Christ, *Whose sins ye remit*, &c. that they prove quite the contrary; that the Fathers had not the sense of it, but considered it, either as a mean to help to the compleating of Repentance, or as a mean to maintain the Purity of the Christian Church, and the Rigour of Discipline.

Socr. Hist. l. 5. c. 19.

Thirteen Passages out of him cited and explained by Daille de Conf. l. 4. c. 25.

In the Fifth Century, a Practice begun, which was no small step to the ruin of the Order of the Church. Penitents were suffered instead of the Publick Penance, that had been formerly enjoyned, to do it secretly in some Monastery, or in any other private place, in the presence of a few good Men, and that at the discretion of the Bishop, or the Confessor, at the end of which, Absolution was given in secret. This was done to draw what Professions of Repentance they could from such Persons who would not submit to settled Rules: This Temper was found neither to lose them quite, nor to let their Sins pass without any Censure. But in the Seventh Century, all Publick Penance for secret Sins was taken quite away. *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, is reckoned the first of all the Bishops of the *Western* Church, that did quite take away all publick Penance for secret Sins.

Another piece of the ancient Severity was also slackned, for they had never allowed Penance to Men that had relapsed into any sin; tho' they did not cut them off from all hope of the Mercy of God, yet they never gave a second Absolution to the Relapse. This the Church of *Rome* has still kept up in one Point, which is Heresy; a Relapse being delivered to the Secular Arm, without admitting him to Penance. The Ancients did indeed admit such to Penance, but they never reconciled them. Yet in the decay of Discipline, Absolution came to be granted to the Relapse, as well as to him that had sinned but once.

About the end of the Eighth Century, the Commutation of Penance began; and instead of the ancient Severities, Vocal Prayers came to be all that was enjoyned; so many *Paters* stood for so many Days of fasting, and the rich were admitted to buy off their Penance under the decenter Name of giving Alms. The getting many Masses to be said, was thought a Devotion by which God was so much honoured, that the Commuting Penance for Masses, was much practised. Pilgrimages and Wars came on afterwards; and

and in the Twelfth Century, the Trade was ſet up of ſelling Indulgences. *Art.* 25.
By this it appears, that Confeſſion came by ſeveral ſteps into the Church; that in the firſt Ages it was not heard of; that the Apoſtacies in time of Perſecution gave the firſt riſe to it, all which demonſtrates that the Primitive Church did not conſider it as a thing appointed by Chriſt to be the Matter of a Sacrament.

It may be in the Power of the Church to propoſe Confeſſion, as a mean to direct Men in their Repentance, to humble them deeper for their Sins, and to oblige them to a greater ſtrictneſs. But to enjoyn it as neceſſary to obtain the Pardon of Sin, and to make it an indiſpenſable Condition, and indeed the moſt indiſpenſable of all the parts of Repentance, is beyond the Power of the Church; for ſince Chriſt is the Mediator of this New Covenant, he alone muſt fix the neceſſary Conditions of it. In this more than in any thing elſe, we muſt conclude that the Goſpel is expreſs and clear; and therefore ſo hard a Condition as this is, cannot be impoſed by any other Authority. The Obligation to Auricular Confeſſion, is a thing to which Mankind is naturally ſo little diſpoſed to ſubmit, and it may have ſuch conſequences on the Peace and Order of the World, that we have reaſon to believe, that if Chriſt had intended to have made it a neceſſary part of Repentance, he would have declared it in expreſs Words, and not have left it ſo much in the dark, that thoſe who aſſert it, muſt draw it by Inferences from thoſe Words, *Whoſe Sins ye remit*, &c. Some things are of ſuch a nature that we may juſtly conclude, that either they are not at all required, or that they are commanded in plain terms.

As for the good or evil Effects that may follow on the obliging Men to a ſtrictneſs in Confeſſion, that does not belong to this matter: If it is acknowledged to be only a Law of the Church, other conſiderations are to be examined about it; but if it is pretended to be a Law of God, and a part of a Sacrament, we muſt have a Divine Inſtitution for it; otherwiſe all the advantages that can poſſibly be imagined in it, without that, are only ſo many Arguments to perſwade us, that there is ſomewhat that is highly neceſſary to the Purity of Chriſtians, of which Chriſt has not ſaid a Word, and concerning which his Apoſtles have given us no Directions. We do not deny, but it may be a mean to ſtrike Terror in People, to keep them under awe and obedience; it may when the management of it is in good hands, be made a mean to keep the World in Order, and to guide thoſe of weaker Judgments more ſteadily and ſafely, than could be well done any other way. In the uſe of Confeſſion, when propoſed as our Church does, as matter of Advice, and not of Obligation, we are very ſenſible many good ends may be attained; but while we conſider thoſe, we muſt likewiſe reflect on the miſchief that may ariſe out of it; eſpecially ſuppoſing the greater part both of the Clergy and Laity to be what they ever were, and ever will be, depraved and corrupted. The People will grow to think that the Prieſt is in *God's ſtead* to them; that their telling their ſins to him, is as if they confeſſed them to God; they will expect to be eaſily diſcharged for a gentle Penance, with a ſpeedy Abſolution; and this will make them as ſecure, as if their Conſciences were clear, and their Sins pardoned; ſo the remedy being eaſy and always at hand, they will be encouraged to venture the more boldly on Sin. It is no difficult matter to gain a Prieſt, eſpecially if he himſelf is a bad Man, to uſe them tenderly upon thoſe occaſions. On the other hand, corrupt Prieſts will find their account in the diſpenſing this great Power, ſo as to ſerve their own ends. They will know all Peoples Tempers and Secrets, and how ſtrict ſoever they may make the Seal of Confeſſion

Art. 25. feſſion, to draw the World to truſt to it, yet in Bodies ſo knit together, as Communities and Orders are, it is not poſſible to know what uſe they may make of this. Still they know all themſelves, and ſee into the weakneſs, the paſſions, and appetites of their People. This muſt often be a great ſnare to them, eſpecially in the ſuppoſition that cannot be denied to hold generally true, of their being bad Men themſelves: Great advantages are hereby given to infuſe fears and ſcruples into Peoples minds, who being then in their tendereſt Minutes, will be very much ſwayed and wrought on by them. A bad Prieſt knows by this whom he may tempt to any ſort of Sin: And thus the good and the evil of Confeſſion, as it is a general Law upon all Mens Conſciences, being weighed one againſt the other; and it being certain that the far greater part of Mankind is always bad, we muſt conclude that the evil does ſo far preponderate the good, that they bear no compariſon nor proportion to one another. The matter at preſent under debate is only, Whether it is one of the Laws of God or not? And it is enough for the preſent purpoſe to ſhew, that it is no Law of God; upon which we do alſo ſee very good reaſon why it ought not to be made a Law of the Church; both becauſe it is beyond her Authority, which can only go to matters of Order and Diſcipline, as alſo becauſe of the vaſt inconveniences that are like to ariſe out of it.

The next part of Repentance is *Contrition*, which is a ſorrow for Sin upon the motives of the Love of God, and the hatred of Sin, joined with a renovation of Heart. This is that which we acknowledge to be neceſſary to compleat our Repentance; but this conſiſting in the temper of a Man's Mind, and his inward acts, it ſeems a very abſurd thing to make this the matter of a Sacrament, ſince it is of a Spiritual and Inviſible nature. But this is not all that belongs to this head.

The Caſuiſts of the Church of *Rome* have made a diſtinction between a perfect and an imperfect *Contrition*; the imperfect they call *Attrition*; which is any ſorrow for Sin, tho' upon an inferior motive, ſuch as may be particular to one act of Sin, as when it riſes from the loſs or ſhame it has brought with it, together with an act formed in deteſtation of it, without a reſolution to ſin any more. Such a ſorrow as this is they teach, does make the Sacrament effectual, and puts a Man in a ſtate of Juſtification, tho' they acknowledge that without the Sacrament, it is not ſufficient to Juſtify him.

Trid. Seſſ. 14. c. 4. This was ſetled by the Council of *Trent*. We think it ſtrikes at the root of all Religion and Vertue, and is a reverſing of the deſign for which Sacraments were Inſtituted, which was to raiſe our Minds to a high pitch of Piety, and to exalt and purify our Acts. We think the Sacraments are profaned when we do not raiſe our Thoughts as high as we can, in them; To teach Men how low they may go, and how ſmall a meaſure will ſerve turn, eſpecially when the great and chief Commandment, the conſideration of the Love of God is left out, ſeems to be one of the greateſt corruptions in practice, of which any Church can be guilty: A ſlackneſs in Doctrine, eſpecially in ſo great a Point as this, in which human nature is under ſo fatal a biaſs, will always bring with it a much greater corruption in practice. This will indeed make many run to the Sacrament, and raiſe its value, but it will riſe upon the ruins of true Piety and Holineſs. There are few Men that can go long on in very great ſins, without feeling great remorſes; theſe are to them rather a Burthen that they cannot ſhake off, than a Vertue. Sorrow lying long upon their thoughts may be the beginning of a happy change, and ſo prove a great bleſſing to them; all which is deſtroyed by this Doctrine: For if under ſuch uneaſy thoughts they go to Confeſſion, and are Attrite, the Sacrament is valid, and they are Juſtified;

fied: Then the uneaſineſs goes off, and is turned into joy, without their being any thing the better by it. They return to their Sins with a new calm and ſecurity, becauſe they are taught that their Sins are pardoned, and that all Scores are cleared. Therefore we conclude that this Doctrine wounds Religion in its Vitals; and we are confirmed in all this by what appears in Practice: And what the beſt Writers that have lived in that Communion have ſaid of the abuſes that follow on the Methods in which this Sacrament is managed among them, which do ariſe mainly out of this Part of their Doctrine concerning *Attrition*. All that they teach concerning thoſe Acts of *Attrition* or even *Contrition*, is alſo liable to great abuſe in Practice; for as a Man may bring forth thoſe Acts in Words and not be the better for them: So he may force himſelf to think them, which is nothing but the framing an inward Diſcourſe within himſelf, upon them; and yet theſe not ariſing genuinely from a new Nature, or a change of Temper, ſuch Acts can be of no value in the ſight of God: Yet the whole Practice of their Church runs upon theſe Acts, as if a Man's going through them, and making himſelf think them, could be of great Value in the ſight of God. *Art.* 25.

The Third Branch of the Matter of this Sacrament, is the *Satisfaction* or the doing the Penance; which by the conſtant Practice of the Church for above Twelve Centuries was to be performed, before Abſolution could be given; except in extraordinary Caſes, ſuch as Death or Martyrdom: But in theſe latter Ages, in which the neceſſity of Confeſſion is carried higher, the obligation to Satisfaction, or the doing of Penance, is let fall lower. A diſtinction is invented, by which Confeſſion and Contrition, Attrition at leaſt, are made eſſential Parts of the Sacrament, without which there is no Sacrament; as Soul and Body are eſſential to the being of a Man: And Satisfaction is conſidered only as an integral Part; ſuch as an Eye or a Limb in a Man, which is neceſſary to the Order of it, but not to its being: If Satisfaction is conſidered as that which deſtroys the Habits of Sin, and introduces the Habits of Virtue: If it is Purgative and Medicinal, and changes a Man's Principles and Nature, then it ought to be reckoned the Principal and leaſt Diſpenſable thing of all Repentance. For our confeſſing paſt Sins, and ſorrowing for them, is only enjoined us as a mean to reform and purify our Nature. If we imagine that our Acts of Repentance are a Diſcounting with God, by ſo many pious Thoughts which are to be ſet againſt ſo many bad ones, this will introduce a ſort of a Mechanical Religion; which will both corrupt our Ideas of God, and of the Nature of Good and Evil.

The true and generous Notion of Religion, is, that it is a Syſtem of many Truths, which are of ſuch Efficacy, that if we receive them into our Minds, and are governed by them, they will rectify our Thoughts, and purify our Natures: And by making us like God here, they will put us in a ſure Way to enjoy him eternally hereafter. Sorrow for paſt Sins, and all Reflections upon them, are enjoined us as means to make the Senſe of them go ſo deep in our Minds, as to free us from all thoſe bad Habits that Sin leaves in us, and from thoſe ill Inclinations that are in our Nature: If we therefore ſet up a ſorrowing for Sin as a Merchandize with God, by ſo many Acts of one kind to take off the Acts of another, here the true Deſign of our Sorrow is turned into a trafficking, by which how much ſoever Prieſts may gain, or the value of Sacraments may ſeem to riſe, Religion will certainly loſe in its main Deſign; which is the planting a new Nature in us, and the making us become like God. Confeſſion and Contrition are previous Acts, that lead to this Reformation, which, as they

Art. 25. teach, is wrought by the Satisfaction; therefore we muſt needs condemn that Doctrine which makes it leſs neceſſary and more diſpenſable than the other. In the caſe of Death we confeſs all the Rights of the Church with relation to a Man's Scandals, and his Obligations to make publick Penance, may and ought to be then forgiven him: But we think it one of the moſt fatal Errors that can creep into any Church, to encourage Men to rely on a Death-bed Repentance. The Nature of Man leans ſo much this way, that it is neceſſary to bend the Point as ſtrong as may be to the other Hand.

The Promiſes of the Goſpel run all upon the Condition of Repentance; which imports a Renovation of the inner Man and a Purity of Life: So that no Repentance can be eſteemed True, but as we perceive that it has purified our Hearts, and changed our Courſe of Life. What God may do with Death-bed Penitents, in the Infinite Extent and Abſoluteneſs of his Mercy, becomes not us to Define; but we are ſure he has given no Promiſes to ſuch Perſons in his Goſpel, and ſince the Function of Clergy Men is the diſpenſing of that, we cannot go beyond the Limits ſet us in it: So there is no reaſon to make this part of Repentance leſs neceſſary or obligatory than the other, but very much to the contrary. Another exception that we have to the allowed Practice of that Church, is the giving Abſolution before the Satisfaction is made; upon its being enjoined, and accepted by the Penitent. This is ſo contrary to all ancient Rules, that it were a needleſs Labour to go to prove it: The thing being confeſſed by all. And yet the Practice is ſo totally changed among them, that ſuch as have blamed it, and have attempted to revive the ancient Method, have been cenſured as guilty of an Innovation, ſavouring of Hereſy: Becauſe they condemn ſo general a Practice, that it would render the Infallibility of the Church very doubtful, if it ſhould be pretended to have erred in ſo Univerſal a Practice.

Haſty Abſolutions, contrary both to the whole deſign of the Goſpel, and to the conſtant Practice of the Church, for at leaſt Twelve Centuries, are now the avowed Methods of that Church; to which in a great Meaſure all that Corruption of Morals that is among them, owes its riſe and continuance: For who can be ſuppoſed to ſet himſelf againſt thoſe Inclinations to Sin, that are deeply rooted in his Nature, and are powerfully recommended by the Pleaſure and Gain that ariſes out of vitious Practices, if the Way to Pardon is caſt ſo wide open, that a Man may Sin as long and as ſecurely as he will, and yet all at once upon a few Acts that he makes himſelf go through, he may get into a State of Grace, and be pardoned and juſtified. The power that is left to the Prieſt to appoint the Penance, is a Truſt of a high Nature, which yet is known to be univerſally ill applied; ſo that Abſolution is generally proſtituted among them.

The true Penance enjoined by the Goſpel is the forſaking of Sin, and the doing Acts of Vertue. Faſting, Prayers and Alms-giving are Acts that are very proper Means to raiſe us to this Temper. If Faſting is joined with Prayer, and if Prayer ariſes out of an inward Devotion of Mind, and is ſerious and fervent, then we know that it has great Efficacy; as being one of the chief Acts of our Religious ſervice of God, to which the greateſt Promiſes are made, and upon which the beſt Bleſſings do deſcend upon us. Alms-giving is alſo a main Part of Charity: Which when done from a right Principle of loving God and our Neighbour, is of great Value in his Sight. But if Faſting is only an exerciſe of the Body, of abſtaining ſo long, and from ſuch things, this may perhaps trouble and pain the Body,

but

but bodily Exerciſe profiteth nothing; ſo not to mention the Mockery of Faſting, when it is only a delay of eating, after which all Liberties are taken, or an abſtinence which is made up with other delicious and inflaming Nutritives, theſe are of no Value, being only Inventions to deceive Men, and to expoſe Religion to Mockery: But even ſevere and afflicting Faſting, if done only as a Puniſhment, which when it is over, the Penance is believed to be compleated, gives ſuch a low Idea of God and Religion, that from thence Men are led to think very ſlightly of Sin; when they know at what price they can carry it off. Such a continuance in Faſting in order to Prayer, as humbles and depreſſes Nature, and raiſes the Mind, is a great mean to reform the World; but Faſting as a preſcribed Task to expiate our Sins, is a ſcorn put upon Religion. *Art.* 25.

Prayer, when it ariſes from a ſerious Heart that is earneſt in it, and when it becomes habitual, is certainly a moſt effectual mean to reform the World, and to fetch down Divine Aſſiſtances: But to appoint ſo many vocal Prayers to be gone through as a Task, and then to tell the World that the running through theſe with few or no inward Acts accompanying them, is Contrition or Attrition, this is liker a Deſign to root out all the Impreſſions of Religion, and all ſenſe of that Repentance which the Goſpel requires, than to promote it. This may be a Task fit to accuſtom Children to, but it is contrary to the true Genius of Religion, to teach Men inſtead of that *reaſonable Service* that we ought to offer up to God, to give him only the *Labour of the Lips*, which is the *Sacrifice of Fools*. Prayers gone through as a Task can be of no value, and can find no acceptation in the ſight of God. And as St. *Paul* ſaid, that *if he gave all his goods to the poor, and had not Charity, he was nothing*: So the greateſt profuſion of Alms-giving when done in a mercenary Way, to buy off and to purchaſe a Pardon, is the turning of God's Houſe from being a *houſe of prayer*, to be a *den of thieves*. 1 Cor. 13. 1, 2.

Upon all theſe Reaſons we except to the whole Doctrine and Practice of the Church of *Rome*, as to the Satisfaction made by doing Penance. And in the laſt place we except to the Form of Abſolution in theſe Words, *I Abſolve thee*: We of this Church, who uſe it only to ſuch as are thought to be near Death, cannot be meant to underſtand any thing by it, but the full Peace and Pardon of the Church: For if we meant a Pardon with relation to God, we ought to uſe it upon many other occaſions. The Pardon that we give in the Name of God, is only declaratory of his Pardon, or ſupplicatory in a Prayer to him for Pardon.

In this we have the whole Practice of the Church till the Twelfth Century univerſally of our ſide. All the Fathers, all the ancient Liturgies, all that have writ upon the Offices, and the firſt Schoolmen are ſo expreſs in this Matter, that the thing in Fact cannot be denied. *Morinus* has publiſhed ſo many of their old Rituals, that he has put an end to all doubting about it. In the Twelfth Century ſome few began to uſe the Words *I Abſolve thee*: Yet to ſoften this Expreſſion that ſeemed New and Bold, ſome tempered it with theſe Words, *in ſo far as it is granted to my frailty*; and others with thoſe Words, *as far as the accuſation comes from thee, and as the pardon is in me*. Yet this Form was but little practiſed: So that *William* Biſhop of *Paris* ſpeaks of the Form of Abſolution as given only in a Prayer, and not as given in theſe Words, *I Abſolve thee*. He lived in the beginning of the Fourteenth Century; ſo that this Practice though begun in other Places before that Time, yet was not known long after in ſo publick a City as *Paris*. But ſome Schoolmen begun to defend it, as implying only a declaration of the Pardon pronounced by the Prieſt: And this

Art. 25. having an air of more Authority, and being once juſtified by Learned Men, did ſo univerſally prevail, that in little more than ſixty Years time, it became the univerſal Practice of the whole *Latin* Church. So ſure a thing is Tradition, and ſo impoſſible to be changed as they pretend, when within the compaſs of one Age, the new Form, *I Abſolve thee*, was not ſo much as generally known, and before the end of it the old Form of doing it in a Prayer with Impoſition of Hands, was quite worn out. The Idea that ariſes naturally out of theſe words, is that the Prieſt pardons Sins; and ſince that is ſubject to ſuch abuſes, and has let in ſo much corruption upon that Church, we think we have reaſon not only to deny that Penance is a Sacrament, but likewiſe to affirm, that they have corrupted this great and important Doctrine of Repentance, in all the Parts and Branches of it: Nor is the matter mended with that Prayer that follows the Abſolution. *The Paſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Merits of the Bleſſed Virgin and all the Saints, and all the good that thou haſt done, and the evil that thou haſt ſuffered, be to thee for the remiſſion of Sins, the increaſe of Grace, and the reward of eternal Life.*

Rituale Romanum de ſacr. pœniten.

The third Sacrament rejected by this Article, is Orders; which is reckoned the ſixth by the Church of *Rome*. We affirm that Chriſt appointed a Succeſſion of Paſtors in different Ranks to be continued in his Church for the Work of the Goſpel, and the Care of Souls; and that as the Apoſtles ſetled the Churches they appointed different Orders of *Biſhops*, *Prieſts* and *Deacons*: And we believe that all who are dedicated to ſerve in theſe Miniſtries, after they are examined and judged worthy of them, ought to be ſeparated to them by the Impoſition of Hands and by Prayer. Theſe were the only Rites that we find practiſed by the Apoſtles. For many Ages the Church of God uſed no other; therefore we acknowledge that *Biſhops*, *Prieſts* and *Deacons*, ought to be bleſt and dedicated to the Holy Miniſtry by Impoſition of Hands and Prayer: And that then they are received according to the Order and Practice ſetled by the Apoſtles to ſerve in their reſpective Degrees. Men thus ſeparated, have thereby Authority to perfect the Saints or Chriſtians, that is, to perform the Sacred Functions among them, to miniſter to them, and to build them up in their moſt Holy Faith. And we think no other Perſons without ſuch a Separation and Conſecration can lawfully touch the Holy Things. In all which we ſeparate the Qualifications of the Functions from the inward Qualities of the Perſon; the one not at all depending on the other: The one relating only to the Order and the good Government of the Society, and the other relating indeed to the Salvation of him that Officiates, but not at all to the Validity of his Office or Service.

But in all this we ſee nothing like a Sacrament: Here is neither *Matter*, *Form* nor *Inſtitution*; here is only Prayer: The laying on of Hands is only a geſture in Prayer that imports the Deſignation of the Perſon ſo prayed over. In the *Greek* Church there is indeed a different Form, for though there are Prayers in their Office of Ordination, yet the words that do accompany the Impoſition of Hands are only Declaratory, *The Grace of God that perfects the feeble, and heals the weak, promotes this Man to be a Deacon, a Prieſt or a Biſhop; let us therefore pray for him:* By which they pretend only to judge of a divine Vocation: All the ancient Rituals, and all thoſe that treat of them for the firſt Seven Centuries, ſpeak of nothing as Eſſential to Orders but *Prayer* and *Impoſition of Hands*. It is true, many Rites came to be added, and many Prayers were uſed that went far beyond the firſt Simplicity. But in the Tenth or Eleventh Century a new Form was brought in, of delivering the *Veſſels*, in ordaining Prieſts; and Words were joined with

Haberti pontif. Græcum. Morinus de Ordinat. Sacris.

with that, giving them Power to *offer Sacrifices to God and to celebrate Masſes*, and then the Orders were believed to be given by this Rite. The delivering of the *Veſſels* look'd like a *Matter*, and theſe Words were thought the *Form* of the Sacrament; and the Prayer that was formerly uſed with the Impoſition of Hands, was indeed ſtill uſed, but only as a Part of the Office; no Hands were laid on when it was uſed: And tho' the Form of laying on of Hands was ſtill continued, the Biſhop with other Prieſts laying their Hands on thoſe they Ordained, yet it is now a dumb Ceremony, not a word of a Prayer being ſaid while they lay on their Hands. So that tho' both Prayer and Impoſition of Hands are uſed in the Office, yet they are not joined together. In the concluſion of the Office a new Benediction was added ever ſince the Twelfth Century. The Biſhop alone lays on his Hands, ſaying, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt; whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted, and whoſe ſins ye retain, they are retained.* The number Seven was thought to ſute the Sacraments beſt, ſo Orders were made one of them, and of theſe, only Prieſthood; where the *Veſſels* were declared to be the *Matter*, and the *Form* was the delivering them with the words, *Take thou Authority to offer up Sacrifices to God, and to Celebrate Maſſes both for the Living and the Dead; In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.* Art. 25.

The Schoolmen have taken a new way of explaining this whole matter, borrowed from the Euchariſt, that is made up of Two parts, the Conſecration of the Bread and of the Wine; both ſo neceſſary, that without the one, the other becomes void: So they teach that a Prieſt has Two Powers of *Conſecrating* and of *Abſolving*; and that he is Ordained to the one by the delivery of the Veſſels, and to the other by the Biſhop's laying on of Hands, with the words, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt*; and they make the Biſhop and the Prieſt's laying on Hands jointly, to be only their declaring, as by a Suffrage, that ſuch a Perſon ought to be Ordained: So totally have they departed from the Primitive Forms.

If this is a Sacrament, and if the Sacrament conſiſts in this Matter and Form by them aſſigned, then ſince all the Rituals of the *Latin* Church for the firſt Ten Centuries had no ſuch Form of Ordaining Prieſts, this cannot be the *Matter* and *Form* of a Sacrament; otherwiſe the Church had in a courſe of ſo many Ages no true Orders, nor any Sacrament in them. Nor will it ſerve in anſwer to this to ſay, that Chriſt Inſtituted no ſpecial *Matter* nor *Form* here, but has left the ſpecifying thoſe among the other Powers that he has given to his Church: For a Sacrament being an Inſtitution of applying a *Matter* deſigned by God, by a particular *Form* likewiſe appointed; to ſay that Chriſt appointed here neither *Matter* nor *Form*, is plainly to confeſs that this is no Sacrament. In the firſt Nine or Ten Ages there was no Matter at all uſed, nothing but an Impoſition of Hands with Prayer: So that by this Doctrine the Church of God was all that while without true Orders, ſince there was nothing uſed that can be called the Matter of a Sacrament.

Therefore though we continue this Inſtitution of Chriſt, as he and his Apoſtles ſettled it in the Church, yet we deny it to be a Sacrament; we alſo deny all the inferior Orders to be Sacred, below that of Deacon. The other Orders we do not deny might be well, and on good reaſons, appointed by the Church as ſteps through which Clerks might be made to paſs, in order to a ſtricter examination and trial of them; like Degrees in Univerſities: But the making them, at leaſt the Subdiaconate, Sacred, as it is reckoned by Pope

Art. 25. Pope *Eugenius*, is, we think, beyond the Power of the Church; for here a Degree of Orders is made a Sacrament, and yet that Degree is not named in the Scripture, nor in the firſt Ages. It is true, it came to be ſoon uſed with the other Inferior Orders; but it cannot be pretended to be a Sacrament, ſince no Divine Inſtitution can be brought for it. And we cannot but obſerve, that in the definition that *Eugenius* has given of the Sacraments, which is an Authentical piece in the *Roman* Church, where he reckons *Prieſts*, *Deacons*, and *Subdeacons*, as belonging to the Sacrament of Orders, he does not Name *Biſhops*, though their being of Divine Inſtitution is not queſtioned in that Church. Perhaps the Spirit with which they acted at that time in *Baſil*, offended him ſo much, that he was more ſet on depreſſing than on raiſing them. In the Council of *Trent*, in which ſo much Zeal appeared for recovering the Dignity of the Epiſcopal Order, at that time ſo much eclipſed by the Papal Uſurpations, when the Sacrament of *Orders* was Treated of, they reckoned Seven Degrees of them, the higheſt of which is that of *Prieſt*. So that though they Decreed that a Biſhop was by the Divine Inſtitution above a Prieſt, yet they did not Decree, that the Office was an Order, or a Sacrament. And the Schoolmen do generally explain Epiſcopate, as being a higher Degree or Extenſion of Prieſthood, rather than a new Order, or a Sacrament; the main thing in their Thoughts being that which, if true, is the greateſt of all Miracles, the wonderful Converſion made in Tranſubſtantion, they ſeem to think that no Order can be above that which qualifies a Man for ſo great a Performance.

I ſay nothing in this place concerning the power of Offering Sacrifices, pretended to be given in Orders, for that belongs to another Article.

The Fourth Sacrament here rejected is *Marriage*; which is reckoned the laſt by the *Roman* Account. In the Point of Argument there is leſs to ſay here than in any of the other; but there ſeems to be a very expreſs warrant for calling it a *Sacrament*, from the Tranſla-
Epheſ. 5. 32. tion of a paſſage in St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, in which he makes an alluſion while he treats of Marriage, to the mutual relation that is between Chriſt and his Church, from that ſtate of Life, and ſays, *There is a great Myſtery here*; the Vulgar has Tranſlated the word *Myſtery* by *Sacrament*. So though the words immediately following ſeem to turn the matter another way, *but I ſpeak concerning Chriſt and the Church*; yet from the promiſcuous uſe of thoſe two words, and becauſe Sacraments were called the *Myſteries* of the Chriſtian Religion, the Tranſlator it ſeems thought that all Myſteries might be called *Sacraments*. But it is ſo very hard here to find *Matter*, *Form*, a *Miniſter*, and a *Sacramental Effect*, that though Pope *Eugenius* in that famous Decree of his, is very punctual in aſſigning theſe, when he explains the other Sacraments; yet he wiſely paſſed them all over when he came to this, and only makes a true conſent neceſſary to the making the Sacrament.

We do not deny Marriage to be an Ordinance of God; but we think that as it was at firſt made in the ſtate of Innocence, ſo it is ſtill founded on the Law of Nature; and though the Goſpel gives Rules concerning the Duties belonging to this ſtate of Life, as it does concerning the Duties of Parents and Children, which

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is another Relation founded on the ſame Law of Nature, yet we cannot call it a Sacrament; for we find neither *Matter*, *Form*, *Inſtitution*, nor *Federal Acts*, nor *Effects* aſſigned to it in the Goſpel, to make us eſteem it a Sacrament. *Art.* 25.

The *Matter* aſſigned by the *Roman* Doctors is the inward Conſent, by which both Parties do mutually give themſelves to one another; the *Form* they make to be the Words or Signs, by which this is expreſſed. Now it ſeems a ſtrange thing to make the ſecret Thoughts of Men the *Matter*, and their Words the *Form* of a Sacrament; all Mutual Compacts being as much Sacraments as this, there being no viſible material things applied to the Parties who receive them; which is neceſſary to the being of a Sacrament. It is alſo a very abſurd Opinion, which may have very fatal Conſequences, and raiſe very afflicting Scruples, if any ſhould imagine that the *Inward Conſent* is the *Matter* of this Sacrament; here is a Foundation laid down for voiding every Marriage. The Parties may, and often do, Marry againſt their Wills; and though they profeſs an outward Conſent, they do inwardly Repine againſt what they are doing. If after this they grow to like their Marriage, Scruples muſt ariſe, ſince they know they have not the Sacrament; becauſe it is a Doctrine in that Church, that as Intention is neceſſary in every Sacrament, ſo here that goes further, the Intention being the only *Matter* of this Sacrament; ſo that without it there is no Marriage, and yet ſince they cannot be married again to compleat, or rather to make the Marriage; ſuch Perſons does live only in a State of Concubinate.

Upon the whole Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the Sacraments, as it is explained by the Schoolmen, I have followed the Account given by *Honoratus Fabri*, in his *Summula Theologica*, who is dead within theſe Ten Years. I knew him at *Rome*, *Anno* 1685. He was a true Philoſopher, beyond the Liberties allowed by his Order, and ſtudied to reduce their School-Divinity to as clear Ideas as it was capable of. So that in following him, I have given the beſt, and not the worſt Face of their Doctrine. His Book was Printed at *Lions*, *Anno* 1669.

On the other hand, here is a Foundation laid down for breaking Marriages as often as the Parties, or either of them will ſolemnly Swear that they gave no Inward Conſent, which is often practiſed at *Rome*. All Contracts are ſacred things; but of them all, Marriage is the moſt Sacred, ſince ſo much depends upon it. Mens Words confirmed by Oaths, and other ſolemn Acts, muſt either be binding according to the plain and acknowledged Senſe of them, or all the Security and Confidence of Mankind is deſtroyed. No Man can be ſafe if this principle is once admitted; that a Man is not bound by his Promiſes and Oaths, unleſs his Inward Conſent went along with them; and if ſuch a fraudulent thing may be applied to Marriages, in which ſo many Perſons are concerned, and upon which the Order of the World does ſo much depend, it may be very juſtly applied to all other Contracts whatſoever, ſo that they may be voided at pleaſure. A Man's Words and Oaths bind him by the Eternal Laws of Fidelity and Truth, and it is a juſt prejudice againſt any Religion whatſoever, if it ſhould teach a Doctrine in which by the ſecret reſerves of not giving an Inward Conſent, the Faith which is ſolemnly given may be broken. Here ſuch a Door is opened to Perfidy and Treachery, that the World can be no longer ſafe while it is allowed; hereby lewd and vitious Perſons may intangle others, and in the mean while order their own Thoughts ſo, that they ſhall be all the while free.

Next to *Matter* and *Form*, we muſt ſee for the Inſtitution of this Sacrament. The Church of *Rome* think that is ſtrong here, though they feel it to be hardly defenſible in the other Points that relate to it. They think that though Marriage as it is a Mutual Contract ſubſiſts upon the Law of Nature, yet a Divine Virtue is put in it by the Goſpel, expreſſed in theſe

Art. 25. theſe Words, *This is a great Myſtery or Sacrament*; ſo the explaining theſe Words determines this Controverſy. The chief Point in diſpute at that time was, Whether the *Gentiles* were to be received to equal Priviledges with the *Jews*, in the diſpenſation of the *Meſſias*. The *Jews* do not to this day deny, but that the *Gentiles* may be admitted to it, but ſtill they think that they are to be conſidered as a diſtinct Body, and in a lower Order, the chief Dignity being to be reſerved to the Seed of *Abraham*. Now St. *Paul* had in that Epiſtle, as well as in his other Epiſtles, aſſerted, that all were equal in Chriſt: That he had taken away the *middle wall of partition*, that he had aboliſhed the Ground of the Enmity, which was the Moſaical Law, called *the Law of Commandments contained in Ordinances*; *that he might make both* Jew *and* Gentile *one new Man*; one entire Body of a Church: *He being the chief corner Stone in whom the whole building was fitly framed together: And ſo became a holy habitation to God.* Thus he made uſe of the Figure of a Body, and of a Temple, to illuſtrate this Matter; and to ſhew how all Chriſtians were to make up but one Body, and one Church. So when he came to ſpeak of the Rules belonging to the ſeveral States of Human Life, he takes occaſion to explain the Duties of the married State; by comparing that to the Relation that the Church has to Chriſt: And when he had ſaid that the married Couple make but one Body and one Fleſh; which declares that according to the firſt Inſtitution every Man was to have but one Wife: He adds upon that, *this is a great Myſtery*: That is, from hence another Myſtical Argument might be brought, to ſhew that *Jew* and *Gentile* muſt make one Body; for ſince the Church was the Spouſe of Chriſt, he muſt according to that Figure have but one Wife; and by conſequence the Church muſt be One: Otherwiſe the Figure will not be anſwered; unleſs we ſuppoſe Chriſt to be in a State anſwering a Polygamy, rather than a ſingle Marriage. Thus a clear Account of theſe Words is given, which does fully agree to them, and to what follows, *But I ſpeak concerning Chriſt and the Church.*

Eph. 2. 15, 16, 20, 21.

This, which is all the Foundation of making Marriage a Sacrament being thus cleared, there remains nothing to be ſaid on this Head, but to Examine one Conſequence, that has been drawn from the making it a Sacrament, which is, that the Bond is Indiſſoluble: And that even Adultery does not void it. The Law of Nature, or of Nations, ſeems very clear, that Adultery, at leaſt on the Wife's part, ſhould diſſolve it: For the end of Marriage being the aſcertaining of the Iſſue, and the Contract it ſelf being a mutual transferring the Right to one anothers Perſon, in order to that End; the breaking this Contract and deſtroying the End of Marriage, does very naturally infer the Diſſolution of the Bond: And in this both the *Attick* and *Roman* Laws were ſo ſevere, that a Man was Infamous who did not Divorce upon Adultery. Our Saviour when he blamed the *Jews* for their frequent Divorces, eſtabliſhed this Rule, *that whoſoever puts away his Wife, except it be for Fornication, and ſhall marry another, committeth Adultery.* Which ſeems to be a plain and full Determination, that in the Caſe of Fornication, he may put her away and Marry another. It is True, St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* repeat theſe Words, without mentioning this Exception; ſo ſome have thought that we ought to bring St. *Matthew* to them, and not them to St. *Matthew*: But it is an univerſal Rule of expounding Scriptures, that when a Place is fully ſet down by one inſpired Writer, and leſs fully by another, that the Place which is leſs full is always

Matth. 5. 32. Matth. 19. 9. Mark 10. 11. Luke 16. 18.

always to be expounded by that which is more full. So tho' St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* report our Saviour's Words generally, without the Exception, which is twice mentioned by St. *Matthew*, the other two are to be understood to suppose it; for a general Proposition is true when it holds generally; and Exceptions may be understood to belong to it, though they are not named. The Evangelist that does name them must be considered to have reported the matter more particularly, than the others that do it not. Since then our Saviour has made the Exception, and since that Exception is founded upon a natural equity, that the Innocent Party has against the Guilty, there can be no reason why an Exception so justly grounded, and so clearly made, should not take place. *Art.* 25.

Both *Tertullian*, *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, and *Epiphanius*, allow of a Divorce in case of Adultery; and in those days they had no other Notion of a Divorce, but that it was the Dissolution of the Bond; the late Notion of a Separation the Tie continuing, not being known, till the Canonists brought it in. Such a Divorce was allowed by the Council of *Elliberis*. The Council of *Arles* did indeed recommend it to the Husband, whose Wife was guilty of Adultery, not to Marry; which did plainly acknowledge, that he might do it. It was, and still is the constant practice of the *Greek* Church; and as both Pope *Gregory*, and Pope *Zachary* allowed the Innocent Person to Marry; so in a Synod held at *Rome* in the Tenth Century, it was still allowed. When the *Greeks* were reconciled to the *Latins* in the Council of *Florence*, this matter was past over, and the care of it was only recommended by the Pope to the Emperor. It is true *Eugenius* put it in his Instruction to the *Armenians*, but tho' that passes generally for a part of the Council of *Florence*, yet the Council was over & up before that was given out. Tertul. lib. 4. cont. Marcion. c. 34. Basil. Ep. ad Amphil. c. 9. Chrysos. hom. 17. in Matth. Epiph. hær. 59. Cath. Conc. Elib. c. 65. Conc. Arel. c. 10. Conc. Afric. c. 102. Causa 32. q. 7.

This Doctrine of the Indissolubleness of Marriage, even for Adultery, was never settled in any Council before that of *Trent*. The Canonists and Schoolmen had indeed generally gone into that Opinion, but not only *Erasmus*, but both *Cajetan* and *Catharinus* declared themselves for the Lawfulness of it: *Cajetan* indeed used a Salvo, in case the Church had otherwise Defined, which did not then appear to him. So that this is a Doctrine very lately settled in the Church of *Rome*. Our Reformers here had prepared a Title in the new Body of the Canon Law, which they had Digested, allowing Marriage to the Innocent Party: And upon a great occasion then in Debate, they declared it to be Lawful by the Law of God: And if the Opinion that Marriage is a Sacrament, falls, the conceit of the absolute Indissolubleness of Marriage will fall with it. In decr. Eug. in Conc. Flor. Erasm. in 1. Ep. ad Cor. 7. Cajetan in Matth. 19. c. 9. Cathar. in 1. Ep. ad. Cor. 7. l. 5. Annot.

The last Sacrament which is rejected by this Article, that is, the Fifth as they are reckoned up in the Church of *Rome*, is *Extreme Unction*. In the Commission that Christ gave his Apostles, among the other Powers that were given them to confirm it, one was to *cure diseases* and *heal the sick*; pursuant to which St. *Mark* tells, that *they anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.* The Prophets used some Symbolical actions when they wrought Miracles; so *Moses* used his Rod often; *Elisha* used *Elijah*'s Mantle; our Saviour put his Finger into the deaf Man's Ear, and made Clay for the blind Man; and Oil being upon almost all occasions used in the *Eastern* Parts, the Apostles made use of it: But no hint is given that this was a Sacramental Action. It was plainly a Miraculous Virtue that healed the Sick, in which *Oil* was made use of as a Symbol accompanying it. It was not prescribed by our Saviour for any thing that appears, as it was not blamed by him neither: It was no wonder if upon such a president, those who had that extraordinary Gift did apply it with the use of *Oil*; not as if *Oil* was the Sacramental Conveyance; it was only used with it. Mark 6. 13.

Art. 25. The end of it was Miraculous, it was in order to the *recovery of the ſick*; and had no relation to their Souls, though with the cure wrought on the Body, there might ſometimes be joined an operation upon the Soul; and this appears clearly from St. *James*'s words, *Is any ſick among you, let him call for the elders of the church; and let him pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith ſhall ſave the ſick, and the Lord ſhall raiſe him up.* All hitherto is one Period, which is here cloſed. The following words contain new matter quite of a different kind; *and if he have committed ſins they ſhall be forgiven him.* It appears clearly that this was intended for the recovery of the ſick Perſon, which is the thing that is poſitively promiſed; the other concerning the pardon of Sins, comes in on the by, and ſeems to be added only as an acceſſary to the other, which is the principal thing deſigned by this whole matter. Therefore ſince Anointing was in order to healing, either we muſt ſay that the Gift of healing is ſtill depoſited with the *Elders of the Church*, which no body affirms, or this *Oil* was only to be uſed by thoſe who had that ſpecial Gift; and therefore if there are none now who pretend to have it, and if the Church pretends not to have it lodged with her, then the Anointing with Oil cannot be uſed any more; and therefore thoſe who uſe it not in order to the recovery of the Perſon, delaying it till there is little or no hope left, uſe not that Unction mentioned by St. *James*, but another of their own deviſing, which they call the *Sacrament of the dying*. It is a vain thing to ſay, that becauſe *ſaving* and *raiſing up* are ſometimes uſed in a Spiritual ſenſe, that therefore the *ſaving the ſick* here, and that of the *Lord's raiſing him up*, are to be ſo meant. For the forgiveneſs of ſin, which is the Spiritual Bleſſing, comes afterwards, upon ſuppoſition that the ſick Perſon had committed ſins. The *ſaving* and *raiſing up* muſt ſtand in oppoſition to the ſickneſs; ſo ſince all acknowledge that the one is Literal, the other muſt be ſo too. The ſuppoſition of ſin is added, becauſe ſome Perſons upon whom this Miracle might have been wrought might be eminently Pious; and if at any time it was to be applied to ill Men who had committed ſome notorious ſins, perhaps ſuch ſins as had brought their ſickneſs upon them, theſe were alſo to be forgiven.

James 5. 14, 15.

In the uſe of miraculous Powers, thoſe to whom that Gift was given, were not empowered to uſe it at pleaſure; they were to feel an inward Impulſe exciting them to it, and they were obliged upon that firmly to believe, that God who had given them the Impulſe, would not be wanting to them in the execution of it. This confidence in God was the *faith of Miracles*, of which Chriſt ſaid, *If ye have faith as a grain of muſtard-ſeed, ye ſhall ſay to this mountain, remove hence to yonder place, and nothing ſhall be impoſſible unto you.* Of this alſo St. *Paul* meant when he ſaid, *If I have all faith.* So from this we may gather the meaning of the *prayer of faith and the anointing with Oil*; that if the *Elders of the Church*, or ſuch others with whom this Power was lodged, felt an inward Impulſe moving them to call upon God in order to a miraculous Cure of a ſick Perſon, then they were to *anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord:* That is, by the Authority that they had from Chriſt, to heal all manner of Diſeaſes: And they were to Pray believing firmly, that God would make good that inward motion which he had given them to work this Miracle; and in that caſe the effect was certain, the ſick Perſon would certainly recover, for that is abſolutely promiſed. Every one that was ſick was not to be Anointed, unleſs an Authority and Motion from Chriſt had been ſecretly given for doing it, but every one that was Anointed was certainly healed. Chriſt had promiſed that *whatſoever they ſhould aſk in his name, he would do it.*

Matth. 21. 21.

1 Cor. 13. 2.

John 14. 13.

it. *His Name* must be reſtrained to his Authority, or purſuant to ſuch ſecret Motions as they ſhould receive from him. This is the *Prayer of Faith* here mentioned by St. *James*; it being an earneſt application to God to join his Omnipotent Power to perform a wonderful Work to which a Perſon ſo divinely qualified felt himſelf inwardly moved by the Spirit of Chriſt. The ſuppoſition of the ſick Perſons *having committed ſins*, which is added, ſhews that ſometime this vertue was applied to Perſons of that eminent Piety, that though all Men are guilty in the ſight of God, yet they could not be ſaid to have *committed ſins* in the ſenſe in which St. *John* uſes the phraſe; ſignifying by it either that they had lived in the habits of ſin, or that they had committed ſome notorious ſin: But if ſome ſhould happen to be ſick, who had been eminent Sinners, and thoſe ſins had drawn down the Judgments of God upon them, which ſeems to be the natural meaning of theſe words, *if he have committed ſins*; then with his bodily Health, he was to receive a much greater Bleſſing, even the Pardon of his Sins. And thus the *Anointing* mentioned by St. *James* was in order to a miraculous Cure, and the Cure did conſtantly follow it: ſo that it can be no preſident for an Extreme Unction, that is never given till the recovery of the Perſon is deſpaired of, and by which it is not pretended that any Cure is wrought. *Art.* 25.

The Matter of it is *Oil Olive* Bleſſed by the Biſhop, the Form is the applying it to the Five Senſes with theſe words, *Per hanc Sacram Unctionem, & ſuam piiſſimam Miſericordiam Indulgeat tibi Deus quicquid peccaſti, per viſum, auditum, olfactum, guſtum, & tactum.* The proper word to every Senſe being repeated as the Organ of that Senſe is Anointed. It is Adminiſtred by a Prieſt, and gives the final Pardon, with all neceſſary aſſiſtances in the laſt Agony. Here is then an Inſtitution, that if warranted, is matter of great Comfort, and if not warranted, is matter of as great Preſumption. In the firſt Ages we find mention is made frequently of Perſons that were Cured by an Anointing with Oil: Oil was then much uſed in all their Rituals, the Catechumens being Anointed with Oil before they were Baptized, beſides the Chriſm that was given after it. Oil grew alſo to be uſed in Ordinations, and the dead were Anointed in order to their Burial: So that the ordinary uſe of Oil on other occaſions brought it to be very frequently uſed in their Sacred Rites; yet how cuſtomary ſoever the practice of Anointing grew to be, we find no mention of any Unction of the ſick before the beginning of the Fifth Century. This plainly ſhews that they underſtood St. *James*'s words as relating to a miraculous Power, and not to a Function that was to continue in the Church, and to be eſteemed a Sacrament.

Rituale Rom. Con. Trid. Seſſ. 14.

Conſ. Apoſt. l. 3. c. 16. l. 7. cap. 42, 44. Tertul. de bapt. c. 10. Cypr. Ep. 70. Clem. Alex. pædag. l. 11. c. 8. Dionyſ. Areop. de Eccleſ. hier. c. 7, 8.

That earlieſt mention of it by Pope *Innocent* the Firſt, how much ſoever it is inſiſted on, is really an Argument that proves againſt it, and not for it. For not to enlarge on the many idle things that are in that Epiſtle, which have made ſome think that it could not be genuine; and that do very much ſink the credit both of the Teſtimony and of the Man, for it ſeems to be well proved to be his: The paſſage relating to this matter is in anſwer to a demand that was made to him by the Biſhop of *Eugubium*, Whether the Sick might be Anointed with the Oil of the Chriſm? And whether the Biſhop might Anoint with it? To theſe he anſwers, That no doubt is to be made but that St. *James*'s words are to be underſtood of the Faithful that were ſick, who may be Anointed by the Chriſm; which may be uſed not only by the Prieſts, but by all Chriſtians, not only in their own neceſſities, but in the neceſſities of any of their Friends; and he adds, that it was a needleſs doubt that was made, whether a Biſhop

Innocent. Ep. 1. ad Decent.

Art. 25. might do it? For Presbyters are only mentioned, becauſe the Biſhop could not go to all the Sick; but certainly he who made the Chriſm it ſelf, might Anoint with it. A Biſhop asking theſe Queſtions of another, and the anſwers which the other gives him, do plainly ſhew that this was no Sacrament practiſed from the beginnings of Chriſtianity; for no Biſhop could be ignorant of thoſe. It was therefore ſome newly begun Cuſtom, in which the World was not yet ſufficiently inſtructed. And ſo it was indeed, for the ſubject of theſe queſtions was not pure Oil, ſuch as now they make to be the matter of Extreme Unction: But the Oil of *Chriſm* which was made and kept for other occaſions; and it ſeems very clear that the miraculous power of Healing having ceaſed, and none being any more Anointed in order to that; ſome begun to get a Portion of the Oil of Chriſm, which the Laity, as well as the Prieſts, applied both to themſelves and to their Friends, hoping that they might be Cured by it. Nothing elſe can be meant by all this, but a ſuperſtitious uſing the *Chriſm*, which might have ariſen out of the memory that remained of thoſe who had been cured by Oil, as the uſe of *Bread* in the *Euchariſt* brought in the *Holy Bread*, that was ſent from one Church to another; and as from the uſe of *Water* in *Baptiſm* ſprung the uſe of *Holy Water*. This then being the clear meaning of thoſe words, it is plain that they prove quite the contrary of that for which they are brought; and though in that Epiſtle the Pope calls *Chriſm* a kind of a Sacrament, that turns likewiſe againſt them; to ſhew that he did not think it was a Sacrament, ſtrictly ſpeaking: Beſides that the Ancients uſed that word very largely, both for every myſterious Doctrine, and for every holy Rite that they uſed. In this very Epiſtle when he gives directions for the carrying about that *Bread*, which they Bleſſed and ſent about as an Emblem of their Communion with other Churches; he orders them to be ſent about only to the Churches within the City, becauſe he conceived the Sacraments were not to be carried a great way off; ſo theſe Loaves are called by him not only a *kind of Sacrament*, but are ſimply reckoned to be *Sacraments*.

We hear no more of Anointing the Sick with the Chriſm, among all the Ancients; which ſhews that as that practice was newly begun, ſo it did not ſpread far, nor continue long. No mention is made of this neither in the firſt Three Ages, nor in the Fourth Age, though the Writers, and particularly the Councils of the Fourth Age, are very copious in Rules concerning the Sacraments. Nor in all their penitentiary Canons, when they define what Sins are to be forgiven, and what not, when Men were in their laſt Extremities, is there ſo much as a hint given concerning the laſt Unction. The Conſtitutions, and the pretended *Dioniſius*, ſay not a word of it, though they are very full upon all the Rituals of that time in which thoſe Works were Forged, in the Fourth or Fifth Century. In none of the Lives of the Saints before the Ninth Century, is there any mention made of their having Extreme Unction; tho' their deaths are ſometimes very particularly related, and their receiving the Euchariſt is oft mentioned. Nor was there any queſtion made in all that time concerning the Perſons, the Time, and the other Circumſtances relating to this Unction; which could not have been omitted, eſpecially when almoſt all that was thought on or writ of in the Eighth and Ninth Century relates to the Sacraments and the other Rituals of the Church.

Lib. Sacram. Gregor. Menardi Notæ.

It is true, from the Seventh Century on to the Twelfth, they began to uſe an Anointing of the Sick, according to that mentioned by Pope *Innocent*, and a peculiar Office was made for it, but the Prayers that were uſed in it, ſhew plainly that it was all intended only in order to their recovery.

Of

Of this anointing many Paſſages are found in *Bede*, and in the other Writers and Councils of the Eighth and Ninth Century. But all theſe do clearly expreſs the Uſe of it, not as a Sacrament for the Good of the Soul, but as a Rite that carried with it Health to the Body, and ſo it is ſtill uſed in the *Greek* Church. No doubt they ſupported the Credit of this with many reports, of which ſome might be true, of Perſons that had been recovered upon uſing it. But becauſe that failed ſo often that the Credit of this Rite might ſuffer much in the Eſteem of the World, they began in the Tenth Century to ſay, That it did Good to the Soul, even when the Body was not healed by it, and they applied it to the ſeveral Parts of the Body. This begun from the Cuſtom of applying it at firſt to the diſeaſed Parts. This was carried on in the Eleventh Century. And then in the Twelfth, thoſe Prayees that had been formerly made for the Souls of the Sick, though only as a Part of the Office, the Pardon of Sin being conſidered as Preparatory to their Recovery, came to be conſidered as the main and moſt eſſential Part of it: Then the Schoolmen brought it into ſhape, and ſo it was decreed to be a Sacrament, by Pope *Eugenius*, and finally eſtabliſhed at *Trent*.

Art. 25. Bede. Hiſt. Ang. l. 3. c. 15. Euchol. Gra. p. 408. Decr. Eug. in Con. Flor. Con. Trid. Seſſ. 14.

The Argument that they draw from a parity in reaſon, that becauſe there is a Sacrament for ſuch as come into the World, there ſhould be alſo One for thoſe that go out of it, is very trifling; for Chriſt has either Inſtituted this to be a Sacrament, or it is not One: If he has not Inſtituted it, this pretended fitneſs, is only an Argument that he ought to have done ſomewhat, that he has not done. The Euchariſt was conſidered by the Ancients as the only Viaticum of Chriſtians, in their laſt Paſſage: With them we give that and no more.

Thus it appears upon what Reaſon we reject thoſe Five Sacraments, though we allow both of *Confirmation* and *Orders* as Holy Functions, derived to us down from the Apoſtles; and becauſe there is a viſible Action in theſe, though in ſtrictneſs that cannot be called a Sacrament, yet ſo the thing be rightly underſtood, we will not diſpute about the Extent of a Word that is not uſed in Scripture. Marriage is in no reſpect to be called a Sacrament of the Chriſtian Religion; tho' it being a State of ſuch Importance to Mankind, we hold it very proper both for the Solemnity of it, and for Imploring the Bleſſing of God upon it, that it be done with Prayers and other Acts of Religious Worſhip: But a great difference is to be made, between a pious Cuſtom begun and continued by publick Authority, and a Sacrament appointed by Chriſt. We acknowledge true Repentance to be One of the great Conditions of the New Covenant; but we ſee nothing of the Nature of a Sacrament in it: And for Extreme Unction, we do not pretend to have the Gift of Healing among us; and therefore we will not deceive the World, by an Office that ſhall offer at that, which we acknowledge we cannot do: Nor will we make a Sacrament for the Good of the Soul, out of that which is mentioned in Scripture, only as a Rite that accompanied the curing the Diſeaſes of the Body.

The laſt Part of this Article, concerning the Uſe of the Sacraments, conſiſts of Two Parts, the *Firſt* is Negative, that they are not ordained to be gazed on, or to be carried about, but to be uſed: And this is ſo Expreſs in the Scripture, that little Queſtion can be made about it. The Inſtitution of Baptiſm is *go preach and baptize:* And the Inſtitution of the Euchariſt, is *take, eat, and drink ye all of it:* Which Words being ſet down before thoſe in which the Conſecrating them is believed to be made, *This is my body:* And *this is my blood*; and the Conſecratory Words being delivered as the Reaſon of the Command, *take, eat, and drink*; nothing can be more

Art. 25. more clearly expreſt than this that the Euchariſt is conſecrated only, that it may be uſed; that it may be *eat* and *drunk*.

The *Second* Part of this Period is, that the Effect of the Sacraments comes only upon the Worthy receiving of them; of this ſo much was already ſaid, upon the firſt Paragraph of this Article, that it is not neceſſary to add any more here. The pretending that Sacraments have their Effect any other way, is the bringing in the Doctrine and Practice of Charms into the Chriſtian Religion: And it tends to diſſolve all Obligations, to Piety and Devotion, to a Holineſs of Life or a Purity of Temper: When the being in a Paſſive and perhaps Inſenſible State, while the Sacraments are applied, is thought a Diſpoſition ſufficient to give them their Vertue. Sacraments are federal Acts, and thoſe viſible Actions are intended to quicken us, ſo that in the uſe of them we may raiſe our inward Acts to the higheſt Degrees poſſible; but not to ſupply their Defects or Imperfections. Our Opinion in this Point repreſents them as means to raiſe our Minds, and to kindle our Devotion, whereas the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, repreſents them as ſo many Charms which may heighten indeed the Authority of him that Adminiſters them, but do extinguiſh and deaden all true Piety, when ſuch helps are offered, by which the worſt Men, living and dying in a bad State, may by a few faint Acts, and perhaps by none at all of their own, be well enough taken care of and ſecured. But as we have not ſo learned Chriſt, ſo neither dare we corrupt his Doctrine, in its moſt vital and eſſential Parts.

ARTICLE

Art. 26.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Of the Unworthineſs of the Miniſters which hinder not the Effect of the Sacraments.

Altho in the Viſible Church, the Evil be ever mingled with the Good, and ſometime the Evil have chief Authority in the Miniſtration of the Word and Sacraments; yet for as much as they do not the ſame in their own Name, but in Chriſt's, and do Miniſter by his Commiſſion and Authority, we may uſe their Miniſtry both in hearing the Word of God, and in receiving the Sacraments. Neither is the Effect of Chriſt's Ordinance taken away by their Wickedneſs: Nor the Grace of God's Gifts diminiſhed from ſuch as by Faith and rightly do receive the Sacraments miniſtred unto them, which be Effectual becauſe of Chriſt's Inſtitution and Promiſe, although they be miniſtred by Evil Men.

Nevertheleſs it appertaineth to the Diſcipline of the Church, that enquiry be made of Evil Miniſters; and that they be accuſed by thoſe that have knowledge of their Offences, and finally being found Guilty, by juſt Judgment to be depoſed.

THE occaſion that was given to this Article, was the heat of ſome in the beginnings of the Reformation; who being much offended at the publick Scandal which was given by the enormous Vices, that were without any Diſguiſe practiſed by the *Roman* Clergy, of all Ranks, did from thence revive the conceit of the *Donatiſts*, who thought that not only Hereſy and Schiſm did invalidate Sacred Functions, but that perſonal Sins did alſo make them void.

It cannot be denied but that there are many Paſſages in St. *Cyprian* that look this Way; and which ſeem to make the Sacraments depend as much on the good State that he was in who adminiſtred them, as the Anſwer of their other Prayers did.

In the Progreſs of the Controverſy with the *Donatiſts* they carried this Matter very far; and conſidered the Effect of the Sacraments as the Anſwer of Prayers: So ſince the Prayers of a wicked Man are Abomination to God, they thought the Vertue of theſe Actions depended wholly on him that officiated.

Againſt this St. *Auguſtin* ſet himſelf very zealouſly; He anſwered all that was brought from *Cyprian*, in ſuch a manner, that by it he has ſet us a Pattern, how we ought to ſeparate the juſt Reſpect, that we pay the Fathers, from an Implicite receiving of all their Notions. If this Conceit were allowed of, it muſt go to the ſecret Thoughts and inward State in which he is, who officiates; for if the Sacraments are to be conſidered only as Prayers offered up by him, then a Man can never be ſure that he receives them: Since it is impoſſible to ſee into the Hearts, or know the Secrets of Men. Sacraments therefore are to be conſidered as the publick Acts of the Church; and though the Effect of them as to him that receives them depends upon his Temper, his Preparation and Application, yet it cannot be imagined that the Vertue of thoſe federal Acts, to which Chriſtians are admitted, in them, the Validity of them, or the Bleſſings that follow them, can depend on the ſecret State or Temper of him that Officiates.

Art. 26. ciates. Even in the case of publick Scandals, though they may make the holy things to be loathed by the aversion that will naturally follow upon them; yet after all, though that aversion may go too far, we must still distinguish between the things that the Ministers of the Church do, as they are publick Officers, and what they do as they are private Christians. Their Prayers and every thing else that they do, as they are private Christians, have their effect only according to the state and temper that they are in when they offer them up to God; but their publick Functions are the appointments of Christ in which they Officiate; they can neither make them the better nor the worse, by any thing that they join to them. And if miraculous Vertues may be in Bad Men, so that in the great Day some of those, to whom Christ shall say, *I never knew you, depart from me ye that work iniquity*, may yet say to him, *Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name have cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works*; then certainly this may be concluded much more concerning those standing Functions and Appointments that are to continue in the Church. Nor can any difference be made in this matter between publick Scandals and secret Sins; for if the former make void the Sacraments, the latter must do so too. The only reason that can be pretended for the one, will also fall upon the other; for if the vertue of the Sacraments is thought to be derived upon them as an Answer of Prayer, then since the Prayers of Hypocrites are as little effectual as the Prayers of those who are openly Vicious; the Inference is good, that if the Sacraments Administred by a scandalous Man are without any effect, the Sacraments Administred by a Man that is inwardly Corrupted, though that can be only known to God, will be also of no effect; and therefore this Opinion that was taken up, perhaps from an inconsiderate Zeal against the sins and scandals of the Clergy, is without all foundation, and must needs cast all Men into endless scruples, which can never be cured.

Mat. 7. 22.

The Church of *Rome*, though they reject this Opinion; yet have brought in another very like it, which must needs fill the Minds of Men with endless distractions and fears; chiefly considering of what necessity and efficacy they make the Sacraments to be. They do teach that the Intention of him that gives the Sacrament is necessary to the Essence of it, so that without it no Sacrament can be Administred. This was expressly affirmed by Pope *Eugenius* in his Decree, and an Anathema past at *Trent* against those that deny it. They do indeed define it to be only an Intention of doing that which the Church intends to do; and though the surest way they say is to have an actual Intention, yet it is commonly taught among them, that a habitual or virtual Intention will serve. But they do all agree in this, that if a Priest has a secret Intention not to make a Sacrament, that in that case no Sacrament is made; and this is carried so far, that in one of the Rubricks of the Missal it is given as a Rule, that if a Priest who goes to Consecrate Twelve Hosties, should have a general Intention to leave out one of them from being truly Consecrated, and should not apply that to any one, but let it run loosely through them all, that in such case he should not Consecrate any one of the Twelve; that loose exception falling upon them all, because it is not restrained to any one particular. And among the Articles that were condemned by Pope *Alexander* the Eighth, the 7th of *December*, 1690. the 28th runs thus, *Valet Baptismus collatus a Ministro, qui omnem ritum externum formamque Baptisandi observat, intus vero in corde suo apud se resolvit, non intendo quod facit Ecclesia.* And thus they make the secret acts of a Priest's mind enter

Miss. Rom. Rubr. de defectu Intent. art. 1.

so

ſo far into thoſe Divine Appointments, that by his Malice, Irreligion, or Atheiſm, he can make thoſe Sacraments which he viſibly Bleſſes and Adminiſters, to be only the outward ſhews of Sacraments, but no real ones. We do not pretend that the Sacraments are of the nature of Charms; ſo that if a Man ſhould in a way of open Mockery and Profanation go about them, that therefore becauſe Matter and Form are obſerved, they ſhould be true Sacraments. But though we make the ſerious appearances of a Chriſtian action to be neceſſary to the making it a Sacrament, yet we carry this no further, to the inward and ſecret acts of the Prieſt, as if they were eſſential to the being of it. If this is true, no Man can have quiet in his Mind. *Art.* 26.

It is a Profanation for an Unbaptized Perſon to receive the Euchariſt; ſo if Baptiſm is not true when a Prieſt ſets his Intention croſs to it, then a Man in Orders muſt be in perpetual doubts whether he is not living in a continual ſtate of Sacriledge in Adminiſtring the other Sacraments while he is not yet Baptized; and if Baptiſm be ſo neceſſary to Salvation, that no Man who is not Baptized can hope to be Saved, here a perpetual ſcruple muſt ariſe which can never be removed. Nor can a Man be ſure but that when he thinks he is Worſhipping the true Body of Jeſus Chriſt, he is committing Idolatry and Worſhipping only a piece of Bread; for it is no more according to them, if the Prieſt had an Intention againſt Conſecrating it. No Orders are given if an Intention lies againſt them, and then he who paſſes for a Prieſt is no Prieſt; and all his Conſecrations and Abſolutions are ſo many invalid things, and a continued courſe of Sacriledge.

Now what reaſon ſoever Men may have in this caſe to hope for the pardon of thoſe ſins, ſince it is certain that the Ignorance is invincible; yet here ſtrange thoughts muſt ariſe concerning Chriſt and his Goſpel; if in thoſe actions that are made neceſſary to Salvation, it ſhould be in the power of a falſe Chriſtian, or an Atheiſtical Prieſt or Biſhop, to make them all void; ſo that by conſequence it ſhould be in his power to damn them; for ſince they are taught to expect Grace and Juſtification from the Sacraments, if theſe are no true Sacraments which they take for ſuch, but only the Shadows and the Phantaſms of them, then neither Grace nor Juſtification can follow upon them. This may be carried ſo far as even to evacuate the very being of a Church; for a Man not truly Baptized can never be in Orders; ſo that the whole Ordinations of a Church, and the Succeſſion of it, may be broke by the Impiety of any one Prieſt. This we look on as ſuch a chain of Abſurdities, that if this Doctrine of Intention were true, it alone might ſerve to deſtroy the whole credit of the Chriſtian Religion; in which the Sacraments are taught to be both ſo neceſſary and ſo efficacious, and yet all this is made to depend on that which can neither be known nor prevented.

The laſt Paragraph of this Article is ſo clear that it needs no explanation, and is ſo evident that it wants no proof. *Eli* was ſeverely threatned for ſuffering his Sons to go on in their Vices, when by their means the Sacrifice of God was abhorred. God himſelf ſtruck *Nadab* and *Abihu* dead when they offered ſtrange Fire at his Altar; and upon that theſe words were uttered, *I will be ſanctified in them that come nigh me, and before all the People will I be glorified.* *Timothy* was required to receive *an accuſation of an Elder*, when regularly tendered to him; and *to rebuke before all, thoſe that ſinned*; and he was charged to withdraw himſelf from *thoſe teachers who conſented not to wholſome words*, and that made a *gain of godlineſs*. A main part of the Diſcipline of the Primitive Church lay heavieſt

1 Sam. 3. 11. Levit. 10. 3. 1 Tim. 5. 1, 19, 20. 6. c. 3, 4, 5.

Art. 26. heavieſt on the Clergy: and ſuch of them as either Apoſtatized, or fell into ſcandalous Sins, even upon their Repentance, were indeed received into the Peace of the Church, but they were appointed to Communicate among the Laity, and were never after that admitted to the Body of the Clergy, or to have a ſhare in their Priviledges. Certainly there is nothing more incumbent on the whole Body of the Church, than that all poſſible care be taken to diſcover the bad practices that may be among the Clergy; which will ever raiſe ſtrong prejudices, not only againſt their Perſons, but even againſt their Profeſſion, and againſt that Religion which they ſeem to advance with their Mouths, while in their Works and by their Lives they detract from it, and ſeem to deny its Authority. But after all, our Zeal muſt go along with Juſtice and Diſcretion: Fame may be a juſt ground to enquire upon, but a Sentence cannot be founded on it. The Laity muſt diſcover what they know, that ſo theſe who have Au-
Gal. 5. 12. thority may be able to *cut off thoſe that trouble the Church.* Diſcretion will require that things which cannot be proved, ought rather to be covered, than expoſed when nothing but clamour can follow upon it. In ſum, this is a part of the Government of the Church, for which God will reckon ſeverely with thoſe, who from partial regards, or other feeble or carnal Conſiderations, are defective in that, which is ſo great a part of their Duty, and in which the Honour of God and of Religion, and the Good of Souls, as well as the Order and Unity of the Church are ſo highly concerned.

ARTICLE

Art. 27.

ARTICLE XXVII.

Of Baptiſm.

Baptiſm is not only a Sign of Profeſſion and Mark of difference, whereby Chriſtian Men are diſcerned from others that be not Chriſtened; but it is alſo a Sign of Regeneration or New Birth, whereby as by an Inſtrument they that receive Baptiſm rightly, are Grafted into the Church. The Promiſes of the Forgiveneſs of Sin, of our Adoption to be the Sons of God, by the Holy Ghoſt, are viſibly Signed and Sealed, Faith is confirmed and Grace increaſed by virtue of Prayer to God. The Baptiſm of Young Children is in any wiſe to be retained in the Church, as moſt agreeable with the Inſtitution of Chriſt.

WHEN St. *John Baptiſt* began firſt to Baptize, we do plainly ſee by the firſt Chapter of St. *John*'s Goſpel, that the *Jews* were not ſurpriſed at the Novelty of the Rite, for they ſent to ask *who he was*; and when he ſaid he was not the *Meſſias*, nor *Elias*, nor that *Prophet*, they asked, *Why Baptizeſt thou then?* Which ſhews not only that they had clear Notions of Baptiſm, but in particular that they thought that if he had been the *Meſſias*, or *Elias*, or that *Prophet*, he might then have Baptized. St. *Paul* does alſo ſay that the *Jews were all baptized unto Moſes in the cloud, and in the ſea*; which ſeems to relate to ſome Opinion the *Jews* had, that by that *Cloud*, and their paſſing through the *Sea*, they were purified from the *Egyptian* Defilements, and made meet to become *Moſes*'s Diſciples. Yet in the Old Teſtament we find no clear Warrants for a practice that had then got among the *Jews*, which is ſtill taught by them, that they were to receive a Proſelyte, if a Male, by *Baptiſm, Circumciſion, and Sacrifice*; and if a Female, only by *Baptiſm and Sacrifice*. Thus they reckoned that when any came over from Heatheniſm to their Religion, they were to uſe a Waſhing; to denote their Purifying themſelves from the uncleanneſs of their former Idolatry, and their entring into a Holy Religion.

John 1. 25.

1 Cor. 10. 2.

And as they do ſtill teach that when the Meſſias comes, they are all bound to ſet themſelves to repent of their former ſins; ſo it ſeems they then thought, or at leaſt it would have been no ſtrange thing to them, if the Meſſias had received ſuch as came to him by Baptiſm. St. *John* by Baptizing thoſe who came to him, took them obliged to enter upon a courſe of Repentance, and he declared to them the near approach of the Meſſias, and that *the Kingdom of God was at hand*; and it is very probable that thoſe who were Baptized by Chriſt, that is, by his Apoſtles; for though it is expreſly ſaid that he Baptized none, yet what he did by his Diſciples he might in a more general ſenſe be ſaid to have done himſelf; that theſe, I ſay, were Baptized upon the ſame Sponſions, and with the ſame Declarations, and with no other; for the Diſpenſation of the Meſſias was not yet opened, nor was it then fully declared that he was the *Meſſias*; howſoever this was a preparatory Initiation of ſuch as were fitted for the coming of the Meſſias; by it they owned their expectations of him, as then near at hand, and they profeſſed their Repentance of their Sins, and their purpoſes of doing what ſhould be enjoined them by him.

Art. 27. *Water* was a very proper Emblem, to ſignify the paſſing from a Courſe of Defilement to a greater degree of Purity, both in Doctrine and Practice.

Our Saviour in his ſtate of Humiliation as he was ſubject to the Moſaical Law, ſo he thought fit to fulfil all the Obligations that lay upon the other *Jews*; which by a Phraſe uſed among them he expreſſes thus *to fulfil all righteouſneſs*. For tho' our Saviour had no ſins to Confeſs, yet that not being known, he might come to Profeſs his Belief of the Diſpenſation of the Meſſias, that was then to appear. But how well ſoever the *Jews* might have been accuſtomed to this Rite, and how proper a Preparation ſoever it might be to the Manifeſtation of the Meſſias, yet the Inſtitution of Baptiſm as it is a federal Act of the Chriſtian Religion, muſt be taken from the Commiſſion that our Saviour gave to his Diſciples; *to go preach and make diſciples to him in all Nations* (for that is the ſtrict ſignification of the Word), *baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt; teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you.*

Matth. 28. 19.

By the firſt *Teaching* or making of *Diſciples*, that muſt go before Baptiſm, is to be meant the Convincing the World, that *Jeſus* is the *Chriſt*, the true *Meſſias*, anointed of God, with a fulneſs of Grace and of the Spirit without meaſure; and ſent to be the Saviour and Redeemer of the World. And when any were brought to acknowledge this, then they were to Baptize them, to initiate them to this Religion, by obliging them to Renounce all Idolatry and Ungodlineſs, as well as all ſecular and carnal Luſts, and then they led them into the Water; and with no other Garments but what might cover Nature, they at firſt laid them down in the Water, as a Man is laid in a Grave, and then they ſaid thoſe words, *I baptize or waſh thee in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt:* Then they raiſed them up again and clean Garments were put on them: From whence came the Phraſes *of being baptized into Chriſt's death, of being buried with him by baptiſm, into death:* Of *our being riſen with Chriſt*, and of *our putting on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; of *putting off the Old Man and putting on the New.* After Baptiſm was thus performed, the baptized Perſon was to be farther inſtructed in all the Specialities of the Chriſtian Religion: And in all the Rules of Life that Chriſt had preſcribed.

Rom. 6. 3, 4, 5. Col. 2. 12. Col. 3. 1, 10. Rom. 13. 14.

This was plainly a different Baptiſm from St. *John's*; a Profeſſion was made in it, not in general of the Belief of a Meſſias ſoon to appear, but in particular, that *Jeſus was the Meſſias.*

The Stipulation in St. *John's* Baptiſm was *Repentance*; but here it is the Belief of the whole Chriſtian Religion: In St. *John's* Baptiſm they indeed promiſed Repentance, and he received them into the earneſts of the Kingdom of the Meſſias; but it does not appear that St. *John* either did promiſe them *Remiſſion of Sins*, or that he had Commiſſion ſo to do: For *Repentance* and *Remiſſion of Sins* were not joined together till after the Reſurrection of Chriſt; that he appointed that *Repentance and Remiſſion of Sins ſhould be preached in his Name among all Nations, beginning at Jeruſalem.*

Luke 24. 47.

In the Baptiſm of Chriſt, I mean that which he appointed, after his Reſurrection (for the Baptiſm of his Diſciples before that time was no doubt the ſame with St. *John's Baptiſm*), there was to be an Inſtruction given in that great Myſtery of the Chriſtian Religion concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; which thoſe who had only received St. *John's* Baptiſm knew not: *They did not ſo much as know that there was a Holy Ghoſt*; That is, they knew nothing of the extraordinary Effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt. And it is expreſly ſaid, that thoſe of St. *John's* Baptiſm, when

Acts 19. 2, 3, 4, 5.

St. *Paul*

St. *Paul* explained to them the difference between the Baptiſm of Chriſt, and that of St. *John*, that *they were baptized in the Name of the Lord Jeſus.* For St. *John* in his Baptiſm had only initiated them to the belief of a Meſſias; but had not ſaid a word of *Jeſus* as being that *Meſſias.* So that this muſt be fixed that theſe two Baptiſms were different; the one was a dawning or imperfect beginning to the other, as he that adminiſtred the one was like the *Morning Star* before the *Sun of Righteouſneſs.* *Art.* 27. Joh. 3. 3, 5, 6.

Our Saviour had this Ordinance (that was then imperfect, and was to be afterwards compleated when he himſelf had finiſhed all that he came into the World to do) he had I ſay this viſibly in his eye when he ſpake to *Nicodemus*, and told him, that *except a man were born again he could not ſee* (or diſcern) *the Kingdom of God:* By which he meant that entire change and renovation of a man's mind, and of all his powers through which he muſt paſs, before he could diſcern the true Characters of the Diſpenſation of the Meſſias; for that is the ſenſe in which the Kingdom of God does ſtand, almoſt univerſally through the whole Goſpel. When *Nicodemus* was amazed at this odd expreſſion, and ſeemed to take it literally; our Saviour anſwered more fully, *Verily, verily, I ſay unto thee, except a man be born of water, and of the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* The meaning of which ſeems to be this, that except a man came to be renewed, by an ablution like the Baptiſm which the *Jews* uſed, that imported the outward profeſſion of a change of Doctrine and of Heart, and with that except he were inwardly changed by a ſecret power called the *Spirit*, that ſhould transform his nature, he could not become one of his Diſciples, or a true Chriſtian; which is meant by his entring into the *Kingdom of God*, or the Diſpenſation of the Meſſias.

Upon this Inſtitution and Commiſſion given by Chriſt, we ſee the Apoſtles went up and down Preaching and Baptizing. And ſo far were they from conſidering Baptiſm only as a carnal Rite, or a low Element, above which a higher Diſpenſation of the Spirit was to raiſe them, that when St. *Peter* ſaw the Holy Ghoſt viſibly deſcend upon *Cornelius* and his Friends, he upon that immediately Baptized them; and ſaid, *Can any man forbid* (or deny) *water that theſe ſhould not be baptized; which have received the Holy Ghoſt as well as we?* Our Saviour has alſo made Baptiſm one of the *Precepts*, tho' not one of the *Means*, neceſſary to Salvation. A *Mean* is that which does ſo certainly procure a thing, that it being had, the thing to which it is a certain and neceſſary *Mean* is alſo had; and without it the thing cannot be had; there being a natural connexion between it and the End. Whereas a *Precept* is an Inſtitution, in which there is no ſuch natural efficiency; but it is poſitively commanded, ſo that the neglecting it is a contempt of the Authority that commanded it: And therefore in obeying the *Precept*, the value or vertue of the action lies only in the obedience. This diſtinction appears very clearly in what our Saviour has ſaid both of *Faith* and *Baptiſm.* *He that believeth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved; and he that believeth not ſhall be damned.* Acts 10. 44, 47, 48. Mark 16. 16.

Where it appears, that Faith is the *Mean* of Salvation with which it is to be had, and not without it; ſince ſuch a believing as makes a man receive the whole Goſpel as true, and ſo firmly to depend upon the Promiſes that are made in it; as to obſerve all the Laws and Rules that are preſcribed by it, ſuch a *Faith* as this gives us ſo ſure a title to all the Bleſſings of this New Covenant, that it is impoſſible that we ſhould continue in this ſtate and not partake of them; and it is no leſs impoſſible that we ſhould partake of them, unleſs we do thus believe. It were not ſuteable to the Truth and Holineſs of the Divine Nature, to void a Covenant ſo ſolemnly

Art. 27. lemnly made; and that in favour of wicked men, who will not be reformed by it: So *Faith* is the certain and neceſſary Mean of our Salvation; and is ſo put by Chriſt, ſince upon our having it we ſhall be *ſaved*, as well as *damned* upon our not having it.

On the other hand, the nature of a Ritual Action, even when commanded, is ſuch, that unleſs we could imagine that there is a Charm in it, which is contrary to the Spirit and Genius of the Goſpel, which deſigns to ſave us by reforming our Natures, we cannot think that there can be any thing in it that is of it ſelf, effectual as a Mean; therefore it muſt only be conſidered as a Command that is given us, which we are bound to obey; if we acknowledge the Authority of the Command. But this being an Action that is not always in our power, but is to be done by another, it were to put our Salvation or Damnation in the power of another, to imagine that we cannot be ſaved without Baptiſm; and therefore it is only a Precept which obliges us in order to our Salvation; and our Saviour by leaving it out when he reverſed the words, ſaying only, *he that believeth not*, without adding, and is not Baptized, ſhall be *damned*, does plainly inſinuate that it is not a Mean, but only a Precept in order to our Salvation.

As for the Ends and Purpoſes of Baptiſm, St. *Paul* gives us two; the
1 Cor. 12. 13. one is, that *we are all baptized into one body, we are made members one of another:* We are admitted to the Society of Chriſtians, and to all the Rights and Priviledges of that Body, which is the Church. And in order to this, the outward action of Baptiſm, when regularly gone about, is ſufficient. We cannot ſee into the ſincerity of mens Hearts: Outward Profeſſions and regular Actions are all that fall under mens Obſervation and Judgment. But a ſecond End of Baptiſm is Internal and Spiritual. Of this St. *Paul* ſpeaks
Tit. 3. 5. in very high terms, when he ſays that *God has ſaved us according to his mercy, by the waſhing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghoſt.* It were a ſtrange perverting the deſign of theſe words to ſay that ſomewhat Spiritual is to be underſtood by this *waſhing of regeneration*, and not Baptiſm; when as to the word *ſave*, that is here aſcribed to it, St. *Peter* gives that undeniably to Baptiſm; and St. *Paul* elſewhere in two different pla-
Rom. 6. Col. 2. ces, makes our Baptiſm to repreſent *our being dead to ſin, and buried with Chriſt*; and our being *riſen and quickned with him, and made alive unto God*; which are words that do very plainly import Regeneration. So that St. *Paul* muſt be underſtood to ſpeak of Baptiſm in theſe words; here then is the inward effect of Baptiſm: It is a death to ſin, and a new life in Chriſt, in imitation of him, and in conformity to his Goſpel. So that here is very expreſly delivered to us, ſomewhat that riſes far above the Badge of a Profeſſion, or a Mark of difference.

That does indeed belong to Baptiſm, it makes us the viſible Members of that one Body, into which we are Baptized, or admitted by Baptiſm; but that which *ſaves us* in it, which both deadens and quickens us, muſt be a thing of another nature. If Baptiſm were only the receiving us into the Society of Chriſtians, there were no need of ſaying, *I Baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* It were more proper to ſay, *I Baptize thee in the Name, or by the Authority of the Church.* Therefore theſe auguſt words, that were dictated by our Lord himſelf, ſhew us that there is ſomewhat in it that is Internal, which comes from God, that it is an admitting men into ſomewhat that depends only on God, and for the giving of which the authority can only be derived by him. But after all, this is not to be believed, to be of the nature of a Charm, as if the very act of Baptiſm carried always with it an inward Regeneration. Here

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we muſt confeſs that very early ſome Doctrines aroſe upon Baptiſm, that we cannot be determined by. The words of our Saviour to *Nicodemus* were expounded ſo, as to import the abſolute neceſſity of Baptiſm in order to Salvation; for it not being obſerved that the Diſpenſation of the Meſſias was meant by the Kingdom of God, but it being taken to ſignifie Eternal Glory, that expreſſion of our Saviour's was underſtood to import this, that no Man could be ſaved unleſs he were Baptized; ſo it was believed to be ſimply neceſſary to Salvation: A natural conſequence that followed upon that was to allow all Perſons leave to Baptize Clergy and Laity, Men and Women, ſince it ſeemed neceſſary to ſuffer every Perſon to do that without which Salvation could not be had. Upon this theſe haſty Baptiſms were uſed, without any ſpecial Sponſion on the part of thoſe who deſired it; of which it may be reaſonably doubted whether ſuch a Baptiſm be true, in which no Sponſion is made; and this cannot be well anſwered but by ſaying that a general and an implied Sponſion, is to be conſidered to be made by their Parents while they deſire them to be Baptized. *Art.* 27.

Another Opinion that aroſe out of the former, was the mixing of the outward and the inward effects of Baptiſm: It being believed that every Perſon that was *born of the Water*, was alſo *born of the Spirit*; and that the *renewing of the Holy Ghoſt*, did always accompany *the waſhing of Regeneration*. And this obliged St. *Auſtin* (as was formerly told) to make that difference between the *regenerate* and the *predeſtinated*; for he thought that all who were Baptized, were alſo *regenerated*. St. *Peter* has ſtated this ſo fully, that if his words are well conſidered, they will clear the whole matter. He, after he had ſet forth the miſerable ſtate in which Mankind was, under the figure of the Deluge, in which an Ark was prepared for *Noah* and his Family, ſays upon that, *The like figure whereunto even Baptiſm doth alſo now ſave us:* Upon which he makes a ſhort digreſſion to explain the nature of Baptiſm, *not the putting away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer* (or the Demand and Interrogation) *of a good conſcience towards God; by the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, who is gone into Heaven.* The meaning of all which is, that Chriſt having riſen again, and having then had *all power in heaven and in earth* given to him, he had put that vertue in Baptiſm, that by it we are *ſaved*, as in an Ark, from that miſerable ſtate in which the world lies, and in which it muſt periſh. But then he explains the way how it ſaves us; that it is not as a Phyſical action, as it waſhes away the filthineſs of the fleſh, or the body; like the Notion that the Gentiles might have of their *Februations*; or which is more natural, conſidering to whom he writes, like the Opinions that the *Jews* had of their *Cleanſings* after their *Legal Impurities*, from which their Waſhings and Bathings did abſolutely free them. The Salvation that we Chriſtians have by Baptiſm is effected by that Federation into which we enter, when upon the Demands that are made of our renouncing the *Devil*, the *World* and the *Fleſh*, and of our believing in Chriſt, and our *Repentance* towards God, we make ſuch *Anſwers* from a *good Conſcience*, as agree with the end and deſign of Baptiſm; then by our thus coming into Covenant with God we are ſaved in Baptiſm. So that the Salvation by Baptiſm is given by reaſon of the federal compact that is made in it. Now this being made outwardly, according to the Rules that are preſcribed, that muſt make the Baptiſm good among Men, as to all the outward and viſible effects of it: But ſince it is the *anſwer of a good Conſcience* only that *ſaves*, then an anſwer from a bad Conſcience, from a hypocritical Perſon, who does not inwardly think or purpoſe according to what he profeſſes outwardly, cannot ſave; but does on the contrary aggravate his Damnation. Therefore our Article puts 1 Pet. 3. 21.

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Art. 27. the efficacy of Baptiſm, in order to the forgiveneſs of our ſins, and to our Adoption and Salvation, upon the vertue of Prayer to God; that is, upon thoſe Vows and other acts of Devotion that accompany them: So that when the ſeriouſneſs of the mind accompanies the regularity of the action, then both the outward and inward effects of Baptiſm are attained by it; and we are not only *Baptized into one Body*, but are alſo *ſaved by Baptiſm*. So that upon the whole matter, Baptiſm is a federal admiſſion into Chriſtianity; in which on God's part all the Bleſſings of the Goſpel are made over to the Baptized: And on the other hand the Perſon Baptized takes on him by a ſolemn Profeſſion and Vow, to obſerve and adhere to the whole Chriſtian Religion. So it is a very natural diſtinction to ſay, that the outward effects of Baptiſm follow it as outwardly performed; but that the inward effects of it follow upon the inward acts; but this difference is ſtill to be obſerved between inward acts and outward actions; that when the outward action is rightly performed, the Church muſt reckon the Baptiſm good, and never renew it: But if one has been wanting in the inward acts, thoſe may be afterwards renewed, and that want may be made up by Repentance.

Thus all that the Scriptures have told us concerning Baptiſm ſeems to be ſufficiently explained. There remains only one place that may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange. St. *Paul* ſays that *Chriſt ſent him not to Baptize, but to Preach:* Which ſome have carried ſo far as to infer from thence that Preaching is of more value than Baptiſm. But it is to be conſidered that the Preaching of the Apoſtles was of the nature of a Promulgation made by Heraulds: It was an act of a ſpecial Authority by which he in particular was to convert the World from Idolatry and *Judaiſm*, to acknowledge *Jeſus to be the true Meſſias*.

1 Cor. 1. 17.

Acts 8.26, to the end.

Now when Men by the Preaching of the Apoſtles, and by the Miracles that accompanied it, were ſo wrought on as to believe that *Jeſus was the Chriſt*; then according to the practice of *Philip* towards the *Eunuch of Ethiopia*; and of St. *Paul* to his Jayler at *Philippi*, they might immediately Baptize them; yet moſt commonly there was a ſpecial Inſtruction to be uſed, before Perſons were Baptized, who might in general have ſome Conviction, and yet not be ſo fully ſatisfied, but that a great deal of more pains was to be taken to carry them on to that full aſſurance of Faith, which was neceſſary. This was a work of much time, and was to be managed by the Paſtors or Teachers of the ſeveral Churches: So that the meaning of what St. *Paul* ſays was this, that he was to publiſh the Goſpel from City to City, but could not deſcend to the particular labour of preparing and inſtructing of the Perſons to be Baptized, and to the Baptizing them when ſo prepared. If he had entred upon this Work he could not have made that progreſs, nor have founded thoſe Churches that he did. All this is therefore miſunderſtood when it is applied to ſuch Preaching as is ſtill continued in the Church; which does not ſucceed the Apoſtolical Preaching, that was inſpired and infallible; but comes in the room of that Inſtruction and Teaching which was then performed by the Paſtors of the Church.

Acts 16. 31, 32, 33.

The laſt Head in this Article relates to the Baptiſm of Infants, which is ſpoken of with that moderation, that appears very eminently through the whole Articles of our Church, on this Head. It is only ſaid to be moſt agreeable with the Inſtitution of Chriſt, and that therefore it is to be in any ways retained in the Church. Now to open this, it is to be conſidered, that tho' Baptiſm and Circumciſion do not in every particular come to a Parallel; yet they do agree in two things: The one is, that both

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were the Rites of admiſſion into their reſpective Covenants, and to the Rights and Privileges that did ariſe out of them; and the other is, that in them both, there was an Obligation laid on the Perſons, to the obſervance of that whole Law to which they were ſo initiated. St. *Paul* arguing againſt Circumciſion, lays this down as an unconteſted Maxim, That if a Man was Circumciſed, *he became thereby a debtor to the whole law.* Gal. 5. 3. *Art* 27.

Parents had by the *Jewiſh* Conſtitution, an Authority given them to conclude their Children under that Obligation; ſo that the Soul and Will of the Child was ſo far put in the power of the Parents, that they could bring them under federal Obligations, and thereby procure to them a ſhare in federal Bleſſings. And it is probable that from hence it was, that when the *Jews* made Proſelytes, they conſidered them as having ſuch Authority over their Children, that they Baptized them firſt, and then Circumciſed them, though Infants.

Now ſince Chriſt took Baptiſm from them, and appointed it to be the federal Admiſſion to his Religion, as Circumciſion had been in the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation, it is reaſonable to believe, that except where he declared a change that he made in it, in all other reſpects it was to go on and to continue as before; eſpecially when the Apoſtles in their firſt Preaching told the *Jews* that the Promiſes were made to them and to their Children; Acts 2. 39. which the *Jews* muſt have underſtood according to what they were already in poſſeſſion of, that they could initiate their Children into their Religion, bring them under the obligations of it, and procure to them a ſhare in thoſe Bleſſings that belonged to it. The Law of Nature and Nations puts Children in the Power of their Parents; they are naturally their Guardians, and if they are entitled to any thing, their Parents have a right to tranſact about it, becauſe of the weakneſs of the Child; and what Contracts ſoever they make, by which the Child does not loſe but is a gainer, theſe do certainly bind the Child. It is then ſuitable both to the conſtitution of Mankind, and to the diſpenſation of the *Moſaical* Covenant, that Parents may dedicate their Children to God, and may bring them under the obligations of the Goſpel; and if they may do that, then they certainly procure to them with it, or in lieu of it, a ſhare in the bleſſings and promiſes of the Goſpel. So that they may offer their Children, either themſelves, or by ſuch others of their Friends, to whom for that occaſion they transfer that Right which they have, to tranſact for and to bind their Children.

All this receives a great confirmation from the deciſion which St. *Paul* makes upon a caſe that muſt have happened commonly at that time; which was, when one of the Parties in a Married ſtate, *Husband* or *Wife*, was Converted, while the other continued ſtill in the former ſtate of Idolatry, or Infidelity: Here then a ſcruple naturally aroſe, Whether a Believer or Chriſtian might ſtill live in a married ſtate with an Infidel. Beſides the ill uſage to which that diverſity of Religion might give occaſion; another difficulty might be made, Whether a Perſon defiled by Idolatry, did not communicate that Impurity to the Chriſtian, and whether the Children born in ſuch a Marriage, were to be reckoned a *holy ſeed*, according to the *Jewiſh* Phraſe, or an *unholy*, unclean Children, that is, Heatheniſh Children; who were not to be Dedicated to God, nor to be Admitted into Covenant with him: For *unclean* in the Old Teſtament, and Uncircumciſed, ſignify ſometimes the ſame thing; and ſo St. *Peter* ſaid that in the caſe of *Cornelius* God had ſhewed him, that he ſhould call no Man *common* or *unclean*; in alluſion to all which St. *Paul* determines the caſe, not by an immediate Revelation, but by the Inferences that he 1 Cor. 7. 14.

Art. 27. drew from what had been Revealed to him; he does appoint the Chriſtian to live with the Infidel, and ſays, that the Chriſtian is ſo far from being defiled by the Infidel, that there is a communication of a Bleſſing that paſſes from the Chriſtian to the Infidel; the one being the better for the Prayers of the other, and ſharing in the Bleſſings beſtowed on the other: The better part was accepted of God, *in whom mercy rejoices over judgment*; there was a communication of a Bleſſing that the Chriſtian derived to the Infidel; which at leaſt went ſo far, that their Children were not *unclean*; that is, ſhut out from being dedicated to God, but were *holy*. Now it is to be conſidered that in the New Teſtament *Chriſtians*, and *Saints*, or *Holy*, ſtand all promiſcuouſly. The Purity of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and the Dedication by which Chriſtians offer up themſelves to God, makes them *Holy*.

In Scripture *Holineſs* ſtands in a double Senſe, the one is a true and real Purity, by which a Man's Faculties and Actions become Holy; the other is a dedicated Holineſs, when any thing is appropriated to God; in which ſenſe it ſtands moſt commonly in the Old Teſtament. So Times, Places, and not only Perſons, but even Utenſils applied to the Service of God, are called *Holy*. In the New Teſtament, *Chriſtian* and *Saint* are the ſame thing; ſo the ſaying that Children are *Holy*, when one of the Parents is a Chriſtian, muſt import this, that the Child has alſo a right to be made *Holy*, or to be made a Chriſtian; and by conſequence that by the Parents Dedication that Child may be made *Holy*, or a *Chriſtian*.

Upon theſe Reaſons we conclude, That though there is no expreſs Precept or Rule given in the New Teſtament for the Baptiſm of Infants, yet it is moſt agreeable to the Inſtitution of Chriſt, ſince he conformed his Inſtitutions to thoſe of the *Moſaical* Law, as far as could conſiſt with his Deſign; and therefore in a thing of this kind, in which the juſt tenderneſs of the human Nature does diſpoſe Parents to ſecure to their Children a Title to the Mercies and Bleſſings of the Goſpel, there is no reaſon to think that this being ſo fully ſet forth and aſſured to the *Jews* in the Old Teſtament, that Chriſt ſhould not have intended to give Parents the ſame Comforts and Aſſurances by his Goſpel, that they had under the Law of *Moſes*: Since nothing is ſaid againſt it, we may conclude from the nature of the two Diſpenſations, and the proportion and gradation that is between them, that Children under the New Teſtament are a *holy ſeed*, as well as they were under the Old; and by conſequence that they may be now Baptized as well as they were then Circumciſed.

If this may be done, then it is very reaſonable to ſay what is ſaid in the Article concerning it, That *it ought in any wiſe to be retained in the Church*: For the ſame Humanity that obliges Parents to feed their Children, and to take care of them while they are in ſuch a helpleſs ſtate, muſt dictate, that it is much more incumbent on them, and is as much more neceſſary, as the Soul is more valuable than the Body, for them to do all that in them lies for the Souls of their Children, for ſecuring to them a ſhare in the Bleſſings and Privileges of the Goſpel, and for Dedicating them early to the Chriſtian Religion. The Office for Baptizing Infants is in the ſame words with that for Perſons of Riper Age; becauſe Infants being then in the power of their Parents, who are of Age, are conſidered as in them, and as binding themſelves by the Vows that they make in their Name. Therefore the Office carries on the ſuppoſition of an internal Regeneration; and in that helpleſs ſtate the Infant is offered up and Dedicated to God; and provided, that when he comes to Age he takes thoſe Vows on himſelf, and lives like a Perſon ſo in Covenant with God,

then

then he ſhall find the full effects of Baptiſm; and if he dies in that ſtate of Incapacity, he being Dedicated to God, is certainly accepted of by him; and by being put in the Second *Adam*, all the bad effects of his having deſcended from the Firſt *Adam*, are quite taken away: Chriſt, when on Earth, encouraged thoſe who brought *little Children* to him, *he took them in his arms, and laid his hands on them and bleſſed them*, and ſaid, *ſuffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of ſuch is the kingdom of God*: Whatever theſe words may ſignify myſtically, the literal meaning of them is, that little Children may be admitted into the Diſpenſation of the Meſſias, and by conſequence that they may be Baptized. *Art.* 27. Matt. 19. 13, 14.

Art. 28.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

Of the Lord's Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's Death: Insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ. Transubstantiation (or the change of the Substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many Superstitions. The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a Heavenly and Spiritual manner; and the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's Ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up and Worshipped.

In the ~~Edition of~~ these Articles in *Edward* the VIth's Reign, there was another long Paragraph against Transubstantiation added in these words: **Forasmuch as the Truth of Man's Nature requireth, that the Body of one and the self-same Man cannot be at one time in divers places, but must needs be in one certain place; therefore the Body of Christ cannot be present at one time in many and divers places: And because as Holy Scripture doth teach, Christ was taken up into Heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the World; a Faithful Man ought not either to Believe, or openly Confess the Real and Bodily Presence, as they term it, of Christ's Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.**

WHEN these Articles were at first prepared by the Convocation in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, this Paragraph was made a part of them; for the Original Subscription by both Houses of Convocation, yet extant, shews this. But the design of the Government was at that time much turned to the drawing over the Body of the Nation to the Reformation, in whom the old Leven had gone deep; and no part of it deeper than the belief of the Corporeal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament; therefore it was thought not expedient to offend them by so particular a Definition in this matter; in which the very word *Real Presence* was rejected. It might, perhaps, be also suggested, that here a Definition was made that went too much upon the Principles of Natural Philosophy; which how true soever, they might not be the proper subject of an Article of Religion. Therefore it was thought fit to suppress this Paragraph; though it was a part of the Article that was Subscribed, yet it was not published, but the Paragraph that follows, *The Body of Christ*, &c. was put in its stead, and was received and published by the next Convocation; which upon the matter was a full Explanation of the way of Christ's

Chriſt's Preſence in this Sacrament; that *he is preſent in a heavenly and ſpiritual Manner, and that Faith is the mean by which he is received.* This ſeemed to be more Theological; and it does indeed amount to the ſame thing. But howſoever we ſee what was the Senſe of the firſt Convocation in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; it differed in nothing from that in King *Edward*'s Time: And therefore though this Paragraph is now no Part of our Articles, yet we are certain that the Clergy at that time did not at all doubt of the Truth of it; we are ſure it was their Opinion: Since they ſubſcribed it, though they did not think fit to publiſh it, at firſt; and though it was afterwards changed for another, that was the ſame in Senſe. *Art.* 28.

In the treating of this Article, I ſhall firſt lay down the Doctrine of this Church with the Grounds of it; and then I ſhall examine the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, which muſt be done copiouſly: For next to the Doctrine of Infallibility, this is the moſt valued of all their other Tenets; this is the moſt Important in it ſelf, ſince it is the main Part of their Worſhip, and the chief Subject of all their Devotions. There is not any one thing in which both Clergy and Laity are more concerned; which is more generally ſtudied, and for which they pretend they have more plauſible Colours, both from Scripture and the Fathers: and if Senſe and Reaſon ſeem to preſs hard upon it, they reckon, that as they underſtand the Words of St. *Paul*, *every thought muſt be captivated into the obedience of Faith.* 2 Cor. 10. 5.

In order to the expounding our Doctrine, we muſt conſider the Occaſion and the Inſtitution of this Sacrament. The *Jews* were required once a Year to meet at *Jeruſalem*, in remembrance of the deliverance of their Fathers out of *Egypt*. *Moſes* appointed that every Family ſhould kill a Lamb whoſe Blood was to be ſprinkled on their Door-poſts and Lintels, and whoſe Fleſh they were to eat; at the ſight of which *Blood* thus ſprinkled, the deſtroying Angel that was to be ſent out to kill the Firſt-born of every Family in *Egypt*, was to *paſs over* all the Houſes that were ſo marked: And from that *paſſing by* or *over* the *Iſraelites*, the Lamb was called *the Lord's paſſover*, as being then the Sacrifice, and afterwards the Memorial of that *Paſſover*. The People of *Iſrael* were required to keep up the Memorial of that Tranſaction, by ſlaying a Lamb before the Place where God ſhould ſet his Name; and by eating it up that Night: They were alſo to eat with it a Sallet of bitter Herbs and unleavened Bread; and when they went to eat of the Lamb they repeated theſe Words of *Moſes*; *That it was the Lord's Paſſover.* Now tho' the firſt Lamb that was killed in *Egypt*, was indeed the Sacrifice upon which God promiſed to *paſs over* their Houſes, yet the Lambs that were afterwards offered, were only the Memorials of it; though they ſtill carried that Name, which was given to the Firſt: And were called *the Lord's Paſſover.* Exod. 12. 11.

So that the *Jews* were in the *Paſchal-Supper* accuſtomed to call the Memorial of a thing, by the Name of that of which it was the Memorial: And as the Deliverance out of *Egypt*, was a Type and Repreſentation of that greater Deliverance, that we were to have by the *Meſſias*, the firſt Lamb being the Sacrifice of that Deliverance, and the ſucceeding Lambs the Memorials of it; ſo in order to this new and greater Deliverance, *Chriſt* himſelf was our *Paſſover that was ſacrificed for us:* He was the *Lamb of God* that was both to *take away the Sins of the World*, and was to lead Captivity Captive: To bring us out of the Bondage of Sin and Satan into the Obedience of his Goſpel. 1 Cor. 5. 7. John 1. 29. Compare Matt. 26. 26. Mark 14. 22.

He therefore choſe the time of the Paſſover that he might be then offered up for us: And did Inſtitute this Memorial of it, while he was celebrating

Art. 28. ting the *Jewiſh Paſcha* with his Diſciples, who were ſo much accuſtomed to the Forms and Phraſes of that *Supper*, in which every Maſter of a Family did officiate among his Houſhold, that it was very Natural to them to underſtand all that our Saviour ſaid or did, according to thoſe Forms with which they were acquainted.

Luke 22. 19. 1 Cor. 11. 23.

There were after Supper upon a new covering of the Table, Loaves of Unleavened Bread, and Cups of Wine ſet on it; in which though the Bread was very unacceptable, yet they drank liberally of the Wine: Chriſt took a Portion of that Bread and brake it; and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid, *This is my body which is broken for you: Do this in remembrance of me.* He did not ſay only, *this is my body*, but *this is my body broken*; ſo that his *Body* muſt be underſtood to be there, in its *broken* State, if the Words are to be expounded literally. And no reaſon can be aſſigned, why the Word *Broken* ſhould be ſo ſeparated from *Body*; or that the *Bread* ſhould be literally his *Body*, and not literally his *Body broken*: The whole Period muſt be either literally True, or muſt be underſtood myſtically. And if any will ſay, that his Body cannot be there but in the ſame ſtate in which it is now in Heaven; and ſince it is not now *broken*, nor is the *Blood ſhed* or ſeparated from the Body there, therefore the Words muſt be underſtood thus; *This is my Body which is to be broken.* But from thence we argue, that ſince all is one Period, it muſt be all underſtood in the ſame Manner: And ſince it is impoſſible that *Broken* and *Shed*, can be underſtood literally of the *Body* and *Blood*, that therefore the whole is to be myſtically underſtood; and this appears more evident ſince the Diſciples, who were naturally ſlow at underſtanding the eaſieſt Myſteries, that he opened to them, muſt naturally have underſtood thoſe Words as they did the other Words of the Paſchal Supper, *This is the Lord's Paſſover.* That is, this is the Memorial of it: And that the rather, ſince Chriſt added theſe Words, *Do this in remembrance of me.* If they had underſtood them in any other Senſe, that muſt have ſurprized them, and naturally have led them to ask him many Queſtions: Which we find them doing upon Occaſions that were much leſs ſurprizing, as appears by the Queſtions in the 14th of St. *John*, that diſcourſe coming probably immediately after this Inſtitution: Whereas no Queſtion was asked upon this; ſo it is reaſonable to conclude that they could underſtand theſe Words, *This is my Body*, no other way, but as they underſtood that of the Lamb, *This is the Lord's Paſſover.* And by conſequence as their celebrating the *Paſcha*, was a conſtant Memorial of the Deliverance out of *Egypt*, and was a Symbolical Action by which they had a Title to the Bleſſings of the Covenant that *Moſes* made with their Fathers; it was natural for them to conclude, that after Chriſt had made himſelf to be truly that, which the firſt Lamb was in a Type, the true *Sacrifice* of a greater and better *Paſſover*; they were to commemorate it and to communicate in the Benefits and Effects of it, by continuing that Action of *taking*, *bleſſing*, *breaking* and *diſtributing* of Bread: Which was to be the Memorial and the Communion of his Death in all ſucceeding Ages.

This will yet appear more Evident from the Second Part of this Inſtitution, he took the Cup and bleſſed it; and gave it to them, ſaying, *This Cup is the New Teſtament*, or New Covenant *in my blood: drink ye all of it.* Or, as the other Goſpels report it, *This is my blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the Remiſſion of Sins.* As *Moſes* had enjoined the ſprinkling of the Blood of the Lamb, ſo he himſelf ſprinkled both the Book of the Law, and all the People, with the Blood of Calves and of Goats, ſaying, *This is the Blood of the New Teſtament* (or Covenant) *which*

Heb. 9. 20.

which God had enjoined you. The Blood of the Paſchal Lamb, was the Token of that Covenant which God made then with them. *Art.* 28.

The *Jews* were under a very ſtrict Prohibition of eating no Blood at all: But it ſeems by the *Pſalms*, that when they payed their Vows unto God, they took in their Hands *a cup of Salvation*, that is, of an acknowledgment of their Salvation, and ſo were to rejoice before the Lord. Pſal. 116.

Theſe being the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Jews*, they could not without Horror have heard Chriſt when he gave them the Cup, ſay, *This is my Blood:* The Prohibition of Blood was given in ſuch ſevere Terms, as that *God would ſet his face againſt him that did eat blood, and cut him off from among his people:* And this was ſo often repeated in the Books of *Moſes*, that beſides the natural Horror which Humanity gives at the mention of drinking a Man's Blood, it was a ſpecial Part of their Religion to make no uſe of Blood; yet after all this, the Diſciples were not ſtartled at it: Which ſhews that they muſt have underſtood it in ſuch a way, as was agreeable to the Law and Cuſtoms of their Country: and ſince St. *Luke* and St. *Paul* report the Words that our Saviour ſaid when he gave it, differently from what is reported by St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, it is moſt probable that he ſpake both the one and the other; that he firſt ſaid, *This is my Blood*, and then as a clearer Explanation of it, he ſaid, *This cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood:* The one being a more eaſy Expreſſion and in a ſtyle to which the *Jews* had been more accuſtomed. They knew that the Blood of the Lamb was ſprinkled; and by their ſo doing they entred into a Covenant with God: And tho' the Blood was never to be ſprinkled after the firſt Paſſover, yet it was to be poured out before the Lord, in remembrance of that ſprinkling in *Egypt:* In remembrance of that deliverance, they drank of the Cup of Bleſſing and Salvation, and rejoiced before the Lord. So that they could not underſtand our Saviour otherwiſe, than that the Cup ſo bleſſed, was to be to them the Aſſurance of a *New Teſtament* or *Covenant* which was to be eſtabliſhed by the Blood of Chriſt; and which was to be ſhed: In lieu of which they were to drink this *cup of Bleſſing* and Praiſe. Levit. 7. 26, 27. Levit. 17. 14.

According to their Cuſtoms and Phraſes, the Diſciples could underſtand our Saviour's Words in this Senſe, and in no other. So that if he had intended that they ſhould have underſtood him otherwiſe, he muſt have expreſſed himſelf in another Manner: And muſt have enlarged upon it, to have corrected thoſe Notions, into which it was otherwiſe moſt Natural for *Jews* to have fallen. Here is alſo to be remembred that which was formerly obſerved, upon the word *Broken*, that if the Words are to be expounded literally, then if the Cup is literally *the Blood of Chriſt*, it muſt be his Blood *ſhed*, poured out of his Veins and ſeparated from his Body. And if it is impoſſible to underſtand it ſo, we conclude that we are in the Right to underſtand the whole Period in a myſtical and figurative Senſe. And therefore ſince a Man born and bred a *Jew*, and more particularly accuſtomed to the Paſchal Ceremonies, could not have underſtood our Saviour's Words, chiefly at the time of that Feſtivity, otherwiſe, than of a New *Covenant* that he was to make, in which his *Body was to be broken*, and his *blood ſhed* for the *remiſſion of Sins*; and that he was to ſubſtitute Bread and Wine, to be the laſting Memorials of it, in the repeating of which, his Diſciples were to renew their Covenant with God, and to claim a ſhare in the bleſſings of it, this I ſay, was the Senſe that muſt naturally have occurred to a *Jew*; upon all this, we muſt conclude, that this is the true Senſe of theſe Words: Or, that otherwiſe our Saviour muſt have enlarged more upon them, and expreſſed his meaning more particularly. Since

therefore

Art. 28. therefore he ſaid no more than what according to the Ideas and Cuſtoms of the *Jews*, muſt have been underſtood as has been explained, we muſt conclude, that it, and it only, is the true Senſe of them.

But we muſt next conſider the importance of a long Diſcourſe of our Saviour's, ſet down by St. *John*, which ſeems ſuch a preparation of his Apoſtles to underſtand this Inſtitution literally, that the weight of this Argument muſt turn upon the meaning of that Diſcourſe. The deſign of that was to ſhew, that the Doctrine of Chriſt was more Excellent than the Law of *Moſes*; that though *Moſes* gave the *Iſraelites Manna* from Heaven, to nouriſh their Bodies, yet notwithſtanding that *they died in the Wilderneſs:* But Chriſt was to give his Followers ſuch Food, that it ſhould give them *Life*; ſo that if they *did eat of it they ſhould never die:* Where it is apparent that the Bread and nouriſhment muſt be ſuch as the *life* was; and that being Eternal and Spiritual, the Bread muſt be ſo underſtood: For it is clearly expreſſed how that Food was to be received; *he that believeth on me hath everlaſting life.*

John 6. 32, 33.

40. v.

Since then he had formerly ſaid, that the *Bread* which he was to give, ſhould make them *live for ever*; and ſince here it is ſaid, that this Life is given by Faith, then this Bread muſt be his Doctrine: For, this is that which Faith receives. And when the *Jews* deſired him to give them evermore of that Bread; he anſwered, *I am the bread of life; he that comes to me ſhall never hunger; and he that believeth on me ſhall never thirſt.*

47, 48, 51. v.

In theſe words he tells them that they received that Bread by coming to him, and by believing on him. Chriſt calls himſelf that *Bread*, and ſays, that a *Man muſt eat thereof*, which is plainly a Figure; and if Figures are confeſſed to be in ſome Parts of their Diſcourſe, there is no reaſon to deny that they run quite through it. Chriſt ſays, that this *Bread was his fleſh, which he was to give for the life of the world*; which can only be meant of his Offering himſelf up upon the Croſs for the Sins of the World: The *Jews* murmured at this and ſaid, *how can this Man give us his fleſh to eat?* To which our Saviour anſwers, That *except they did eat the fleſh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, they had no life in them.*

53, 54, 55. v.

Now if theſe words are to be underſtood of a literal eating of his *Fleſh*, in the Sacrament, then no Man can be ſaved that does not receive it: It was a natural Conſequence of the expounding theſe Words of the Sacrament, to give it to Children; ſince it is ſo expreſly ſaid, that Life is not to be had without it. But the words that come next, carry this Matter farther; *whoſo eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life:* It is plain that Chriſt is here ſpeaking of that without which no Man can have *Life*, and by which all who receive it have *Life*; if therefore this is to be expounded of the Sacrament, none can be damned that does receive it, and none can be ſaved that receives it not.

Therefore ſince *eternal life* does always follow the *eating of Chriſt's fleſh*, and the *drinking his blood*, and cannot be had without it; then this muſt be meant of an Internal and Spiritual feeding on him: For, as none are ſaved without that, ſo all are ſaved that have it. This is yet clearer from the words that follow, *my fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed:* It may well be inferred that Chriſt's Fleſh is eaten in the ſame Senſe, in which he ſays it is *meat*; now certainly it is not literally *meat:* For none do ſay that the Body is nouriſhed by it; and yet there is ſomewhat Emphatical in this, ſince the word *indeed* is not added in vain, but to give weight to the Expreſſion.

It is alſo ſaid, *he that eats my fleſh and drinks my blood, dwells in me and I in him:* Here the deſcription ſeems to be made of that eating and drinking of his

56. v.

his Fleſh and Blood; that it is ſuch as the mutual indwelling of Chriſt and Believers is: Now that is certainly only Internal and Spiritual, and not Carnal or Literal: And therefore ſuch alſo muſt the *eating* and *drinking* be. *Art.* 28

All this ſeems to be very fully confirmed from the Concluſion of that Diſcourſe, which ought to be conſidered as the Key to it all; for when the *Jews* were offended at the hardneſs of Chriſt's Diſcourſe, he ſaid, *It is the Spirit that quickneth; the fleſh profiteth nothing: The words I ſpeak unto you, they are Spirit and they are Life:* Which do plainly Import, that his former Diſcourſe was to be underſtood in a ſpiritual Senſe, that it was a divine *Spirit* that *quickned* them, or gave them that *eternal* Life, of which he had been ſpeaking: And that the *Fleſh*, his natural Body, was not the conveyer of it. v. 63.

All this is confirmed by the Senſe in which we find *eating* and *drinking* frequently uſed in the Scriptures, according to what is obſerved by *Jewiſh* Writers; they ſtand for Wiſdom, Learning, and all intellectual Apprehenſions through which the Soul of Man is preſerved, by the Perfection that is in them, as the Body is preſerved by Food: *So buy and eat, eat fat of things, drink of wine well refined.*

Maimonides alſo obſerves, that whenſoever eating and drinking are mentioned in the Book of *Proverbs*, that they are to be underſtood of Wiſdom and the Law: And after he has brought ſeveral Places of Scripture to this Purpoſe, He concludes, that becauſe *this acceptation of eating, occurs ſo often and is ſo manifeſt, as if it were the primary and moſt proper Senſe of the Word; therefore hunger and thirſt ſtand for a privation of Wiſdom and Underſtanding:* And the *Caldee* Paraphraſt turns theſe Words, *ye ſhall draw Water out of the Wells of Salvation*, thus, *ye ſhall receive a new Doctrine with joy from ſome ſelect Perſons.* *Marc Nevochim.* Iſa. 12. 3.

Since then the Figure of *eating* and *drinking* was uſed among the *Jews*, for receiving and imbibing a Doctrine; it was no wonder if our Saviour purſued it in a Diſcourſe, in which there are ſeveral hints given to ſhew us, that it ought to be ſo underſtood.

It is further obſervable, that our Saviour did frequently follow that common way of Inſtruction among the *Eaſtern* Nations, by Figures that to us would ſeem ſtrong and bold. Theſe were much uſed in thoſe Parts, to excite the Attention of the Hearers, and they are not always to be ſeverely expounded according to the full Extent that the words will bear. The Parable of the unjuſt Judge, of the unjuſt Steward, of the ten Virgins, of plucking out the right Eye, and cutting off the right Hand or Foot, and ſeveral others might be inſtanced. Our Saviour in theſe conſidered the Genius of thoſe to whom he ſpoke: So that theſe Figures muſt be reſtrained only to that Particular, for which he meant them; and muſt not be ſtretched to every thing to which the Words may be carried. We find our Saviour compares himſelf to a great many Things; to a Vine, a Door, and a Way: And therefore when the Scope of a Diſcourſe does plainly run in a Figure, we are not to go and deſcant on every Word of it; much leſs may any pretend to ſay, that ſome Parts of it are to be underſtood literally, and ſome Parts figuratively.

For inſtance, if that Chapter of St. *John* is to be underſtood literally, then Chriſt's *Fleſh* and *Blood* muſt be the Nouriſhment of our Bodies, ſo as to be *meat indeed*; and that we ſhall *never hunger any more, and never die after* we have eat of it: If therefore all do confeſs that thoſe Expreſſions are to be underſtood figuratively, then we have the ſame reaſon to conclude that the whole is a Figure: For, it is as reaſonable for us to make all of it a Fi-

Art. 28. gure, as it is for them to make thoſe Parts of it a Figure, which they cannot conveniently expound in a literal Senſe. From all which it is abundantly clear, that nothing can be drawn from that Diſcourſe of our Saviour's, to make it reaſonable to believe, that the words of the Inſtitution of this Sacrament ought to be literally underſtood: On the contrary our Saviour himſelf calls the Wine, after thoſe Words had been uſed by him, the *Fruit of the Vine*, which is as ſtrict a Form of Speech as can well be imagined, to make us underſtand that the Nature of the Wine was not altered: And when St. *Paul* treats of it in thoſe two Chapters in which all that is left us beſides the Hiſtory of the Inſtitution, concerning this Sacrament, is to be found, he calls it five times Bread, and never once *the Body of Chriſt*. In one Place he calls it the *Communion of the Body, as the Cup is the Communion of the Blood of Chriſt*. Which is rather a ſaying that it is in ſome ſort and after a manner, the Body and the Blood of Chriſt, than that it is ſo ſtrictly ſpeaking.

1 Cor. 10. 16.

If this Sacrament had been that myſterious and unconceivable Thing, which it has been ſince believed to be; we cannot imagine, but that the Books of the New Teſtament, the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, and their *Epiſtles*, ſhould have contained fuller Explanations of it; and larger Inſtructions about it.

There is enough indeed ſaid in them to ſupport the plain and natural Senſe, that we give to this Inſtitution; and becauſe no more is ſaid, and the deſign of it is plainly declared to be to remember Chriſt's death, and *to ſhew it forth till he come*, we reckon that by this natural Simplicity, in which this Matter is delivered to us, we are very much confirmed in that plain and eaſy Signification, which we put upon our Saviour's words. Plain things need not be inſiſted on: But if the moſt ſublime and wonderful Thing in the World, ſeems to be delivered in Words that yet are capable of a lower and plainer Senſe, then unleſs there is a concurrence of other Circumſtances, to force us to that higher meaning of them, we ought not to go into it; for ſimple Things prove themſelves: Whereas the more extraordinary that any thing is, it requires a fulneſs and evidence in the Proof proportioned to the uneaſineſs of conceiving or believing it.

We do therefore underſtand our Saviour's Inſtitution thus, that as he was to give *his body to be broken*, and his *blood to be ſhed for our Sins*, ſo he intended that this his Death and Suffering, ſhould be ſtill commemorated by all ſuch as look for *remiſſion of ſins* by it; not only in their Thoughts and Devotions, but in a viſible Repreſentation: Which he appointed ſhould be done in Symbols, that ſhould be both very plain and ſimple, and yet very expreſſive of that which he intended ſhould be remembred by them.

Bread is the plaineſt Food that the Body of Man can receive; and *Wine* was the common nouriſhing Liquor of that Countrey: So he made choice of theſe Materials, and in them appointed a Repreſentation and Remembrance to be made of his *body broken*, and of his *blood ſhed*; that is, of his Death and Sufferings till his *Second coming*: And he obliged his Followers to repeat this frequently. In the doing of it according to his Inſtitution, they profeſs the Belief of his Death, for the Remiſſion of their Sins, and that they look for his Second coming.

This does alſo import, that as Bread and Wine are the ſimpleſt of bodily Nouriſhments, ſo his Death is that which reſtores the Souls of thoſe that do believe in him: As Bread and Wine convey a vital Nouriſhment to the Body, ſo the Sacrifice of his Death conveys ſomewhat to the Soul that is vital, that fortifies and exalts it. And as Water in Baptiſm is a natural Emblem of the Purity of the *Chriſtian* Religion, Bread and Wine in

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the Euchariſt are the Emblems of ſomewhat that is derived to us, that rai- *Art.* 28.
ſes our Faculties and fortifies all our Powers.

St. *Paul* does very plainly tell us, that *unworthy receivers* that did neither examine nor diſcern themſelves, nor yet diſcern the Lord's Body, *were guilty of the body and blood of the Lord; and did eat and drink their own damnation:* That is, ſuch as do receive it without truly believing the *Chriſtian* Religion, without a grateful acknowledgment of Chriſt's Death and Sufferings, without feeling that they are walking ſuitably to this Religion that they profeſs, and without that decency and charity, which becomes ſo Holy an Action; but that receive the Bread and Wine, only as bare bodily Nouriſhments; without conſidering that Chriſt has inſtituted them to be the Memorials of his Death; ſuch Perſons are guilty of the Body and Blood of Chriſt: That is, they are guilty either of a Prophanation of the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, or they do in a manner Crucify him again, and put him to an open ſhame; when they are ſo faulty as the *Corinthians* were, in obſerving this Holy Inſtitution, with ſo little Reverence, and with ſuch ſcandalous Diſorders, as thoſe were for which he reproached them. 1 Cor. 11. 27, 29.

Of ſuch as did thus Prophane this Inſtitution, he ſays farther, that they do eat and drink their own *Damnation* or *Judgment*; that is, Puniſhment; for the word rendred *Damnation*, ſignifies ſometimes only temporary Puniſhments.

So it is ſaid, that *Judgment* (the Word is the ſame) *muſt begin at the House of God:* God had ſent ſuch Judgments upon the *Corinthians* for thoſe diſorderly Practices of theirs, that ſome had fallen ſick and others had died, perhaps by reaſon of their drinking to exceſs in thoſe Feaſts: But as God's Judgments have come upon them, ſo the words that follow ſhew that theſe Judgments were only Chaſtiſements, in order to the delivering them from the Condemnation, under which the World lies. It being ſaid, that *when we are judged we are chaſtened of the Lord, that we ſhould not be condemned with the World.* Therefore though God may very juſtly, and even in great Mercy puniſh Men who prophane this Holy Ordinance, yet it is an unreaſonable Terrour, and contrary to the Nature of the Goſpel Covenant, to carry this ſo far, as to think that it is an impardonable Sin; which is puniſhed with eternal Damnation. 1 Pet. 4. 17. 32. v.

We have now ſeen the ill Effects of unworthy Receiving, and from hence according to that Gradation, that is to be obſerved in the Mercy of God in the Goſpel, that it not only holds a Proportion with his Juſtice, but *rejoyceth over it*, we may well conclude that the good Effects upon the worthy receiving of it, are equal, if not ſuperiour to the bad Effects upon the unworthy receiving of it: And that the Nouriſhment which the Types, the *Bread* and the *Wine*, give the *Body*, are anſwered in the Effects, that the thing ſignified by them, has upon the *Soul*.

In explaining this there is ſome diverſity: Some teach that this Memorial of the Death of Chriſt, when ſeriouſly and devoutly gone about, when it animates our Faith, encreaſes our Repentance, and inflames our Love and Zeal, and ſo unites us to God and to our Brethren, that I ſay when theſe follow it, which it naturally excites in all holy and good Minds, then they draw down the returns of Prayer, and a farther increaſe of Grace in us; according to the Nature and Promiſes of the New Covenant: And in this they put the Vertue and Efficacy of this Sacrament.

But others think that all this belongs only to the inward Acts of the Mind, and is not Sacramental: And therefore they think that the Euchariſt is a federal Act, in which as on the one Hand we renew our Baptiſmal Covenant with God, ſo on the other Hand we receive in the Sacrament, a

Art. 28. visible Consignation as in a Tradition by a Symbol or Pledge, of the blessings of the New Covenant, which they think is somewhat superadded to those returns of our Prayers, or of our other inward Acts.

This they think answers the nourishment which the Body receives from the Symbols of *Bread* and *Wine*; and stands in opposition to that of the unworthy Receivers, being guilty of *the Body and Blood of the Lord*; and their *eating* and *drinking* that which will bring some judgment upon themselves. This they also found on these words of St. *Paul*, *The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?*

St. *Paul* considers the *Bread* which was offered by the People, as an emblem of their Unity, that as there was one Loaf, so they were *one Body*; and that they were all *partakers* of that one Loaf: From hence it is inferred, that since the word rendred *Communion*, signifies a *communication in fellowship*, or Partnership, that therefore the meaning of it is, that in the Sacrament there is a distribution made in that Symbolical action of the death of Christ, and of the benefits and effects of it. *The Communion of the Holy Ghost*, is a common sharing in the effusion of the Spirit; the same is meant by that, *if there is any fellowship of the Spirit*; that is, if we do all partake of the same Spirit: We are said to have a *fellowship in the sufferings of Christ*, in which every one must take his share. *The communication*, or fellowship *of the mystery of the Gospel*, was its being shared equally among both *Jews* and *Gentiles*; and the fellowship in which the first Converts to Christianity lived, was their liberal distribution to one another, they holding all things in common. In these and some other places it is certain, that Communion signifies somewhat that is more real and effectual, than merely mens owning themselves to be joined together in a Society; which it is true it does also often signify; and therefore they conclude that as in Bargains or Covenants, the ancient Method of them before Writings were invented, was the mutual delivering of some Pledges, which were the Symbols of that Faith, which was so plighted; instead of which the sealing and delivering of Writings is now used among us, so our Saviour instituted this in compliance with our frailty, to give us an outward and sensible Pledge, of his entring into Covenant with us, of which the *Bread* and *Wine* are constituted the Symbols.

2 Cor. 13. last verse. Phil. 2. 1. Eph. 3. 9. Phil. 3. 10.

Others think, that by the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ can only be meant, the joint owning of Christ and of his Death, in the receiving the Sacrament; and that no *Communication* nor Partnership can be inferred from it: Because St. *Paul* brings it in to shew the *Corinthians*, how detestable a thing it was for a Christian to join in the Idols Feasts: That it was to be a *partaker with devils*: So they think that the *Fellowship* or Communion of Christians in the Sacrament, must be of the same Nature, with the *fellowship of devils* in Acts of Idolatry: Which consisted only in associating themselves with those that worshipped Idols; for that upon the Matter was the Worshipping of Devils: And this seems to be confirmed by that which is said of the *Jews*, that they *who did eat of the Sacrifices were partakers of the Altar*; which it seems can signify no more, but that they professed that Religion of which the Altar was the chief Instrument; the Sacrifices being offered there.

1 Cor. 10. 18, 20.

To all this it may be replied, that it is reasonable enough to believe, that according to the Power which God suffered the Devil to exercise over the Idolatrous World, there might be some Inchantment in the Sacrifices offered to Idols; and that the Devil might have some Power over those that did partake of them: And in order to this St. *Paul* removed an Objection

jection that might have been made, that there could be no harm in their joining to the Idol Feasts; for *an Idol was nothing*; and so that which was offered to an Idol could contract no defilement from the Idol, it being *nothing*: Now if the meaning of their being *partakers with Devils* imports only, their joining themselves in Acts of Fellowship with Idolaters, then the Sin of this would have easily appeared, without such a re-inforcing of the Matter: For, tho' an Idol was *nothing*, yet it was still a great Sin to join in the Acts that were meant to be the Worship of this *nothing*: This was a dishonouring of God, and a debasing of Man. But St. *Paul* seems to carry the Argument farther; that how true soever it was that the *Idol was nothing*; that is, a dead and lifeless thing that had no Vertue nor Operation; and that by consequence could derive nothing to the Sacrifice that was offered to it: Yet since those Idols were the Instruments by which the Devil kept the World in Subjection to him, all such as did *partake* in their Sacrifices might come under the Effects of that Magick, that might be exerted about their Temples or Sacrifices: By which the Credit of Idolatry was much kept up. *Art.* 28.

And though every Christian had a sure defence against the Powers of Darkness, as long as he continued true to his Religion, yet if he went out of that Protection, into the Empire of the Devil, and joined in the Acts that were as a Homage to him, he then fell within the reach of the Devil and might justly fear his being brought into a *Partnership* of those magical Possessions or Temptations that might be suffered to fall upon such Christians, as should associate themselves in so detestable a Service.

In the same Sense it was also said, *that all the* Israelites *who did eat of the Sacrifices were partakers of the Altar*: That is, that all of them who joined in the Acts of that Religion, such as the Offering their Peace-Offerings, for of those of that kind they might only eat, all these were *partakers of the Altar*: That is, of all the Blessings of their Religion, of all the Expiations, the Burnt-offerings and Sin-offerings, that were offered on the Altar, for the sins of the whole Congregation: For that as a great Stock, went in a common Dividend among such as observed the Precepts of that Law, and joined in the Acts of Worship prescribed by it: Thus it appears, that such as joined in the Acts of Idolatry became *partakers* of all that Influence that Devils might have over those Sacrifices; and all that continued in the Observances of the Mosaical Law, had thereby a *partnership* in the Expiations of the Altar; so likewise all Christians who receive this Sacrament *worthily*, have by their so doing a share in that which is represented by it, the Death of Christ, and the Expiation and other Benefits that follow it. 1 Cor. 10. 18.

This seemed necessary to be fully explained: For this Matter, how plain soever in it self, has been made very dark, by the ways in which some have pretended to open it. With this I conclude all that belongs to the first Part of the Article, and that which was first to be explained of our Doctrine concerning the Sacrament: By which we assert a *real Presence* of the *Body* and *Blood* of Christ; but not of his *Body* as it is now glorified in Heaven, but of his *Body* as it was *broken* on the Cross, when his *blood was shed* and separated from it. That is, his Death with the merit and effects of it, are in a visible and federal Act, offered in this Sacrament to all worthy Believers.

By *Real* we understand *True*, in opposition both to Fiction and Imagination: And to those Shadows that were in the Mosaical Dispensation, in which the *Manna*, the *Rock*, the *brazen Serpent*, but most eminently the *Cloud of Glory*, were the Types and Shadows of the *Messias*, that was to come;

Art. 28. come: With whom came *Grace and Truth*; that is, a moſt wonderful Manifeſtation of the Mercy or Grace of God; and a verifying of the Promiſes made under the Law: In this Senſe we acknowledge a *real Preſence* of Chriſt in the Sacrament: Though we are convinced that our firſt Reformers judged right, concerning the uſe of the Phraſe *real Preſence*, that it were better to be let fall than to be continued; ſince the Uſe of it, and that Idea which does naturally ariſe from the common acceptation of it, may ſtick deeper, and feed Superſtition more, than all thoſe larger Explanations that are given to it can be able to cure.

But howſoever in this Senſe, it is innocent of it ſelf, and may be lawfully uſed; though perhaps it were more cautiouſly done not to uſe it, ſince advantages have been taken from it, to urge it farther, than we intend it; and ſince it has been a ſnare to ſome:

I go in the next Place to explain the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, concerning this Sacrament. Tranſubſtantiation does expreſs it in one Word; but that a full Idea may be given of this Part of their Doctrine, I ſhall open it in all its Branches and Conſequences.

The Matter of this Sacrament is not *Bread* and *Wine*: For, they are annihilated when the Sacrament is made. They are only the remote Matter, out of which it is made: But when the Sacrament is made, they ceaſe to be: And inſtead of them, their outward Appearances or *Accidents* do only remain: Which though they are no *Subſtances*, yet are ſuppoſed to have a Nature and Eſſence of their own, ſeparable from Matter: And theſe Appearances with the Body of Chriſt under them, are the *Matter* of the Sacrament.

Now though the Natural and Viſible *Body of Chriſt*, could not be the Sacrament of his *Body*, yet they think his *real Body* being thus veiled under the Appearances of Bread and Wine, may be the Sacrament of his glorified Body.

Yet, it ſeeming ſomewhat ſtrange to make a *true Body* the Sacrament of it ſelf, they would willingly put the Sacrament in the Appearances; but that would ſound very harſh, to make Accidents which are not *Matter*, to be the *Matter* of the Sacrament: Therefore ſince theſe words, *This is my Body*, muſt be literally underſtood, the Matter muſt be the *true Body of Chriſt*, ſo that *Chriſt's Body* is the Sacrament of his *Body*.

Chriſt's Body, though now in Heaven, is as they think, preſented in every Place where a true Conſecration is made. And though it is in Heaven in an extended State, as all other Bodies are, yet they think that Extenſion may be ſeparated from Matter, as well as the other Appearances or Accidents are believed to be ſeparated from it. And whereas our Souls are believed to be ſo in our Bodies, that though the whole Soul is in the whole Body, yet all the Soul is believed to be in every Part of it; but ſo that if any Part of the Body, is ſeparated from the reſt, the Soul is not divided; being one ſingle Subſtance, but retires back into the reſt of the Body: They apprehend that Chriſt's Body is preſent after the manner of a Spirit, without Extenſion or the filling of Space; ſo that the Space which the Appearances poſſeſs is ſtill a Vacuum, or only filled by the Accidents: For a Body without Extenſion, as they ſuppoſe Chriſt's Body to be, can never fill up an Extenſion.

Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament is denominated One, yet ſtill as the Species are broken and divided, ſo many new Bodies are divided from one another; every crumb of Bread and drop of Wine that is ſeparated from the whole, is a new Body, and yet without a new Miracle, all being done in conſequence of the firſt great One that was all at once wrought.

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The Body of Chriſt continues in this State, as long as the Accidents remain in theirs; but how it ſhould alter is not eaſy to apprehend: The corruption of all other Accidents, ariſes from a change in the common Subſtance, out of which new Accidents do ariſe, while the old ones vaniſh; but Accidents without a Subject may ſeem more fixed and ſtable: Yet they are not ſo, but are as ſubject to Corruption as other Accidents are: Howſoever, as long as the Alteration is not total; though the Bread ſhould be both muſty and mouldy, and the Wine both dead and ſour, yet as long as the Bread and Wine are ſtill ſo far preſerved, or rather that their Appearances ſubſiſt, ſo long the Body of Chriſt remains: But when they are ſo far altered that they ſeem to be no more Bread and Wine, and that they are corrupted either in part or in whole, Chriſt's Body is withdrawn, either in part or in whole. *Art.* 28.

It is a great Miracle to make the Accidents of Bread and Wine ſubſiſt without a Subject; yet the new Accidents that ariſe upon theſe Accidents, ſuch as mouldineſs or ſourneſs come on without a Miracle, but they do not know how. When the main Accidents are deſtroyed, then the Preſence of Chriſt ceaſes: And a new Miracle muſt be ſuppoſed to produce new Matter, for the filling up of that ſpace which the Subſtance of Bread and Wine did formerly fill: And which was all this while poſſeſſed by the Accidents. So much of the Matter of this Sacrament.

The Form of it is in the Words of Conſecration, which though they ſound declarative as if the thing were already done; *This is my body* and *This is my blood:* Yet they believe them to be productive. But whereas the common Notion of the Form of a Sacrament, is that it ſanctifies and applies the Matter; here the former Matter is ſo far from being conſecrated by it, that it is annihilated, and new Matter is not ſanctified but brought thither or produced: And whereas whenſoever we ſay of any thing *this is*, we ſuppoſe that the thing is, as we ſay it is, before we ſay it; yet here all the while that this is a ſaying till the laſt Syllable is pronounced, it is not that which it is ſaid to be, but in the Minute in which the laſt Syllable is uttered, then the change is made: And of this they are ſo firmly perſuaded, that they do preſently pay all that Adoration to it, that they would pay to the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, if he were viſibly preſent: Tho' the whole Vertue of the Conſecration, depends on the Intention of a Prieſt: So that he with a croſs Intention hinders all this Series of Miracles, as he fetches it all on, by letting his Intention go along with it.

If it may be ſaid of ſome Doctrines, that the bare expoſing them is a moſt effectual Confutation of them, certainly that is more Applicable to this, than to any other that can be imagined: For, though I have in ſtating it conſidered ſome of the moſt important Difficulties, which are ſeen and confeſſed by the School-men themſelves, who have poiſed all theſe with much exactneſs and ſubtilty, yet I have paſſed over a great many more, with which thoſe that deal in School-divinity, will find enough to exerciſe both their Thoughts and their Patience. They run out in many Subtilties, concerning the Accidents both *primary* and *ſecondary:* Concerning the Ubication, the Production and Reproduction of Bodies; concerning the Penetrability of Matter, and the Organization of a Penetrable Body; concerning the Way of the Deſtruction of the Species; concerning the Words of Conſecration; concerning the Water that is mixed with the Wine, whether it is firſt changed by natural Cauſes into Wine; and ſince nothing but Wine is tranſubſtantiated, what becomes of ſuch Particles of Water that are not turned into Wine? What is the Grace produced by the Sacrament? what is the Effect of the Preſence of Chriſt ſo long as he is in the Body of the

Art. 28. the Communicant; what is got by his Preſence, and what is loſt by his Abſence: In a word, let a Man read the ſhorteſt Body of School-divinity that he can find, and he will ſee in it a vaſt Number of other difficulties in this Matter, of which their own Authors are aware, which I have quite paſt over. For, when this Doctrine fell into the Hands of nice and exact Men, they were ſoon ſenſible of all the Conſequences that muſt needs follow upon it, and have purſued all theſe with a cloſeneſs far beyond any thing that is to be found among the Writers of our ſide.

But that they might have a Salvo for every difficulty, they framed a new Model of Philoſophy; new Theories were invented of Subſtances and Accidents, of Matter and of Spirits, of Extenſion, Ubication and Impenetrability; and by the new Definitions and Maxims to which they accuſtomed Men in the Study of Philoſophy, they prepared them to ſwallow down all this more eaſily, when they ſhould come to the Study of Divinity.

The Infallibility of the Church that had expreſly defined it, was to bear a great part of the Burden: If the Church was Infallible, and if they were that Church, then it could be no longer doubted of. In dark Ages, Miracles and Viſions came in abundantly to ſupport it: In Ages of more Light the infinite Power of God, the Words of the Inſtitution, it being the Teſtament of our Saviour then dying, and ſoon after confirmed with his Blood, were things of great Pomp; and ſuch as were apt to ſtrike Men that could not diſtinguiſh between the ſhews and the ſtrength of Arguments. But when all our Senſes, all our Ideas of things riſe up ſo ſtrongly againſt every part of this Chain of Wonders, we ought at leaſt to expect Proofs ſuitable to the difficulty of believing ſuch a flat Contradiction to our Reaſons, as well as to our Senſes.

We have no other Notion of Accidents, but that they are the different Shapes or Modes of Matter; and that they have no Being diſtinct from the Body, in which they appear: We have no other Notion of a Body, but that it is an extended Subſtance, made up of Impenetrable Parts, one without another; every one of which fills its proper ſpace: We have no other Notion of a Body's being in a Place, but that it fills it, and is ſo in it, as that it can be no where elſe at the ſame time: And though we can very eaſily apprehend that an Infinite Power can both create and annihilate Beings at pleaſure; yet we cannot apprehend that God does change the Eſſences of Things, and ſo make them to be contrary to that Nature and ſort of Being of which he has made them.

Another Argument againſt Tranſubſtantiation is this; God has made us capable to know and ſerve him: And in order to that he has put ſome Senſes in us, which are the conveyances of many ſubtile Motions to our Brains, that give us Apprehenſions of the Objects, which by thoſe Motions are repreſented to us.

When thoſe Motions are lively, and the Object is in a due diſtance; when we feel that neither our Organs, nor our Faculties are under any diſorder, and when the Impreſſion is clear and ſtrong, we are determined by it: We cannot help being ſo. When we ſee the Sun riſen and all is bright about us, it is not poſſible for us to think that it is dark Night: No authority can impoſe it on us; we are not ſo far the Maſters of our own Thoughts, as to force our ſelves to think it, though we would; for God has made us of ſuch a Nature

ture that we are determined by ſuch an Evidence, and cannot contradict it. When an Object is at too great a diſtance, we may miſtake; a weakneſs or an ill diſpoſition in our ſight may miſrepreſent it; and a falſe Medium, Water, a Cloud, or a Glaſs, may give it a tincture or caſt, ſo that we may ſee cauſe to correct our firſt Apprehenſions, in ſome Senſations; but when we have duly examined every thing, when we have corrected one Senſe by another, we grow at laſt to be ſo ſure, by the Conſtitution of that Nature that God has given us, that we cannot doubt, much leſs believe in contradiction to the expreſs Evidence of our Senſes. *Art.* 28.

It is by this Evidence only, that God convinces the World of the Authority of thoſe whom he ſends to ſpeak in his Name; He gives them a Power to work Miracles, which is an Appeal to the Senſes of Mankind; and it is the higheſt Appeal that can be made; for thoſe who ſtood out againſt the Conviction of Chriſt's Miracles, had no Cloak for their Sins. It is the utmoſt Conviction that God offers, or that Man can pretend to: From all which we muſt infer this, That either our Senſes in their cleareſt Apprehenſions, or rather Repreſentations of Things, muſt be Infallible, or we muſt throw up all Faith and Certainty; ſince it is not poſſible for us to receive the Evidence that is given us of any thing but by our Senſes; and ſince we do naturally acquieſce in that Evidence, we muſt acknowledge that God has ſo made us, that this is his voice in us; becauſe it is the voice of thoſe Faculties that he has put in us; and is the only way by which we can find out Truth, and be led by it: And if our Faculties fail us in any one thing, ſo that God ſhould reveal to us any thing, that did plainly contradict our Faculties, he ſhould thereby give us a right to disbelieve them for ever.

If they can miſtake when they bring any Object to us with the fulleſt Evidence that they can give, we can never depend upon them, nor be certain of any thing, becauſe they ſhew it. Nay, we are not, and cannot be bound to believe that, nor any other Revelation that God may make to convince us. We can only receive a Revelation by hearing, or reading, by our Ears or our Eyes. So if any part of this Revelation deſtroys the certainty of the Evidence, that our Senſes, our Eyes, or our Ears, give us, it deſtroys it ſelf; for we cannot be bound to believe it upon the Evidence of our Senſes, if this is a part of it that our Senſes are not to be truſted. Nor will this matter be healed, by ſaying, that certainly we muſt believe God more than our Senſes: And therefore if he has revealed any thing to us, that is contrary to their Evidence, we muſt as to that particular believe God, before our Senſes: But that as to all other things where we have not an expreſs Revelation to the contrary, we muſt ſtill believe our Senſes.

There is a difference to be made between that feeble Evidence that our Senſes give us of remote Objects, or thoſe looſe Inferences that we may make from a ſlight view of Things; and the full Evidence that Senſe gives us; as when we ſee and ſmell to, we handle and taſte the ſame Object: This is the voice of God to us; he has made us ſo that we are determined by it: And as we ſhould not believe a Prophet that wrought ever ſo many Miracles, if he ſhould contradict any part of that which God had already revealed, ſo we cannot be bound to believe a Revelation, contrary to our Senſe; becauſe that were to believe God in contradiction to Himſelf; which is impoſſible to be true. For we ſhould believe that Revelation certainly upon an Evidence, which it ſelf tells us is not certain; and this is a Contradiction. We believe our Senſes upon this foundation, becauſe we reckon there is an Intrin-

Art. 28. ſick certainty in their Evidence; we do not believe them as we believe another Man upon a Moral preſumption of his Truth and Sincerity; but we believe them, becauſe ſuch is the nature of the Union of our Souls and Bodies, which is the work of God, that upon the full Impreſſions that are made upon the Senſes, the Soul does neceſſarily produce, or rather feel thoſe Thoughts and Senſations ariſe with a full Evidence that correſpond to the motions of ſenſible Objects, upon the Organs of Senſe. The Soul has a ſagacity to examine theſe Senſations, to correct one Senſe by another; but when ſhe has uſed all the means ſhe can, and the Evidence is ſtill clear, ſhe is perſwaded and cannot help being ſo; ſhe naturally takes all this to be true, becauſe of the neceſſary connexion that ſhe feels between ſuch Senſations, and her aſſent to them. Now if ſhe ſhould find that ſhe could be miſtaken in this, even tho' ſhe ſhould know this, by a Divine Revelation, all the Intrinſick certainty of the Evidence of Senſe, and that connexion between thoſe Senſations and her aſſent to them, ſhould be hereby diſſolved.

To all this another Objection may be made from the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion; which contradict our Reaſons, and yet we are bound to believe them; altho' Reaſon is a faculty much ſuperior to Senſe. But all this is a miſtake; we cannot be bound to believe any thing that contradicts our Reaſons; for the Evidence of Reaſon, as well as that of Senſe, is the voice of God to us. But as great difference is to be made, between a feeble Evidence that Senſe gives us of an Object that is at a diſtance from us, or that appears to us through a falſe Medium; ſuch as a Concave or a Convex-Glaſs; and the full Evidence of an Object that is before us, and that is clearly apprehended by us: So there is a great difference to be made, between our Reaſonings upon Difficulties that we can neither underſtand nor reſolve, and our Reaſonings upon clear Principles. The one may be falſe, and the other muſt be true: We are ſure that a Thing cannot be one and three in the ſame reſpect; our Reaſon aſſures us of this, and we do and muſt believe it; but we know that in different reſpects the ſame thing may be one and three. And ſince we cannot know all the poſſibilities of thoſe different reſpects, we muſt believe upon the Authority of God revealing it, that the ſame thing is both *one* and *three*; tho' if a Revelation ſhould affirm that the ſame thing were *one* and *three* in the ſame reſpect, we ſhould not, and indeed could not believe it.

This Argument deſerves to be fully opened; for we are ſure either it is true, or we cannot be ſure that any thing elſe whatſoever, is true. In confirmation of this, we ought alſo to conſider the nature and ends of Miracles. They put Nature out of its channel, and reverſe its fixed Laws and Motions; and the end of God's giving Men a power to work them, is that by them the World may be convinced, that ſuch Perſons are Commiſſionated by him, to deliver his Pleaſure to them in ſome Particulars. And as it could not become the Infinite Wiſdom of the Great Creator, to change the Order of Nature (which is his own Workmanſhip) upon ſlight Grounds; ſo we cannot ſuppoſe that he ſhould work a Chain of Extraordinary Miracles to no purpoſe. It is not to give credit to a Revelation that he is making; for the Senſes do not perceive it; on the contrary they do reject and contradict it; and the Revelation inſtead of getting credit from it, is loaded by it, as introducing that which deſtroys all credit and certainty.

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In other Miracles our Senſes are appealed to, but here they muſt be appealed from; nor is there any Spiritual end ſerved in working this Miracle; for it is acknowledged that the effects of this Sacrament are given upon our due coming to it, independent upon the Corporal Preſence: So that the Grace of the Sacrament does not always accompany it, ſince unworthy Receivers, tho' according to the *Romiſh* Doctrine, they receive the true Body of Chriſt, yet they do not receive Grace with it: And the Grace that is given in it to the worthy Receivers, ſtays with them after that by the deſtruction of the Species of the Bread and Wine, the Body of Chriſt is withdrawn. So that it is acknowledged that the Spiritual effect of the Sacrament, does not depend upon the Corporal Preſence. *Art.* 28.

Here then it is ſuppoſed, that God is every day working a great many Miracles, in a vaſt number of different Places; and that of ſo extraordinary a nature, that it muſt be confeſſed, they are far beyond all the other Wonders, even of Omnipotence; and yet all this is to no end, that we can apprehend; neither to any ſenſible and viſible end, nor to any Internal and Spiritual one. This muſt needs ſeem an amazing thing, that God ſhould work ſuch a Miracle on our behalf, and yet ſhould not acquaint us with any end for which he ſhould work it.

To conclude this whole Argument, We have one great advantage in this matter, that our Doctrine concerning the Sacrament, of a Myſtical Preſence of Chriſt in the Symbols, and of the effects of it on the worthy and unworthy Receivers, is all acknowledged by the Church of *Rome*; but they have added to this the Wonder of the Corporal Preſence: So that we need bring no Proofs to them at leaſt, for that which we teach concerning it; ſince it is all confeſſed by them. But as to that which they have added, it is not neceſſary for us to give Proofs againſt it; it is enough for us, if we ſhew that all the Proofs that they bring for it are weak and unconcluding. They muſt be very demonſtrative if it is expected, that upon the authority and evidence of them, we ſhould be bound to believe a thing which they themſelves confeſs to be contrary both to our Senſe and Reaſons. We cannot by the Laws of Reaſoning be bound to give Arguments againſt it; it is enough if we can ſhew, that neither the words of the Inſtitution, nor the Diſcourſe in the ſixth of St. *John*, do neceſſarily infer it; and if we ſhew that thoſe Paſſages can well bear another ſenſe, which is agreeable both to the words themſelves, and to the ſtyle of the Scriptures, and more particularly to the Phraſeology to which the *Jews* were accuſtomed, upon the occaſion on which this was Inſtituted, and if the words can well bear the Senſe that we give them, then the other advantages that are in it, of its being ſimple and natural, of its being ſuitable to the deſign of a Sacrament, and of its having no hard conſequences of any ſort depending upon it, then I ſay by all the Rules of expounding Scripture, we do juſtly infer that our Senſe of thoſe words ought to be preferred.

This is according to a Rule that St. *Auguſtin* gives to judge what Expreſſions in Scripture are Figurative and what not; "If any place ſeems to "command a Crime or horrid Action, it is Figurative: And for an Inſtance "of this he cites thoſe Words, *Except ye eat the fleſh and drink the blood of "the Son of man, you have no life in you:* Which ſeems to command a Crime "and an horrid Action; and therefore it is a Figure commanding us "to communicate in the Paſſion of our Lord, and to lay up in our Me- *Lib.* 3. *de Doct. Chriſt. c.* 16.

Art. 28. "mory with delight and profit, that his Flesh was crucified and wounded "for us. As this was given for a Rule by the great Doctor of the *Latin* Church, so the same Maxim had been delivered almost two Ages before him, by the great Doctor of the *Greek* Church *Origen*, who says, "that the understanding our Saviour's words of eating his Flesh and drink- "ing his Blood, according to the Letter, is a Letter that kills. These Passages I cite by an Anticipation, before I enter upon the enquiry into the Sense of the ancient Church, concerning this Matter; because they belong to the words of the Institution, at least to the Discourse in St. *John*; Now if the Sense that we give to these Words is made good, we need be at no more pains to prove that they are capable of no other Sense: Since this must prove that to be the only true Sense of them.

Hom. 7. in Levit.

So that for all the Arguments that have been brought by us against this Doctrine, arising out of the Fruitfulness of the Matter, we were not bound to use them: For, our Doctrine being confessed by them it wants no Proof, and we cannot be bound to prove a Negative. Therefore though the Copiousness of this Matter has afforded us many Arguments for the Negative, yet that was not necessary: For, as a Negative always proves it self; so that holds more especially here, where that which is denied is accompanied with so many and so strange Absurdities, as do follow from this Doctrine.

The last Topick in this Matter, is the Sense that the ancient Church had of it: For, as we certainly have both the Scriptures, and the Evidence of our Senses and Reason of our side, so that will be much fortified, if it appears that no such Doctrine was received in the First and best Ages: And that it came in not all at once, but by degrees. I shall first urge this Matter by some general Presumptions: And then I shall go to plain Proofs. But though the Presumptions shall be put only as Presumptions, yet if they appear to be violent, so that a Man cannot hold giving his Assent to the Conclusion that follows from them, then though they are put in the Form of presumptive Arguments, yet that will not hinder them from being considered as concluding ones.

By the stating this Doctrine, it has appeared how many Difficulties there are involved in it: These are Difficulties that are obvious and soon seen: They are not found out by deep enquiry and much speculation: They are soon felt, and are very hardly avoided: And ever since the Time that this Doctrine has been received by the *Roman* Church, these have been much insisted on: Explanations have been offered to them all; and the whole Principles of natural Philosophy have been cast into a new Mould, that they might ply to this Doctrine: At least those who have studied their Philosophy in that System, have had such Notions put in them, while their Minds were yet tender and capable of any Impressions, that they have been thereby prepared to this Doctrine before they came to it, by a Train of Philosophical Terms and Distinctions, so that they were not much alarmed at it, when it came to be set before them.

They are accustomed to think that Ubication, or the being in a Place, is but an Accident to a Substance: So that the same Bodies being in more Places, is only its having a few more of those Accidents produced in it by God: They are accustomed to think that Accidents are Beings different from Matter: like a sort of cloathing to it, which do indeed require the having of a Substance for their Subject: But yet since they are believed to have a being of their own, God may make them subsist: As the Skin of a Man may stand out in its proper Shape and Colour, though there were nothing but Air or Vacuity within it.

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They are accuſtomed to think that as an Accident may be without its proper Subſtance, ſo a Subſtance may be without its proper Accidents: And they do reckon Extenſion and Impenetrability, that is, a Bodies ſo filling a Space, that no other Body can be in the ſame Space with it, among its Accidents: So that a Body compoſed of Organs, and of large Dimenſions, may be not only all crouded within one Wafer, but an entire diſtinct Body may be in every ſeparable Part of this Wafer: At leaſt in every piece that carries in it the Appearances of Bread. *Art.* 28.

Theſe, beſides many other leſſer Subtilties, are the evident Reſults of this Doctrine: And it was a natural Effect of its being received, that their Philoſophy ſhould be ſo transformed as to agree to it, and to prepare Men for it.

Now to apply this to the Matter we are now upon, We find none of theſe Subtilties among the Ancients. They ſeem to apprehend none of thoſe Difficulties, nor do they take any pains to ſolve or clear them. They had a Philoſophical Genius, and ſhewed it in all other things: They diſputed very nicely concerning the Attributes of God, concerning his Eſſence, and the Perſons of the Trinity: They ſaw the Difficulties concerning the Incarnation of the Eternal Word, and Chriſt's being both God and Man: They treat of Original Sin, of the Power of Grace, and of the Decrees of God.

They explained the Reſurrection of our Bodies, and the different States of the Bleſſed and the Damned.

They ſaw the Difficulties in all theſe Heads, and were very Copious in their Explanations of them: And they may be rather thought by ſome too full, than too ſparing in the canvaſſing of Difficulties: But all thoſe were more ſpeculative Matters, in which the Difficulty was not ſo ſoon ſeen as on this Subject: Yet they found theſe out, and purſued them with that Subtilty that ſhewed they were not at all diſpleaſed, when occaſions were offered them to ſhew their Skill in anſwering Difficulties: Which, to name no more, appears very evidently to be St. *Auguſtin*'s Character. Yet neither he, nor any of the other Fathers, ſeem to have been Senſible of the Difficulties in this Matter.

They neither ſtate them nor anſwer them, nor do they uſe thoſe reſerves when they ſpeak of Philoſophical Matters, that Men muſt have uſed who were poſſeſſed of this Doctrine: For, a Man cannot hold it without bringing himſelf to think and ſpeak otherways upon all natural Things than the reſt of Mankind do.

They are ſo far from this, that, on the contrary they deliver themſelves in a way that ſhews they had no ſuch Apprehenſions of Things.

They thought that all Creatures were limited to one Place: And from thence they argued againſt the Heathens, who believed that their Deities were in every one of thoſe Statues which they conſecrated to them.

From this Head they proved the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt; Becauſe he wrought in many different Places at once: Which he could not do if he were only a Creature.

They affirm that Chriſt can be no more on Earth, ſince he is now in Heaven, and that he can be but in one Place.

They ſay, that which hath no Bounds nor Figure, and that can neither be touched nor ſeen, cannot be a Body: That Bodies are extended in ſome Place, and cannot exiſt after the Manner of Spirits.

They argue againſt the Eternity of Matter, from this, that nothing could be produced, that had a Being before it was produced: And on all Occaſions they appeal to the Teſtimony of our Senſes as Infallible.

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Art. 28. They ſay, that to believe otherwiſe tended to reverſe the whole State of Life, and Order of Nature; and to reproach the Providence of God, ſince it muſt be ſaid, that he has given the Knowledge of all his Works to Liars and Deceivers, if our Senſes may be falſe: That we muſt doubt of our Faith, if the Teſtimony of hearing, ſeeing and feeling, could deceive us.

And in their Conteſts with the *Marcionites* and others, concerning the Truth of Chriſt's Body, they appeal always to the Teſtimony of the Senſes as Infallible: And even treating of the Sacrament, they ſay, without Limitation or Exception, that it was Bread, as their Eyes witneſſed, and true Wine that Chriſt did Conſecrate to be the Memorial of his Body and Blood; and they tell us in this very Particular, that we ought not to doubt of the Teſtimony of our Senſes.

Another preſumptive Proof, that the Ancients knew nothing of this Doctrine, is, that the Heathens and the *Jews* who charged them, and their Doctrine, with every thing that they could invent, to make both it and them odious and ridiculous, could never have paſſed over this in which both Senſe and Reaſon ſeemed to be ſo evidently on their ſide.

They reproach the Chriſtians for believing a God that was Born, a God of Fleſh that was crucified and buried: They laughed at their belief of a Judgment to come, of endleſs Flames, of a heavenly Paradiſe, and of the Reſurrection of the Body. Thoſe who writ the firſt Apologies for the Chriſtian Religion, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Arnobius* and *Minutius Felix*, have given us a large Account of the Blaſphemies both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, againſt the Doctrines of Chriſtianity.

Cyril of *Alexandria* has given us *Julian*'s Objections in his own Words; who having been not only initiated into the Chriſtian Religion, but having read the Scriptures in the Churches, and being a Philoſophical and Inquiſitive Man, muſt have been well inſtructed concerning the Doctrine and the Sacraments of this Religion: And his Relation to the Emperor *Conſtantine*, muſt have made the Chriſtians concerned to take more than ordinary Pains on him. When he made Apoſtacy from the Faith, he reproached the Chriſtians with the Doctrine of Baptiſm, and laughed at them for thinking that there was an Ablution and Sanctification in it, conceiving it a thing Impoſſible that Water ſhould waſh or cleanſe a Soul: Yet neither he nor *Porphiry*, nor *Celſus* before them, did charge this Religion with the Abſurdities of Tranſubſtantiation.

It is reaſonable to believe, that if the Chriſtians of that time had any ſuch Doctrine among them, it muſt have been known. Every Chriſtian muſt have known in what Senſe thoſe Words, *This is is my body* and *This is my blood* were underſtood among them. All the Apoſtates from Chriſtianity muſt have known it, and muſt have publiſhed it to excuſe or hide the ſhame of their Apoſtacy: Since Apoſtates are apt to ſpread Lies of them whom they forſake, but not to conceal ſuch Truths as are to their Prejudice. *Julian* muſt have known it, and if he had known it, his Judgment was too True, and his Malice to the Chriſtian Religion too Quick, to overlook or neglect the Advantages which this part of their Doctrine gave him. Nor can this be carried off by ſaying that the *eating of human Fleſh* and the *Thyeſtean Suppers*, which were objected to the Chriſtians, relate to this: When the Fathers anſwer that, they tell the Heathens that it was a downright Calumny and Lie: And do not offer any Explanations or Diſtinctions taken from their Doctrine of the Sacrament, to clear them from the miſtake and malice of this Calumny. The Truth is, the execrable Practices of the *Gnoſticks*, who were called Chriſtians,

Chriſtians, gave the Riſe to thoſe as well as to many other Calumnies : But they were not at all founded on the Doctrine of the Euchariſt, which is never once mentioned as the Occaſion of this Accuſation. *Art.* 28.

Another Preſumption from which we conclude that the Ancients knew nothing of this Doctrine, is that we find Hereſies and Diſputes ariſing concerning all the other Points of Religion : There were very few of the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion, and not any of the Myſteries of the Faith, that did not fall under great Objections : But there was not any one Hereſy raiſed upon this Head : Men were never ſo meek and tame as eaſily to believe things, when there appeared ſtrong Evidence, or at leaſt great Preſumptions againſt them. In theſe laſt Eight or Nine Centuries, ſince this Doctrine was received, there has been a perpetual Oppoſition made to it, even in dark and unlearned Ages : In which, implicite Faith and blind Obedience have carried a great ſway. And though the Secular Arm has been employed with great and unrelenting Severities, to extirpate all that have oppoſed it : Yet all the while many have ſtood out againſt it, and have ſuffered much and long for their rejecting it. Now it is not to be imagined, that ſuch an oppoſition ſhould have been made to this Doctrine, during the nine hundred Years laſt paſt, and that for the former eight hundred Years, there ſhould have been no Diſputes at all concerning it : And that while all other things were ſo much queſtioned, that ſeveral Fathers writ, and Councils were called to ſettle the Belief of them, yet that for about eight hundred Years, this was the ſingle Point that went down ſo eaſily that no Treatiſe was all that while writ to prove it, nor Council held to eſtabliſh it.

Certainly the Reaſon of this will appear to be much rather, that ſince there have been Conteſts upon this Point theſe laſt Nine Ages, and that there were none the firſt Eight, this Doctrine was not known during thoſe Firſt Ages ; and that the great Silence about it for ſo long a time, is a very ſtrong Preſumption that in all that time, this Doctrine was not thought of.

The laſt of thoſe Conſiderations that I ſhall offer, which are of the nature of preſumptive Proofs, is, that there are a great many Rites and other practices, that have ariſen out of this Doctrine as its natural Conſequences, which were not thought of for a great many Ages ; but that have gone on by a perpetual progreſs, and have increaſed very fruitfully, ever ſince this Doctrine was received. Such are the Elevation, Adoration, and Proceſſions, together with the Doctrine of Concomitance, and a vaſt number of Rites and Rubricks ; the firſt occaſions and beginnings of which are well known. Theſe did all ariſe from this Doctrine ; it being natural, eſpecially in the Ages of Ignorance and Superſtition, for Men upon the ſuppoſition of Chriſt's being Corporally preſent, to run out into all poſſible Inventions of Pomp and Magnificence, about this Sacrament ; and it is very reaſonable to think, that ſince theſe things are of ſo late and ſo certain a date, that the Doctrine upon which they are founded is not much ancienter.

The great Simplicity of the Primitive Forms, not only as they are reported by *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian* in the Ages of the Poverty and Perſecutions of the Church, but as they are repreſented to us in the Fourth and Fifth Century by *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, the *Conſtitutions*, and the pretended *Areopagite*, have nothing of that Air that appears in the latter Ages. The Sacrament was then given in both kinds, it was put in the hands of the Faithful ; they reſerved ſome portions of it : It was given

Art. 28. given to Children for many Ages: The Laity, and even Boys were imployed to carry it to dying Penitents; what remained of it was burnt in ſome places, and conſumed by the Clergy, and by Children in other places; the making Cataplaſms of it, the mixing the Wine with Ink, to ſign the Condemnation of Hereticks, are very clear Preſumptions that this Doctrine was not then known.

But above all, their not adoring the Sacrament, which is not done to this day in the *Greek* Church, and of which there is no mention made, by all thoſe who writ of the Offices of the Church in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries ſo copiouſly; this I ſay of their not adoring it, is perhaps more than a preſumption, that this Doctrine was not then thought on. But ſince it was eſtabliſhed, all the Old Forms and Rituals have been altered, and the Adoring the Sacrament is now become the main act of Devotion, and of Religious Worſhip among them. One ancient Form is indeed ſtill continued, which is of the ſtrongeſt kind of Preſumptions that this Doctrine came in much later than ſome other Superſtitions which we condemn in that Church. In the Maſſes that are appointed on Saints-days, there are ſome Collects in which it is ſaid that the Sacrifice is offered up in *honour to the Saint*, and it is prayed that it may become the *more valuable and acceptable, by the Merits and Interceſſions of the Saint.* Now when a practice will well agree with one Opinion, but not at all with another, we have all poſſible reaſon to preſume at leaſt, that at firſt it came in under that Opinion with which it will agree, and not under another which cannot conſiſt with it. Our Opinion is that the Sacrament is a federal act of our Chriſtianity, in which we offer up our higheſt Devotions to God, through Chriſt, and receive the largeſt Returns from him: It is indeed a Superſtitious conceit to celebrate this to the honour of a Saint, but howſoever upon the ſuppoſition of Saints hearing our Prayers, and Interceding for us, there is ſtill good ſenſe in this; but if it is believed that Chriſt is Corporally preſent, and that he is offered up in it; it is againſt all Senſe, and it approaches to Blaſphemy, to do this to the Honour of a Saint, and much more to deſire that this which is of infinite value, and is the foundation of all God's Bleſſings to us, ſhould receive any addition or increaſe in its value or acceptation from the *Merits or Interceſſion* of Saints. So this, tho' a late practice, yet does fully evince, that the Doctrine of the Corporal Preſence was not yet thought on, when it was firſt brought into the Office.

So far I have gone upon the Preſumptions that may be offered to prove that this Doctrine was not known to the Ancients. They are not only juſt and lawful Preſumptions, but they are ſo ſtrong and violent, that when they are well conſidered, they force an aſſent to that which we infer from them. I go next to the more plain and direct Proofs that we find of the Opinion of the Ancients in this Matter.

They call the Elements Bread and Wine after the Conſecration. *Juſtin Martyr* calls them *Bread and Wine, and a nouriſhment which nouriſhed:* He indeed ſays it is not *common Bread and Wine*; which ſhews that he thought it was ſtill ſo in Subſtance: And he illuſtrates the Sanctification of the Elements by the Incarnation of Chriſt, in which the human Nature did not loſe or change its Subſtance by its Union with the Divine: So the Bread and the Wine do not according to that Explanation, loſe their proper *Subſtance*, when they become the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt.

'Apolog. 2.

Irenæus

Irenæus calls it that *Bread over which thanks are given*, and says, it is *no more common Bread, but the Eucharist consisting of two things, an earthly and a heavenly.* *Art.* 28. Lib. 4. de hær. c. 34.

Tertullian arguing against the *Marcionites*, who held two Gods, and that the Creator of this Earth was the bad God; but that Christ was contrary to him; urges against them this, that Christ made use of the Creatures: And says, *he did not reject Bread by which he represents his own Body*: And in another Place he says, *Christ calls Bread his Body*, That from thence you may understand, *that he gave the figure of his Body to the Bread.* Lib. 1. adver. Marcion. c. 14. Lib. 3 adver. Marcion. c. 19.

Origen says, we eat of the Loaves that are set before us: *Which by prayer are become a certain holy body, that sanctifies those who use them with a sound purpose.* Lib. 8. contra Celsum.

St. *Cyprian* says, *Christ calls the Bread that was compounded of many grains, his Body: And the Wine that is pressed out of many grapes his Blood, to shew the Union of his People.* And in another Place writing against those who used only Water, but no Wine in the Eucharist; He says, *we cannot see the Blood by which we are Redeemed, when Wine is not in the Chalice; by which the Blood of Christ is shewed.* Ep. 76. Ep. 63.

Epiphanius being to Prove that Man may be said to be made after the Image of God, though he is not like him, urges this, *That the Bread is not like Christ, neither in his invisible Deity, nor in his Incarnate likeness, for it is round and without feeling as to its vertue.* In Anchoreto.

Gregory Nyssen says, the *Bread in the beginning is common; but after the Mystery has consecrated it, it is said to be, and is the Body of Christ:* To this he compares the Sanctification of the mystical Oil, of the Water in Baptism, and the Stones of an Altar or Church dedicated to God. In orat. de baptis. Christi.

St. *Ambrose* calls it still Bread; and says this *Bread is made of the food of the Saints.* De Benedict. Patriarch. c. 9.

St. *Chrysostom* on these words *the Bread that we break*, says, *What is the bread? The Body of Christ: What are they made to be who take it? The Body of Christ.* Which shews that he considered the Bread as being so the Body of Christ, as the worthy Receivers became his Body; which is done not by a change of Substance, but by a Sanctification of their Natures. Hom. 24. in Ep. ad Cor.

St. *Jerom* says, *Christ took Bread, that as Melchisedeck had in the figure offered Bread and Wine, he might also represent the truth* (that is in Opposition to the Figure) *of his Body and Blood.* Comm. in St. Matth. c. 26.

St. *Augustin* does very largely compare the Sacraments being called the Body and Blood of Christ, with those other Places in which the Church is called his Body, and all Christians are his Members: Which shews that he thought the One was to be understood Mystically as well as the other. He calls the Eucharist frequently our daily Bread, and the Sacrament of Bread and Wine. All these call the Eucharist *Bread and Wine* in expres Words: But when they call it *Christ's Body and Blood*, they call it so *after a sort*, or that *it is said to be*, or with some other mollifying Expression. Cit. apud Fulgent. de Baptismo.

St. *Augustin* says this plainly, *after some sort the Sacrament of the Body of Christ is his Body, and the Sacrament of his Blood is the Blood of Christ; he carried himself in his own hands in some sort, when he said, This is my Body.* Aug. Ep. 23. ad Bonifac. Serm. 2. in Psal. 33.

St. *Chrysostom* says, *the Bread is thought worthy to be called the Body of our Lord:* And in another Place reckoning up the improper Senses of the word *Flesh*; he says the Scriptures use to call the *Mysteries* (that is, the Sacrament) *by the Name of Flesh, and sometimes the whole Church is said to be the Body of Christ.* Chryf. Ep. ad Cæsar. & in comment. in Ep. ad Gal. c. 5.

Art. 28. So *Tertullian* says, *Christ calls the Bread his Body, and names the Bread by his Body.*

Tertul. Lib. 4. adv. Marci. c. 40.

The Fathers do not only call the consecrated Elements Bread and Wine: They do also affirm that they retain their proper Nature and Substance, and are the same thing as to their Nature, that they were before. And the Occasion upon which the Passages, that I go next to mention, are used by them, does prove this Matter beyond Contradiction.

Apollinaris did broach that Heresy which was afterwards put in full Form by *Eutyches*; and that had so great a Party to support it, that as they had one General Council (a pretended one at least) to favour them, so they were condemned by another. Their Error was that the human Nature of Christ was swallowed up by the Divine, if not while he was here on Earth, yet at least after his Ascension to Heaven. This Error was confuted by several Writers who lived very wide one from another: And at a distance of above a hundred Years one from another. St. *Chrysostom* at *Constantinople*, *Theodoret* in *Asia*, *Ephrem* Patriarch of *Antioch*, and *Gelasius* Bishop of *Rome*. All those write to Prove that the human Nature did still remain in Christ, not changed nor swallowed up, but only sanctified by the Divine Nature that was united to it. They do all fall into one Argument, which very probably those who came after St. *Chrysostom* took from him: So that though both *Theodoret* and *Gelasius*'s Words are much fuller, yet because the Argument is the same with that which St. *Chrysostom* had urged against *Apollinaris*, I shall first set down his Words; He brings an Illustration from the Doctrine of the Sacrament, to shew that the human Nature was not destroyed by its Union with the Divine, and has upon that these Words, *As before the Bread is sanctified, we call it Bread; but when the Divine Grace has sanctified it by the means of the Priest, it is freed from the name of Bread, and is thought worthy of the name of the Lord's Body, though the nature of Bread remains in it: And yet it is not said there are two Bodies but one Body of the Son: So the divine Nature being joined to the Body, Both these make one Son and one Person.*

Epist. ad Celarium.

In Photi. Bibli. Cod. 229.

Ephrem of *Antioch* says, *The Body of Christ which is received by the faithful, does not depart from its sensible Substance: So Baptism*, says he, *does not lose its own sensible Substance, and does not lose that which it was before.*

Dial. 1st. and 2d. cont. Eutych.

Theodoret says, *Christ does honour the Symbols with the name of his Body and Blood; not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature:* In another Place pursuing the same Argument, he says, *The mystical Symbols after the sanctification, do not depart from their own nature: For they continue in their former substance, figure and form, and are visible and palpable as they were before: But they are understood to be that which they are made.*

Lib. de duabus nat. Christ.

Pope *Gelasius* says, *The Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ are a divine thing; for which reason we become by them partakers of the divine Nature; and yet the substance of Bread and Wine does not cease to exist: And the image and likeness of the Body and Blood of Christ are celebrated in holy Mysteries.* Upon all these Places being compared with the Design with which they were written, which was to prove that Christ's Human Nature did still subsist, unchanged and not swallowed up by its Union with the Divinity, some Reflections are very obvious; *First*, If the corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament had been then received in the Church, the natural and unavoidable Argument in this Matter, which must put an end to it, with all that believed such corporal Presence, was this: Christ has certainly a natural Body still,

ſtill, becauſe the Bread and the Wine are turned to it; and they cannot be turned to that which is not. In their Writings they argued againſt the poſſibility of a ſubſtantial Change of a Human Nature into the Divine; but that could not have been urged by Men who believed a ſubſtantial Mutation to be made in the Sacrament: For then the *Eutychians* might have retorted the Argument with great Advantage upon them. *Art.* 28.

The *Eutychians* did make uſe of ſome Expreſſions, that were uſed by ſome in the Church, which ſeemed to Import that they did argue from the Sacrament, as *Theodoret* repreſents their Objections: But to that he anſwers as we have ſeen, denying that any ſuch ſubſtantial Change was made. The Deſign of thoſe Fathers was to prove that things might be united together, and continue ſo united without the change of their Subſtances, and that this was true in the two Natures in the Perſon of Chriſt: And to make this more Senſible they bring in the Matter of the Sacrament, as a thing known and confeſſed: For in their arguing upon it they do ſuppoſe it as a thing out of diſpute.

Now according to the *Roman* Doctrine, this had been a very odd Sort of an Argument, to prove that Chriſt's Human Nature was not ſwallowed up of the Divine, becauſe the Myſteries or Elements in the Sacrament, are changed into the *Subſtance of Chriſt's Body, only they retain the outward appearances of Bread and Wine.*

To this an *Eutychian* might readily have anſwered, that then the Human Nature might be believed to be deſtroyed: And though Chriſt had appeared in that likeneſs, he retained only the Accidents of Human Nature; but that the Human Nature it ſelf was deſtroyed, as the *Bread* and the *Wine* were deſtroyed in the Euchariſt.

This had been a very abſurd way of arguing in the Fathers, and had indeed delivered up the Cauſe to the *Eutychians:* Whereas thoſe Fathers make it an Argument againſt them, to prove that notwithſtanding an Union of two Beings, and ſuch an Union as did communicate a Sanctification from the one to the other, yet the two *Natures* might remain ſtill diſtinguiſh'd; and that it was ſo in the *Euchariſt:* Therefore it might be ſo in the Perſon of Chriſt. This ſeems to be ſo evident an Indication of the Doctrine of the whole Church in the Fourth and Fifth Century, when ſo many of the moſt eminent Writers of thoſe Ages, do urge it ſo home as an Argument in ſo great a Point, that we can ſcarce think it poſſible for any Man to conſider it fully without being determined by it. And ſo far we have conſidered the Authorities from the Fathers, to ſhew that they believed that the Subſtance of Bread and Wine did ſtill remain in the Sacrament.

Another Head of Proof is, that they affirm, that our Bodies are nouriſhed by the Sacrament; which ſhews very plainly that they had no Notion of a Change of Subſtance made in it.

Juſtin Martyr calls the Euchariſt, *That food by which our fleſh and blood through its tranſmutation into them are nouriſhed.* Apol. 2.

Irenæus makes this an Argument for the Reſurrection of our Bodies, that they are fed by the Body and Blood of Chriſt: *When the Cup and the Bread, receives the Word of God, it becomes the Euchariſt of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, by which the ſubſtance of our fleſh is encreaſed and ſubſiſts:* And he adds, that *the fleſh is nouriſhed by the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and is made his Member.* Lib. 5. adv. Hæreſ. c. 2.

Tertullian ſays, *The fleſh is fed with the Body and Blood of Chriſt.*

Origen explains this very largely on thoſe words of Chriſt, *It is not that which enters within a man that defiles the man;* He ſays, if every thing that goes De Reſurrect. c. 8. In Mat. c. 15.

Art. 28. goes into the Belly, is caſt into the Draught, then *that food which is ſanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer, goes alſo into the belly, as to that which is material in it, and goes from thence into the draught.* And a little after he adds, *It is not the matter of the Bread, but the Word that is pronounced over it, which profits him that eats it, in ſuch a way as is not unworthy of the Lord.*

Con. Tol. 16. Can. 6. The Biſhops of *Spain* in a Councel that ſat at *Toledo* in the Seventh Century, condemned thoſe that began to Conſecrate Round Wafers, and did not offer one intire Loaf in the Euchariſt; and appointed that for ſo much of the Bread as remained after the Communion, that either it ſhould be put in ſome Bag, or if it was needful to eat it up, that *it might not oppreſs the belly of him that took it with an over-charging burden, and that it might not go into the digeſtion.* They fancying that a leſſer quantity made no digeſtion, and produced no Excrement.

In the Ninth Century both *Rabanus Maurus*, and *Heribald* believed, that the Sacrament was ſo digeſted that ſome part of it turned to Excrement; which was alſo held by divers Writers of the *Greek* Church, whom their Adverſaries called by way of reproach *Stercoraniſts*. Others indeed of the Ancients, did think that no part of the Sacrament became Excrement, but that it was ſpread through the whole Subſtance of the Communicant, for the good of Body and Soul. Both *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, and *John Damaſcene*, fell into this conceit; but ſtill they thought that it was changed into the Subſtance of our Bodies, and ſo nouriſhed them without any Excrement coming from any part of it.

Cyril. Catech Meſt. 5. Chryſoſt Hom. in Euch. To. 5. Damaſ. lib. 4. de Ortho. fide. c. 14.

The Fathers do call the Conſecrated Elements the *Figures*, the *Signs*, the *Symbols*, the *Types* and *Antitypes*, the *Commemoration*, the *Repreſentation*, the Myſteries and the *Sacraments* of the Body and Blood; which does evidently demonſtrate that they could not think, that they were the very Subſtance of his Body and Blood. *Tertullian* when he is proving that Chriſt had a true Body, and was not a Phantaſm, argues thus, *He made Bread to be his Body; ſaying, This is my Body; that is, the figure of my Body:* From which he argues, that ſince his Body had that for its *figure*; it was a true Body; for an empty thing, ſuch as a Phantaſm is, cannot have a *figure*. It is from hence clear, that it was not then believed that Chriſt's Body was literally in the Sacrament; for otherwiſe the Argument would have been much clearer and ſhorter: Chriſt has a *true Body*, becauſe we believe that the Sacrament is truly his *Body*, than to go and prove it ſo far about, as to ſay a Phantaſm has no figure: But the Sacrament is the figure of Chriſt's Body, therefore it is no Phantaſm.

Lib. 4. adv. Marcion. c. 40.

Comm. in Pſal. 3. St. *Auſtin* ſays, *He commended and gave to his Diſciples the Figure of his Body and Blood.* And when the *Manicheans* objected to him, that *Blood* is called in the Old Teſtament the *Life* or *Soul*, contrary to what is ſaid in the New. He anſwers, that *Blood* was not the *Soul* or *Life*, but only the Sign of it; and that the Sign ſometimes bears the name of that of which it is the Sign: So ſays he, *Chriſt did not doubt to ſay, This is my Body, when he was giving the Sign of his Body.* Now that had been a very bad Argument, if the Bread was truly the Body of Chriſt; it had proved that the Sign muſt be one with the thing ſignified.

Lib. cont. Adiman. 12.

The whole Ancient Liturgies, and all the *Greek* Fathers do ſo frequently uſe the words *Type*, *Antitype*, *Sign* and *Myſtery*, that this is not ſo much as denied; it is their conſtant Style. Now it is apparent that a thing cannot be the *Type* and *Symbol* of it ſelf. And tho' they had more frequent occaſions to ſpeak of the Euchariſt, than either of Baptiſm or the Chriſm; yet as they called the *Water* and the *Oyl*, *Types* and *Myſteries*, ſo they

they beſtowed the ſame deſcriptions on the Elements in the Euchariſt; and as they have many ſtrong Expreſſions concerning the *Water* and the *Oyl* that cannot be literally underſtood, ſo upon the ſame Grounds it will appear reaſonable, to give the ſame Expoſition to ſome high Expreſſions, that they fell into concerning this Sacrament. *Facundus* has ſome very full Diſcourſes to this purpoſe: He is proving that Chriſt may be called the *Adopted Son of God*, as well as he is truly *his Son*; and that becauſe he was Baptized. *The Sacrament of Adoption, that is, Baptiſm, may be called Baptiſm; as the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, which is in the Conſecrated Bread and Cup, is called his Body and Blood: Not that the Bread is properly his Body, or the Cup properly his Blood; but becauſe they contain in them the Myſtery of his Body and Blood.* St. *Auſtin* ſays, *That Sacraments muſt have ſome reſemblance of thoſe things of which they are the Sacraments: So the Sacrament of the Body of Chriſt is after ſome manner his Body: and the Sacrament of his Blood is after ſome manner his Blood.* And ſpeaking of the Euchariſt as a Sacrifice of Praiſe, he ſays, *The Fleſh and Blood of this Sacrifice was promiſed before the coming of Chriſt, by the Sacrifices that were the Types of it. In the Paſſion the Sacrifice was truly offered; and after his Aſcenſion it is Celebrated by the Sacrament of the Remembrance of it.* And when he ſpeaks of the murmuring of the *Jews*, upon our Saviour's ſpeaking of giving his Fleſh to them, to eat it; he adds, *They fooliſhly and carnally thought, that he was to cut off ſome parcels of his Body, to be given to them; but he ſhews that there was a Sacrament hid there*; and he thus Paraphraſes that Paſſage, *The words that I have ſpoken to you, they are ſpirit and life: Underſtand ſpiritually that which I have ſaid, for it is not this Body which you ſee that you are to eat, or to drink this Blood which they ſhall ſhed, who crucifie me. But I have recommended a Sacrament to you, which being ſpiritually underſtood, ſhall quicken you: And tho' it be neceſſary that it be celebrated viſibly, yet it muſt be underſtood inviſibly.*

Art. 28.

Defen. Conc. Chalced. l. 9.

Ep. 23. ad Bonifac.

Lib. 20. con. Fauſt. c. 21.

in Pſal. 98. v. 5.

Primaſius compares the Sacrament to a Pledge, which a dying Man leaves to any one whom he loved. But that which is more Important than the Quotation of any of the words of the Fathers, is that the Author of the Books of the Sacraments, which paſs under the Name of St. *Ambroſe*; tho' it is generally agreed that thoſe Books were writ ſome Ages after his Death, gives us the Prayer of Conſecration, as it was uſed in his time: He calls it *the Heavenly Words*, and ſets it down. The Offices of the Church are a clearer Evidence of the Doctrine of that Church, than all the Diſcourſes that can be made by any Doctor in it; the one is the Language of the whole Body, whereas the other are only the private reaſonings of particular Men: And of all the Parts of the Office, the Prayer of Conſecration is that which does moſt certainly ſet out to us the ſenſe of that Church that uſed it: But that which makes this Remark the more Important, is that the Prayer as ſet down by this pretended St. *Ambroſe*, is very near the ſame with that which is now in the Canon of the *Maſs*, only there is one very Important variation, which will beſt appear by ſetting both down.

Comm. in 1 Ep. ad Cor.

Lib. 4. de Sacram. c. 5.

That of St. *Ambroſe*'s is, *Fac nobis hanc oblationem, aſcriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod eſt figura Corporis & Sanguinis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui pridie quam pateretur, &c.* That in the Canon of the Maſs is, *Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus quæ ſumus benedictam, aſcriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemq; facere digneris: ut nobis Corpus & Sanguis fiat dilectiſſimi filii tui Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.*

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Art. 28. We do plainly ſee ſo great a reſemblance of the later to the former of theſe two Prayers, that we may well conclude, that the one was begun in the other; but at the ſame time we obſerve an Eſſential difference. In the former this Sacrifice is called the *Figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.* Whereas in the later it is Prayed that *it may become to us the Body and Blood of Chriſt.* As long as the former was the Prayer of Conſecration, it is not poſſible for us to imagine, that the Doctrine of the Corporal Preſence could be received; for that which was believed to be the *true Body and Blood of Chriſt*, could not be called, eſpecially in ſuch a part of the Office, the *Figure of his Body and Blood*; and therefore the change that was made in this Prayer, was an evident proof of a change in the Doctrine; and if we could tell in what Age that was done, we might then upon greater certainty fix the time, in which this change was made, or at leaſt in which the inconſiſtency of that Prayer with this Doctrine was obſerved.

I have now ſet down a great variety of Proofs reduced under different Heads, from which it appears evidently that the Fathers did not believe this Doctrine, but that they did affirm the contrary very expreſly. This Sacrament continued to be ſo long conſidered as the Figure or Image of Chriſt's Body, that the Seventh General Council which met at *Conſtantinople* in the Year 754, and conſiſted of above Three hundred and thirty Biſhops, when it condemned the Worſhip of Images, affirmed that this was the only *Image* that we might lawfully have of Chriſt; and that he had appointed us to offer this *Image of his Body*, to wit, the *Subſtance of the Bread.* That was indeed contradicted with much confidence by the Second Council of *Nice*, in which, in oppoſition to what appears to this day in all the *Greek* Liturgies, and the *Greek* Fathers, they do poſitively deny that the Sacrament was ever called the *Image of Chriſt*; and they affirm it to be the *true Body of Chriſt.*

In concluſion, I ſhall next ſhew how this Doctrine crept into the Church; for this ſeems plauſible, that a Doctrine of this nature could never have got into the Church in any Age, if thoſe of the Age that admitted it, had not known that it had been the Doctrine of the former Age, and ſo upwards to the Age of the Apoſtles. It is not to be denied, but that very early both *Juſtin Martyr* and *Irenæus* thought, that there was ſuch a Sanctification of the Elements, that there was a Divine Vertue in them: And in thoſe very Paſſages which we have urg'd from the Arguings of the Fathers againſt the *Eutychians*, tho' they do plainly prove that they believed, that the *Subſtance of Bread and Wine* did ſtill remain; yet they do ſuppoſe an Union of the Elements to the Body of Chriſt, like that of the Human Nature's being united to the Divine; here a Foundation was laid for all the Superſtructure that was afterwards raiſed upon it. For tho' the Liturgies and Publick Offices continued long in the firſt ſimplicity, yet the Fathers who did very much ſtudy Eloquence, chiefly the *Greek* Fathers, carried this matter very far in their Sermons and Homilies. They did only apprehend the Profanation of the Sacrament, from the unworthineſs of thoſe who came to it; and being much ſet on the begetting a due reverence for ſo holy an action, and a ſeriouſneſs in the performance of it, they urg'd all the *Topicks* that ſublime Figures, or warm Expreſſions could help them with; and with this exalted Eloquence of theirs, we muſt likewiſe obſerve the ſtate that the World fell in, in the Fifth Century: Vaſt Swarms out of the North over-run the *Roman* Empire, and by a long continued Succeſſion of new Invaders, all was ſackt and ruined. In the Weſt, the *Goths* were followed by the *Vandals*, the *Alans*,

Alans, the *Gepides*, the *Franks*, the *Sweves*, the *Huns*, and the *Lombards*, *Art.* 28.
ſome of theſe Nations; but in concluſion the *Saracens* and *Turks* in the
Eaſt, made Havock of all that was polite or learned; by which we loſt
the chief Writings of the firſt and beſt Times; but inſtead of theſe, many
ſpurious ones were afterwards produced, and they paſſed eaſily in dark
and ignorant Ages. All fell under much oppreſſion and miſery; and
Europe was ſo over-run with Barbarity and Ignorance, that it cannot be
eaſily apprehended, but by ſuch as have been at the pains to go through
one of the ungratefulleſt pieces of Study that can be well imagined; and
have read the Productions of thoſe Ages. The underſtanding the Scrip-
tures or Languages, or Hiſtory were not ſo much as thought on. Some
affected Homilies or Diſcantings on the Rituals of the Church, full of
many very odd Speculations about them, are among the beſt of the Wri-
tings of thoſe Times. They were eaſily impoſed on by any new Forge-
ry; witneſs the Reception and Authority that was given to the *Decretal
Epiſtles* of the Popes of the firſt Three Centuries, which for many Ages
maintained its credit, tho' it was plainly a Forgery of the Eighth Century,
and was contrived with ſo little Art, that there is not in them colour enough
to excuſe the ignorance of thoſe that were deceived by it. As it is an eaſie
thing to miſlead ignorant multitudes, ſo there is ſomewhat in Incredible
Opinions and Stories, that is ſuited to ſuch a ſtate of Mankind; and as
Men are apt to fancy that they ſee Sprights, eſpecially in the Night, ſo
the more of darkneſs and unconceivableneſs that there is in an Opinion,
it is the more properly calculated for ſuch times. The Ages that ſuc-
ceeded were not only times of Ignorance, but they were alſo times of
much Corruption. The Writers of the Fourth and Fifth Century give
us diſmal Repreſentations of the Corruptions of their times; and the ſcan-
dalous unconſtancy of the Councils of thoſe Ages, is too evident a proof
of what we find ſaid by the Good Men of thoſe days: But things fell
lower and lower in the ſucceeding Ages. It is an amazing thing that in
the very Office of Conſecrating Biſhops, Examinations are ordered con-
cerning thoſe Crimes, the very mention of which give horrour; *De Coi-
tu cum Maſculo & cum Quadrupedibus.*

The Popes more particularly were ſuch a Succeſſion of Men, that as
their own Hiſtorians have deſcribed them, nothing in any Hiſtory can be
produced that is like them. The Characters they give them are ſo mon-
ſtrous, that nothing under the authority of unqueſtioned Writers, and
the Evidence of the Facts themſelves, could make them credible.

But that which makes the Introduction of this Doctrine appear the
more probable, is that we plainly ſee the whole Body of the Clergy was
every where ſo Influenced by the management of the Popes, that they
generally entred into Combinations to ſubject the Temporalty to the Spi-
ritualty, and therefore every Opinion that tended to render the Perſons
of the Clergy Sacred, and to raiſe their Character high, was ſure to re-
ceive the beſt entertainment, and the greateſt incouragement poſſible.
Nothing could carry this ſo far as an Opinion that repreſented the
Prieſt as having a Character by which with a few words, he could
make a God. The Opinion of *Tranſubſtantiation* was ſuch an Engine,
that it being once ſet on foot, could not but meet with a favourable re-
ception from thoſe who were then ſeeking all poſſible colours, to give cre-
dit to their authority, and to advance it. The numbers of the Clergy
were then ſo great, and their contrivances were ſo well ſuited to the cre-
dulity and ſuperſtition of thoſe times, that by Viſions and wonderful
Stories confidently vouched, they could eaſily infuſe any thing into weak

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Art. 28. and giddy Multitudes. Beſides that the Genius of thoſe Times led them much to the love of Pomp and Shew; they had loſt the true Power and Beauty of Religion, and were willing by outward Appearances to balance or compenſate for their great Defects.

But beſides all thoſe general Conſiderations which ſuch as are acquainted with the Hiſtory of thoſe Ages, know do belong to them in a much higher Degree than is here ſet forth: There are ſome Specialities that relate to this Doctrine in Particular, which will make the Introduction of it appear the more Practicable. This had never been condemned in any former Age; for as none condemn Errors by Anticipation or Propheſy, ſo the Promoters of it had this Advantage, that no formal Deciſion had been made againſt them. It did alſo in the outward ſound agree with the Words of the Inſtitution, and the Phraſes generally uſed, of the Elements being changed into the Body and Blood of Chriſt: Outward ſound and appearance was enough in Ignorant Ages, to hide the Change that was made. The ſtep that is made from believing any thing in General, with an indiſtinct and confuſed Apprehenſion, to a determined way of explaining it, is not hard to be brought about.

The People in General believed that Chriſt was in the Sacrament, and that the Elements were his Body and Blood; without troubling themſelves to Examine in what Manner all this was done: So it was no great ſtep in a dark Age, to put a particular Explanation of this upon them: And this Change being brought in without any viſible Alterations made in the Worſhip, it muſt needs have paſſed with the World more eaſily: For in all Times, viſible Rites are more minded by the People, than ſpeculative Points; which they conſider very little. No Alterations were at firſt made in the Worſhip; the Adoration of the Hoſt, and the Proceſſions invented to Honour it came all afterwards.

Greg. Decret. Lib. 3. Tit. 42. cap. 10.

Honorius IV. who firſt appointed the Adoration, does not pretend to Found it on ancient Practice: Only he commands the Prieſts to tell the People to do it: And he at firſt enjoined only an Inclination of the Head to the Sacrament: But his Succeſſor *Gregory* IX. did more reſolutely Command it, and ordered a Bell to be rung at the Conſecration and Elevation, to give notice of it, that ſo all thoſe who heard it might kneel and join their Hands, and ſo Worſhip the Hoſt.

The firſt Controverſy about the Manner of the Preſence, aroſe incidentally upon the Controverſy of Images: The Council at *Conſtantinople* decreed, that the Sacrament was the *Image of Chriſt, in which the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine remained.* Thoſe at *Nice* how furiouſly ſoever they fell upon them, for calling the Sacrament the *Image of Chriſt*, yet do no where blame them for ſaying that *the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine remained in it*: For indeed the Opinion of *Damaſcene* and of moſt of the *Greek* Church was, That *there was an Aſſumption of the Bread and Wine into an Union with the Body of Chriſt.* The Council of *Conſtantinople* brought in their Deciſion occaſionally, that being conſidered as the ſetled Doctrine of the Church; whereas thoſe of *Nice* did viſibly Innovate and Falſify the Tradition: For they affirm as *Damaſcene* had done before them, that the Elements were called the *Antitypes of Chriſt's Body*, only before they were conſecrated, but not after it: Which they ſay none of the Fathers had done. This is ſo notoriouſly Falſe, that no Man can pretend now to juſtify them in it, ſince there are above twenty of the Fathers that were before them, who in plain words call the Elements after Conſecration, the *Figure and Antitype of Chriſt's Body*: Here then was the Tradition and Practice of the Church falſified, which

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is no ſmall Prejudice againſt thoſe that ſupport the Doctrine, as well as againſt the Credit of that Council. *Art.* 28.

About thirty Years after that Council, *Paſchaſe Radbert* Abbot of *Corby* in *France*, did very plainly aſſert the corporal Preſence in the Euchariſt: He is acknowledged both by *Bellarmin* and *Sirmondus* to be the firſt Writer, that did on purpoſe advance and explain that Doctrine: He himſelf values his Pains in that Matter, and as he laments the ſlowneſs of ſome in believing it, ſo he pretends that he had moved many to aſſent to it: But he confeſſes that ſome blamed him for aſcribing a Senſe to the Words of Chriſt that was not conſonant to Truth. There was but one Book writ in that Age to ſecond him, the Name of the Author was loſt till *Mabillon* diſcovered that it was writ by one *Herigerus* Abbot of *Cob.* But all the Eminent Men and the great Writers of that time, wrote plainly againſt this Doctrine; and affirmed that the Bread and Wine remained in the Sacrament, and did nouriſh our Bodies as other Meats do. Thoſe were *Rabanus Maurus* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, *Amalarius* Archbiſhop of *Triers*, *Heribald* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, *Bertram* or *Ratramne*, *John Scot Erigena*, *Walafridus Strabus*, *Florus*, and *Chriſtian Druthmar*. Three of theſe ſet themſelves on purpoſe to refute *Paſchaſe*.

Rabanus Maurus in an Epiſtle to Abbot *Egilon* wrote againſt *Paſchaſe* for ſaying, that it was that Body that was born of the Virgin, that was crucified and raiſed up again, which was daily offered up. And though that Book is loſt, yet as he himſelf refers his Reader to it in his Penitential, ſo we have an Account given of it by the Anonymous defender of *Paſchaſe*.

Ratramne was commanded by *Charles* the *Bald*, then Emperour, to write upon that Subject, which he in the beginning of his Book promiſes to do, not truſting to his own Senſe, but following the Steps of the Holy Fathers. He tells us, that there were different Opinions about it: Some believing that the Body of Chriſt was there without a *Figure*: Others ſaying that it was there in a *Figure*, or *Myſtery*: Upon which he apprehended that a great Schiſm muſt follow. His Book is very ſhort and very plain: He aſſerts our Doctrine as expreſly as we our ſelves can do: He delivers it in the ſame Words, and proves it by many of the ſame Arguments and Authorities that we bring.

Raban and *Ratramne* were without diſpute reckoned among the firſt Men of that Age.

John Scot was alſo commanded by the ſame Emperour to write on the ſame Subject: He was one of the moſt Learned and the moſt Ingenious Men of the age; and was in great Eſteem both with the Emperour, and with our King *Alfred*: He was reckoned both a Saint and a Martyr. He did formally refute *Paſchaſe*'s Doctrine, and aſſert ours. His Book is indeed loſt, but a full Account of it is given us by other Writers of that Time. And it is a great Evidence, that his Opinion in this Matter was not then thought to be contrary to the general Senſe of the Church in that Age: For he having writ againſt St. *Auguſtin*'s Doctrine concerning *Predeſtination*, there was a very ſevere Cenſure of him and of his Writings publiſhed under the Name of the Church of *Lions*: In which they do not once reflect on him for his Opinions touching the Euchariſt. It appears from this, that their Doctrine concerning the Sacrament was then generally received: Since both *Ratramne* and he, though they differ'd extreamly in that Point of Predeſtination, yet both agreed in this. It is probable that the *Saxon* Homily that was read in *England* on *Eaſter*-day was taken from *Scot*'s Book; which does fully reject the corporal Preſence. This is enough to ſhew that *Paſ-*

Art. 28. *chase*'s Opinion was an Innovation broached in the Ninth Century, and was opposed by all the Great Men of that Age.

The Tenth Century was the blackest and most ignorant of all the Ages of the Church: There is not one Writer in that Age that gives us any clear Account of the Doctrine of the Church: Such remote Hints as occur do still savour of *Ratramne*'s Doctrine. All Men were then asleep, and so it was a fit time for the Tares that *Paschase* had sown to grow up in it. The Popes of that Age were such a Succession of Monsters, that *Baronius* cannot forbear to make the saddest Exclamations possible against their Debaucheries, their Cruelties, and their other Vices. About the middle of the Eleventh Century, after this Dispute had slept almost two hundred Years, it was again revived.

Bruno Bishop of *Angiers*, and *Berengarius* his Archdeacon, maintained the Doctrine of *Ratramne*: Little mention is made of the Bishop, but the Archdeacon is spoken of as a Man of great Piety: So that he past for a Saint, and was a Man of such Learning that when he was brought before Pope *Nicolaus*, no Man could resist him. He writ against *Paschase*, and had many followers. The Historians of that Age tell us, that his Doctrine had overspread all *France*. The Books writ against him by *Lanfranc* and others, are filled with an impudent corrupting of all Antiquity. Many Councils were held upon this Matter, and these together with the Terrours of Burning, which was then beginning to be the common Punishment of Heresy, made him renounce his Opinion: But he returned to it again; yet he afterwards renounced it: Though *Lanfranc* reproaches him that it was not the Love of Truth, but the Fear of Death that brought him to it. And his final Retracting of that renouncing of his Opinion is lately found in *France*, as I have been credibly informed. Thus this Opinion that in the Ninth Century was generally received, and was condemned by neither Pope nor Council, was become so odious in the Eleventh Century, that none durst own it. And he who had the Courage to own it, yet was not resolute enough to stand to it: For about this Time the Doctrine of extirpating Hereticks, and of deposing such Princes as were Defective in that Matter, was universally put in Practice. Great Bodies of Men began to separate from the *Roman* Communion in the *Southern* Parts of *France*; and one of the chief Points of their Doctrine, was their believing that Christ was not corporally Present in the Eucharist; and that he was there only in a *Figure* or *Mystery*. But now that the contrary Doctrine was established, and that those who denied it were adjudged to be burnt, it is no wonder if it quickly gained Ground, when on the one hand the Priests saw their Interest in promoting it, and all People felt the Danger of denying it. The Anathema's of the Church, and the Terrours of Burning, were infallible Things, to silence Contradiction at least, if not to gain Assent.

Lib. 4. Dist. 11. Soon after this Doctrine was received, the Schoolmen began to refine upon it, as they did upon every thing else. The Master of the Sentences would not determine how Christ was Present; whether formally, or substantially, or some other way. Some Schoolmen thought that the *Matter* of Bread was destroyed; but that the *Form* remained, to be the *Form* of Christ's Body, that was the *Matter* of it. Others thought that the *Matter* of the Elements remained, and that the *Form* only was destroyed: But that to which many inclined, was the Assumption of the Elements into an Union with the Body of Christ, or a hypostatical Union of the eternal Word to them, by which they became as truly a Body to Christ, as that which he has in Heaven: Yet it was not the same, but a different Body.

Stephen Biſhop of *Autun* was the Firſt that fell on the Word of *Tranſubſtantiation*. *Amalric* in the beginning of the Thirteenth Century denied in expreſs Words the corporal Preſence: He was condemned in the Fourth Council of the *Lateran* as an Heretick, and his Body was ordered to be taken up and burnt: And in oppoſition to him Tranſubſtantiation was decreed. Yet the Schoolmen continued to offer different Explanations of this for a great while after that: But in concluſion all agreed to explain it as was formerly ſet forth. It appears by the crude Way in which it was at firſt explained, that it was a Novelty: And that Men did not know how to mould and frame it; but at laſt it was licked into ſhape; the whole Philoſophy being caſt into ſuch a Mould as agreed with it. And therefore in the preſent Age, in which that Philoſophy has loſt its Credit, great Pains are taken to ſuppreſs the New and freer Way of Philoſophy, as that which cannot be ſo eaſily ſubdued to ſupport this Doctrine, as the Old one was. And the Arts that thoſe who go into the New Philoſophy, take to reconcile their Scheme to this Doctrine, ſhew that there is nothing that ſubtile and unſincere Men will not venture on: For, ſince they make *Extenſion* to be of the *Eſſence of Matter*, and think that *Accidents* are only the *Modes of Matter*, which have no proper being of themſelves, it is evident, that a Body cannot be without its *Extenſion*, and that *Accidents* cannot ſubſiſt without their Subject; ſo that this can be in no ſort reconciled to Tranſubſtantiation: And therefore they would willingly avoid this ſpecial Manner of the Preſence, and only in General aſſert that Chriſt is corporally Preſent. But the Decrees of the *Lateran* and *Trent* Councils make it evident, that *Tranſubſtantiation* is now a Doctrine that is bound upon them, by the Authority of the Church and of Tradition: And that they are as much bound to believe it as to believe the corporal Preſence it ſelf. Thus the going off from the Simplicity in which Chriſt did deliver the Sacrament, and in which the Church at firſt received it, into ſome ſublime Expreſſions about it, led Men once out of the way, and they ſtill went farther and farther from it. Pious and Rhetorical Figures, purſued far by Men of heated Imaginations, and of inflamed Affections, were followed with Explanations invented by colder and more deſigning Men afterwards, and ſo it increaſed till it grew by degrees to that which at laſt it ſettled on.

Art. 28. De Sacram. Altaris, c. 13.

But after all, if the Doctrine of the Corporal Preſence had reſted only in a Speculation, tho' we ſhould have judged thoſe who held it to be very bad Philoſophers, and no good Criticks, yet we could have endured it; if it had reſted there, and had not gone on to be a matter of practice, by the Adoration and Proceſſions, with every thing elſe of that kind, which followed upon it; for this corrupted the Worſhip.

The *Lutherans* believe a Conſubſtantiation, and that both Chriſt's Body and Blood, and the Subſtance of the Elements are together in the Sacrament: That ſome explain by an *Ubiquity*, which they think is communicated to the Human Nature of Chriſt, by which his Body is every where as well as in the Sacrament: Whereas others of them think that ſince the words of Chriſt muſt needs be true in a literal ſenſe, his Body and Blood is therefore in the Sacrament, but *in*, *with*, and *under* the Bread and Wine. All this we think is ill grounded, and is neither agreeable to the words of the Inſtitution, nor to the nature of things. A great deal of that which was formerly ſet forth in defence of our Doctrine falls likewiſe upon this. The *Ubiquity* communicated to the Humane Nature, as it ſeems a thing in it ſelf impoſſible, ſo it gives no more to the Sacrament than to every thing elſe. Chriſt's Body may be ſaid to be in every

*Art.*28. thing, or rather every thing may be ſaid to be his *Body* and *Blood*, as well as the Elements in the Sacrament. The impoſſibility of a Bodies being without extenſion, or in more places at once, lies againſt this, as well as againſt *Tranſubſtantiation*. But yet after all, this is only a Point of Speculation, nothing follows upon it in practice, no Adoration is offered to the Elements; and therefore we judge that Speculative Opinions may be born with, when they neither fall upon the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity, to give us falſe Ideas of the Eſſential parts of our Religion, nor affect our practice, and chiefly when the Worſhip of God is maintained in its Purity, for which we ſee God has expreſſed ſo particular a concern, giving it the Word which of all others raiſes in us the moſt ſenſible and the ſtrongeſt Ideas, calling it *Jealouſie*; that we reckon, we ought to watch over this with much caution. We can very well bear with ſome Opinions, that we think ill grounded, as long as they are only matters of Opinion, and have no Influence neither on Mens Morals, nor their Worſhip. We ſtill hold Communion with Bodies of Men, that as we judge think wrong, but yet do both live well, and maintain the Purity of the Worſhip of God. We know the great deſign of Religion is to govern Men's Lives, and to give them right Ideas of God, and of the Ways of Worſhipping him. All Opinions that do not break in upon theſe, are things in which great forbearance is to be uſed; large Allowances are to be made for Mens Notions in all other things; and therefore we think that neither *Conſubſtantiation* nor *Tranſubſtantiation*, how ill grounded ſoever we take both to be, ought to diſſolve the Union and Communion of Churches: But it is quite another thing, if under either of theſe Opinions an Adoration of the Elements is taught and practiſed.

This we believe is plain Idolatry, when an Inſenſible piece of Matter, ſuch as Bread and Wine, has Divine Honours paid it; when it is believed to be God, when it is called God, and is in all reſpects Worſhipped with the ſame Adoration that is offered up to Almighty God. This we think is groſs Idolatry. Many Writers of the Church of *Rome* have acknowledged that if *Tranſubſtantiation* is not true, their Worſhip is a ſtrain of Idolatry beyond any that is practiſed among the moſt depraved of all the Heathens.

The only excuſe that is offered in this matter, is, that ſince the declared Object of Worſhip is *Jeſus Chriſt*, believed to be there *preſent*, then whether he is *preſent* or *not*, the Worſhip terminates in him; both the ſecret acts of the Worſhippers, and the profeſſed Doctrine of the Church do lodge it there. And therefore it may be ſaid, that tho' he ſhould not be actually preſent, yet the act of Adoration being directed to him, muſt be accepted of God, as right meant, and duly directed, even tho' there ſhould happen to be a miſtake in the outward application of it.

In anſwer to this, we do not pretend to determine, how far this may be pardoned by God; whoſe Mercies are infinite, and who does certainly conſider, chiefly the Hearts of his Creatures, and is merciful to their Infirmities, and to ſuch Errors as ariſe out of their weakneſs, their Hearts being ſincere before him. We ought to conſider this action as it is in it ſelf, and not according to Mens Apprehenſions and Opinions about it. If the conceits that the Ancient Idolaters had both concerning their Gods, and the Idols that they Worſhipped, will excuſe from Idolatry, it will be very hard to ſay that there were ever any Idolaters in the World. Thoſe who Worſhipped the *Sun*, thought that the great Divinity was lodged there, as in a Vehicle or Temple; but yet they were not by reaſon of that miſconception excuſed from being Idolaters.

If a falſe Opinion upon which a practice is founded, taken up without any good authority, will excuſe Mens Sins, it will be eaſie for them to

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find Apologies for every thing. If the Worſhip of the Elements had been commanded by God, then an Opinion concerning it might excuſe the carrying of that too far; but there being no Command for it, no hint given about it, nor any inſinuation given of any ſuch practice in the beginnings of Chriſtianity; an Opinion that Men have taken up cannot juſtifie a new practice, of which neither the firſt nor a great many of the following Ages knew any thing. An Opinion cannot juſtifie Mens practice founded upon it, if that proves to be falſe. All the ſoftning that can be given it, is, that it is a ſin of Ignorance; but that does not change the nature of the action, how far ſoever it may go with relation to the Judgments of God: If the Opinion is raſhly taken up and ſtiffly maintained, the Worſhip that is introduced upon it, is aggravated by the ill foundation that it is built upon. We know God by his Eſſence is every where; but this will not juſtifie our Worſhipping any Material Object upon this pretence, becauſe God is in it; we ought never to Worſhip Him towards any viſible Object, unleſs he were evidently declaring his Glory in it; as he did to *Moſes* in the Flaming-buſh; to the *Iſraelites* on Mount *Sinai*, and in the Cloud of Glory; or to us Chriſtians in a ſublimer manner in the Humane Nature of Jeſus Chriſt. *Art.* 28.

But by this parity of Reaſon, tho' we were ſure that Chriſt were in the Elements, yet ſince he is there Inviſible, as God is by his Eſſence every where, we ought to direct no Adoration to the Elements; we ought only to Worſhip God, and his Son Chriſt Jeſus, in the grateful remembrance of his Sufferings for us, which are therein commemorated. We ought not to ſuffer our Worſhip to terminate on the Viſible Elements; becauſe if Chriſt is in them, yet he does not manifeſt that viſibly to us: Since therefore the Opinion of the Corporal Preſence, upon which this Adoration is founded, is Falſe, and ſince no ſuch Worſhip is ſo much as mentioned, much leſs commanded in Scripture; and ſince there can ſcarce be any Idolatry in the World ſo groſs, as that it ſhall not excuſe it ſelf by ſome ſuch Doctrine, by which all the acts of Worſhip are made to terminate finally in God; we muſt conclude that this Plea cannot excuſe the Church of *Rome* from Idolatry, even though their Doctrine of the Corporal Preſence were true: But much leſs if it is Falſe. We do therefore condemn this Worſhip as Idolatry, without taking upon us to define the Extent of the Mercies of God, towards all thoſe who are involved in it.

If all the Premiſes are True, then it is needleſs to inſiſt longer on explaining the following Paragraph of the *Article*; that *Chriſt's Body is received in the Sacrament in a heavenly and ſpiritual Manner, and that the Mean by which it is received is Faith*: For that is ſuch a natural reſult of them, that it appears evident of it ſelf, as being the Concluſion that ariſes out of thoſe Premiſes.

The laſt Paragraph is againſt the *reſerving, carrying about, the liſting up, or the worſhipping the Sacrament.* The Point concerning the Worſhip, which is the moſt eſſential of them, has been already conſidered. As for the reſerving or carrying the Sacrament about; it is very viſible, that the Inſtitution is, *Take, eat*, and *drink ye all of it*: which does import that the conſuming the Elements, is a part of the Inſtitution; and by conſequence that they are a Sacrament only as they are diſtributed and received. It is true the practice of *reſerving* or ſending about the Elements, began very early; the ſtate of things at firſt made it almoſt unavoidable. When there were yet but a few converted to Chriſtianity, and when there were but few Prieſts to ſerve them, they neither could nor durſt meet all together, eſpecially in the times of Perſecution; ſo ſome parts of the Elements were ſent to the abſents, to thoſe in Priſon, and particularly

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Art. 28. to the Sick, as a Symbol of their being parts of the Body, and that they were in the Peace and Communion of the Church. The Bread was sent with the Wine, and it was sent about by any Person whatsoever; sometimes by Boys; as appears in the famous Story of *Serapion* in the Third Century. So that the condition of the Christians in that time, made that necessary to keep them all in the sense of their obligation to Union and Communion with the Church; and that could not well be done in any other way. But we make a great difference between this practice, when taken up out of necessity, tho' not exactly conform to the first Institution; and the continuing it out of Superstition, when there is no need of it. Therefore instead of Consecrating a larger portion of Elements than is necessary for the occasion, and the reserving what is over and above; and the setting that out with great Pomp on the Altar, to be worshipped, or the carrying it about with a vast Magnificence in a Procession, invented to put the more honour on it; or the sending it to the Sick with Solemnity; we chuse rather to Consecrate only so much as may be judged fit for the number of those who are to communicate. And when the Sacrament is over, we do in imitation of the practice of some of the Ancients, consume what is left, that there may be no occasion given either to Superstition or Irreverence. And for the *Sick*, or the *Prisoners*, we think it is a greater Mean to quicken their Devotion, as well as it is a closer adhering to the Words of the Institution, to Consecrate in their Presence: for tho' we can bear with the practice of the *Greek* Church, of reserving and sending about the Eucharist, when there is no Idolatry joyned with it; yet we cannot but think that this is the continuance of a practice which the state of the first Ages introduced, and that was afterwards kept up, out of a too scrupulous imitation of that time; without considering that the difference of the state of the Christians, in the former and in the succeeding Ages, made that what was at first innocently practised (since a real necessity may well excuse a want of exactness, in some matters that are only positive) became afterwards an occasion of much Superstition, and in conclusion ended in Idolatry. Those ill effects that it had, are more than is necessary to justifie our practice in reducing this strictly to the first Institution.

Euſ. Hiſt. lib. 6. c. 44.

As for the lifting up of the Eucharist, there is not a word of it in the Gospel; nor is it mentioned by St. *Paul*. Neither *Justin Martyr*, nor *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* speak of it; there is nothing concerning it neither in the *Constitutions*, nor in the *Areopagite*. In those first Ages all the Elevation that is spoken of, is the lifting up their Hearts to God. The Elevation of the Sacrament began to be practised in the Sixth Century; for it is mentioned in the Liturgy called St. *Chrysostome's*, but believed to be much latter than his time. *German*, a Writer of the *Greek* Church of the Thirteenth Century, is the first that descants upon it; he speaks not of it as done, in order to the Adoration of it, but makes it to represent both Christ's being lifted up on the Cross, and also his Resurrection. *Ivo* of *Chartres*, who lived in the end of the 11*th* Century, is the first of all the *Latins* that speaks of it; but then it was not commonly practised; for the Author of the *Micrologus*, tho' he writ at the same time, yet does not mention it, who yet is very minute upon all particulars relating to this Sacrament. Nor does *Ivo* speak of it as done in order to Adoration, but only as a form of shewing it to the People. *Durand*, a Writer of the 13*th* Century, is the first that speaks of the *Elevation* as done in order to the *Adoration*. So it appears that our Church by cutting off these Abuses, has restored this Sacrament to its Primitive Simplicity, according to the Institution, and the practice of the first Ages.

Germ. Conſt. in Theor. Tit. 12. Bibl. patr. Ivo. Carn. Ep. de Sacr. Miſſæ. T. 2. Bibl. pat.

Dur. Rat. div. offic. lib. 4. de Sexta parte Can.

ARTICLE XXIX.

Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Chriſt in the Uſe of the Lord's-Supper.

The wicked and ſuch as be void of a lively Faith, altho they do carnally and viſibly preſs with their Teeth (as St. Auſtin ſaith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, yet in no wiſe are they partakers of Chriſt; but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the Sign or Sacrament of ſo great a thing.

THIS Article ariſes naturally out of the Former, and depends upon it: For, if Chriſt's Body is corporally preſent in the Sacrament, then all Perſons good or bad, who receive the Sacrament, do alſo receive Chriſt: On the other hand, if Chriſt is Preſent only in a *Spiritual Manner*, and if the Mean that receives Chriſt, is *Faith*, then ſuch as believe not, do not receive him. So that to prove that the Wicked do not receive Chriſt's Body and Blood, is upon the Matter the ſame thing with the proving, that he is not corporally Preſent: And it is a very conſiderable Branch of our Argument, by which we prove that the Fathers did not believe the corporal Preſence, becauſe they do very often ſay, That the Wicked do not receive Chriſt in the Sacrament.

Here the ſame diſtinction is to be made, that was mentioned upon the Article of Baptiſm. The Sacraments are to be conſidered either as they are Acts of Church-Communion, or as they are federal Acts by which we enter into Covenant with God. With reſpect to the Former, the viſible Profeſſion that is made, and the Action that is done, are all that can fall under human cogniſance: So a Sacrament muſt be held to be good and valid, when as to outward appearance all things are done according to the Inſtitution: But as to the internal Effect and Benefit of it, that turns upon the Truth of the Profeſſion that is made, and the ſincerity of thoſe Acts which do accompany it. For, if theſe are not ſeriouſly and ſincerely performed, God is diſhonoured, and his Inſtitution is prophaned. Our Saviour has expreſly ſaid, that *whoſoever eats his Fleſh, and drinks his Blood, has eternal Life.* From thence we conclude, that no Man does truly receive Chriſt, who does not at the ſame time receive with him both a Right to eternal Life, and likewiſe the beginnings and earneſts of it. The Sacrament being a federal Act, he who diſhonours God, and prophanes this Inſtitution, by receiving it unworthily, becomes highly guilty before God, and draws down Judgments upon himſelf: And as it is confeſſed on all hands that the inward and ſpiritual Effects of the Sacrament depend upon the State and Diſpoſition of him that Communicates, ſo we who own no other Preſence but an inward and ſpiritual one, cannot conceive that the Wicked who believe not in Chriſt do receive him.

In this Point ſeveral of the Fathers have delivered themſelves very plainly.

Origen ſays, *Chriſt is the true Food, whoſoever eats him ſhall live for ever; of whom no wicked Perſon can eat: for if it were poſſible that any who continues Wicked, ſhould eat the Word that was made Fleſh, it had never been written, Whoſo eats this Bread ſhall live for ever.* This comes after a Diſcourſe of the Sacrament, which he calls the typical and ſymbolical Body, and ſo it can only

Comment. in Matth. c. 15.

Art. 29. only belong to it: In another place he ſays, *The Good eat the living Bread which came down from Heaven; but the Wicked eat dead Bread which is Death.*

Tom. 2. Spicil. Sacr. d' Achery. *Zeno* Biſhop of *Verona*, who is believed to have lived near *Origen*'s time, has theſe words, *There is cauſe to fear that he in whom the Devil dwells, does not eat the Fleſh of our Lord, nor drink his Blood; though he ſeems to communicate with the Faithful; ſince our Lord has ſaid, He that eats my Fleſh and drinks my Blood dwells in me, and I in him.*

In cap. 66. Iſaiæ. St. *Jerom* ſays, *They that are not Holy in Body and Spirit, do neither eat the Fleſh of Jeſus nor drink his Blood; of which he ſaid, He that eats my Fleſh and drinks my Blood hath eternal Life.*

Tract. 26. in Joan. St. *Auguſtin* expreſſes himſelf in the very Words that are cited in the Article, which he introduces with theſe words; *He that does not abide in Chriſt, and in whom Chriſt does not abide, certainly does not ſpiritually eat his Fleſh, nor drink his Blood, tho he may viſibly and carnally preſs with his Teeth the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt: But he rather eats and drinks the Sacrament of ſo great a Matter to his Condemnation.* And in another Place he ſays, *Neither are they* (ſpeaking of vitious Perſons) *to be ſaid to eat the Body of Chriſt, becauſe they are not his Members*; to which he adds, *He that ſays, Whoſo eats my Fleſh and drinks my Blood abides in me and I in him, ſhews what it is not only in a Sacrament, but truly to eat the Body of Chriſt and to drink his Blood.* He has upon another Occaſion thoſe frequently cited Words, ſpeaking of the difference between the other Diſciples and *Judas* in receiving this Sacrament, *Theſe did eat the Bread, that was the Lord (panem Dominum) but he the Bread of the Lord againſt the Lord (panem Domini contra Dominum).*

Lib 21. de Civ. Dei. c. 25.

Tract. 54. in Joan.

To all this a great deal might be added to ſhew, that this was the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church, even after *Damaſcene*'s Opinion, concerning the Aſſumption of the Elements into an Union with the Body of Chriſt, was received among them: But more needs not be ſaid concerning this, ſince it will be readily granted, that if we are in the Right in the main Point of denying the corporal Preſence, that this will fall with it.

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ARTICLE XXX.

Of both Kinds.

The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to Lay People. For both Parts of the Sacrament by Christ's Ordinance and Commandment, ought to be ministred to all Christian Men alike.

THere is not any one of all the Controverſies that we have with the Church of *Rome*, in which the deciſion ſeems more eaſie and ſhorter than this. The words of the Inſtitution are not only equally expreſs and poſitive as to both kinds, but the diverſity with which that part that relates to the *Cup* is ſet down, ſeems to be as clear a demonſtration for us, as can be had in a matter of this kind; and looks like a ſpecial direction given, to warn the Church againſt any corruption that might ariſe upon this Head. To all ſuch as acknowledg the Immediate Union of the Eternal Word with the Human Nature of Chriſt, and the Inſpiration by which the Apoſtles were conducted, it muſt be of great weight to find a Specialty marked as to the Chalice: of the Cup it is ſaid, *Drink ye all of it*; whereas of the Bread it is only ſaid, *Take, eat*; ſo we cannot think the word *all* was ſet down without deſign. It is alſo ſaid of the Cup, and *they all drank of it*; which is not ſaid of the Bread: We think it no piece of trifling nicety to obſerve this Specialty. The words added to the giving the Cup, are very particularly Emphatical. *Take, eat, This is my Body which is given for you*, is not ſo full an Expreſſion, as, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Teſtament which is ſhed for many, for the remiſſion of Sins.* If the ſureſt way to judg of the extent of any Precept, to which a reaſon is added, is to conſider the extent of the Reaſon, and to meaſure the extent of the Precept by that, then ſince all that do communicate, need the remiſſion of Sins, and a ſhare in the *New Covenant*, the reaſon that our Saviour joins to the diſtribution of the Cup, proves that they ought all to receive it. And if that Diſcourſe in St. *John* concerning the eating of Chriſt's Fleſh, and the drinking his Blood, is to be underſtood of the Sacrament, as moſt of the *Roman* Church affirm, then the *drinking Chriſt's Blood* is as neceſſary to *Eternal Life*, as the *eating his Fleſh*; by conſequence it is as neceſſary to receive the Cup as the Bread. And it is not eaſie to apprehend, why it ſhould ſtill be neceſſary to conſecrate in both kinds, and not likewiſe to receive in both kinds. It cannot be pretended that ſince the Apoſtles were all of the Sacred Order, therefore their receiving in both kinds is no Precedent for giving the Laity the Cup; for Chriſt gave them both kinds as they were Sinners, who were now to be admitted into Covenant with God by the Sacrifice of his Body and Blood. They were in that *to ſhew forth his death*, and were to *Take, eat, and drink in remembrance of him.* So that this Inſtitution was delivered to them as they were *Sinners*, and not as they were *Prieſts*. They were not conſtituted by Chriſt the Paſtors and Governours of his Church, till after his Reſurrection, when *he breathed on them, and laid his hands on them, and bleſſed them.* So that at this time they were only Chriſt's Diſciples and Witneſſes; who had been once ſent out by him on an extraordinary Commiſſion; but had yet no ſtated Character fixed upon them. Joh. 20. 22.

To this it is ſaid, that Chriſt by ſaying, *Do this*, conſtituted them *Prieſts*; ſo that they were no more of the Laity, when they received the Cup.

Art. 30. This is a new conceit taken up by the Schoolmen unknown to all Antiquity: There is no ſort of Tradition that ſupports this Expoſition; nor is there any reaſon to imagin, that *Do this*, ſignifies any other than a Precept to continue that Inſtitution, as a Memorial of Chriſt's Death; and *Do this*, takes in all that went before, *the taking*, *the giving*, as well as the *bleſſing*, and the *eating* the Bread: nor is there any reaſon to appropriate this to the Bleſſing only, as if by this the Conſecrating and Sacrificing Power were conferred on the Prieſts. From all which we conclude both that the Apoſtles were only Diſciples at large, without any ſpecial characters conferred on them when the Euchariſt was inſtituted, and that the Euchariſt was given to them only as Diſciples, that is, as Laymen.

The mention that is made in ſome places of the new Teſtament, only of *breaking of Bread*, can furniſh them with no Argument; for it is not certain that theſe do relate to the Sacrament: or if they did, it is not certain that they are to be underſtood ſtrictly; for by a Figure common to the Eaſtern Nations, *Bread* ſtands for all that belongs to a Meal: and if theſe places are applied to the Sacrament, and ought to be ſtrictly underſtood, they will prove too much, that the Sacrament may be conſecrated in one kind; and that the *breaking of Bread*, without the *Cup*, may be underſtood to be a compleat Sacrament. But when St. *Paul* ſpoke of this Sacrament, he does ſo diſtinctly mention the *drinking the Cup* as well as *eating the Bread*, that it is plain from him how the Apoſtles underſtood the words and intent of Chriſt, and how this Sacrament was received in that time.

From the Inſtitution and Command, which are expreſs and poſitive, we go next to conſider the nature of Sacramental Actions. They have no virtue in them, as Charms tyed either to Elements, or to words: they are only good becauſe commanded. A different ſtate of things may indeed juſtifie an alteration as to Circumſtances: The danger of *dipping* in cold Climates, may be a very good reaſon for changing the Form of Baptiſm to *Sprinkling*; and if Climates were inhabited by Chriſtians to which Wine could not be brought, we ſhould not doubt but that whenſoever God makes a real neceſſity of departing from any Inſtitution of his, he does thereby allow of ſuch a change as that neceſſity muſt draw after it: So we do not condemn the Licenſe that is ſaid to have been granted by Pope *Innocent* the Eighth, to celebrate without Wine in *Norway*; nor ſhould we deny a Man the Sacrament who had a natural and unconquerable averſion to Wine, or that Communicated being near his laſt Agonies, and that ſhould have the like averſion to either of the Elements. When thoſe things are real and not pretended, *Mercy is better then Sacrifice*. The punctual obſervance of a Sacramental Inſtitution, does only oblige us to the eſſential parts of it, and in ordinary Caſes: The pretence of what may be done, or has been done upon extraordinary occaſions, can never juſtifie the deliberate and unneceſſary alteration of an eſſential part of the Sacrament. The whole Inſtitution ſhews very plainly, that our Saviour meant that the *Cup* ſhould be conſidered, every whit as eſſential as *Bread*; and therefore we cannot but conclude from the nature of things, that ſince the Sacraments have only their effects from their Inſtitution, therefore ſo total a change of this Sacrament does plainly evacuate the Inſtitution, and by conſequence deſtroy the effect of it.

All reaſoning upon this Head is an arguing againſt the Inſtitution, as if Chriſt and his Apoſtles had not well enough conſidered it; but that 1200 years after them, a Conſequence ſhould be obſerved that till then had not been thought of, which made it reaſonable to alter the manner of it.

* The

The *Concomitance* is the great thing that is here urged, ſince it is believed that Chriſt is intirely under each of the Elements; and therefore it is not neceſſary that both ſhould be received, becauſe Chriſt is fully received in any one. But this ſubſiſts on the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*; ſo if that is falſe, then here upon a controverted opinion, an uncontroverted piece of the Inſtitution is altered. And if *Concomitance* is a certain conſequence of the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, then it is a very ſtrong Argument againſt the Antiquity of that Doctrine, that the World was ſo long without the notion of *Concomitance*; and therefore if *Tranſubſtantiation* had been ſooner received, the *Concomitance* would have been more early obſerved. The Inſtitution of the Sacrament ſeems to be ſo laid down, as rather to make us conſider the *Body* and *Blood* as in a ſtate of Separation, than of Concomitance; the *Body* being repreſented apart, and the *Blood* apart; and the *Body as broken*, and the *Blood as ſhed*. Therefore we conſider the deſign of the Sacrament is, to repreſent Chriſt to us as dead, and in his *Crucified* but not in his *Glorified* ſtate. And if the opinion be true that the Glorified Bodies are of another Texture than that of fleſh and Blood, which ſeems to be very plainly aſſerted by St. *Paul*, in a Diſcourſe intended to deſcribe the nature of the Glorified Bodies, then this Theory of Concomitance will fail upon that account. But whatſoever may be in that, an Inſtitution of Chriſt's muſt not be altered or violated, upon the account of an Inference that is drawn to conclude it needleſs. He who inſtituted it, knew beſt what was moſt fitting and moſt reaſonable; and we muſt chooſe rather to acquieſce in his Commands, than in our own reaſonings. *Art.* 30.

If next to the Inſtitution, and the Theory that ariſes from the nature of a Sacrament, we conſider the practice of the Chriſtian Church in all Ages, there is not any one point in which the Tradition of the Church is more expreſs, and more univerſal than in this particular, for above a thouſand years after Chriſt. All the accounts that we have of the Antient Rituals, both in *Juſtin Martyr*, *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, the *Conſtitutions*, and the pretended *Areopagite*, do expreſly mention both kinds as given ſeparately in the Sacrament. All the Antient Liturgies, as well theſe that go under the Names of the Apoſtles, as thoſe which are aſcribed to St. *Baſil* and St. *Chryſoſtom*, do mention this very expreſly: all the Offices of the Weſtern Church, both *Roman* and others; the Miſſals of the latter Ages, I mean down to the Twelfth Century, even the *Ordo Romanus*, believed by ſome to be a work of the Ninth, and by others of the Eleventh Century, are expreſs in mentioning the diſtribution of both kinds. All the Fathers, without excepting one, do ſpeak of it very clearly, as the univerſal practice of their Time. They do not ſo much as give a hint of any difference about it. So that from *Ignatius* down to *Thomas Aquinas*, there is not any one Writer that differs from the reſt in this point; and even *Aquinas* ſpeaks of the taking away the Chalice as the practice only of ſome Churches: other Writers of his time had not heard of any of theſe Churches; for they ſpeak of *both kinds* as the Univerſal practice.

Apol. 2. Catech. Miſt. 4ta. Conſt. Apoſt. l. 2. c. 57. Eccleſ. Hiera. c. 3. Aquin. Com. in 6. Johan. v. 53. In Summa, par. 9. quaſt. 80. art. 12.

But beſides this general concurrence there are ſome Specialties in this matter: in St. *Cyprian*'s time ſome thought it was not neceſſary to uſe *Wine* in the Sacrament, they therefore uſed *Water* only; and were from thence called *Aquarii*. It ſeems they found that their Morning Aſſemblies were ſmelt out by the *Wine* uſed in the Sacrament; and Chriſtians might be known by the ſmell of *Wine* that was ſtill about them: they therefore intended to avoid this, and ſo they had no Wine among them; which was a much weightier reaſon, than that of the Wine ſticking upon the Beards of the Laity. Yet St. *Cyprian* condemned this very ſeverely, in a long

Cyp. Ep. 63. ad Cecil.

Art. 30. long Epistle writ upon that occasion. He makes this the main Argument, and goes over it frequently, and that we ought to follow Christ, and do what he did: And he has those memorable words, *If it be not lawful to loose any one of the least Commands of Christ, how much more is it unlawful to break so great and so weighty a one; that does so very nearly relate to the Sacrament of our Lord's Passion, and of our Redemption; or by any Human Institution to change it, into that which is quite different from the Divine Institution?* This is so full that we cannot express our selves more plainly.

Among the other Profanations of the *Manicheans* this was one, that they came among the Assemblies of the Christians, and did receive the Bread, but they would not take any *Wine*; this is mentioned by Pope *Leo* in the Fifth Century: upon which Pope *Gelasius* hearing of it in his time, appointed that all Persons should either communicate in the Sacrament *intirely*, or be *intirely* excluded from it; for that such a dividing of one and the same Sacrament, might not be done without a heinous Sacriledge.

Leo Serm. 4. in Quadrag. Decret. de Consecr. dist. 2.

In the Seventh Century a practice was begun of *dipping* the *Bread* in the *Wine*, and so giving both kinds together. This was condemned by the Council of *Bracara*, as plainly contrary to the Gospel: *Christ gave his Body and Blood* to his Apostles *distinctly*, the *Bread by it self*, *and the Chalice by it self.* This is by a mistake of *Gratian's*, put in the Canon-Law as a Decree of Pope *Julius* to the Bishops of *Egypt*. It is probable that it was thus given first to the Sick and to Infants; but tho' this got among many of the Eastern Churches, and was it seems practised in some parts of the *West*, yet in the end of the Eleventh Century Pope *Urban* in the Council of *Clermont* Decreed, That none should communicate without taking the Body apart, and the Blood apart, except upon necessity, and with caution; to which some Copies add, and *that by reason of the Heresie of* Berengarius, *that was lately condemned, which said that the Figure was compleated by one of the kinds.*

Decret. de Consecr. dist. 2.

Concil. Claramont. Can. 28.

We need not examine the Importance or Truth of these last words, it is enough for us to observe the continued practice of Communicating in both kinds till the Twelfth Century; and even then when the Opinion of the Corporal Presence begot a Superstition towards the Elements, that had not been known in former Ages, so that some drops sticking to Mens Beards, and the spilling some of it, its freezing or becoming sowr, grew to be more considered than the Institution of Christ; yet for a while they used to suck it up through small Quills or Pipes (called *Fistulæ*, in the *Ordo Romanus*) which answered the Objection from the *Beards*.

In the Twelfth Century the Bread grew to be given generally *dipt in Wine*: The Writers of that time, tho' they justifie this practice, yet they acknowledge it to be contrary to the Institution. *Ivo* of *Chartres* says, the People did Communicate with *dipt Bread, not by authority but by necessity, for fear of spilling the Blood of Christ.* Pope *Innocent* the Fourth said that all might have the *Chalice* who were so cautious, that nothing of it should be spilt.

Euf. Hist. l. 6. c. 44.

Just. Mart. Apol. 2.

In the Antient Church the Instance of *Serapion* is brought to shew that the Bread alone was sent to the Sick, which he that carried it was ordered to *moisten* before he gave it him. *Justin Martyr* does plainly insinuate that both kinds were sent to the absents; so some of the *Wine* might be sent to *Serapion* with the Bread: and it is much more reasonable to believe this, than that the Bread was ordered to be dipt in *Water*; there being no such Instance in all History; whereas there are Instances brought to shew that both kinds were carried to the Sick. St. *Ambrose* received the Bread,

Paulinus in vita Ambros.

but

but expired before he received the Cup: This proves nothing but the weakneſs of the Cauſe that needs ſuch ſupports. Nor can any Argument be brought from ſome Words concerning the Communicating of the *Sick* or of *Infants*. Rules are made from ordinary, and not from extraordinary Practices. The ſmall Portions of the Sacrament that ſome carried *Home*, and reſerved to other Occaſions, does not prove that they communicated only in one kind. They received in *both*, only they kept (out of too much Superſtition) ſome Fragments of the *one*, which could be more eaſily and with leſs Obſervation ſaved and preſerved, than of the *other*: And yet there are Inſtances that they carried off ſome Portions of both kinds. The *Greek* Church communicates during moſt of the Days in *Lent* in *Bread dipt in Wine*; and in the *Ordo Romanus*, there is mention made of a particular Communion on *Good-Friday*: ſome of the Bread that had been formerly Conſecrated, was put into a Chalice with unconſecrated Wine. This was a Practice that was grounded on an Opinion that the unconſecrated Wine was ſanctified and conſecrated by the Contact of the Bread: And though they uſed not a formal Conſecration, yet they uſed other Prayers, which was all that the Primitive Church thought was neceſſary even to Conſecration; it being thought, even ſo late as *Gregory* the Great's time, that the Lord's Prayer was at firſt the Prayer of Conſecration. *Art.* 30.

Theſe are all the Colours which the ſtudies and ſubtilties of this Age have been able to produce for juſtifying the Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*; that does acknowledge that *Chriſt did inſtitute this Sacrament in both kinds, and that the faithful in the Primitive Church did receive in both kinds: Yet a Practice being reaſonably brought in to avoid ſome Dangers and Scandals, they appoint the Cuſtom to continue of conſecrating in both kinds, and of giving to the Laity only in one kind: Since Chriſt was entire and truly under each kind.* They eſtabliſhed this Practice, and ordered that it ſhould not be altered without the Authority of the Church. So late a Practice and ſo late a Decree canot make void the Command of Chriſt, nor be ſet in Oppoſition to ſuch a clear and univerſal Practice to the contrary. The Wars of *Boheme* that followed upon that Decree, and all that Scene of Cruelty which was acted upon *John Hus* and *Jerom* of *Prague*, at the firſt Eſtabliſhment of it, ſhews what Oppoſition was made to it even in dark Ages; and by Men that did not deny Tranſubſtantiation. Theſe prove that plain Senſe and clear Authorities are ſo ſtrong, even in dark and corrupt Times, as not to be eaſily overcome. And this may be ſaid concerning this Matter, that as there is not any one Point, in which the Church of *Rome* has acted more viſibly, contrary to the Goſpel, than in this; ſo there is not any one thing that has raiſed higher Prejudices againſt her, that has made more forſake her, and has poſſeſſed Mankind more againſt her, than this. This has coſt her dearer than any other. Conc. Conſtan. Seſs. 11.

ARTICLE XXXI.

Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.

The Offering of Christ once made, is that perfect Redemption, Propitiation and Satisfaction for all the Sins of the whole World both Original and Actual; and there is none other Satisfaction for Sin but that alone: Wherefore in the Sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of Pain and Guilt, were blasphemous Fables and dangerous Deceits.

IT were a mere question of Words to dispute concerning the term *Sacrifice*, to consider the Extent of that Word, and the many various respects in which the *Eucharist* may be called a *Sacrifice*. In general, all Acts of Religious Worship may be called *Sacrifices*, because somewhat is in them offered up to God: *Let my Prayer be set forth before thee as Incense, and the lifting up of my Hands as the evening Sacrifice. The Sacrifices of God are a broken Spirit: A broken and a contrite Heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.* These shew how largely this Word was used in the Old Testament: So in the New we are exhorted by him (that is, by Christ) *to offer the Sacrifice of Praise to God continually, that is, the Fruit of our Lips, giving Thanks to his Name.* A Christian's dedicating himself to the Service of God, is also expressed by the same Word of *presenting our Bodies a living Sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God:* All Acts of Charity are also called *Sacrifices, an odour of a sweet smell, a Sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God.* So in this large Sense we do not deny that the *Eucharist* is a *Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving:* And our Church calls it so in the Office of the Communion. In two other respects it may be also more strictly called a *Sacrifice*. One is, because there is an Oblation of Bread and Wine made in it, which being sanctified are consumed in an Act of Religion. To this many passages in the Writings of the Fathers do relate. This was the Oblation made at the Altar by the People: And though at first the Christians were reproached, as having a strange sort of a Religion in which they had neither *Temples*, *Altars* nor *Sacrifices*, because they had not those things in so gross a manner as the *Heathens* had, yet both *Clemens Romanus*, *Ignatius*, and all the succeeding Writers of the Church, do frequently mention the Oblations that they made: And in the Antient Liturgies they did with particular Prayers offer the Bread and Wine to God, as the Great Creator of all things: Those were called the Gifts or Offerings which were offered to God in imitation of *Abel*, who offered the Fruits of the Earth, in a Sacrifice to God. Both *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, the *Constitutions* and all the antient Liturgies, have very express Words relating to this. Another respect in which the *Eucharist* is called a *Sacrifice*, is, because it is a Commemoration and a Representation to God, of the Sacrifice that Christ offered for us on the Cross: In which we claim to that, as to our Expiation, and Feast upon it as our *Peace-offering*,

Psal. 141. 2.
Psal. 51. 17.
Hebr. 13. 15.
Rom. 12. 1.
Phil. 4. 10.

fering, according to that antient Notion that Covenants were confirmed by a *Sacrifice*, and were concluded in a *Feaſt on the Sacrifice*. Upon theſe Accounts we do not deny but that the *Euchariſt* may be well called a *Sacrifice*: But ſtill it is a commemorative *Sacrifice*, and not propitiatory: That is, we do not diſtinguiſh the *Sacrifice* from the *Sacrament*; as if the Prieſts conſecrating and conſuming the Elements, were in an eſpecial manner a *Sacrifice*, any other way, than as the communicating of others with him is one. Nor do we think that the conſecrating and conſuming the Elements, is an Act that does reconcile God to the *Quick and the Dead*: We conſider it only as a federal Act of profeſſing our Belief in the Death of Chriſt, and of renewing our Baptiſmal Covenant with him: The Virtue or effects of this are not General; they are limited to thoſe who go about this piece of Worſhip ſincerely and devoutly; they and they only are concerned in it, who go about it: And there is no ſpecial Propitiation made by this Service. It is only an Act of Devotion and Obedience, in thoſe that *eat and drink worthily*: and though in it they ought to pray for the whole Body of the Church, yet thoſe their Prayers do only prevail with God, as they are devout Interceſſions, but not by any peculiar Virtue in this Action. *Art.* 31.

On the other hand, the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* is, that the *Euchariſt* is the higheſt Act of Homage and Honour that Creatures can offer up to the Creator; as being an Oblation of the Son to the Father: So that whoſoever procures a Maſs to be ſaid, procures a new piece of Honour to be done to God, with which he is highly pleaſed; and for the ſake of which he will be reconciled to all that are concerned in the procuring ſuch Maſſes to be ſaid, whether they be ſtill on Earth, or if they are now in Purgatory: And that the Prieſt in offering and conſuming this *Sacrifice*, performs a true Act of Prieſthood by reconciling Sinners to God. Somewhat was already ſaid of this on the Head of Purgatory.

It ſeems very plain by the Inſtitution, that our Saviour as he bleſſed the Sacrament ſaid, *Take, eat*: St. *Paul* calls it a *Communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord*; and a *Partaking of the Lord's Table*: and he, through his whole Diſcourſe of it, ſpeaks of it as an Action of the Church and of all Chriſtians, but does not ſo much as by a Hint intimate any thing peculiar to the Prieſt. So that all that the Scripture has delivered to us concerning it, repreſents it as an Action of the whole Body, in which the Prieſt has no ſpecial ſhare but that of officiating. In the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* there is a very long Diſcourſe concerning *Sacrifices* and *Prieſts*, in order to the explaining of Chriſt's being both *Prieſt* and *Sacrifice*. There a Prieſt ſtands for a Perſon called and conſecrated to offer ſome living *Sacrifice*, and to ſlay it, and to make reconciliation of Sinners to God by the ſhedding, offering, or ſprinkling the Blood of the *Sacrifice*. This was the Notion that the *Jews* had of a Prieſt: And the Apoſtle deſigning to prove that the Death of Chriſt was a true *Sacrifice*, brings this for an Argument, that there was to be another Prieſthood after the *order of Melchiſedec*: He begins the fifth Chapter with ſettling the Notion of a Prieſt, according to the *Jewiſh* Ideas: Heb. 5. 10.

Art. 31. Ideas: And then he goes on to prove that Chriſt was ſuch a Prieſt, *called of God and Conſecrated.* But in this Senſe he appropriates the Prieſthood of the New Diſpenſation ſingly to Chriſt, in oppoſition to the many Prieſts of the Levitical Law; *And they truly were many* Prieſts, Heb. 7.24. becauſe *they were not ſuffered to continue, by reaſon of Death: But this Man, becauſe he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable Prieſthood.*

It is clear from the whole Thread of that Diſcourſe, that in the ſtricteſt Senſe of the Word, Chriſt himſelf is the only *Prieſt* under the Goſpel: and it is alſo no leſs evident that his Death is the only *Sacrifice*, in oppoſition to the many Oblations that were under the Moſaical Law, to take away Sin: Which appears very plain v. 27. from theſe Words, *Who needeth not daily as thoſe High-Prieſts to offer up Sacrifice, firſt for his own Sins, and then for the People; for this he did once when he offered up himſelf.* He oppoſes that to the Annual Expiation made by the *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt; *Chriſt entred in once to the Holy Place, having made Redemption for us by his own Blood.* 9. ch. 22. And having laid down that general Maxim, that *without ſhedding of* v. 28. *Blood there was no Remiſſion*, he ſays, *Chriſt was offered once to bear the Sins of many.* He puts a Queſtion to ſhew that all *Sacrifices* were 10. ch. now to ceaſe; *When the Worſhippers are once purged, then would not* v. 11. *Sacrifices ceaſe to be offered?* And he ends with this, as a full Con- v. 12. cluſion to that Part of his Diſcourſe: *Every Prieſt ſtands daily miniſtring and offering oftentimes the ſame Sacrifices, which can never take away Sin: But this Man after he had offered up one Sacrifice for Sins, for ever ſat down on the right Hand of God.* Here are not general Words, ambiguous Expreſſions, or remote Hints, but a Thread of a full and clear Diſcourſe, to ſhew that in the ſtrict Senſe of the Words, we have but one *Prieſt*, and likewiſe but one *Sacrifice* under the Goſpel: Therefore how largely ſoever thoſe Words of *Prieſt* or *Sacrifice* may have been uſed, yet according to the true Idea of a propitiatory *Sacrifice*, and of a *Prieſt* that reconciles Sinners to God, they cannot be applyed to any Acts of our Worſhip, or to any Order of Men upon Earth. Nor can the Value and Virtue of any inſtituted Act of Religion be carried by any Inferences or reaſonings, beyond that which is put in them by the Inſtitution: And therefore ſince the Inſtitution of this Sacrament has nothing in it, that gives us this Idea of it, we cannot ſet any ſuch Value upon it; and ſince the reconciling Sinners to God and the pardoning of Sin, are free Acts of his Grace, it is therefore a high Preſumption in any Man, to imagin they can do this by an Act of theirs, without Powers and Warrants for it from Scripture. Nor can this be pretended to without aſſuming a moſt Sacrilegious Sort of Power over the Attributes of God: Therefore all the Virtue that can be in the Sacrament, is that we do therein gratefully commemorate the *Sacrifice* of Chriſt's Death, and by renewed Acts of Faith, preſent that to God as our *Sacrifice*, in the Memorial of it, which he himſelf has appointed. By ſo doing we renew our Covenant with God, and ſhare in the Effects of that Death which he ſuffered for us. All the antient Liturgies have this as a main Part of the Office, that being mindful of the Death of Chriſt or commemorating it, they offered up the Gifts.

This

This is the Language of *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and of all the following Writers. They do compare this *Sacrifice* to that of *Melchiſedec*, who offered *Bread and Wine:* And though the Text imports only his *giving Bread and Wine to Abraham* and his Followers, yet they applied that generally to the Oblation of *Bread and Wine* that was made on the Altar: But this ſhews that they did not think of any Sacrifice made by the offering up of Chriſt. It was the Bread and the Wine only which they thought the Prieſts of the Chriſtian Religion did offer to God. And therefore it is remarkable, that when the Fathers anſwer the Reproach of the Heathens, who charged them with Irreligion and Impiety for having no *Sacrifices* among them, they never anſwer it by ſaying, That they offered up a *Sacrifice* of ineſtimable Value to God; which muſt have been the firſt Anſwer that could have occurred to a man poſſeſſed with the Ideas of the Church of *Rome*. On the contrary, *Juſtin Martyr* in his Apology ſays, *They had no other Sacrifices but Prayers and Praiſes:* And in his Dialogue with *Trypho* he confeſſes, That *Chriſtians offer to God Oblations, according to* Malachi's *Prophecy, when they celebrate the Euchariſt, in which they commemorate the Lord's Death.* Both *Athenagoras* and *Minutius Felix* juſtify the Chriſtians for having no other Sacrifices but pure Hearts, clean Conſciences, and a ſtedfaſt Faith. *Origen* and *Tertullian* refute the ſame Objection in the ſame manner: They ſet the Prayers of Chriſtians in oppoſition to all the Sacrifices that were among the Heathens. *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and *Arnobius*, write in the ſame ſtrain; and they do all make uſe of one Topick, to juſtify their offering no Sacrifices, That God who made all things, and to whom all things do belong, needs nothing from his Creatures. To multiply no more Quotations on this Head; *Julian* in his time objected the ſame thing to the Chriſtians, which ſhews that there was then no Idea of a *Sacrifice* among them; otherwiſe he who knew their Doctrine and Rites, had either not denied ſo poſitively as he did, their having Sacrifices; or at leaſt he had ſhewed how improperly the Euchariſt was called one. When *Cyril* of *Alexandria* towards the middle of the Fifth Century came to anſwer this, he inſiſts only upon the inward and ſpiritual Sacrifices that were offered by Chriſtians; which were ſutable to a pure and ſpiritual Eſſence, ſuch as the Divinity was, to take pleaſure in; and therefore he ſets that *in oppoſition to the Sacrifices of Beaſts, Birds, and of all other things whatſoever:* Nor does he ſo much as mention, even in a Hint, the Sacrifice of the Euchariſt; which ſhews that he did not conſider that as a Sacrifice that was propitiatory.

Art. 31.

Apol. 2.

Leg. pro Chriſt. Minut. in Octav. Lib. 8. con. Celſum. Tert. Apol. c. 30. Clem. Strom. l. 7. Arnob. lib. 7.

Cyr. Al. lib. 10. cont. Jul.

Theſe things do ſo plainly ſet before us the Ideas that the Firſt Ages had of this Sacrament, that to one who conſiders them duly, they do not leave ſo much as a doubt in this matter. All that they may ſay in Homilies, or Treatiſes of Piety, concerning the *Pure Offering* that according to *Malachi* all Chriſtians offered to God in the Sacrament, concerning the Sacrifice, and the unbloody Sacrifice of Chriſtians, muſt be underſtood to relate to the Prayers and Thankſgivings that accompanied it, to the Commemoration that was made in it of the Sacrifice offered once upon the Croſs, and finally to the Oblation of the Bread and Wine, which they ſo often compare both to *Abel*'s Sacrifice, and to *Melchiſedec*'s offering Bread and Wine.

It were eaſy to enlarge further on this Head; and from all the Rituals of the Antients to ſhew, that they had none of thoſe Ideas that are now in the *Roman* Church. They had but one *Altar* in a Church, and probably but one in a City: They had but one *Communion* in a day at that *Altar:* So far were they from the many *Altars* in every Church, and the many Maſſes at every Altar, that are now in the *Roman* Church. They did not

Art. 31. know what Solitary Maſſes were, without a Communion. All the Liturgies and all the Writings of the Antients are as expreſs in this matter as is poſſible. The whole Conſtitution of their Worſhip and Diſcipline ſhews it. Their Worſhip concluded always with the Euchariſt: Such as were not capable of it, as the *Catechumens*, and thoſe who were doing Publick Penance for their Sins, aſſiſted at the more general parts of the Worſhip; and ſo much of it was called their *Maſs*, becauſe they were diſmiſſed at the Concluſion of it. When that was done, then the Faithful ſtaid, and did partake of the Euchariſt; and at the concluſion of it they were likewiſe diſmiſſed; from whence it came to be called the *Maſs of the Faithful.* The great Rigor of Penance was thought to conſiſt chiefly in this, That ſuch Penitents might not ſtay with the Faithful to communicate. And though this ſeems to be a Practice begun in the Third Century, yet both from *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian* it is evident, that all the Faithful did conſtantly communicate. There is a Canon among thoſe which go under the name of the Apoſtles, againſt ſuch as came and aſſiſted in the other parts of the Service, and did not partake of the Euchariſt: The ſame thing was decreed by the Council of *Antioch:* And it appears by the *Conſtitutions*, That a Deacon was appointed to ſee that no man ſhould go out, and a Subdeacon was to ſee that no Woman ſhould go out during the Oblation. The Fathers do frequently allude to the Word *Communion*, to ſhew that the Sacrament was to be common to all. It is true, in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s time, the Zeal that the Chriſtians of the former Ages had to communicate often, began to ſlacken; ſo that they had thin Communions, and few Communicants: againſt which that Father raiſes himſelf with his Pathetick Eloquence, in words which do ſhew that he had no Notion of Solitary Maſſes, or of the Lawfulneſs of them. And it is very evident that the Neglect of the Sacrament in thoſe who came not to it, and the Prophanation of it by thoſe who came unworthily, both which grew very ſcandalous at that time, ſet that Holy and Zealous Biſhop to many Eloquent and Sublime Strains concerning it, which cannot be underſtood, without making thoſe Abatements that are due to a copious and *Aſiatick* ſtile, when much inflamed by Devotion.

Can. 9. Apoſt.

Con. Antioch. Can. 2.

Conſt. Apoſt. l. 8. cap. 11.

Hom. 3. in Ep. ad Eph Lib. 2.

In the ſucceeding Ages we find great Care was taken to ſuffer none that did not communicate, to ſtay in the Church, and to ſee the Myſteries. There is a Rubrick for this in the Office mentioned by *Gregory* the Great. The Writers of the Ninth Century go on in the ſame Strain. It was decreed by the Council of *Mentz* in the end of *Charles* the Great's Reign, That no Prieſt ſhould ſay Maſs alone; for how could he ſay, *The Lord be with you*, or, *Lift up your hearts*, if there was no other Perſon there beſides himſelf? This ſhews that the practice of Solitary Maſſes was then begun, but that it was diſliked. *Walafridus Strabus* ſays, That to a lawful Maſs it was neceſſary that there ſhould be a Prieſt, together with one to anſwer, one to offer, and one to communicate. And the Author of *Micrologus*, who is believed to have writ about the End of the Eleventh Century, does condemn Solitary Communions as contrary both to the Practice of the Antients, and to the ſeveral parts of the Office: So that till the Twelfth Century it was never allowed of in the *Roman* Church; as to this day it is not practiſed in any other Communion.

Dialog. Conc. Mogunt. Can. 43.

Walaf. Strab. de rebus Eccleſ. c. 22.

But then with the Doctrine of Purgatory and Tranſubſtantiation mixt together, the ſaying of Maſſes for other Perſons, whether alive or dead, grew to be conſidered as a very meritorious thing, and of great Efficacy: Thereupon great Endowments were made, and it became a Trade. Maſſes were ſold, and a ſmall Piece of Money became their Price: So that a prophane

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ſort of *Simony* was ſet up, and the holieſt of all the Inſtitutions of the Chriſtian Religion was expoſed to Sale. Therefore we, in cutting off all this, and in bringing the Sacrament to be according to its firſt Inſtitution, a Communion, have followed the Words of our Saviour, and the conſtant Practice of the whole Church for the firſt Ten Centuries. *Art.* 31.

So far all the Articles that relate to this Sacrament have been conſidered. The variety of the Matter, and the Important Controverſies that have ariſen out of it, has made it neceſſary to enlarge with ſome Copiouſneſs upon the ſeveral Branches of it. Next to the Infallibility of the Church, this is the deareſt piece of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*; and is that in which both Prieſts and People are better inſtructed, than in any other Point whatſoever; and therefore this ought to be ſtudied on our ſide with a Care proportioned to the Importance of it: That ſo we may govern both our ſelves and our People aright, in a matter of ſuch Conſequence; avoiding with great Caution the Extremes on both hands, both of exceſſive Superſtition on the one hand, and of Prophane Neglect on the other: For the nature of Man is ſo moulded, that it is not eaſy to avoid the one, without falling into the other. We are now viſibly under the Extreme of Neglect, and therefore we ought to ſtudy by all means poſſible to inſpire our People with a juſt Reſpect for this Holy Inſtitution, and to animate them to deſire earneſtly to partake often of it; and in order to that, to prepare themſelves ſeriouſly to ſet about it with the Reverence and Devotion, and with thoſe Holy Purpoſes and Solemn Vows that ought to accompany it.

ARTICLE XXXII.

Of the Marriage of Prieſts.

Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law either to vow the Eſtate of Single Life, or to abſtain from Marriage: Therefore it is lawful for them, as well as for all Chriſtian Men, to Marry at their own diſcretion, as they ſhall judg the ſame to ſerve better to Godlineſs.

THE firſt Period of this Article, to the word (**Therefore**) was all that was publiſhed in King *Edward*'s time. They were content to lay down the Aſſertion, and left the Inference to be made as a Conſequence that did naturally ariſe out of it. There was not any one Point that was more ſeverely examined at the time of the Reformation than this: For as the irregular Practices and diſſolute Lives of both Seculars and Regulars, had very much prejudiced the World againſt the Celibate of the *Roman* Clergy, which was conſidered as the occaſion of all thoſe Diſorders; ſo on the other hand, the Marriage of the Clergy, and alſo of thoſe of both Sexes who had taken Vows, gave great Offence. They were repreſented as Perſons that could not maſter their Appetites, but that indulged themſelves in Carnal Pleaſures and Intereſts. Thus as the Scandals of the Unmarried Clergy had alienated the World much from them; ſo the Marriage of moſt of the Reformers was urged as an ill Character both of them and of the Reformation; as a Doctrine of Libertiniſm, that made the Clergy look too like the reſt of the World, and involved them in the common Pleaſures, Concerns, and Paſſions of Human Life.

The Appearances of an Auſterity of Habit, of a Severity of Life in watching and faſting, and of avoiding the common Pleaſures of Senſe, and the Delights of Life that was on the other ſide, did ſtrike the World, and inclined many to think, that what ill conſequences ſoever *Celibate* produced, yet that theſe were much more ſupportable, and more eaſy to be reformed, than the ill conſequences of an unreſtrained Permiſſion of the Clergy to marry.

In treating this matter, we muſt firſt conſider *Celibate* with relation to the Laws of Chriſt, and the Goſpel; and then with relation to the Laws of the Church. It does not ſeem contrary to the Purity of the Worſhip of God, or of Divine Performances, that Married Perſons ſhould officiate in them; ſince by the Law of *Moſes* Prieſts not only might marry, but the Prieſthood was tied to deſcend as an Inheritance in a certain Family. And even the High-Prieſt, who was to perform the great Function of the Annual Atonement that was made for the Sins of the whole *Jewiſh* Nation, was to marry, and he derived to his Deſcendents that Sacred Office. If there was ſo much as a remote unſutableneſs between a Married State and Sacerdotal Performances, we cannot imagine that God would by a Law tie the Prieſthood to a Family, which by conſequence laid an Obligation on the Prieſts to marry. When Chriſt choſe his Twelve Apoſtles, ſome of them were married men; we are ſure at leaſt that St. *Peter* was; ſo that he made no diſtinction, and gave no preference to the unmarried: Our Saviour did no where charge them to forſake their Wives; nor did he at all repreſent *Celibate* as neceſſary to the *Kingdom of Heaven*, or the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel: He ſpeaks indeed of ſome that brought themſelves to the ſtate of Eunuchs for *the ſake of the Goſpel*; but in that he left all men at full li-

Matth. 19. 10, 11, 12.

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berty, by saying, *Let him receive it that is able to receive it*; so that in this every man must judg of himself, by what he finds himself to be. That is equally recommended to all Ranks of men, as they can bear it. St. *Paul* does affirm, That *Marriage is honourable in all*; and to avoid Uncleanness, he says, *It is better to marry than to burn*; and so gives it as a Rule, That *every man should have his own Wife.* Among all the Rules or Qualifications of Bishops or Priests, that are given in the New Testament, particularly in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, there is not a word of the Celibate of the Clergy, but plain Intimations to the contrary, That they were and might be married. That of *the Husband of one Wife*, is repeated in different places: Mention is also made of the *Wives* and *Children* of the Clergy, Rules being given concerning them; and not a word is so much as insinuated, importing that this was only tolerated in the beginnings of Christianity, but that it was afterwards to cease: On the contrary, the *forbidding to marry*, is given as a Character of the Apostacy of the later times. We find *Aquila*, when he went about preaching the Gospel, was not only married to *Priscilla*, but that he carried her about with him: Not to insist on that Privilege that St. *Paul* thought he might have claimed, of *carrying about with him a Sister and a Wife, as well as the other Apostles.* And thus the first Point seems to be fully cleared, That by no Law of God the Clergy are debarr'd from Marriage. There is not one word in the whole Scriptures that does so much as hint at it; whereas there is a great deal to the contrary.

Art. 32. Heb. 13. 4. 1 Cor. 7. 9. 1 Tim. 3. 2, 4, 5, 12. 1 Tim. 4. 3. 1 Cor. 9. 5.

Marriage being then one of the Rights of Human Nature, to which so many reasons of different sorts may carry both a wise and a good man, and there being no positive Precept in the Gospel that forbids it to the Clergy; the next question is, Whether it is in the Power of the Church to make a perpetual Law, restraining the Clergy from Marriage? It is certain that no Age of the Church can make a Law to bind succeeding Ages; for whatsoever Power the Church has, she is always in possession of it; and every Age has as much Power as any of the former Ages had. Therefore if any one Age should by a Law enjoin Celibate to the Clergy, any succeeding Age may repeal and alter that Law. For ever since the Inspiration that conducted the Apostles has ceased, every Age of the Church may make or change Laws in all matters that are within their Authority. So it seems very clear, that the Church can make no perpetual Law upon this Subject.

In the next place it may be justly doubted, Whether the Church can make a Law that shall restrain all the Clergy in any of those Natural Rights in which Christ has left them free. The adding a Law upon this Head to the Laws of Christ, seems to assume an Authority that he has not given the Church. It looks like a pretending to a strain of Purity, beyond the Rules set us in the Gospel; and is plainly the laying a Yoke upon us which must be thought Tyrannical, since the Author of this Religion, who knew best what Human Nature is capable of, and what it may well bear, has not thought fit to lay it on those whom he sent upon a Commission that required a much greater Elevation of Soul, and more Freedom from the Entanglements of Worldly or Domestick Concerns, than can be pretended to be necessary for the standing and settled Offices in the Church. Therefore we conclude, That it were a great Abuse of Church-Power, and a high Act of Tyranny, for any Church, or any Age of the Church, to bar men from the Services in the Church, because they either are married, or intend to keep themselves free to marry, or not, as they please. This does indeed bring the Body of the Clergy more into a Combination among themselves; it does take them

Art. 32. them in a great meaſure off from having ſeparated Intereſts of their own; it takes them out of the Civil Society, in which they have leſs concern, when they give no Pledges to it. And ſo in Ages in which the Papacy intended to engage the whole Prieſthood into its Intereſts againſt the Civil Powers, as the Immunity and Exemptions of the Clergy made them ſafe in their own Perſons, ſo it was neceſſary to free them from any ſuch Incumbrances or Appendages by which they might be in the Power or at the Mercy of Secular Princes. This, joined with the belief of their *making God* with a few words, by the virtue of their Character, and of their *forgiving Sin*, was like Armour of Proof, by which they were invulnerable, and by conſequence capable of undertaking any thing that might be committed to them. But this may well recommend ſuch a Rule to a Crafty and Deſigning Body of Men, in which it is not to be denied, that there is a deep and refined Policy; yet we *have not ſo learned Chriſt*, nor to *handle the Word of God*, or the Authority that he has truſted to us, *deceitfully*.

As for the Conſequences of ſuch Laws, Inconveniences are on both hands: As long as men are corrupt themſelves, ſo long they will abuſe all the Liberties of Human Nature. If not only common Lewdneſs in all the kinds of it, but even brutal and unnatural Luſts, have been the viſible Conſequences of the ſtrict Law of Celibate; and if this appears ſo evident in Hiſtory that it cannot be denied; we think it better to truſt Human Nature with the lawful uſe of that in which God has not reſtrained it, than to venture on that which has given occaſion to Abominations that cannot be mentioned without horror. As for the Temptation to Covetouſneſs, we think it is neither ſo great nor ſo unavoidable upon the one hand, as thoſe monſtrous ones are on the other. It is more reaſonable to expect Divine Aſſiſtances to preſerve men from Temptations, when they are uſing thoſe Liberties which God has left free to them, than when by pretending to a Purity greater than that which he has commanded, they throw themſelves into many Snares. It is alſo very evident, that Covetouſneſs is an effect of Mens Tempers, rather than of their Marriage, ſince the Inſtances of a ravenous Covetouſneſs, and of a reſtleſs Ambition, in behalf of mens Kindred and Families, hath appeared as often and as ſcandalouſly among the *Unmarried*, as among the *Married Clergy*.

From theſe general Conſiderations concerning the Power that the Church has to make either a Perpetual or an Univerſal Law in a thing of this kind; I ſhall in the next place conſider in ſhort, What the Church has done in this matter. In the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, *Baſilides* and *Saturninus*, and after them, both *Montanus* and *Novatus*, and the Sect of the *Encratites*, condemned Marriage as a ſtate of Libertiniſm that was unbecoming the Purity required of Chriſtians. Againſt thoſe we find the Fathers aſſerted the Lawfulneſs of Marriage to all Chriſtians, without making a difference between the Clergy and the Laity. It is true, the appearances that were in *Montanus* and his Followers, ſeem to have engaged the Chriſtians of that Age to ſtrain beyond them in thoſe things that gave them their Reputation: Many of *Tertullian*'s Writings, that Criticks do now ſee were writ after he was a *Montaniſt*, which ſeems not to have been obſerved in that Age, carry the matter of Celibate ſo high, that it is no wonder, if conſidering the Reputation that he had, a Bias was given by theſe to the following Ages in favour of Celibate. Yet it ſeemed to give great and juſt Prejudices againſt the Chriſtian Religion, if ſuch as had come into the Service of the Church ſhould have forſaken their Wives. It is viſible how much Scandal this might have given, and what matter of Reproach it would have furniſhed their Enemies with, if they could have charged them

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with this, That men to get rid of their Wives, and of the Care of their Families, went into Orders; that ſo under a pretence of a higher degree of Sanctity, they might abandon their Families. Therefore great care was taken to prevent this. They were ſo far from requiring Prieſts to forſake their Wives, that ſuch as did it upon their entring into Orders, were ſeverely condemned by the Canons that go under the name of the *Apoſtles*. They were alſo condemned by the Council of *Gangra* in the Fourth Century, and by that of *Trullo* in the Seventh Age. There are ſome Inſtances brought of Biſhops and Prieſts, who are ſuppoſed to have married after they were ordained; but as there are only few of thoſe, ſo perhaps they are not well proved. It muſt be acknowledged that the general practice was, that men once in Orders did not marry. But many Biſhops in the beſt Ages lived ſtill with their Wives: So did the Fathers both of *Gregory Nazianzen* and of *St. Baſil*. And among the Works of *Hilary* of *Poictiers*, there is a Letter writ by him in his Exile to his Daughter *Abra*, in which he refers her to her Mothers Inſtruction in thoſe things which ſhe by reaſon of her Age did not then underſtand; which ſhews that ſhe was then very young, and ſo was probably born after he was a Biſhop. *Art.* 32.

Some propoſed in the Council of *Nice*, That the Clergy ſhould depart from their Wives; but *Paphnutius*, though himſelf unmarried, oppoſed this as the laying an unreaſonably heavy Yoke upon them. *Heliodorus* a Biſhop, the Author of the firſt of thoſe Love-Fables that are now known by the name of *Romances*, being upon that account accuſed of too much Levity, did in order to the clearing himſelf of that Imputation, move that Clergymen ſhould be obliged to live from their Wives. Which the Hiſtorian ſays they were not tied to before; for till then Biſhops lived with their Wives. So that in thoſe days the living in a married ſtate was not thought unbecoming the Purity of the Sacred Functions. A ſingle Marriage was never objected in bar to a mans being made Biſhop or Prieſt. They did not indeed admit a man to Orders that had been *twice married*; but even for this there was a diſtinction: If a man had been once married before his Baptiſm, and was once married after his Baptiſm, that was reckoned only a ſingle Marriage; for what had been done when in Heatheniſm, went for nothing: And *Jerome* ſpeaking of Biſhops who had been twice married, but by this Nicety were reckoned to be the *Husbands of one Wife*, ſays, *The number of thoſe of this ſort in that time could not be reckoned; and that more ſuch Biſhops might be found, than were at the Council of Arimini.* Canons grew to be frequently made againſt the Marriage of thoſe in Holy Orders; but theſe were poſitive Laws made chiefly in the *Roman* and *African* Synods: and ſince thoſe Canons were ſo often renewed, we may from thence conclude that they were not well kept. When *Syneſius* was ordained Prieſt, he tells in an Epiſtle of his, That he declared openly, that he would not live ſecretly with his Wife, as ſome did; but that he would dwell publickly with her, and wiſhed that he might have many Children by her. In the *Eaſtern* Church the Prieſts are uſually married before they are ordained, and continue afterwards to live with their Wives, and to have Children by them, without either Cenſure or Trouble. In the *Weſtern* Church we find mention made both in the *Gallican* and *Spaniſh* Synods, of the Wives both of Biſhops and Prieſts; and they are called *Epiſcopæ* and *Presbyteræ*. In the *Saxon* times the Clergy in moſt of the Cathedrals of *England* were openly married: And when *Dunſtan*, who had engaged King *Edgar* to favour the Monks, in oppoſition to the married Clergy, preſſed them to forſake their Wives, they refuſed to do it, and ſo were turned out of their Benefices, and Monks came in their places. Nor Socr. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 12.

was

Art. 32. was the Celibate generally impoſed on all the Clergy, before *Gregory* the Seventh's time, in the end of the Eleventh Century. He had great deſigns for ſubjecting all Temporal Princes to the Papacy; and in order to that, he intended to bring the Clergy into an entire dependence upon himſelf, and to ſeparate them wholly from all other Intereſts but thoſe of the Eccleſiaſtical Authority: And that he might load the married Clergy with an odious Name, he called them all *Nicolaitans*: Though the accounts that the Antients give us of that Sect, ſay nothing that related to this matter: But a name of an ill ſound goes a great way in an Ignorant Age. The Writers that lived near that time, condemn this ſeverity againſt the married Clergy, as a new and a raſh thing, and contrary to the mind of the holy Fathers; and they tax his rigor in turning them all out. Yet *Lanfranc* among us did not impoſe the Celibate generally on all the Clergy, but only on thoſe that lived at Cathedrals and in Towns: He connived at thoſe who ſerved in Villages. *Anſelm* carried it farther, and impoſed it on all the Clergy without exception: Yet he himſelf laments that unnatural Luſts were become then both common and publick: Of which *Petrus Damiani* made great complaints in *Gregory* the Seventh's time. *Bernard* in a Sermon preached to the Clergy of *France*, ſays it was common in his time, and then even *Biſhops* with *Biſhops* lived in it. The Obſervation that Abbot *Panormitan* made, of the progreſs of that horrid Sin, led him to wiſh that it might be left free to the Clergy to marry, as they pleaſed. *Pius* the *Second* ſaid that there might have been good reaſons for impoſing the Celibate on the Clergy, but he believed there were far better reaſons for leaving them to their liberty. As a remedy to theſe more enormous Crimes, Diſpenſations for Concubinate became ſo common, that inſtead of giving ſcandal by them, they were rather conſidered as the Characters of Modeſty and Temperance: In ſuch Concubinary Prieſts the World judged themſelves ſafe from Practices on their own Families.

When we conſider thoſe effects that followed on the impoſing the Celibate on the Clergy, we cannot but look on them as much greater evils than thoſe that can follow on the leaving it free to them to marry. It is not to be denied but that on the other hand, the effects of a freedom to marry may be likewiſe bad: That State does naturally involve men in the cares of Life, in Domeſtick Concerns, and it brings with it Temptations both to Luxury and Covetouſneſs. It carries with it too great a diſpoſition to heap up Wealth, and to raiſe Families: and in a word, it makes the Clergy both look too like, and live too like the reſt of the World. But when things of this kind are duly balanced, ill effects will appear on both hands: Thoſe ariſe out of the general Corruption of Human Nature; which does ſo ſpread it ſelf, that it will corrupt us in the moſt innocent and in the moſt neceſſary practices. There are Exceſſes committed in Eating, Drinking, and Sleeping. Our depraved Inclinations will inſinuate themſelves into us in our beſt Actions: Even the publick Worſhip of God and all Devotion receive a taint from them. But we muſt not take away thoſe Liberties, in which God has left human Nature free, and engage men to Rules and Methods that put a Violence upon Mankind: This is the leſs excuſable, when we ſee in Fact what the conſequences of ſuch reſtraints have been for many Ages.

Yet after all, though they who *marry, do well*; yet thoſe *who marry not do better*, provided they live chaſt, and do not *burn*. That man who ſubdues his Body by faſting and Prayer, by Labour and Study, and that ſeparates himſelf from the concerns of a Family, that *he may give himſelf wholly to the miniſtry of the Word, and to Prayer*, that lives at a diſtance

Acts 6. 4.

from

from the Levities of the World, and in a courſe of native modeſty and unaffected ſeverity, is certainly a burning and ſhining Light: He is above the World, free from cares and deſigns, from aſpirings, and all thoſe reſtleſs Projects which have ſo long given the World ſo much ſcandal: And therefore thoſe who allow themſelves the liberty of Marriage, according to the Laws of God and the Church, are indeed engaged in a ſtate of many Temptations; to which if they give way, they lay themſelves open to many Cenſures; and they bring a Scandal on the Reformation for allowing them this Liberty, if they abuſe it. *Art.* 32.

It remains only to conſider how far this matter is altered by Vows; how far it is lawful to make them; and how far they bind when they are made. It ſeems very unreaſonable and tyrannical to put Vows on any, in matters in which it may not be in their power to keep them without ſin. No Vows ought to be made, but in things that are either abſolutely in our power, or in things in which we may procure to our ſelves thoſe Aſſiſtances that may enable us to perform them. We have a federal Right to the Promiſes that Chriſt has made us, of inward Aſſiſtances to enable us to perform thoſe Conditions that he has laid on us; and therefore we may vow to obſerve them, becauſe we may do that which may procure us Aids ſufficient for the execution of them. But if men will take up Reſolutions that are not within thoſe neceſſary Conditions, they have no reaſon to promiſe themſelves ſuch Aſſiſtances: And if they are not ſo abſolutely Maſters of themſelves, as to be able to ſtand to them without thoſe helps, and yet are not ſure that they ſhall be given them, then they ought to make no Vow in a matter which they cannot keep by their own Natural Strength, and in which they have not any Promiſe in the Goſpel that aſſures them of Divine Aſſiſtances to enable them to keep it. This is therefore a tempting of God, when men pretend to ſerve him, by aſſuming a ſtricter Courſe of Life than either he has commanded, or they are able to go through with. And it may prove a great Snare to them, when by ſuch raſh Vows they are engaged into ſuch a ſtate of Life, in which they live in conſtant Temptations to Sin, without either Command or Promiſe, on which they can reſt as to the execution of them.

This is to *lead themſelves into Temptation*, in oppoſition to that which our Saviour has made a Petition of that Prayer which he himſelf has taught us. Out of this, great diſtractions of Mind, and a variety of different Temptations may, and probably will ariſe; and that the rather, becauſe the Vow is made; there being ſomewhat in our Natures that will always ſtruggle the harder, becauſe they are reſtrained. It is certain that every man who dedicates himſelf to the Service of God, ought to try if he can dedicate himſelf ſo entirely to it, as to live out of all the Concerns and Entanglements of Life. If he can maintain his Purity in it, he will be enabled thereby to labour the more effectually, and may expect both the greater Succeſs here, and a fuller Reward hereafter. But becauſe both his Temper and his Circumſtances may ſo change, that what is an advantage to him in one part of his Life, may be a ſnare and an Incumbrance to him in another part of it, he ought therefore to keep this matter ſtill in his own power, and to continue in that *Liberty* in which God has left him *free*, that ſo he may do as he ſhall find it to be moſt expedient for himſelf, and for the work of the Goſpel.

Therefore it is to be concluded, That it is unlawful either to impoſe, or to make ſuch Vows. And ſuppoſing that any have been engaged in them, more perhaps out of the Importunity or Authority of others, than their own choice; then, though it is certainly a Character of a man that ſhall

Art. 32. dwell in God's holy Hill, That though *he ſwears to his own hurt, yet he changes not*; he is to conſider whether he can keep ſuch a Vow, without breaking the Commandments of God, or not: If he can, then certainly he ought to have that regard to the Name of God, that was called upon in the Vow, and to the Solemnities of it, and to the Scandals that may follow upon his breaking it, that if he can continue in that ſtate without ſinning againſt God, he ought to do it, and to endeavour all he can to keep his Vow, and preſerve his Purity: But if after he has uſed both Faſting and Prayer, he ſtill finds that the obligation of his Vow is a ſnare to him, and that he cannot both keep it, and alſo keep the Commandments of God; then the two Obligations, that of the Law of God, and that of his Vow, happening to ſtand in one anothers way, certainly the leſſer muſt give place to the greater. *Herod*'s Oath was ill, and raſhly made, but worſe kept, when *for his Oath's ſake* he ordered the Head of *John the Baptiſt* to be cut off. Our Saviour condemns that practice among the *Jews*, of vowing that to the *Corban* or Treaſure of the Temple, which they ought to have given to their Parents, and imagining that by ſuch means they were not obliged to take care of them, or to ſupply them. The obligation to keep the Commandments of God is indiſpenſible, and antecedent to any Act or Vow of ours, and therefore it cannot be made void by any Vow that we may take upon us: And if we are under a Vow which expoſes us to Temptations that do often prevail, and that probably will prevail long upon us, then we ought to repent of our raſhneſs in making any ſuch Vow; but muſt not continue in the obſervation of it, if it proves to us like the taking Fire into our Boſom, or the handling of Pitch. A Vow that draws many Temptations upon us, that are above our ſtrength to reſiſt them, is certainly much better broken and repented of, than kept. So that to conclude, Celibate is not a matter fit to be the Subject either of a Law or a Vow; every man muſt conſider himſelf, and what he is able to receive: *He that marries does well, but he that marries not does better.*

Pſal. 15. 4.

Matth. 14. 9. Matth. 15. 5.

* ARTICLE

ARTICLE XXXIII.

Of Excommunicate Perſons, how they are to be avoided.

That perſon which by open denunciation of the Church, is rightly cut off from the Unity of the Church, and Excommunicate; ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the Faithful as a Heathen and a Publican: Until he be openly reconciled by penance, and be received into the Church by a Judge that hath Authority thereunto. 1

ALL Chriſtians are obliged to a ſtrict purity and Holineſs of Life: And every private man is bound to avoid all unneceſſary familiarities with Bad and Vicious men: Both becauſe he may be inſenſibly corrupted by theſe, and becauſe the World will be from thence diſpoſed to think that he takes pleaſure in ſuch Perſons, and in their Vices. What every ſingle Chriſtian ought to ſet as a Rule to himſelf, ought to be likewiſe made the Rule of all Chriſtians, as they are conſtituted in a Body under Guides and Paſtors. And as in general, ſevere Denunciations ought to be often made of the Wrath and Judgments of God againſt Sinners; ſo if any that is called a *Brother*, that is, a Chriſtian, lives in a courſe of Sin and Scandal, they ought to give warning of ſuch a Perſon, to all the other Chriſtians, that they may not ſo much *as eat with him*, but may *ſeparate* themſelves from him. 1 Cor. 5. 11.

In this, private perſons ought to avoid the Moroſeneſs and Affectation of ſaying, *Stand by, for I am holier than thou: If one is overtaken in a fault, then thoſe who are ſpiritual ought to reſtore ſuch a one in the ſpirit of meekneſs:* Every one conſidering himſelf, *leſt he be alſo tempted.* Exceſſive Rigor will be always ſuſpected of Hypocriſy, and may drive thoſe on whom it falls, either into Deſpair on the One hand, or into an Unmanageable Licentiouſneſs on the Other. Gal. 6. 1.

The Nature of all Societies muſt import this, That they have a Power to maintain themſelves according to the Deſign and Rules of their Society. A Combination of men made upon any bottom whatſoever, muſt be ſuppoſed to have a Right to exclude out of their Number, ſuch as may be a Reproach to it, or a Mean to diſſolve it: And it muſt be a main part of the Office and Duty of the Paſtors of the Church, to ſeparate the Good from the Bad, to warn the Unruly, and to put from among them wicked perſons. There are ſeveral Conſiderations that ſhew not only the Lawfulneſs, but the Neceſſity of ſuch a Practice.

Firſt, That the Contagion of an ill Example, and of bad Practices, may not ſpread too far to the corrupting of others: *Evil communications corrupt good manners.* Their *Doctrines will eat and ſpread as a Gangrene.* And therefore in order to the preſerving the purity of thoſe who are not yet corrupted, it may be neceſſary to *note* ſuch perſons, and to *have no company with them.* 2 Tim. 2. 17. 2 Theſſ. 3. 14.

A Second Reaſon relates to the perſons themſelves, that are ſo ſeparated, that they may be *aſhamed:* That they may be thus *pulled out of the fire* by the terror of ſuch a proceeding, which ought to be done by *Mourning* over them, Lamenting their Sins, and Praying for them. Jude 23 v. 1 Cor. 5. 2, 5, 7. 2 Cor. 2.

The Apoſtles made uſe even of thoſe extraordinary Powers that were given to them for this end. St. *Paul* delivered *Hymenæus* and *Alexander* unto *Satan, that they might learn not to blaſpheme.* And he ordered that the 1, 2, 3. 1 Tim. 1. 20.

Art. 33. inceſtuous perſon at *Corinth, ſhould be delivered to Satan for the deſtruction of the fleſh, that the Spirit might be ſaved in the day of the Lord Jeſus.* Certainly a Vicious indulgence to Sinners is an encouragement to them to live in Sin: whereas when others about them try all methods for their Recovery, and Mourn for thoſe Sins in which they do perhaps Glory, and do upon that withdraw themſelves from all Communication with them, both in Spirituals, and as much as may be in Temporals likewiſe; this is one of the laſt means that can be uſed, in order to the reclaiming of them.

Another Conſideration is the Peace and the Honour of the Society. Gal. 5. 12. S. *Paul* wiſhed that *they were cut off that troubled the Churches.* Great care ought to be taken that *the Name of God and his Doctrine be not blaſphemed,* and to give no occaſion to the Enemies of our Faith to reproach us; as if we deſigned to make Parties, to promote our own Intereſts, and to turn Religion to a Faction: Excuſing ſuch as adhere to us in other things, though they ſhould break out into the moſt ſcandalous Violations of the greateſt of all the Commandments of God. Such a behaviour towards Excommunicated perſons, would alſo have this further good Effect; It would give great Authority to that Sentence, and fill mens minds with the Awe of it, which muſt be taken off, when it is obſerved that men converſe familiarly with thoſe that are under it.

Theſe Rules are all founded upon the Principles of Societies, which as they aſſociate upon ſome common deſigns, ſo in order to the purſuing thoſe, muſt have a power to ſeparate themſelves from thoſe who depart from them.

In this Matter there are Extremes of both hands to be avoided: Some have thought, that becauſe the Apoſtles have in general declared ſuch perſons to be *accurſed,* or under an *Anathema, who preach another Goſpel*; and 1 Cor. 16. 22. *ſuch as love not the Lord Jeſus, to be Anathema Maranatha,* which is generally underſtood to be a total cutting off, never to be admitted till *the Lord comes*; that therefore the Church may ſtill put men under an *Anathema,* for holding ſuch unſound Doctrines, as they think make the Goſpel to become another, in part at leaſt, if not in whole; and that ſhe may thereupon, in imitation of another practice of the Apoſtles, deliver them over *unto Satan,* caſting them out of the protection of Chriſt, and abandoning them to the Devil: Reckoning that the *cutting them off* from the Body of Chriſt, is really the expoſing them to the Devil, who goes about as a Roaring Lion ſeeking whom he may devour. But with what Authority ſoever the Apoſtles might upon ſo great a matter, as the *changing the Goſpel,* or the *not loving the Lord Jeſus,* denounce an *Anathema*; yet the applying this which they uſed ſo ſeldom, and upon ſuch great occaſions, to every Opinion, after a Deciſion is made in it, as it has carried on the Notion of the Infallibility of the Church, ſo it has laid a Foundation for much Uncharitableneſs, and many Animoſities: It has widened Breaches, and made them incurable. And unleſs it is certain that the Church which has ſo decreed, cannot err, it is a bold aſſuming of an Authority to which no fallible Body of men can have a Right. That *delivery unto Satan* was viſibly an act of a miraculous Power lodged with the Apoſtles: For as they ſtruck ſome *blind* or *dead,* ſo they had an Authority of letting looſe Evil Spirits on ſome to haunt and terrify, or to puniſh and plague them; that a deſperate Evil might be cured by an extreme Remedy. And therefore the Apoſtles never reckon this among the Standing Functions of the Church: Nor do they give any Charge or Directions about it. They uſed it themſelves, and but ſeldom. It is true that S. *Paul* being carried by a juſt zeal

againſt

againſt the Scandal which the inceſtuous perſon at *Corinth* had caſt upon the Chriſtian Religion, did adjudg him to this ſevere degree of Cenſure: But he *judged* it, and did only order the *Corinthians* to publiſh it, as coming from him, *with the power of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt:* That ſo the thing might become the more publick, and that the effects of it might be the more conſpicuous. The Primitive Church, that being neareſt the Fountain did beſt underſtand the Nature of Church-Power, and the Effects of her Cenſures, thought of nothing in this matter but of denying to ſuffer Apoſtates, or rather ſcandalous perſons, to mix with the reſt in the Sacrament, or in other parts of Worſhip. They admitted them upon the profeſſion of their Repentance, by an impoſition of Hands, to ſhare in ſome of the more general parts of the Worſhip, and even in theſe they ſtood by themſelves, and at a diſtance from the reſt: And when they had paſſed through ſeveral Degrees in that ſtate of Mourning, they were by ſteps received back again to the Communion of the Church. This agrees well with all that was ſaid formerly, concerning the Nature and the Ends of Church-Power; *Which was given for edification, and not for deſtruction.* This is ſuitable to the deſigns of the Goſpel, both for preſerving the Society pure, and for reclaiming thoſe who are otherwiſe like to be carried away by the *Devil in his ſnare.* This is to *admoniſh* Sinners as *Brethren*, and not to uſe them as Enemies: Whereas the other method looks like a power that deſigns *Deſtruction* rather than *Edification*, eſpecially when the Secular Arm is called in, and that Princes are required under the Penalties of Depoſition, and loſing their Dominions, to extirpate and deſtroy, and that by the cruelleſt ſort of Death, all thoſe whom the Church doth ſo Anathematize.

Art. 33.

2 Cor. 10. 8.

We do not deny but that the form of denouncing or declaring *Anathemas* againſt Hereſies and Hereticks is very Antient. It grew to be a Form expreſſing horror, and was applied to the Dead as well as to the Living. It was underſtood to be a *cutting* ſuch Perſons off from the Communion of the Church: if they were ſtill alive, they were not admitted to any Act of Worſhip: if they were dead, their Names were not to be read at the Altar among thoſe who were then commemorated. But as heat about Opinions encreaſed, and ſome leſſer matters grew to be more valued then the weightier things both of Law and Goſpel; ſo the adding *Anathemas* to every point, in which men differed from one another, grew to be a common practice, and ſwelled up at laſt to ſuch a pitch, that in the Council of *Trent* a whole Body of Divinity was put into Canons, and an *Anathema* was faſtened to every one of them. The *delivering to Satan* was made the common Form of Excommunication; an Act of Apoſtolical Authority being made a Precedent for the ſtanding practice of the Church. Great Subtilties were alſo ſet on foot concerning the force and effect of Church-Cenſures. The ſtraining this matter too high, has given occaſion to extremes on the other hand. If a man is condemned as an Heretick, for that which is no Hereſy, but is an Article founded on the Word of God, his Conſcience is not at all concerned in any ſuch Cenſure. Great Modeſty and Decency ought indeed to be ſhewed by private perſons, when they diſpute againſt publick Deciſions: But unleſs the Church is Infallible, none can be bound to implicit Faith, or blind Submiſſion. Therefore an *Anathema* ill founded, cannot hurt him againſt whom it is thundred. If the Doctrine upon which the Cenſures and Denunciations of the Church are grounded is true, and if it appears ſo to him that ſets himſelf againſt it, he who thus *deſpiſes* the Paſtors of the Church, *deſpiſes* Chriſt: In whoſe Name, and by whoſe Authority they are acting. But if he is ſtill under Convictions of his being in the right, when he is indeed in the wrong, then

Art. 33. then he is in a ſtate of Ignorance, and his Sins are Sins of Ignorance, and they will be judged by that God who knows the ſincerity of all mens Hearts, and ſees into their ſecreteſt Thoughts, how far the Ignorance is wilful and affected, and how far it is ſincere and invincible.

And as for thoſe Cenſures that are founded upon the Proofs that are made of certain Facts that are ſcandalous, either the perſon on whom they are charged, knows himſelf to be really guilty of them, or that he is wronged, either by the Witneſſes, or the Paſtors, and Judges: If he is indeed guilty, he ought to conſider ſuch Cenſures as the Medicinal Proviſions of the Church againſt Sin: He ought to ſubmit to them, and to ſuch Rebukes and Admonitions, to ſuch publick Confeſſions, and other
2 Tim. 2. 26. Acts of Self-Abaſement, by which he may be recovered out of *the ſnare of the Devil*; and may repair the publick Scandal that he has brought upon the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and recover the honour of it, which he has blemiſht as far as lies in him.

This is the *ſubmitting to thoſe that are over him, and the obeying them as*
Heb. 13. 17. *thoſe that watch for his ſoul, and that muſt give an account of it.* But if, on the other hand, any ſuch perſon is run down by Falſhood and Calumny, he muſt ſubmit to that Diſpenſation of God's Providence that has ſuffered ſuch a load to be laid upon him: He muſt not betray his Integrity, he ought to commit his way to God, and to bear his burden patiently. Such a Cenſure ought not at all to give him too deep an inward concern: For he is ſure it is ill founded, and therefore it can have no effect upon his Conſcience. God, who knows his Innocence, will acquit him, though all the World ſhould condemn him. He muſt indeed ſubmit to that ſeparation from the Body of Chriſtians: But he is ſafe in his ſecret Appeals to God, who ſees not as man ſees, but judges righteous Judgment: And ſuch a Cenſure as this cannot be bound in Heaven.

In the pronouncing the Cenſures of the Church, great care and tenderneſs ought to be uſed; for men are not to be raſhly *cut off* from the Body of Chriſt; nothing but a wilful Obſtinacy in Sin, and a deliberate Contempt of the Rules and Orders of the Church, can juſtify this Extremity. Scandalous Sinners may be brought under the Medicinal Cure of the Church, and the Offender may be denied all the Privileges of Chriſtians, till he has repaired the Offence that he has given. Here another Extreme has been run into by men, who being jealous of the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome*, have thought that the World could not be ſafe from that, unleſs all Church-Power were deſtroyed: They have thought that the Eccleſiaſtical Order is a Body of Men bound by their Office to preach the Goſpel, and to offer the Sacraments to all Chriſtians; but that as the Goſpel is a Doctrine equally offered to all, in which every man muſt make the particular Application of the Promiſes, the Comforts, and the Terrors of it to himſelf, as he will anſwer it to God; ſo they imagin that the Sacraments are in the ſame promiſcuous manner to be offered to all Perſons; and that every man is to *try and examine himſelf*, and ſo to partake of them; but that the Clergy have no Authority to deny them to any Perſon, or to put marks of diſtinction, or of Infamy on men: And that therefore the Antient Diſcipline of the Church did ariſe out of a mutual Compromiſe of Chriſtians, who in times of Miſery and Perſecution ſubmitted to ſuch Rules as ſeemed neceſſary in that ſtate of things; but that now all the Authority that the Church hath, is founded only on the Law of the Land, and is ſtill ſubject to it. So that what Changes or Alterations are appointed by the Civil Authority, muſt take place, in bar to any Laws and Cuſtoms of the Church, how Antient or how Univerſal ſoever they may be.

In anſwer to this, it is not to be denied, but that the degrees and extent of this Authority, the methods and the management of it, were at firſt framed by common conſent. In the times of Perſecution the Laity who embraced the Chriſtian Religion, were to the Church inſtead of the Magiſtrate. The whole concerns of Religion were ſupported and protected by them; and this gave them a Natural Right to be conſulted with in all the deciſions of the Church. The *Brethren* were called to join with the *Apoſtles* and *Elders* in that great Debate concerning the Circumciſion of the *Gentiles*, which was ſettled at *Jeruſalem*; and of ſuch Practices we find frequent mention in St. *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles: The more Eminent among the Laity were then naturally the Patrons of the Churches. But when the Church came under the Protection of Chriſtian Princes and Magiſtrates, then the Patronage and Protection of it fell to them, upon whom the Peace and Order of the World depended. Yet though all this is acknowledged, we ſee plainly, that in the New Teſtament there are many general Rules given for the Government and Order of the Church. *Timothy* and *Titus* were appointed to *ordain*, to *admoniſh*, and *rebuke*, and that *before all*. The Body of the Chriſtians is required to *ſubmit* themſelves to them, and to *obey* them; which is not to be carried to an indefinite and boundleſs degree, but muſt be limited to that Doctrine which they were to teach, and to ſuch things as depended upon it, or tended to its Eſtabliſhment and Propagation. From theſe general Heads we ſee juſt grounds to aſſert ſuch a Power in the Paſtors of the Church, as is for *Edification*, but not for *Deſtruction*: and therefore here is a Foundation of Power laid down; though it is not to be denied but that in the application of it, ſuch Prudence and diſcretion ought to be uſed, as may make it moſt likely to attain thoſe Ends for which it is given. *Art.* 33.

A general Conſent in time of Perſecution was neceſſary; otherwiſe too indiſcreet a Rigor might have pulled down that which ought to have been built up. If in a broken ſtate of things a common Conſent ought to be much endeavoured and ſtaid for, this is much more neceſſary in a regular and ſettled time, with relation to the Civil Authority, under whom the whole Society is put, according to its Conſtitution. But it can never be ſuppoſed that the Authority of the *Paſtors of the Church*, is no other than that of a Lawyer or a Phyſician to their Clients, who are ſtill at their liberty, and are in no ſort bound to follow their directions. In particular Advices with relation to their private Concerns, where no general Rules are agreed on, an Authority is not pretended to; and theſe may be compared to all other Advices, only with this difference, That the *Paſtors* of the Church *watch over the Souls of their people, and muſt give an account of them.* But when things are grown into Method, and general Rules are ſettled, there the conſideration of Edification and Unity, and of maintaining Peace and Order, are ſuch ſacred Obligations on every one that has a true regard to Religion, that ſuch as deſpiſe all this, may be well look'd on as *Heathens* and *Publicans*; and they are ſo much worſe than they, as a ſecret and well-diſguiſed Traytor is much more dangerous than an open profeſſed Enemy. And though theſe Words of our Saviour, of *telling the Church*, may perhaps not be ſo ſtrictly applicable to this matter, in their primary ſenſe, as our Saviour firſt ſpoke them; yet the Nature of things, and the Parity of Reaſon, may well lead us to conclude, That though thoſe Words did immediately relate to the compoſing of private differences, and of delating intractable perſons to the Synagogues, yet they may be well extended to Matt. 18. 17.

all

Art. 33. all thoſe publick Offences which are injuries to the whole Body; and may be now applied to the Chriſtian Church, and to the Paſtors and Guides of it, though they related to the Synagogue when they were firſt ſpoken.

It is therefore highly congruous both to the whole Deſign of the Chriſtian Religion, and to many Paſſages in the New Teſtament, that there ſhould be Rules ſet for cenſuring Offenders, that ſo they may be reclaimed, or at leaſt aſhamed, and that others may fear: And as the final Sentence of every Authority whatſoever, muſt be the cutting off from the Body all ſuch as continue in a wilful diſobedience to the Laws of the Society; ſo if any who call themſelves Chriſtians, will live ſo as to be a Reproach to that which they profeſs, they muſt be cut off and caſt out; for if there is any ſort of Power in the Church, it muſt terminate in this. This is the laſt and higheſt act of their Authority; it is like Death or Baniſhment by the Civil Power, which are not proceeded to but upon great occaſions, in which milder Cenſures will not prevail, and where the general good of the Society requires it: So *caſting out* being the laſt Act of Church-Power, like a Parent's diſinheriting a Child, it ought to be proceeded in with that ſlowneſs, and upon ſuch conſiderations as may well juſtify the Rigor of it. A wilful Contempt of Order and Authority, carries virtually in it every other Irregularity; becauſe it diſſolves the Union of the Body, and deſtroys that Reſpect by which all the other ends of Religion are to be artained; and when this is deliberate and fixed, there is no other way of proceeding but by *cutting off* thoſe who are ſo refractory, and who ſet ſuch an ill Example to others.

If the Execution of this ſhould happen to fall under great Diſorders, ſo that many ſcandalous Perſons are not cenſured, and a promiſcuous multitude is ſuffered to break in upon the moſt Sacred Performances, this cannot juſtify private Perſons, who upon that do withdraw from the Communion of the Church: For after all that has been ſaid, the Divine Peecept is to every man, to *try and examine himſelf*, and not to *try* and cenſure others. All Order and Government are deſtroyed, if private Perſons take upon them to judg and cenſure others; or to ſeparate from any Body, becauſe there are Abuſes in the uſe of this Authority.

Private Confeſſion in the Church of *Rome* had quite deſtroyed the Government of the Church, and ſuperſeded all the Antient Penitentiary Canons; and the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome* had ſet many Ingenious Men on many ſubtle Contrivances, either to evade the Force of thoſe Canons, to which ſome regard was ſtill preſerved, or to maintain the Order of the Church, in oppoſition to the Appeals that were made to *Rome:* And while ſome pretended to ſubject all things to the Papal Authority, others ſtudied to keep up the Antient Rules. The Encroachments that the Temporal and Spiritual Courts ware making upon one another, occaſioned many Diſputes; which being managed by ſuch ſubtle men as the Civilians and Canoniſts were, all this brought in a great variety of Caſes and Rules into the Courts of the Church: So that inſtead of the firſt Simplicity which was evident in the Conſtitution of the Church, not only for the firſt Three Centuries, but for a great many more that came afterwards, there grew to be ſo much Practice, and ſo many Subterfuges in the Rules and manner of proceeding of thoſe Courts, that the Church has long groaned under it, and

and has wiſhed to ſee that effected, which was deſigned in the beginnings of the Reformation. The Draught of a Reformation of thoſe Courts is ſtill extant; that ſo inſtead of the Intricacies, Delays, and other Diſorders that have ariſen from the Canon Law, we might have another ſhort and plain Body of Rules; which might be managed, as antiently, by Biſhops, with the Aſſiſtance of their Clergy. But though this is not yet done, and that by reaſon of it *the Tares grow up with the Wheat*, we ought to *let them grow together*, till the great Harveſt comes, or at leaſt till a proper *Harveſt* may be given the Church by the Providence of God; in which the good may be diſtinguiſhed and ſeparated from the bad, without endangering the Ruin of all; which muſt certainly be the effect of Peoples falling indiſcreetly to this, before the time. *Art.* 33.

ARTICLE XXXIV.

Of the Traditions of the Church.

It is not neceſſary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like, for at all times they have been diverſe, and may be changed according to the diverſity of Countries and mens manners, ſo that nothing be ordained againſt God's Word. Whoſoever through his private Judgment, willingly and purpoſely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like) as one that offendeth againſt the common Order of the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magiſtrate and woundeth the Conſciences, of weak Brethren.

Every particular or National Church hath Authority to ordain, change, and aboliſh Ceremonies or Rights of the Church, ordained only by mens Authority; ſo that all things be done to edifying.

THIS Article conſiſts of two Branches: The firſt is, That the Church hath Power to appoint ſuch Rites and Ceremonies as are not contrary to the Word of God; and that private Perſons are bound to conform themſelves to their Orders. The ſecond is, That it is not neceſſary that the whole Church ſhould meet to determine ſuch maters; the Power of doing that being in every National Church, which is fully empowr'd to take care of it ſelf; and no Rule made in ſuch matters is to be held unalterable, but may be changed upon occaſion.

As to the firſt, it hath been already conſidered, when the firſt words of the Twentieth Article were explained. There the Authority of the Church in matters indifferent was ſtated and proved. It remains now only to prove, That private Perſons are bound to conform themſelves to ſuch Ceremonies, eſpecially when they are alſo enacted by the Civil Authority. It is to be conſidered, That the Chriſtian Religion was chiefly deſigned to raiſe and purify the Nature of man, and to make Human Society perfect; now Brotherly Love and Charity does this more than any one Virtue whatſoever: It raiſes a man to the Likeneſs of God; it gives him a Divine and Heavenly Temper within himſelf, and creates the tendereſt Union and firmeſt Happineſs poſſible among all the Societies of Men. Our Saviour has ſo enlarged the Obligation to it, as to make it by the Extent he has given it, *a great and new Commandment*, by which all the World may be able to know and diſtinguiſh his Followers from the reſt of Mankind: And as all the Apoſtles inſiſt much upon this in every one of their Epiſtles, not excepting the ſhorteſt of them; ſo St. *John*, who writ laſt of them, has dwelt more fully upon it than upon any other Duty whatſoever. Our Saviour did particularly intend that his Followers ſhould be aſſociated into one Body, and join together in order to their keeping up and inflaming their mutual Love; and therefore he delivered his Prayer to them *all* in the Plural, to ſhew that he intended that they ſhould uſe it in a Body: He appointed Baptiſm as the way of receiving men into *this Body*, and the Euchariſt as a joint Memorial that the *Body* was to keep up of his Death. For this end he appointed Paſtors to teach and keep his Followers in a Body: And in his laſt and longeſt

longeſt Prayer to the Father, he repeats this, That *they might be one*; That *they might be kept in one* (Body), *and made perfect in one*, in five ſeveral Expreſſions; which ſhews both how neceſſary a part of his Religion he meant this ſhould be, and likewiſe intimates to us the danger that he foreſaw, of his Followers departing from it; which made him intercede ſo earneſtly for it. One Expreſſion that he has of this Union, ſhews how entire and tender he intended that it ſhould be; for he prayed that the Union might be ſuch as that between *the Father and himſelf* was. The Apoſtles uſe the Figure of a *Body* frequently, to expreſs this Union; than which nothing can be imagined that is more firmly knit together, and in which all the parts do more tenderly ſympathize with one another. *Art.* 34 Joh. 17. 11, 21, 22, 23.

Upon all theſe conſiderations we may certainly gather, That the diſſolving this Union, the diſlocating this Body, and the doing any thing that may extinguiſh the Love and Charity by which Chriſtians are to be made ſo happy in themſelves, and ſo uſeful to one another, and by which the Body of Chriſtians grows much the firmer and ſtronger, and ſhines more in the World; that, I ſay, the doing this upon ſlight grounds, muſt be a Sin of a very high nature. Nothing can be a juſt Reaſon either to carry men to it, or juſtify them in it, but the impoſing on them unlawful Terms of Communion; for in that caſe it is certain that *we muſt obey God rather than man*; that we muſt *ſeek Truth and Peace* together; and that the rule of *keeping a good Conſcience in all things*, is laid thus, To do it firſt *towards God, and then towards man.* So that a Schiſm that is occaſioned by any Church's impoſing unlawful Terms of Communion, lies at their door who impoſe them, and the Guilt is wholly theirs. But without ſuch a neceſſity, it is certainly both in its own nature, and in its conſequences, one of the greateſt of Sins, to create needleſs Diſturbances in a Church, and to give occaſion to all that alienation of Mind, all thoſe raſh Cenſures, and unjuſt Judgments that do ariſe from ſuch Diviſions. This receives a very great Aggravation, if the Civil Authority has concurred by a Law to enjoyn the Obſervance of ſuch indifferent things; for to all their lawful Commands we owe an Obedience, *not only for fear, but for conſcience ſake*; ſince the Authority of the Magiſtrate is chiefly to be imployed in ſuch matters. As to things that are either commanded or forbidden of God, the Magiſtrate has only the Execution of theſe in his hands; ſo that in thoſe, his Laws are only the Sanctions and Penalties of the Laws of God. The Subject-matter of his Authority is about things which are of their own nature indifferent, but that may be made fit and proper means for the maintaining of Order, Union, and Decency in the Society: And therefore ſuch Laws as are made by him in thoſe things, do certainly bind the Conſcience, and oblige the Subjects to Obedience. Diſobedience does alſo give Scandal to the weak. *Scandal* is a *Block* or *Trap* laid in the way of another, by which he is made to ſtumble and fall. So this Figure of giving Scandal, or the laying a ſtumbling-block in our Brother's way, is applied to our doing of ſuch Actions as may prove the occaſions of Sin to others. Every man according to the influence that his Example or Authority may have over others, who do too eaſily and implicitely follow him, becomes thereby the more capable of giving them *Scandal*; that is, of drawing them after him to commit many Sins: And ſince men are under Fetters, according to the Perſuaſions that they have of things; he who thinks a thing ſinful, does ſin if he does it, as long as he is under that apprehenſion; becauſe he deliberately ventures on that which he thinks offends God; even while he *doubts of it*, or makes a *diſtinction* between Meats, (for the word rendered *doubts*, ſignifies alſo the *making a difference*) *he is damned* (that is, ſelf-condemn- Acts 24. 16. Rom. 13. 3. Rom. 14. 23.

Art. 34. ed, as acting againſt his own ſenſe of things) if he does it. Another man that has larger Thoughts and clearer Ideas, may ſee that there is no ſin in an Action, about which others may be ſtill in doubt, and ſo upon his own account he may certainly do it: But if he has reaſon to believe that his doing that may draw others, who have not ſuch clear Notions, to do it after his Example, they being ſtill in doubt as to the Lawfulneſs of it, then he gives *Scandal*, that is, he lays a ſtumbling-block in their way if he does it, unleſs he lies under an Obligation from ſome of the Laws of God, or of the Society to which he belongs, to do it. In that caſe he is bound to obey; and he muſt not then conſider the Conſequences of his Actions; of which he is only bound to take care, when he is left to himſelf, and is at full liberty to do, or not to do, as he pleaſes.

This explains the Notion of *Scandal*, as it is uſed in the Epiſtles: For there being ſeveral doubts raiſed at that time, concerning the Lawfulneſs or Obligation of obſerving the *Moſaical* Law, and concerning the Lawfulneſs of eating Meats offered to Idols; no general Deciſion was made, that went through that matter; the Apoſtles having only decreed that the Moſaical Law was not to be impoſed on the *Gentiles*, but not having condemned ſuch as might of their own accord have obſerved ſome parts of that Law, Scruples aroſe about this; and ſo here they gave great Caution againſt the
Ver. 13. laying a *Stumbling-block* in the way of their Brethren. But it is viſible from this, that the fear of giving Scandal does only take place where matters are free, and may be done or not done. But when Laws are made, and an Order is ſettled, the fear of giving Scandal lies all on the ſide of Obedience: For a man of weight and Authority, when he does not obey, gives Scruples and Jealouſies to others, who will be apt to collect from his Practice, that the thing is unlawful: He who does not conform himſelf to ſettled Orders, gives occaſion to others who ſee and obſerve him, to imitate him in it; and thus he lays a Scandal or Stumbling-block in their way; and all the ſins which they commit through their exceſſive Reſpect to him, and imitation of him, are in a very high degree to be put to his account, who gave them ſuch occaſion of falling.

The Second Branch of this Article is againſt the Unalterableneſs of Laws made in matters indifferent; and it aſſerts the Right of every National Church to take care of it ſelf. That the Laws of any one Age of the Church cannot bind another, is very evident from this, That all Legiſlature is ſtill entire in the hands of thoſe who have it. The Laws of God do bind all men at all times; but the Laws of the Church, as well as the Laws of every State, are only Proviſions made upon the preſent ſtate of things, from the fitneſs or unfitneſs that appears to be in them for the great Ends of Religion, or for the Good of Mankind. All theſe things are ſubject to alteration, therefore the Power of the Church is in every Age entire, and is as great as it was in any one Age ſince the days in which ſhe was under the Conduct of men immediately Inſpired. So there can be no unalterable Laws in matters indifferent. In this there neither is nor can be any Controverſy.

An obſtinate adhering to things, only becauſe they are antient, when all the ends for which they were at firſt introduced, do ceaſe, is the limiting the Church in a point in which ſhe ought ſtill to preſerve her Liberty: She ought ſtill to purſue thoſe great Rules in all her Orders, of doing all things to *Edification*, with *Decency*, and for *Peace*. The only queſtion that can be made in this matter, is, Whether ſuch general Laws as have been made by greater Bodies, by General Councils for inſtance, or by thoſe Synods whoſe Canons were received into the Body of the Canons of the Catholick

Church;

Church; whether these, I say, may be altered by National Churches? Or whether the Body of Christians is so to be reckoned one Body, that all the Parts of it are bound to submit in matters indifferent, to the Decrees of the Body in general? It is certain that all the Parts of the Catholick Church ought to hold a Communion one with another, and mutual Commerce and Correspondence together; but this difference is to be observed between the Christian and the *Jewish* Religion, that the one was tied to one Nation, and to one place, whereas the Christian Religion is universal, to be spread to all Nations, among People of different Climates and Languages, and of different Customs and Tempers; and therefore since the Power in indifferent matters is given the Church only in order to Edification, every Nation must be the proper Judg of that within it self. The *Roman* Empire, though a great Body, yet was all under one Government; and therefore all the Councils that were held while that Empire stood, are to be considered only as National Synods, under one Civil Policy. The Christians of *Persia*, *India*, or *Ethiopia*, were not subject to the Canons made by them, but were at full liberty to make Rules and Canons for themselves. And in the Primitive Times we see a vast diversity in their Rules and Rituals. They were so far from imposing general Rules on all, that they left the Churches at full liberty: Even the Council of *Nice* made very few Rules: That of *Constantinople* and *Ephesus* made fewer: And though the Abuses that were growing in the Fifth Century, gave occasion to the Council of *Calcedon* to make more Canons, yet the number of these is but small; so that the Tyranny of subjecting particular Churches to Laws that might be inconvenient for them, was not then brought into the Church. *Art.* 34.

The Corruptions that did afterwards overspread the Church, together with the Papal Usurpations, and the New *Canon Law* that the Popes brought in, which was totally different from the old one, had worn out the remembrance of all the Antient Canons; so it is not to be wondred at, if they were not much regarded at the Reformation. They were quite out of practice, and were then scarce known. And as for the Subordination of Churches and Sees, together with the Privileges and Exemptions of them, these did all flow from the Divisions of the *Roman* Empire into Dioceses, and Provinces, out of which the Dignity and the Dependances of their Cities did arise.

But now that the *Roman* Empire is gone, and that all the Laws which they made are at an end, with the Authority that made them; it is a vain thing to pretend to keep up the Antient Dignities of *Sees*; since the Foundation upon which that was built, is sunk and gone. Every Empire, Kingdom, or State, is an entire Body within it self. The Magistrate has that Authority over all his Subjects, that he may keep them all at home, and hinder them from entring into any Consultations or Combinations, but such as shall be under his Direction: He may require the Pastors of the Church under him to consult together about the best methods for carrying on the Ends of Religion; but neither he nor they can be bound to stay for the concurrence of other Churches. In the way of managing this, every Body of Men has somewhat peculiar to it self; and the Pastors of that Body are the propereſt Judges in that matter. We know that the several Churches, even while under one Empire, had great varieties in their Forms, as appears in the different Practices of the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches: And as soon as the *Roman* Empire was broken, we see this Variety did increase. The *Gallican* Churches had their *Missals* different from the *Roman*: And some Churches of *Italy* followed the *Ambrosian*. But *Charles the Great*, in compliance with the desires of the Pope, got the *Gallican* Churches to depart from

Art. 34. from their own Miſſals, and to receive the *Roman*; which he might the rather do, intending to have raiſed a New Empire; to which a Conformity of Rights might have been a great Step. Even in this Church there was a great Variety of Uſages, which perhaps were begun under the Heptarchy, when the Nation was ſubdivided into ſeveral Kingdoms.

It is therefore ſuitable to the Nature of Things, to the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and to the Obligations of the Paſtoral Care, That every Church ſhould act within her ſelf as an entire and independent Body. The Churches owe only a Friendly and Brotherly Correſpondence to one another; but they owe to their own Body, Government and Direction, and ſuch Proviſions and Methods as are moſt likely to promote the great Ends of Religion, and to preſerve the Peace of the Society both in Church and State. Therefore we are no other way bound by Antient Canons but as, the ſame reaſon ſtill ſubſiſting, we may ſee the ſame cauſe to continue them that there was at firſt to make them.

Of all the Bodies of the World, the Church of *Rome* has the worſt Grace to reproach us for departing in ſome Particulars from the Antient Canons, ſince it was her ill Conduct that had brought them all into deſuetude: And it is not eaſy to revive again Antiquated Rules, even though there may be good reaſon for it, when they fall under that tacit Abrogation which ariſes out of a long and general diſuſe of them.

ARTICLE XXXV.

Of Homilies.

The Second Book of Homilies, the ſeveral Titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe Times; as doth the Former Book of Homilies, which were ſet forth in the Time of Edward the Sixth: and therefore we judg them to be read in Churches by the Miniſters, diligently and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtanded of the People.

The Names of the Homilies.

1. *Of the right uſe of the Church.*
2. *Againſt Peril of Idolatry.*
3. *Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.*
4. *Of Good Works. Firſt, Of Faſting.*
5. *Againſt Gluttony and Drunkenneſs.*
6. *Againſt Exceſs of Apparel.*
7. *Of Prayer.*
8. *Of the Place and time of Prayer.*
9. *That common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be miniſtred in a known tongue.*
10. *Of the reverent eſtimation of God's Word.*
11. *Of Alms-doing.*
12. *Of the Nativity of Chriſt.*
13. *Of the Paſſion of Chriſt.*
14. *Of the Reſurrection of Chriſt.*
15. *Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.*
16. *Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.*
17. *For the Rogation-days.*
18. *Of the ſtate of Matrimony.*
19. *Of Repentance.*
20. *Againſt Idleneſs.*
21. *Againſt Rebellion.*

AT the time of the Reformation, as there could not be found at firſt a ſufficient Number of Preachers to inſtruct the whole Nation; ſo thoſe that did comply with the changes which were then made, were not all well-affected to them: ſo that it was not ſafe to truſt this matter to the Capacity of the one ſide, and to the Integrity of others. Therefore to ſupply the Defects of ſome, and to oblige the reſt to teach according to the *Form of ſound Doctrine*, there were two Books of Homilies prepared; the firſt was publiſhed in King *Edward*'s time; the ſecond was not finiſhed till about the time of his Death; ſo it was not publiſhed before Queen *Elizabeth*'s time. The Deſign of them was to mix Speculative Points with Practical matters: Some explain the Doctrine, and others enforce the Rules of Life and Manners. Theſe are plain and ſhort Diſcourſes, chiefly calculated to poſſeſs the Nation with a Senſe of the Purity of the Goſpel, in oppoſition to the Corruptions of Popery; and to reform it from thoſe crying Sins that had been ſo much connived at under Popery, while men knew the Price of them, how to compenſate for them, and to redeem themſelves from the Guilt of them, by Maſſes and Sacraments, by Indulgences and Abſolutions.

In theſe Homilies the Scriptures are often applied as they were then underſtood; not ſo critically as they have been explained ſince that time. But by this Approbation of the two Books of Homilies, it is not meant that every Paſſage of Scripture, or Argument that is made uſe of in them, is always convincing, or that every Expreſſion is ſo ſeverely worded, that it may not need a little Correction or Explanation: All that we profeſs about them;

Art. 35. them, is only that they *contain a godly and wholesom Doctrine*. This rather relates to the main Importance and Design of them, than to every Passage in them. Though this may be said concerning them, That considering the Age they were written in, the Imperfection of our Language, and some lesser Defects, they are Two very extraordinary Books. Some of them are better writ than others, and are equal to any thing that has been writ upon those Subjects since that time. Upon the whole matter, every one who subscribes the Articles, ought to read them, otherwise he subscribes a Blank, he approves a Book implicitely, and binds himself to read it, as he may be required, without knowing any thing concerning it. This Approbation is not to be stretched so far, as to carry in it a special Assent to every Particular in that whole Volume; but a man mnst be persuaded of the main of the Doctrine that is taught in them.

To instance this in one particular; since there are so many of the Homilies that charge the Church of *Rome* with *Idolatry*, and that from so many different Topicks, no man who thinks that Church is not guilty of *Idolatry*, can with a good Conscience subscribe this Article, That the Homilies *contain a good and wholesom Doctrine, and necessary for these times*; for according to his sense they contain a false and an uncharitable Charge of *Idolatry* against a Church that they think is not guilty of it; and he will be apt to th nk that this was done to heighten the Aversion of the Nation to it: Therefore any who have such favourable thoughts of the Church of *Rome* are bound by the force of that Persuasion of theirs, not to sign this Article, but to declare against it, as the authorizing of an Accusation against a Church, which they think is ill grounded, and is by consequence both unjust and uncharitable.

By *necessary for these times*, is not to be meant, that this was a Book fit to serve a Turn; but only that this Book was necessary at that time, to instruct the Nation aright, and so was of great use then: But though the Doctrine in it, if once true, must be always true, yet it will not be always of the same necessity to the People. As for Instance; There are many Discourses in the Epistles of the Apostles, that relate to the Controversies then on foot with the Judaizers, to the Engagements the Christians then lived in with the Heathens, and to those Corrupters of Christianity that were in those days. Those Doctrines were necessary for that time; but though they are now as true as they were then, yet since we have no Commerce either with *Jews* or *Gentiles*, we cannot say that it is as necessary for the present time to dwell much on those matters, as it was for that time to explain them once well. If the Nation should come to be quite out of the danger of falling back into *Popery*, it would not be so necessary to insist upon many of the Subjects of the Homilies, as it was when they were first prepared.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XXXVI.

Of Conſecration of Biſhops and Miniſters.

The Book of Conſecration of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and ordering of Prieſts and Deacons, lately ſet forth in the time of Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the ſame time by Authority of Parliament, doth contain all things neceſſary to ſuch Conſecration and Ordering; neither hath it any thing that of it ſelf is ſuperſtitious and ungodly. And therefore whoſoever are Conſecrated and Ordered according to the Rites of that Book ſince the Second Year of the aforenamed King Edward unto this time, or hereafter ſhall be Conſecrated or Ordered according to the ſame Rites, we decree all ſuch to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully Conſecrated and Ordered.

AS to the moſt eſſential parts of this Article, they were already examined, when the pretended Sacrament of Orders was explained; where it was proved, that *Prayer* and *Impoſition* of Hands was all that was neceſſary to the giving of Orders; and that the Forms added in the *Roman Pontifical* are new, and cannot be held to be neceſſary, ſince the Church had ſubſiſted for many Ages before thoſe were thought on. So that either our Ordinations without thoſe Additions are good, or the Church of God was for many Ages without true Orders. There ſeems to be here inſinuated a Ratification of Orders that were given before this Article was made; which being done (as the Lawyers phraſe it) *ex poſt facto*, it ſeems theſe Orders were unlawful, when given, and that Error was intended to be corrected by this Article. The opening a part of the Hiſtory of that time will clear this matter.

There was a new Form of Ordinations agreed on by the Biſhops in the Third Year of King *Edward*; and when the Book of *Common-Prayer*, with the laſt Corrections of it, was Authorized by Act of Parliament in the Fifth Year of that Reign, the New Book of *Ordinations* was alſo enacted, and was appointed to be a part of the *Common-Prayer-Book*. In Queen *Mary*'s time theſe Acts were repealed, and thoſe Books were condemned by Name. When Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, King *Edward*'s *Common-Prayer-Book* was of new enacted, and Queen *Mary*'s Act was repealed. But the Book of Ordination was not expreſly named, it being conſidered as a part of the *Common-Prayer-Book*, as it had been made in King *Edward*'s time; ſo it was thought no more neceſſary to mention that *Office* by Name, than to mention all the other Offices that are in the Book. Biſhop *Bonner* ſet on foot a Nicety, That ſince the Book of Ordinations was by name condemned in Queen *Mary*'s time, and was not by name revived in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, that therefore it was ſtill condemned by Law, and that by conſequence Ordinations performed according to this Book, were not legal. But it is viſible, that whatſoever might be made out of this, according to the Niceties of our Law, it has no relation to the Validity of Ordinations, as they are Sacred Performances, but only as they are Legal Actions, with relation to our Conſtitution. Therefore a Declaration was made in a ſubſequent Parliament, That the *Book of Ordination* was conſidered as a part of the *Book of Common-Prayer:* And to clear all Scruples or Diſputes that might ariſe upon that matter, they by a Retroſpect declared them to be good; and from that Retroſpect in the Act of Parliament, the like Clauſe was put in the Article.

Art. 36. The chief Exception that can be made to the Form of giving Orders amongſt us, is to thoſe words, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*; which as it is no Antient Form, it not being above Five hundred Years old, ſo it is taken from Words of our Saviour's that the Church in her beſt times thought were not to be applied to this. It was proper to him to uſe them, who had the *Fulneſs of the Spirit* to give it at pleaſure: He made uſe of it in conſtituting his Apoſtles the Governours of his Church in his own ſtead; and therefore it ſeems to have a Sound in it that is too bold and aſſuming, as if we could convey the Holy Ghoſt. To this it is to be anſwered, That the Churches both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt* have ſo often changed the Forms of Ordination, that our Church may well claim the ſame Power of appointing New Forms, that others have done. And ſince the ſeveral Functions and Adminiſtrations that are in the Church, are by the Apoſtle ſaid to flow *from one and the ſame Spirit*, all of them from the *Apoſtles* down to the *Paſtors* and *Teachers*, we may then reckon that the *Holy Ghoſt*, though in a much lower degree, is given to thoſe who are inwardly moved of God to undertake that Holy Office. So that though that extraordinary Effuſion that was poured out upon the Apoſtles, was in them in a much higher degree, and was accompanied with moſt amazing Characters; yet ſtill ſuch as do ſincerely offer themſelves up, on a Divine Motion, to this Service, receive a lower Portion of this Spirit. That being laid down, theſe Words, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*, may be underſtood to be of the nature of a Wiſh and Prayer; as if it were ſaid, *May thou receive the Holy Ghoſt*; and ſo it will better agree with what follows, *And be thou a faithful Diſpenſer of the Word and Sacraments.* Or it may be obſerved, That in thoſe Sacred Miſſions the Church and Church-men conſider themſelves as acting in the *Name* and *Perſon* of Chriſt. In Baptiſm it is expreſly ſaid, *I baptize in the Name of the Father*, &c. In the Euchariſt we repeat the Words of Chriſt, and apply them to the Elements, as ſaid by him. So we conſider ſuch as deſerve to be admitted to thoſe Holy Functions, as Perſons called and ſent of God; and therefore the Church in the Name of *Chriſt* ſends them; and becauſe he gives a Portion of his Spirit to thoſe whom he ſends, therefore the Church in his Name ſays, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt.* And in this ſenſe, and with this reſpect, the uſe of theſe Words may be well juſtified.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XXXVII.

Of Civil Magiſtrates.

The Queen's Majeſty hath the chief Power in this Realm of England, and other her Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Eſtates of this Realm, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in all Cauſes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be ſubject to any Foreign Juriſdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queen's Majeſty the chief Government, by which Titles we underſtand the minds of ſome ſlanderous Folks to be offended: we give not to our Princes the miniſtring either of God's Word or of the Sacraments; the which thing the Injunctions alſo lately ſet forth by Elizabeth our Queen, do moſt plainly teſtify; but that only Prerogative which we ſee to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God himſelf, that is, That they ſhould rule all Eſtates and Degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and reſtrain with the Civil Sword the ſtubborn and evildoers.

The Biſhop of Rome hath no Juriſdiction in this Realm of England.

The Laws of the Realm may puniſh Chriſtian Men with Death for heinous and grievous Offences.

It is lawful for Chriſtian Men at the Commandment of the Magiſtrate, to wear Weapons, and ſerve in the Wars.

THIS Article was much ſhorter, as it was publiſhed in King *Edward*'s time, and did run thus: **The King of England is Supreme Head in Earth, next under Chriſt, of the Church of England and Ireland.** Then followed the Paragraph againſt the Pope's Juriſdiction, worded as it is now; To which theſe Words were ſubjoined, **The Civil Magiſtrate is ordained and allowed of God; wherefore we muſt obey him, not only for fear of Puniſhment, but alſo for Conſcience ſake.** In Queen *Elizabeth*'s time it was thought fitting to take away thoſe Prejudices that the Papiſts were generally infuſing into the minds of the People againſt the term **Head**; which ſeemed to be the more incongruous, becauſe a Woman did then reign; therefore that was left out, and inſtead of it the words **chief Power** and **chief Government** were made uſe of, which do ſignify the ſame thing.

The Queen did alſo by her Injunctions offer an Explanation of this matter: for whereas it was given out by thoſe who had complied with every thing that had been done both in her Father and in her Brother's time, but that reſolved now to ſet themſelves in oppoſition to her, That ſhe was aſſuming a much greater Authority than they had pretended to; She upon that ordered that Explanation which is referred to in the Article, and is in theſe words: **For certainly her Majeſty neither doth nor ever will challenge any Authority, other than that was challenged and lately uſed by the ſaid Noble Kings of famous Memory, King Henry the Eighth, and King Edward the Sixth, which is and was of antient time due to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; that is, under God to have the Sovereignty and Rule over all manner of Perſons born within theſe her Realms, Dominions and**

Art. 37. Countries, of what Estate, either Ecclesiastical or Temporal, soever they be; so as no other Foreign Power shall or ought to have any Superiority over them. And if any Person that hath conceived any other sense of the said Oath, shall accept the same Oath with this Interpretation, Sense, or Meaning, Her Majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf, as her good and obedient Subjects; and shall acquit them of all manner of Penalties contained in the said Act, against such as shall peremptorily and obstinately refuse to take the same Oath.

Thus this matter is opened as it is both in the *Article* and in the *Injunctions*. In order to the treating regularly of this Article, it is, First, To be proved, That the Pope hath no Jurisdiction in these Kingdoms. 2*dly*, That our Kings or Queens have it. And 3*dly*, The Nature and Measures of this Power and Government are to be stated.

As for the Pope's Authority, though it is now connected with the Infallibility, yet it was pretended to, and was advanced for many Ages before *Infallibility* was so much as thought on. Nor was the Doctrine of their Infallibility ever so universally received and submitted to in these *Western* Parts, as was that of their Universal Jurisdiction. They were in possession of it: Appeals were made to them: They sent Legates and Bulls every where: They granted Exemptions from the ordinary Jurisdiction; and took Bishops bound to them by Oaths that were penned in the Form of Oaths of *Fealty* or Homage. This was the first Point that our Reformers did begin with both here and every where else; that so they might remove that which was an insuperable Obstruction till it was first taken out of the way, to every step that could be made toward a Reformation. They laid down therefore this for their Foundation, That all Bishops were by their Office and Character equal; and that every one of them had the same Authority that any other had, over that Flock which was committed to his Care: And therefore they said that the *Bishops of Rome* had no Authority, according to the Constitution in which the Churches were settled by the Apostles, but over the City of *Rome*: And that any further Jurisdiction that any Antient Popes might have had, did arise from the Dignity of the *City*, and the Customs and Laws of the *Empire*. As for their deriving that Authority from St. *Peter*, it is very plain that the Apostles were all made equal to him; and that they never understood our Saviour's Words to him as importing any Authority that was given to him over the rest; since they continued to the last, while our Saviour was among them, *disputing which of them should be the greatest*. The Proposition that the Mother of *James* and *John* made, in which it was evident that they likewise concurred with her, shews that they did not apprehend that Christ had made any Declaration in favour of St. *Peter*, as by our Saviour's Answer it appears that he had not done; otherwise he would have referred them to what he had already said upon that occasion. By the whole History of the Acts of the Apostles it appears that the Apostles acted and consulted in common, without considering St. *Peter* as having any Superiority over them. He was called to give an account of his Baptizing *Cornelius*; and he delivered his Opinion in the Council of *Jerusalem*, without any strain of Authority over the rest. St. *Paul* does expressly deny that the other Apostles had any Superiority or Jurisdiction over him; and he says in plain words, that *he was the Apostle of the Uncircumcision, as St. Peter was the Apostle of the Circumcision*; and in that does rather claim an advantage over him, since his was certainly the much wider Province. He withstood St. *Peter* to his Face,

Mat. 20. 21. ver. 24. ver. 26.

Acts 11. 2, 3.

Acts 15. 7. ver. 14, 19. Gal. 2, 7, 8. ver. 11.

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when he thought that he deſerved to be blamed; and he ſpeaks of his own *line* and *ſhare*, as being ſubordinate in it to none: And by his ſaying that *he did not ſtretch himſelf beyond his own Meaſure*, he plainly inſinuates that within his own Province he was only accountable to him that had called and ſent him. This was alſo the Senſe of the Primitive Church, That all Biſhops were *Brethren*, *Collegues*, and *Fellow-Biſhops*: And though the Dignity of that City, which was the Head of the Empire, and the Opinion of that Church's being founded by St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, created a great Reſpect to the Biſhops of that See, which was ſupported and encreaſed by the eminent Worth, as well as the frequent Martyrdoms of their Biſhops; yet St. *Cyprian* in his time, as he was againſt the ſuffering of any Cauſes to be carried in the way of a Complaint for Redreſs to *Rome*, ſo he does in plain words ſay, That *all the Apoſtles were equal in Power*; *and that all Biſhops were alſo equal*; *ſince the whole Office and Epiſcopate was one entire thing*, *of which every Biſhop had a compleat and equal ſhare*. It is true, he ſpeaks of the *Unity* of the *Roman* Chureh, and of the Union of other Churches with it; but thoſe words were occaſioned by a Schiſm that *Novatian* had made then at *Rome*; he being elected in oppoſition to the Rightful Biſhop: So that St. *Cyprian* does not inſinuate any thing concerning an Authority of the See of *Rome* over other Sees, but ſpeaks only of their Union under one Biſhop; and of the other Churches holding a Brotherly Communion with that Biſhop. Through his whole Epiſtles he treats the Biſhops of *Rome* as his Equals, with the Titles of *Brother* and *Collegue*.

Art. 37. 2 Cor. 10. 14. De Unit. Eccleſ.

In the firſt General Council the Authority of the Biſhops of the great Sees is ſtated as *equal*. The Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* are declared to have, *according to Cuſtom*, the ſame Authority over the Churches ſubordinate to them, that the Biſhops of *Rome* had over thoſe that lay about that City. This Authority is pretended to be derived only from *Cuſtom*, and is conſidered as under the Limitations and Deciſions of a General Council. Soon after that the *Arian* Hereſy was ſo ſpread over the *Eaſt*, that thoſe who adhered to the *Nicene* Faith, were not ſafe in their numbers; and the *Weſtern* Churches being free from that Contagion (though St. *Baſil* laments that they neither underſtood their matters, nor were much concerned about them, but were ſwelled up with Pride) *Athanaſius* and other oppreſſed Biſhops fled to the Biſhops of *Rome*, as well as to the other Biſhops of the *Weſt*; it being natural for the oppreſſed to ſeek Protection whereſoever they can find it: And ſo a ſort of Appeals was begun, and they were authorized by the Council of *Sardica*. But the ill effects of this, if it ſhould become a Precedent, were apprehended by the Second General Council; in which it was decreed, That *every Province ſhould be governed by its own Synod*; and that all Biſhops ſhould be at firſt judged by the *Biſhops of their own Province*: and from them an Appeal was allowed to the Biſhops of the *Dioceſs*; whereas by the Canons of *Nice* no Appeal lay from the Biſhops of the *Province*. But though this Canon of *Conſtantinople* allows of an Appeal to the Biſhops of every ſuch Diviſion of the *Roman* Empire as was known by the name of *Dioceſs*, yet there is an expreſs Prohibition of any other or further Appeal; which is a plain repealing of the Canon at *Sardica*. And in that ſame Council it appears upon what the Dignity of the See of *Rome* was then believed to be founded: For *Conſtantinople* being made the Seat of the Empire, and called *New Rome*, the Biſhops of that See had the ſame Privileges given them, that the Biſhops of *Old Rome* had; except only the Point of *Rank*, which was preſerved to *Old Rome* becauſe of the Dignity of the City. This was alſo confirmed at *Chalcedon* in the middle of the Fifth Century. This ſhews that the Authority and Privileges of the Biſhops

Conc. Nic. Can. 6. Ep. 10. ad Greg. Con. Sard. Can. 3, & 7. Con. Conſtant. Can. 3. Con. Chalced. Can. 28.

Art. 37. ſhops of *Rome*, were then conſidered as ariſing out of the Dignity of that City, and that the Order of them was ſubject to the Authority of a General Council.

Conc. Afric. cap. 101. & 105. Epiſt. ad Bonifac. & Celeſt.

The *African* Churches in that time knew nothing of any Superiority that the Biſhops of *Rome* had over them: They condemned the making of Appeals to them, and appointed that ſuch as made them ſhould be excommunicated. The Popes who laid that matter much to heart, did not pretend to an Univerſal Juriſdiction as St. *Peter*'s Succeſſors by a Divine Right, they only pleaded a Canon of the Council of *Nice*; but the *Africans* had heard of no ſuch Canon, and ſo they juſtified their Independence on the See of *Rome*. Great Search was made after this Canon, and it was found to be an Impoſture. So early did the See of *Rome* aſpire to this Univerſal Authority, and did not ſtick at Forgery in order to the compaſſing of it. In the Sixth Century, when the Emperor *Mauritius* continued a Practice begun by ſome former Emperors to give the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* the Title of Univerſal Biſhop; *Pelage*, and after him *Gregory* the Great, broke out into the moſt Pathetical Expreſſions that could be invented againſt it; he compared it to the Pride of *Lucifer*; and ſaid, That *he who aſſumed it, was the forerunner of Antichriſt*; and as he renounced all Claim to it, ſo he affirmed that none of his Predeceſſors had ever aſpired to ſuch a Power.

Greg. Ep. Lib. 4. Ep. 32, 34, 36, 38, 39. Lib. 6. Ep. 24, 28, 30, 31. Lib. 7. Ep. 70.

This is the more remarkable, becauſe the *Saxons* being converted to the Chriſtian Religion under this Pope's direction, we have reaſon to believe that this Doctrine was infuſed into this Church at the firſt Converſion of the *Saxons*; yet Pope *Gregory*'s Succeſſor made no exceptions to the giving himſelf that Title againſt which his Predeceſſor had declaimed ſo much: But then the Confuſions of *Italy* gave the Popes great Advantages to make all new Invaders and Pretenders enlarge their Privileges; ſince it was a great acceſſion of Strength to any party, to have them of their ſide. The Kings of the *Lombards* began to lye heavy on them; but they called in the Kings of a new conquering Family from *France*, who were ready enough to make new Conqueſts; and when the Nomination of the Popes was given to the Kings of that Race, it was natural for them to raiſe the Greatneſs of one who was to be their Creature: ſo they promoted their Authority; which was not a little confirmed by an Impudent Forgery at that time, of the *Decretal Epiſtles* of the firſt Popes; in which they were repreſented as governing the World with an Univerſal and Unbounded Authority. This Book was a little diſputed at firſt, but was quickly ſubmitted to, and the Popes went on upon that Foundation, ſtill enlarging their Pretenſions. Soon after that was ſubmitted to, it quickly appeared that the Pretenſions of that See were endleſs.

They went on to claim a Power over Princes and their Dominions, and that firſt with relation to Spiritual matters. They depoſed them if they were either *Hereticks* themſelves, or if they favoured *Hereſy*, at leaſt ſo far as not to extirpate it. From depoſing they went to the diſpoſing of their Dominions to others: And at laſt *Boniface* the Eighth compleated their Claim; for he decreed, That *it was neceſſary to every man to be ſubject to the Pope's Authority:* And he aſſerted a direct Dominion over Princes as to their Temporals, That they were all ſubject to him, and held their Dominions under him, and at his Courteſy. As for the Juriſdiction that they claimed over the Spirituality, they exerciſed it with that Rigor, with ſuch heavy Taxes and Impoſitions, ſuch Exemptions and Diſpenſations, and ſuch a Violation of all the Antient Canons, that as it grew inſupportably grievous, ſo the management was groſly ſcandalous, for every thing was openly ſet to Sale. By theſe Practices they diſpoſed the World to examine the Grounds

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of that Authority which was managed with ſo much Tyranny and Corruption. It was ſo ill founded, that it could not be defended but by Force and Artifices. Thus it appears that there is no Authority at all in the Scripture for this Extent of Juriſdiction that the Popes aſſumed: That it was not thought on in the firſt Ages: That a vigorous Oppoſition was made to every ſtep of the Progreſs that it made: And that Forgery and Violence was uſed to bring the World under it. So that there is no reaſon now to ſubmit to it. *Art.* 37.

As for the Patriarchal Authority which that See had over a great part of the *Roman* Empire, that was only a Regulation made conform to the Conſtitution of that Empire: So that the Empire being now diſſolved into many different Sovereignties, the new Princes are under no ſort of obligation to have any regard to the *Roman* Conſtitution. Nor does a Nation's receiving the Faith by the Miniſtry of Men ſent from any See, ſubject them to that See; for then all muſt be ſubject to *Jeruſalem*, ſince the Goſpel came to all the Churches from thence. There was a Deciſion made in the Third General Council in the caſe of the *Cypriotick* Churches, which pretended that they had been always compleat Churches within themſelves, and Independent; therefore they ſtood upon this Privilege, Not to be ſubject to Appeals to any Patriarchal See: The Council judged in their favour. So ſince the *Britannick* Churches were converted long before they had any Commerce with *Rome*, they were originally *Independent*; which could not be loſt by any thing that was afterwards done among the *Saxons*, by men ſent over from *Rome*. This is enough to prove the Firſt Point, That the Biſhops of *Rome* have no Lawful Juriſdiction here among us.

The Second is, That Kings or Queens have an Authority over their Subjects in Matters Eccleſiaſtical. In the Old Teſtament the Kings of *Iſrael* intermeddled in all matters of Religion: *Samuel* acknowledged *Saul*'s Authority; and *Abimelech*, though the High-Prieſt, when called before *Saul*, appeared and anſwered to ſome things that were objected to him, that related to the Worſhip of God. *Samuel* ſaid in expreſs words to *Saul*, That *he was made the Head of all the Tribes*; and one of theſe was the *Tribe of Levi*. *David* made many Laws about Sacred Matters, ſuch as the Orders of the Courſes of the Prieſts, and the time of their Attendance at the Publick Service. When he died, and was informing *Solomon* of the Extent of his Authority, he told him that *the Courſes of the Prieſts and all the People were to be wholly at his Commandment*. Purſuant to which, *Solomon* did appoint them their Charges in the Service of God; and *both the Prieſts and Levites departed not from his Commandment in any matter*. He turned out *Abiathar* from the High-Prieſts Office, and yet no Complaint was made upon it, as if he had aſſumed an Authority that did not belong to him. It is true, both *David* and *Solomon* were men that were particularly inſpired as to ſome things; but it does not appear that they acted in thoſe matters by virtue of any ſuch Inſpiration. They were Acts of Regal Power, and they did them in that Capacity. *Jehoſhaphat*, *Hezekiah*, and *Joſiah*, gave many Directions and Orders in Sacred Matters: But though the Prieſts withſtood *Uzziah* when he was going to offer Incenſe in the Holy Place, yet they did not pretend Privilege, or make oppoſition to thoſe Orders that were iſſued out by their Kings. *Mordecai* appointed the Feaſt of *Purim* by virtue of the Authority that King *Ahaſuerus* gave him: And both *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* by virtue of Commiſſions from the Kings of *Perſia*, made many Reformations, and gave many Orders in Sacred Matters.

1 Sam. 15. 30. 22. 14. 15. 17. 1 Chron. 23. 6. 28. 21. 2 Chron. 8. 14, 15. 2 Chron. 17. 8, 9. chap. 19. 8, *to the End.* Chap. 26. 16, 17, 18, 19.

Under

Art. 37. Under the New Teſtament, Chriſt by ſaying *Render to Cæſar the things which are Cæſars*, did plainly ſhow that he did not intend that his Religion ſhould in any ſort leſſen the Temporal Authority. The Apoſtles writ to the Churches to *obey Magiſtrates, to ſubmit to them, and to pay Taxes*: They enjoined Obedience, *whether to the King as ſupreme, or to others that were ſent by him*: *Every Soul* without exception is charged *to be ſubject to the higher Powers*. The Magiſtrate is ordained of God, and *is his Miniſter to encourage them that do well, and to puniſh the evil doers*. If theſe Paſſages of Scripture are to be interpreted according to the common conſent of the Fathers, Churchmen are included within them, as well as other Perſons. There was not indeed great occaſion to conſider this matter before *Conſtantine*'s coming to the Empire; for till then the Emperors did not conſider the Chriſtians otherwiſe than either as Enemies, or at beſt as their Subjects at large: And therefore though the Chriſtians made an Addreſs to *Aurelian* in the matter of *Samoſatenus*, and obtained a favourable and juſt Anſwer to it; yet in *Conſtantine*'s time the Protection that he gave to the Chriſtian Religion, led him and his Succeſſors to make many Laws in Eccleſiaſtical matters, concerning the *Age*, the *Qualifications*, and the *Duties* of the Clergy. Many of theſe are to be found in *Theodoſius* and *Juſtinian*'s Code. *Juſtinian* added many more in his *Novels*. Appeals were made to the Emperors againſt the Injuſtice of Synods: They received them, and appointed ſuch Biſhops to hear and try thoſe Cauſes, as happened to be then about their Courts. In the Council of *Nice* many Complaints were given to the Emperor by the Biſhops againſt one another. The Emperors called General Councils by their Summons; they ſate in them, and confirmed their Decrees. This was the conſtant Practice of the *Roman* Emperors both in the *Eaſt* and in the *Weſt*: When the Church came to fall under many leſſer Sovereignties, thoſe Princes continued ſtill to make Laws, to name Biſhops, to give Inveſtitures into Benefices, to call Synods, and to do every thing that appeared neceſſary to them, for the good Government of the Church in their Dominions.

Rom. 13. 6.

Ver. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13.

When *Charles* the Great was reſtoring thoſe things that had fallen under much diſorder in a courſe of ſome ignorant and barbarous Ages, and was reviving both Learning and good Government, he publiſhed many *Capitulars*, a great part of them relating to Eccleſiaſtical matters; nor was any exception taken to that in thoſe Ages: The Synods that were then held, were for the greateſt part mixt Aſſemblies, in which the *Temporalty* and the *Spiritualty* ſate together, and judged and decreed of all matters in common. And it is certain that ſuch was the *Sanhedrim* among the *Jews* in our Saviour's time; it was the Supreme Court both for Spirituals and Temporals.

In *England* our Princes began early, and continued long to maintain this part of their Authority. The Letters that are pretended to have paſſed between King *Lucius* and Pope *Eleutherius*, are very probably Forgeries; but they are antient ones, and did for many Ages paſs for true. Now a Forgery is generally calculated to the Senſe of the Age in which it is made. In the Pope's Letter the King is called *God's Vicar in his Kingdoms*; and it is ſaid to *belong to his Office to bring his Subjects to the holy Church, and to maintain, protect, and govern them in it*. Both *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Kings made a great many Laws about Eccleſiaſtical matters; and after the Conqueſt, when the Nation grew into a more united Body, and came to a more ſettled Conſtitution, many Laws were made concerning theſe matters, particularly in oppoſition to thoſe Practices that favoured the Authority that the Popes were then aſſuming; ſuch as Appeals to *Rome*, or Biſhops going out of the Kingdom without the King's leave. King *Alfred*'s Laws were a ſort of a Text

for

for a great while; they contain many Laws about Sacred matters. The exempting of Monaſteries from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, was granted by ſome of our Kings at firſt. *William* the Conqueror, to perpetuate the Memory of his Victory over *Harold*, and to endear himſelf to the Clergy, founded an Abbey in the Field where the Battel was fought, called *Battel-Abbey*: And in the Charter of the Foundation, in imitation of what former Kings had done in their Endowments, this Clauſe was put; *It ſhall be alſo free and quiet for ever from all ſubjection to Biſhops, or the dominion of any other Perſons.* This is an Act that does as immediately relate to the Authority of the Church, as any one that we can imagine. The Conſtitutions of *Clarendon* were aſſerted by both King and Parliament, and by the whole Body of the Clergy, as *the Antient Cuſtoms of the Kingdom.* Theſe relate to the Clergy, and were ſubmitted to by them all, *Becket* himſelf not excepted, though he quickly went off from it. *Art.* 37.

It is true, the Papacy got generally the better of the Temporal Authority in a courſe of ſeveral Ages; but at laſt the Popes living long at *Avignon*, together with the great Schiſm that followed upon their return to *Rome*, did very much ſink in their Credit, and that ſtopped the Progreſs they had made before that time; which had probably ſubdued all, if it had not been for thoſe Accidents. Then the Councils began to take heart, and reſolved to aſſert the Freedom of the Church from the Papal Tyranny. *Pragmatick Sanctions* were made in ſeveral Nations to aſſert their Liberty. That in *France* was made with great Solemnity: In theſe the Biſhops did not only aſſert their own Juriſdiction, independent in a great meaſure of the Papacy, but they likewiſe carried it ſo far as to make themſelves Independent on the Civil Authority, particularly in the point of Elections. This diſpoſed Princes generally to enter into Agreements with the Popes; by which the matter was ſo tranſacted, that the Popes and they made a diviſion between them of all the Rights and Pretenſions of the Church. Princes yielded a great deal to the Popes, to be protected by them in that which they got to be reſerved to themſelves. Great Reſtraints were laid both on the Clergy, and likewiſe on the See of *Rome*, by the Appeals that were brought into the Secular Courts, from the Ordinary Judgments of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, or from the Bulls or Powers that Legates brought with them. A diſtinction was found that ſeemed to ſave the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, at the ſame time that the Secular Court was made the Judg of it. The *Appeal* did lye upon a pretence that the Eccleſiaſtical Judg had committed ſome *Abuſe* in the way of proceeding, or in his Sentence. So the *Appeal* was from that *Abuſe*, and the Secular Court was to examine the matter according to the Rules and Laws of the Church, and not according to the Principles or Rules of any other Law: But upon that they did either confirm or reverſe the Sentence. And even thoſe Princes that acknowledg the Papal Authority, have found out diſtinctions to put ſuch Stops to it as they pleaſe; and ſo to make it an Engine to govern their People by, as far as they think fit to give way to it; and to damn ſuch Bulls, or void ſuch Powers as they are afraid of.

Thus it is evident, That both according to Scripture, and the Practice of all Ages and Countries, the Princes of *Chriſtendom* have an Authority over their Subjects in matters Eccleſiaſtical. The reaſon of things makes alſo for this; for if any Rank of men are exempted from their Juriſdiction, they muſt thereby ceaſe to be Subjects: And if any ſort of Cauſes, Spiritual ones in particular, were put out of their Authority, it were an eaſy thing to reduce almoſt every thing to ſuch a relation to *Spirituals*, that if this Principle were once received, their Authority would be very preca-

Art. 37. rious and feeble. Nothing could give Princes ſtronger and juſter Prejudices againſt the Chriſtian Religion, than if they ſaw that the effect of their receiving it muſt be the withdrawing ſo great a part of their Subjects from their Authority; and the putting as many Checks upon it, as thoſe that had the Management of this Religion ſhould think fit to reſtrain it by. In a word, all mankind muſt be under one Obedience and one Authority. It remains that the Meaſures and the Extent of this Power be right ſtated.

It is certain, Firſt, That this Power does not depend upon the Prince's Religion; Whether he is a Chriſtian, or not; or whether he is of a true or falſe Religion; or is a good or a bad man. By the ſame Tenure that he holds his Sovereignty, he holds this likewiſe. *Artaxerxes* had it as well as either *David* or *Solomon*, when the *Jews* were once lawfully his Subjects; and the Chriſtians owed the ſame Duty to the Emperors while Heathen, that they paid them when Chriſtian. The Relations of Nature, ſuch as that of a *Parent* and *Child*, *Huſband* and *Wife*, continue the ſame that they were, whatſoever mens Perſuaſions in matters of Religion may be: So do alſo Civil Relations, *Maſter* and *Servant*, *Prince* and *Subject*; they are neither increaſed nor diminiſhed by the Truth of their Sentiments concerning Religion. All Perſons are ſubject to the Prince's Authority, and liable to ſuch Puniſhments as their Crimes fall under by Law. *Every Soul is ſubject to the higher Powers.* Neither is *Treaſon* leſs *Treaſon*, becauſe ſpoke in a Pulpit or in a Sermon: It may be more Treaſon for that than otherwiſe it would be; becauſe it is ſo publick and deliberate, and is delivered in the way in which it may probably have the worſt effect. So that as to perſons, no great difficulty can lye in this, ſince *every Soul* is declared to be *ſubject to the higher powers.*

As to Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, it is certain, That as the Magiſtrate cannot make void the Laws of Nature, ſuch as the Authority of Parents over their Children, or of Husbands over their Wives, ſo neither can he make void the Law of God: That is from a Superior Authority, and cannot be diſſolved by him. Where a thing is poſitively commanded or forbid by God, the Magiſtrate has no other Authority but that of executing the Laws of God, of adding his Sanctions to them, and of uſing his utmoſt Induſtry to procure Obedience to them. He cannot alter any part of the Doctrine, and make it to be either truer or falſer than it is in it ſelf; nor can he either take away or alter the Sacraments, or break any of thoſe Rules that are given in the New Teſtament about them; becauſe in all theſe the Authority of God is expreſs, and is certainly ſuperior to his. The only queſtion that can be made, is concerning Indifferent things: For inſtance, in the Canons or other Rules of the Church, How far they are in the Magiſtrate's Power, and in what Caſes the Body of Chriſtians, and of the Paſtors of the Church, may maintain their Union among themſelves, and act in oppoſition to his Laws. It ſeems very clear, that in all matters that are indifferent, and are determined by no Law of God, the Magiſtrates Authority muſt take place, and is to be obeyed. The Church has no Authority that ſhe can maintain in oppoſition to the Magiſtrate, but in the executing the Laws of God, and the Rules of the Goſpel: In all other things, as ſhe acts under his Protection, ſo it is by his Permiſſion. But here a great diſtinction is to be made between two Caſes that may happen: The one is, When the Magiſtrate acts like one that intends to preſerve Religion, but commits Errors and Acts of Injuſtice in his Management: The other is, When he acts like one that intends to deſtroy Religion, and to divide and diſtract thoſe that profeſs it. In the former caſe every thing that is not ſinful of it ſelf, is to be

be done in compliance with his Authority; not to give him Umbrage, nor provoke him to withdraw his Protection, and to become inſtead of a Nurſing Father, a Perſecutor of the Church. But on the other hand, when he declares, or it is viſible that his deſign is to deſtroy the Faith, leſs regard is to be had to his Actions. The People may adhere to their Paſtors, and to every Method that may fortify them in their Religion, even in oppoſition to his Invaſion. Upon the whole matter, the Power of the King in Eccleſiaſtical Matters among us, is expreſſed in this Article under thoſe Reſerves, and with that Moderation, that no juſt Scruple can lye againſt it; and it is that which all the Kings even of the *Roman* Communion do aſſume, and in ſome Places with a much more unlimited Authority. The Methods of managing it may differ a little, yet the Power is the ſame, and is built upon the ſame Foundations. And though the Term *Head* is left out by the Article, yet even that is founded on an Expreſſion of *Samuel*'s to *Saul*, as was formerly cited. It is a Figure, and all Figures may be uſed either more looſely or more ſtrictly. In the ſtricteſt ſenſe, as the *Head* communicates Vital Influences to the whole Body, Chriſt is the only Head of his Church; he only ought to be in all things obeyed, ſubmitted to, and depended on; and from him all the Functions and Offices of the Church derive their Uſefulneſs and Virtue. But as *Head* may in a Figure ſtand for the Fountain of Order and Government, of Protection and Conduct, the King or Queen may well be called, *The Head of the Church*. *Art.* 37.

The next Paragraph in this Article is concerning the Lawfulneſs of Capital Puniſhments in Chriſtian Societies. It has an appearance of Compaſſion and Charity, to think that men ought not to be put to death for their Crimes, but to be kept alive that they may repent of them. Some both Antients and Moderns, have thought that there was a Cruelty in all Capital Puniſhments, that was inconſiſtent with the Gentleneſs of the Goſpel. But when we conſider that God in that Law which he himſelf delivered to the *Jews* by the hand of *Moſes*, did appoint ſo many Capital Puniſhments, even for Offences againſt Poſitive Precepts, we cannot think that theſe are contrary to Juſtice or true Goodneſs; ſince they were dictated by God himſelf, who is eternally the ſame, unalterable in his Perfections. This ſhews that God, who knows moſt perfectly our Frame and Diſpoſition, knows that the love of Life is planted ſo deep in our Natures, and that it has ſuch a Root there, that nothing can work ſo powerfully on us, to govern and reſtrain us, as the fear of Death. And therefore ſince the main thing that is to be conſidered in Government, is the Good of the whole Body; and ſince a feeble Indulgence and Impunity may ſet mankind looſe into great Diſorders, from which the Terror of ſeverer Laws, together with ſuch Examples as are made on the Incorrigible, will naturally reſtrain them; it ſeems neceſſary for the preſervation of Mankind and of Society, to have recourſe ſometimes to Capital Puniſhments.

The Precedent that God ſet in the *Moſaical* Law, ſeems a full Juſtification of ſuch Puniſhments under the Goſpel. The Charity which the Goſpel preſcribes, does not take away the Rules of Juſtice and Equity, by which we may maintain our Poſſeſſions, or recover them out of the hands of violent Aggreſſors: Only it obliges us to do that in a ſoft and gentle manner, without Rigor or Reſentment. The ſame Charity, though it obliges us as Chriſtians not to keep up Hatred or Anger in our Hearts, but to pardon as to our own parts, the Wrongs that are done us; yet it does not oblige us to throw up the Order and Peace of Mankind, and abandon it to the Injuſtice and Violence of Wicked men. We owe to Human Society, and to

Art. 37. the Safety and Order of the World, our Endeavours to put a ſtop to the Wickedneſs of Men; which a good man may do with great inward Tenderneſs to the Souls of thoſe whom he proſecutes. It is highly probable, that as nothing beſides ſuch a Method could ſtop the Progreſs of Injuſtice and Wickedneſs, ſo nothing is ſo likely a Mean to bring the Criminal to repent of his ſins, and to fit him to dye as a Chriſtian, as to condemn him to dye for his Crimes. If any thing can awaken his Conſcience, and ſtrike Terror in him, that will do it. Therefore as Capital Puniſhments are neceſſary to Human Society, ſo they are often real Bleſſings to thoſe on whom they fall: And it may be affirmed very poſitively, That a man who can harden himſelf againſt the Terrors of Death, when they come upon him ſo ſolemnly, ſo ſlowly, and ſo certainly, he being in full Health, and well able to reflect on the Conſequences of it, is not like to be wrought on by a longer continuance of Life, or by the Methods of a Natural Death.

It is not poſſible to fix Rules, to which Capital Puniſhments ought to be proportioned. It is certain, that in a full Equality, *Life* only can be ſet againſt *Life*: But there may be many other Crimes, that muſt end in the Ruin of Society, and in the Diſſolution of all Order, and all the Commerce that ought to be among men, if they go unpuniſhed. In this all Princes and States muſt judge, according to the real Exigencies and Neceſſities that appear to them. Nor can any general Rules be made, ſave only this, That ſince Man was made after the Image of God, and that the Life of Man is precious, and when once extinguiſhed it ceaſes for evermore; therefore all due Care and Tenderneſs ought to be had in preſerving it: and ſince the End of Government is the Preſervation of Mankind, therefore the Lives of Men ought not to be too lightly taken, except as it appears to be neceſſary for the Preſervation and Safety of the Society.

Rom. 13. 4. Under the Goſpel, as well as under the Law, the Magiſtrate is the *Miniſter of God*, and has the Sword put in his hand; which *he beareth not in vain*, for he is appointed to be *a revenger, to execute wrath on him that doth evil.* The natural ſignification of his carrying the Sword, is, That he has an Authority for puniſhing Capitally; ſince it is upon thoſe occaſions only that he can be ſaid to uſe the Sword as a Revenger. Nor can Chriſtian Charity oblige a man whom the Law has made to be the Avenger of Blood, or of other Crimes, to refuſe to comply with that obligation which is laid upon him by the Conſtitution under which he is born: He can only forgive that of which he is the Maſter, but the other is a Debt which he owes the Society; and his private forgiving of the wrong done himſelf, does not reach to that other obligation, which is not in his own power to give away.

The laſt Paragraph in this Article, is concerning the Lawfulneſs of Wars. Some have thought all Wars to be contrary to Chriſtian Charity, to be inhuman and barbarous; and that therefore men ought, according to the Rule ſet us by our Saviour, *Not to reſiſt evil:* But when one Injury is done, not

Matth. 5. 39. only to bear it, but to ſhew a readineſs rather to receive new ones; *turning the other cheek to him that ſmites us on the one: going two miles with him*

40. *that ſhall compel us to go one with him: And giving our Cloak to him that ſhall take away our Coat.* It ſeems juſt, that by a parity of reaſon Societies ſhould be under the ſame Obligations to bear from other Societies, that ſingle Perſons are under to other ſingle Perſons. This muſt be acknowledged to be a very great difficulty: for as on the one hand the words of our Saviour ſeem to be very expreſs and full; ſo on the other hand, if they are to be underſtood literally, they muſt caſt the World looſe, and expoſe it to the Injuſtice

juſtice and Inſolence of wicked perſons, who would not fail to take advantages from ſuch a compliance and ſubmiſſion. Therefore theſe words muſt be conſidered, firſt, as addreſſed to private perſons; then, as relating to ſmaller Injuries, which can more eaſily be born; and finally, as Phraſes and Forms of Speech, that are not to be carried to the utmoſt extent, but to be conſtrued with that ſoftning that is to be allowed to the uſe of a Phraſe. So that the meaning of that Section of our Saviours Sermon is to be taken thus; That private Perſons ought to be ſo far from purſuing Injuries, to the equal Retaliation of an *eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth*, that they ought in many caſes to bear Injuries, without either reſiſting them, or making returns of evil for evil; ſhewing a Patience to bear even repeated Injuries, when the matter is ſmall, and the wrong tolerable. *Art.* 37.

Under all this, ſecret conditions are to be underſtood, ſuch as when by ſuch our Patience we may hope *to overcome evil with good*; or at leaſt to ſhew to the World the Power that Religion has over us, to check and ſubdue our Reſentments. In this caſe certainly we ought to ſacrifice our juſt Rights, either of defence, or of ſeeking reparation, to the Honour of Religion, and to the gaining of men by ſuch an Heroical Inſtance of Virtue. But it cannot be ſuppoſed that our Saviour meant that good men ſhould deliver themſelves up to be a Prey to be devoured by bad men; or to oblige his Followers to renounce their Claims to the Protection and Reparations of Law and Juſtice.

In this St. *Paul* gives us a clear Commentary on our Saviour's words: He reproves the *Corinthians for going to Law with one another, and that before unbelievers*; when it was ſo great a Scandal to the Chriſtian Religion in its firſt Infancy. He ſays, *Why do not ye take wrong? why do not ye ſuffer your ſelves to be defrauded?* Yet he does not deny but that they might claim their Rights, and ſeek for redreſs; therefore he propoſes their doing it by Arbitration among themſelves, and only urges the Scandal of ſuing before Heathen Magiſtrates; ſo that his Reproof did not fall on their ſuing one another, but on the ſcandalous manner of doing it. Therefore men are not bound up by the Goſpel from ſeeking Relief before a Chriſtian Judge, and by conſequence thoſe words of our Saviour's are not to be urged in the utmoſt extent of which they are capable. If private perſons may ſeek Reparation of one another, they may alſo ſeek Reparations of the Wrongs that are done by thoſe who are under another Obedience; and every Prince owes a Protection to his People in ſuch caſes; for *he beareth not the Sword in vain*; He is their *Avenger*. He may demand Reparation by ſuch Forms as are agreed on among Nations; and when that is not granted, he may take ſuch Reparation from any that are under that Obedience, as may oblige the whole Body to repair the Injury. Much more may he uſe the Sword to protect his Subjects, if any other comes to invade them. For this end chiefly he has both the Sword given him, and thoſe Taxes paid him, that may enable him to ſupport the Charge to which the uſe of it may put him. And as a private man owes by the Ties of Humanity, Aſſiſtance to a man whom he ſees in the hands of Thieves and Murderers; ſo Princes may aſſiſt ſuch other Princes as are unjuſtly fallen upon; both out of humanity to him who is ſo ill uſed, and to repreſs the Inſolence of an unjuſt Aggreſſor, and alſo to ſecure the whole Neighbourhood from the effects of Succeſs in ſuch unlawful Conqueſts. Upon all theſe accounts we do not doubt but that Wars, which are thus originally as to the firſt occaſion of them *Defenſive*, though in the Progreſs of them they muſt be often *offenſive*, may be lawful. 1 Cor 6. 6, 7.

God

Art. 37. God allowed of Wars in that Policy which he himſelf conſtituted; in which we are to make a great difference between thoſe things that were permitted by reaſon of the hardneſs of their hearts, and thoſe things which were expreſly commanded of God. Theſe laſt can never be ſuppoſed to be immoral, ſince commanded by God, whoſe Precepts and Judgments are altogether righteous. When the Soldiers came to be baptized of St. *John*, he did
Luk. 3.14. not charge them to relinquiſh that courſe of Life, but only to *do violence to no man, to accuſe no man falſly, and to be content with their wages.* Nor
Acts 10. did St. *Peter* charge *Cornelius* to forſake his Poſt when he baptized him. The Primitive Chriſtians thought they might continue in Military Employments, in which they preſerved the Purity of their Religion entire; as appears both from *Tertullian*'s Works, and from the Hiſtory of *Julian*'s ſhort Reign. But though Wars that are in their own nature only Defenſive, are lawful, and a part of the Protection that Princes owe their People; yet unjuſt Wars deſigned for making Conqueſts, for the enlargement of Empire, and the raiſing the Glory of Princes, are certainly publick Robberies, and the higheſt Acts of Injuſtice and Violence poſſible; in which men ſacrifice to their Pride or Humour, the Peace of the World, and the Lives of all thoſe that dye in the Quarrel, whoſe Blood God will require at their hands. Such Princes become accountable to God in the higheſt degree imaginable, for all the Rapine and Bloodſhed that is occaſioned by their Pride and Injuſtice.

When it is viſible that a War is unjuſt, certainly no man of Conſcience can ſerve in it, unleſs it be in the Defenſive part: For though no man can owe that to his Prince, to go and murder other perſons at his command, yet he may owe it to his Country, to aſſiſt towards its Preſervation, from being over-run even by thoſe whom his Prince has provoked by making War on them unjuſtly. For even in ſuch a War, though it is unlawful to ſerve in the Attacks that are made on others, it is ſtill lawful for the People of every Nation to defend themſelves againſt Foreigners.

There is no Cauſe of War more unjuſt, than the propagating the true Religion, or the deſtroying a falſe one. That is to be left to the Providence of God, who can change the hearts of men, and bring them to the knowledg of the Truth when he will. Ambition, and the deſire of Empire muſt never pretend to carry on God's work. *The wrath of man worketh not out the righteouſneſs of God.* And it were better barefacedly to own, that men are ſet on by Carnal Motives, than to prophane Religion, and the Name of God, by making it the Pretence.

* ARTICLE

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

Of Christian Mens Goods, which are not common.

The Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right Title and Possession of the same; as certain Anabaptists do falsly boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give Alms to the Poor according to his Ability.

THere is no great difficulty in this Article; as there is no danger to be apprehended that the Opinion condemned by it is like to spread. Those may be for it, who find it for them. The Poor may claim to it, but few of the Rich will ever go into it. The whole Charge that is given in the Scripture for Charity and Almsgiving; all the Rules that are given to the *Rich*, and to *Masters*, to whom their Servants were then Properties and Slaves, do clearly demonstrate that the Gospel was not designed to introduce a Community of Goods. And even that Fellowship or Community which was practised in the first beginnings of it, was the effect of particular mens Charity, and not of any Law that was laid on them. *Barnabas having land, sold it, and laid the Price of it at the Apostles feet.* And when St. *Peter* chid *Ananias* for having vowed to give in the whole Price of his Land to that distribution, and then withdrawing a part of it, and by a Lye pretending that he had brought it all in; he affirmed that the Right was still in him, till he by a Vow had put it out of his power. When God fed his People by Miracle with the *Manna*, there was an equal distribution made; yet when he brought them into the promised Land, every man had his Property. The equal division of the Land was the foundation of that Constitution; but still every man had a Property, and might improve it by his Industry either to the increasing of his Stock, the purchasing Houses in Towns, or buying of Estates, till the Redemption at the Jubilee. Acts 4. 36, 37.

It can never be thought a just and equitable thing, that the sober and industrious should be bound to share the fruits of their labour with the idle and the luxurious. This would be such an Incouragement to those whom all wise Governments ought to discourage, and would so discourage those who ought to be encouraged, that all the Order of the World must be dissolved, if so extravagant a Conceit should be entertained. Both the Rich and the Poor have Rules given them, and there are Virtues suitable to each state of Life. The Rich ought to be sober and thankful, modest and humble, bountiful and charitable, out of the abundance that God has given them; and not to set their hearts upon uncertain Riches, but to trust in the living God, and to make the best use of them that they can. The Poor ought to be patient and industrious; to submit to the Providence of God, and to study to make sure of a better Portion in another State, than God has thought fit to give them in this World.

It will be much easier to perswade the World of the Truth of the first part of this Article, than to bring them up to the Practice of the second Branch of it. We see what particular Care God took of the Poor in the Old Dispensation, and what variety of Provision was made for them; all which must certainly be carried as much higher among Christians, as the Laws of Love and Charity are raised to a higher degree in the Gospel. Christ represents the Essay that he gives of the Day of Judgment, in this Article of Charity, and expresses it in the most emphatical words possible;

as

Art. 38. as if what is given to the Poor were to be reckoned for as if it had been given perſonally to Chriſt himſelf: And in a great variety of other Paſſages this matter is ſo oft inſiſted on, that no man can reſiſt it who reads them, and acknowledges the Authority of the New Teſtament.

It is not poſſible to fix a determined Quota, as was done under the Law, in which every Family had their peculiar Allotment, which had a certain Charge ſpecified in the Law, that was laid upon it. But under the Goſpel, as men may be under greater Inequalities of Fortune than they could have been under the Old Diſpenſation; ſo that vaſt variety of mens Circumſtances makes that ſuch Proportions as would be intolerable Burdens upon ſome, would be too light and diſproportioned to the Wealth of others. Thoſe words of our Saviour come pretty near the marking out every mans
Luk. 21.4. meaſure. *Theſe have of their abundance caſt into the offerings of God, but ſhe of her penury hath caſt in all the living that ſhe had. Abundance* is Superfluity in the *Greek*; which imports that which is over and above the *food*
Prov. 30.8. *that is convenient*; that which one can well ſpare and lay aſide. Now by our Saviour's deſign it plainly appears that this is a low degree of Charity, when men give only out of this; though God knows it is far beyond what is done by the greater part of Chriſtians. Whereas that which is ſo peculiarly acceptable to God, is when men give out of their *Penury*, that is, out of what is neceſſary to them; when they are ready, eſpecially upon great and crying occaſions, even to pinch Nature, and ſtraiten themſelves within what upon other occaſions they may allow themſelves; that ſo they may diſtribute to the neceſſities of others who are more pinched, and are in great extremities. By this every man ought to judg himſelf, as knowing that he muſt give a moſt particular Account to God, of that which God hath reſerved to himſelf, and ordered the diſtribution of it to the Poor, out of all that *Abundance* with which he has bleſs'd ſome far beyond others.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XXXIX.

Of a Chriſtian Man's Oath.

As we confeſs that vain and raſh ſwearing is forbidden Chriſtian men by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and James his Apoſtle; ſo we judg that Chriſtian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may ſwear when the Magiſtrate requireth, in a Cauſe of Faith and Charity, ſo it be done according to the Prophets teaching, in Juſtice, Judgment, and Truth.

AN Oath is an Appeal to God, either upon a Teſtimony that is given, or a Promiſe that is made, confirming the Truth of the one, and the Fidelity of the other. It is an Appeal to God, who knows all things, and will judg all men: So it is an Act that acknowledges both his Omniſcience and his being the Governor of this World, who will judg all at the Laſt Day according to their deeds, and muſt be ſuppoſed to have a more immediate regard to ſuch Acts, in which men made him a Party. An Appeal truly made, is a committing the matter to God: A falſe one is an Act of open defiance, which muſt either ſuppoſe a denial of his knowing all things, or a belief that he has forſaken the Earth, and has no regard to the Actions of Mortals: or finally, it is a bold venturing on the Juſtice and Wrath of God, for the ſerving ſome preſent end, or the gaining of ſome preſent advantage: And which of theſe ſoever gives a man that brutal Confidence of adventuring on a falſe Oath, we muſt conclude it to be a very crying Sin; which muſt be expiated with a very ſevere Repentance, or will bring down verry terrible Judgments on thoſe who are guilty of it.

Thus if we conſider the matter upon the Principles of Natural Religion, an Oath is an Act of Worſhip and Homage done to God; and is a very powerful mean for preſerving the Juſtice and Order of the World. All Deciſions in Juſtice muſt be founded upon evidence; two muſt be believed rather than one; therefore the more Terror that is ſtruck into the minds of men, either when they give their Teſtimony, or when they bind themſelves by Promiſes, and the deeper that this goes, it will both oblige them to the greater Caution in what they ſay, and to the greater Strictneſs in what they promiſe. Since therefore Truth and Fidelity are ſo neceſſary to the Security and Commerce of the World, and ſince an Appeal to God is the greateſt Mean that can be thought on to bind men to an exactneſs and ſtrictneſs in every thing with which that Appeal is joined; therefore the uſe of an Oath is fully juſtified upon the Principles of Natural Religion. This has ſpread it ſelf ſo univerſally through the World, and began ſo early, that it may well be reckoned a Branch of the Law and Light of Nature.

We find this was practiſed by the Patriarchs: *Abimelech* reckoned that he was ſafe, if he could perſuade *Abraham* to ſwear to him by God, That he would not deal falſly with him; and *Abraham* conſented ſo to ſwear. Either the ſame *Abimelech* or another of that Name, deſired that an Oath Gen. 21. 23. 26. 28. 31. 53.

Art. 39. might be between *Iſaac* and him; and *they ſware one to another*. *Jacob* did alſo ſwear to *Laban*. Thus we find the Patriarchs practiſing this before the *Moſaical* Law. Under that Law we find many Covenants ſealed by an Oath; and that was a Sacred Bond, as appears from the Story of the *Gibeonites*. There was alſo a ſpecial Conſtitution in the *Jewiſh* Religion, by which one in Authority might put others under an *Oath*, and *adjure* them either to do ſomewhat, or to declare ſome Truth. The Law was, That *when any Soul* Lev. 5. 1. (*i. e.* man) *ſinned, and heard the voice of ſwearing* (Adjuration), *and was a witneſs whether he hath ſeen it, or known it, if he do not utter it, then he ſhall bear his Iniquity*; that is, he ſhall be guilty of Perjury. So the Form then was, the Judg or the Parent did adjure all perſons to declare their knowledg of any particular. They charged this upon them with an Oath or Curſe, and all perſons were then bound by that Oath to tell the truth. Judg. 17. 2. So *Micah* came and confeſſed, upon his Mother's Adjuration, That he had the Eleven hundred Shekels, for which he heard her put all under a Curſe; 1 Sam. 14. 24, 28, 44. and upon that ſhe bleſſed him. *Saul*, when he was purſuing the *Philiſtines*, put the People under a Curſe, if they ſhould eat any Food till Night; and this was thought to be ſo obligatory, that the Violation of it was Capital, and *Jonathan* was put in hazard of his Life upon it. Thus the High-Matth. 26. 63, 64. Prieſt put our Saviour under the Oath of *Curſing*, when he required him to tell, Whether he was the Meſſias or not? Upon which our Saviour was according to that Law upon his Oath; and though he had continued ſilent till then, as long as it was free to him to ſpeak or not, at his pleaſure, yet then he was bound to ſpeak, and ſo he did ſpeak, and owned himſelf to be what he truly was.

This was the Form of that Conſtitution; but if by practice it were found that mens pronouncing the words of the Oath themſelves, when required by a Perſon in Authority to do it; and that ſuch Actions as their lifting up their Hand to Heaven, or their laying it on a Bible, as importing their Senſe of the Terrors contained in that Book, were like to make a deeper Impreſſion on them, than barely the Judges charging them with the *Oath* or *Curſe*; it ſeems to be within the compaſs of Human Authority, to change the Rites and Manner of this Oath, and to put it in ſuch a Method as might probably work moſt on the minds of thoſe who were to take it. The Inſtitution in general is plain, and the making of ſuch Alterations ſeems to be clearly in the Power of any State or Society of men.

In the New Teſtament we find St. *Paul* proſecuting a Diſcourſe concerning Heb. 6. 13, 14, 15. the *Oath* which God ſware to *Abraham, who not having a greater to ſwear by, ſwore by himſelf*; and to enforce the Importance of that, it is added, *An* Ver. 16. *oath for confirmation* (that is, for the affirming or aſſuring of any thing) *is the end of all controverſy*. Which plainly ſhews us what Notion the Author of that Epiſtle had of an Oath: He did not conſider it as an Impiety or Rev. 10. 6. Prophanation of the Name of God. In St. *John*'s Viſions an Angel is repreſented as *lifting up his hand*, and *ſwearing by him that liveth for ever and ever*: Rom. 1. 9. And the Apoſtles even in their Epiſtles, that are acknowledged to be writ Gal. 1. 20. by Divine Inſpiration, do frequently appeal to God in theſe words, *God is witneſs*; which contain the whole Eſſence of an Oath. Once St. *Paul* 2 Cor. 1. 23. carries the Expreſſion to a Form of Imprecation, when he calls *God to a record upon* (or againſt) *his ſoul*.

Theſe ſeem to be Authorities beyond exception, juſtifying the uſe of an Oath upon a great occaſion, or before a competent Authority; according

to

to that Prophecy quoted in the Article, which is thought to relate to the Times of the *Meſſias: And thou ſhalt ſwear, The Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteouſneſs; and the nations ſhall bleſs themſelves in him, and in him ſhall they glory.* Theſe laſt words ſeem evidently to relate to the days of the Meſſiah: So here an Oath religiouſly taken, is repreſented as a part of that Worſhip which all Nations ſhall offer up to God under the New Diſpenſation. *Art.* 39. Jer. 4. 2.

Againſt all this, the great Objection is, That when Chriſt is correcting the Gloſſes that the *Phariſees* put upon the Law, whereas they only taught that men *ſhould not forſwear themſelves, but perform their oaths unto the Lord*; our Saviour ſays, *Swear not at all*; *neither by the Heaven, nor the earth, nor by Jeruſalem, nor by the head*; *but let your communication be yea yea, and nay nay*; *for whatſoever is more than theſe, cometh of evil.* And St. *James* ſpeaking of the enduring Afflictions, and of the Patience of *Job*, adds, *But above all things, my brethren, ſwear not*; *neither by the heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath*; *but let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, leſt ye fall into condemnation.* It muſt be confeſſed that theſe words ſeem to be ſo expreſs and poſitive, that great regard is to be had to a Scruple that is founded on an Authority that ſeems to be ſo full. But according to what was formerly obſerved of the manner of the Judiciary Oaths among the *Jews*, theſe words cannot belong to them. Thoſe Oaths were bound upon the Party by the Authority of the Judg; in which he was paſſive, and ſo could not help his being put under an Oath: Whereas our Saviour's words relate only to thoſe Oaths which a man took voluntarily on himſelf, but not to thoſe under which he was bound according to the Law of God. If our Saviour had intended to have forbidden all Judiciary Oaths, he muſt have annulled that part of the Authority of Magiſtrates and Parents, and have forbid them to put others under Oaths. The word *Communication*, that comes afterwards, ſeems to be a Key to our Saviour's words; to ſhew that they ought only to be applied to their Communication or Commerce; to thoſe Diſcourſes that paſs among men, in which it is but too cuſtomary to give Oaths a very large ſhare. Or ſince the words that went before, concerning the performing of Vows, ſeem to limit the Diſcourſe to them, the meaning of *Swear not at all*, may be this, Be not ready, as the *Jews* were, to make Vows on all occaſions, to devote themſelves or others: Inſtead of thoſe, he requires them to uſe a greater Simplicity in their Communication. And St. *James*'s words may be alſo very fitly applied to this, ſince men in their Afflictions are apt to make very indiſcreet Vows, without conſidering whether they either can, or probably will pay them; as if they would pretend by ſuch profuſe Vows to overcome or corrupt God. Matth. 5. 34, 35, 36, 37. James 5. 12.

This Senſe will well agree both to our Saviour's words, and to St. *James*'s; and it ſeems moſt reaſonable to believe that this is their true Senſe, for it agrees with every thing elſe; whereas if we underſtand them in that ſtrict Senſe of condemning all Oaths, we cannot tell what to make of thoſe Oaths which occur in ſeveral Paſſages of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles; and leaſt of all, what to ſay to our Saviour's own anſwering upon Oath, when adjured. Therefore all raſh and vain ſwearing, all ſwearing in the Communication or Intercourſe of Mankind, is certainly condemned, as well as all Imprecatory Vows. But ſince we have ſo great Authorities from the Scriptures in both Teſtaments for other Oaths; and ſince that agrees ſo evidently with the Principles of Natural Religion, we may conclude with the Article,

That

Art. 39. That a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth it. It is added, *in a Cause of Faith and Charity*; for certainly in trifling matters, such Reverence is due to the Holy Name of God, that swearing ought to be avoided: But when it is necessary, it ought to be set about with those regards that are due to the Great God, who is appealed to: A Gravity of Deportment, and an Exactness of weighing the truth of what we say, are highly necessary here: Certainly our Words ought to be few, and our Hearts full of the Apprehensions of the Majesty of that God with whom we have to do, before whom we stand, and to whom we appeal; who knows all things, *and will bring every work to judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.*

FINIS.