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A LETTER

TO THE

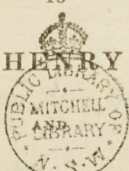
REV. W. B. ULLATHORNE, C.V.G.,

IN ANSWER TO

A FEW WORDS

TO

THE REV. HENRY FULTON,



HIS READERS, &c.,

BY THE REV. HENRY FULTON, A.B.,

Chaplain of Castlereagh.

“He that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him.”—Prov. xviii. 17.

Sydney:

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1833.

A LETTER,

&c. &c.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was sorry to find, in your "Few Words to the Rev. Henry Fulton, and his Readers," a degree of irritation and reluctance to hear the truth stated, concerning the errors into which both individuals and Churches are liable to fall, and into which they have fallen.

You say the productions of my mind shew the character of the man completely revealed; and what is this character? You answer, that I repeatedly insult a respectable body of people; that I contradict myself; that I have not produced my authorities; and that I am quite singular in my opinions.

Do you not contradict yourself when you first say that my title page ought to have the verb think turned into the singular thinks? And yet you admit that there are some Protestants here who are pleased with these productions; and why are they pleased, or why do they admire them? Because they think as I do; and it also appears, from your testimony, that there are writers of the same stamp, Protestants too, in England and Ireland.

I am sorry that you should think arguments refuted because large volumes of sophistry have been published against them. The writers of those volumes shew, by their manner of treating the subject, that truth is not their object; but their object is to defend a cause, true or false, right or wrong. I am sorry that you betray, occasionally, such a disposition yourself. To say that I insult people,

because I warn them to examine their principles, to prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good—because I sincerely and anxiously shew them the dangerous path they walk in, is a strange perversion of language.

The oldest Churches established by the Apostles at Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, Smyrna, Antioch, Jerusalem, &c. were such as our purest Protestant Churches, and when these Churches began to degenerate, and become corrupt, other pure Churches started up one after another unto our own times, though many of them were cruelly persecuted. The pure Church can only be traced, by its blood, through many ages. It will appear hereafter, that from a considerable time before Adrian, the first Pope of that name, the Church of Rome became idolatrous, and consequently ceased from being a Christian Church. Until, comparatively a late period, Churches more pure were not under its controul, and approached nearly to purity, so that Protestant Churches, or Churches similar to Protestant Churches, which are truly the Catholic Church, are the oldest Church, because first planted by the Apostles, as appears by their epistles and sermons, and actions recorded in the Acts. How can a synagogue of Satan be called a Christian Church? Why should not its doctrines and practices be exposed and discussed? Why should a Church be depended on to interpret Scripture, whose doctrines and practices have been ever changing, and which has come to a state of corruption and absurdity scarcely credible?

As to the Commissioner's Letter, on a political subject, I can say, that as Protestants cannot conscientiously build Chapels, or pay Priests of that persuasion, a conscientious Government cannot devote the product of taxes to these purposes, but in proportion to the quantity of taxes raised from Romanists themselves; for surely Protestant property, in the hands of Government, ought not to be given to promote a religion they abhor.

You say that the Protestant Clergy do not agree with me in my opinions; and yet every Clergyman, who gets a large or small living in England or Ireland, must declare his hearty assent and consent to the prayers and articles of the Church, and the 35th article gives sanction to the Homilies as containing a godly and wholesome doctrine.

Do you undertake to say that they prevaricate in this their declaration? Mr. Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, seems to say as much;* but I do not believe him. If you read the homily against peril of idolatry, you will find the doctrine which I inculcated in my *Reasons* ably defended. I know many worthy and conscientious Clergymen who are convinced of its truth; and I do not care how bright his name or abilities may be, if he solemnly declare before God and a congregation his assent and consent to what he does not believe, he will never be a worthy character in my esteem.

You say that enlightened Laymen, who are Protestants, do not agree with me: if they believe the Bible, they agree with me; if not, where did they obtain their light? I know that Hume, Gibbon, and Voltaire, approve of the Romanists in many of their writings. To them and their followers, whether Divines, Magistrates, or Philosophers; "to the Divines all religions are equally good; to the Magistrates all religions are equally useful; and to the Philosophers all religions equally false." Good Lord deliver us from such a state of things: we know what followed such a state of things under the first Roman Emperors.

You seem to confound intolerance with what is generally called bigotry. I may be what is called a bigot to my own religion, and yet not be intolerant. Intolerance is to prevent a people, by force, from the exercise of that religion to which they are attached, which can have no other effect than to make hypocrites. But while I tolerate a religion, I may think it very dangerous, or fatal to the salvation of their bodies and souls, through the long successions of eternity; and no other mode can be lawfully used to turn them from their dangerous religion, than patient instruction and prayer to God that he may grant them repentance to acknowledge the truth. I never vindicated the Romanists, when they have sufficient power, from intolerance, nor would I condemn their bigotry, if it proceeded from honest research after truth.

Now we come to the question whether Romanists are idolators. What is an idolator? One who gives the

* *Decline and Fall*, fifty-fourth chapter, end of last paragraph.

honor due to God to any creature, or who worships any other God than Jehovah; secondly, one who makes an image of the true God, for the purpose of religious worship, or who makes images of any creatures, for the purpose of religious worship; or who puts that trust in anything which he owes to God alone.

That the first and second commandments are not of the same sense or meaning is clear, neither is the second contained in the first: for a man may give the honour due to God to the Virgin Mary, to St. Peter, to Mars, Jupiter, Baal, Milcolm, or any other invisible being, by kneeling down before them, supposing them to be present, or prostrating himself, or giving otherwise the same outward respect to these beings, either real or supposed, in the presence of his fellow creatures, which he usually shews to God, or is capable of shewing, while no images, pictures, or representations of them are present, or made use of. Secondly, a man may set up images of the true God, or of creatures whom he wished to honor or worship, kneel down before them, burn tapers and incense in presence of these images, and shew them outwardly, at least, in presence of his fellow creatures, all the honour which he is capable of shewing to Jehovah. He may say that the honour which he does in presence of the image is intended for the archetype.

I have seen a number of people kneeling in a room where no images existed, invoking Peter, Paul, James, Laurence, &c. requesting these saints to pray for them, and they shewed the same outward respect to these invisible beings which they were capable of shewing to God himself, in presence of their fellow creatures. I would ask were the minds of these unlearned people capable of that abstraction by which they could perceive that distinction of internal respect due to God and to a creature. I am sure many of the learned themselves cannot clearly perceive this distinction, while they commit an act of idolatry, in outwardly honouring the creature as they honour God himself.

Others kneel before the image of Christ, or of the Father, though God prohibited the making of any likeness or similitude of him in these words, "Take good heed unto yourselves (for ye saw no manner of similitude on

the day that Jehovah spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image. Was it not the image of Jehovah which God here prohibited to be made; for you saw no image of me when I spoke to you out of the midst of the fire.* Read the whole fourth chapter of Deuteronomy. In the first commandment God prohibits any religious worship to be given to a creature, or to any invisible being called God except himself. In the second commandment, He universally prohibits all images, pictures, or representations of all things whatever to be made use of in religious worship. The very terms which the commandment uses shews that it is confined to religious worship. The other eight commandments are each of them universal propositions, and, if divided at all, may be formed into innumerable commandments; but we are informed that they are ten† commandments, each of which is a universal proposition, or a genus, which contains all that species under it. Add any two together, or divide any one asunder, and you destroy some of the ten general heads. The second is not a tautology of the first commandment; it is a distinct general head.

In the fortieth chapter of Isaiah, the Lord says by the prophet, to whom will ye liken God, or what likeness will you compare unto him? Then he ridicules the maker of images of either gold or wood.

You, Sir, endeavour to render doubtful whether the Israelites made an image of their Jehovah, when Moses was with God in the mount. I shall therefore translate the whole passage, and give my reason for deviating from our English version. "And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, up, make us a god which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him. And Aaron said unto them, break off the golden ear-rings which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons and of your daughters, and bring them unto me." Fourth verse, "And he received them at their hand, and fashioned it

* Deut. iv. 15, 16.

† Ibid x. 4.

with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf: and they said, this is thy god, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And when Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, to-morrow is a feast to Jehovah. And they rose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and peace offerings; did they not offer on the altar which Aaron erected before the calf? and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play. It was a feast to Jehovah, of whom the calf was intended as a representation from whatever figure they copied that calf, or conceived the form of it." Thirty-first verse, "And Moses returned unto the Lord, and said, Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them a god of gold: for they made only one calf, which could not with propriety be called gods, but rather a god. And the word which is here translated gods, is always translated god, when applied to Jehovah, the God of Heaven." See Gen. xxx. 2. xxii. 1. xxiv. 12. &c. And they called it by the name of him whom they represented by it: besides, the Psalmist gives authority to this interpretation, Psalm cvi. 20, they changed their glory, namely Jehovah, into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass.

It is, therefore, clear that all images, pictures, statues, and representations of God, or of any other creature, in religious worship, are forbidden by the second commandment; and all religious worship of every creature, however low or high, holy or prophane, is forbidden by the first commandment. Except in those cases wherein God himself interferes either to suspend any commandment, in a particular instance, or for a continuance, no man can without sin break any of the commandments.

God gave to the children of Israel a permission to break, in one instance, the eighth commandment, when leaving Egypt.

God commanded Moses to break the second commandment, in case of those images which were erected in the holy of holies, and to which the people never had access, but the High Priest alone. And if any figures appeared to the multitude in Solomon's temple, David was a prophet, and Nathan and Gad, from whose advise these were erected by God's authority; but no man dare copy after

these exceptions, but by the command of God himself. God ordered Moses to erect the brazen serpent, which was also another exception, by God's authority. Jesus Christ appointed the breaking of bread, and pouring out of wine as a representation of his body broken for our sins, and his blood shed and separated from his body; and the eating of the bread, and the drinking of wine, to represent the spiritual nourishment which his followers receive from the Holy Ghost to strengthen and refresh their souls; but he, as God, had sufficient authority to give sanction to that exception to the general rule

But, my dear Mr. Ullathorne, your Church had no authority to mutilate this representation which Christ appointed, in administering the Lord's Supper, or Eucharist to the people. He has appointed part of that transaction to represent the pouring out of his blood, and its separation from his body, but your Church has suppressed it; an awfully great assumption of power, to suppress what Christ has instituted, and to invent, as if ye were wiser than he is, another unauthorized representation, with scenical dresses of Christ's sufferings, in the play, the tragedy, or rather pantomime of the mass. Both the suppression of the one, and invention of the other, are sins of a very deep dye. Oh! what bowings, crossings, finger washings, and other contemptible ceremonies, the inventions of men of corrupt minds, who are destitute of the truth, and cannot love it.

You say, that Eusebius attests, that he had seen images of Christ, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, which were made in their own times, it is true,* but Ireneus reproved the hereticks for carrying about the image of Christ, made truly according to his own proportion, in Pilate's time, as they said, which ought to be more esteemed than those lying images which are now set up. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, says,† and St. Jerome also, that the errors of images have come in, and were introduced among christians, by the heathen converts, by a heathenish use and custom. Eusebius shews the cause, saying, it is not to be wondered at,

* Ireneus, lib. i. chap. 24, 25.

† History Eccl. lib. vii. chap. 14, 15.; Jerome, tenth chap. prophet Jeremiah. See the Homily against Peril of Idolatry.

that they who were heathens before, and afterwards believed, should endeavour to show their gratitude to our Saviour, for his benefits which they had received from him, as this was the way in which they were accustomed to show their gratitude to their benefactors before their conversion; he also says, we see now that images of Peter and Paul, and of our Saviour himself, are made, and pictures painted, which I think have been observed and kept by an heathenish custom: for the heathens are accustomed, in this way, to honour them whom they think worthy of honour: they think some tokens of old men ought to be kept. Observe, my dear Sir, that both Eusebius and Jerome think and agree, that images came among christian men by such as had been heathens and accustomed to idols, and after they had been converted to the faith of Christ, being imperfectly purged from their former errors, still retained some remaining heathen notions. So that images were introduced by the heathens, in the same way in which the Jews brought in circumcision, which cost the Apostles so much trouble to remove from the Church, and St. Jerome tells us, that the use of images was an error. Eusebius lived about the year 330; but it is less wonderful that circumcision was introduced, because it was first used by the command of God himself. Images were not worshipped in Eusebius's time, nor set up in Churches; afterwards, they crept out of private houses into Churches, and first bred superstition, and finally, idolatry amongst Christians.* When godly emperors, learned bishops, and others, perceived this idolatry, they commanded that such pictures, images, and idols, should be removed, and used no more. The emperors Valentinian III. and Theodosius II, did write to the captain of their army in the year 430, in the following manner: "whereas we are very anxious to maintain the religion of our God, pure in all things, we will permit no man to paint, carve, or grave the image of our Saviour Christ, in colours, stone, or any other matter; but, in what place

* Images were not very common, nor were there any statues. But it is as undoubtedly certain, at the same time, as it is extravagant and monstrous, that the worship of the martyrs was modelled by degrees, according to the religious services that were paid to the gods before the coming of Christ. See Mosheim, vol. i. p. 366. See Beaubre's Hist. Manicheism, tom. ii. p. 642.

soever it shall be found, we command that it shall be removed, and that all such as shall attempt any thing contrary to our decrees herein, shall be most severely punished.* Here you see what Christian Princes of very ancient times decreed against images, which then began to creep in amongst Christians; for it is certain that, during the space of more than three hundred years, after the death of Christ, and before these godly emperors reigned, there was no images publicly in churches.†

Soon after, the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarians broke into Italy, and into all parts of the Western empire, burned libraries, committed ravages, and destroyed cities, so that on account of wars, troubled state of the times, and want of books, both Clergy and Laity obtained less learning than before, and were detained by wars from attending to religious subjects, and to the knowledge of the Scriptures: also barbarous and ignorant Princes wished to introduce image-worship into churches. Therefore Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, the chief town in Gallia Norbonnenses, a godly and learned man, who lived 600 years after Christ, observing that by the use of images the people were becoming idolatrous, broke to pieces all the images of Christ and of the saints, which were in that city; but Gregory, the first Pope of that name, and who held the Popedom from 590 to 603, and was the first Bishop who permitted images to be set up in churches, condemned the worship of them.‡ Because Gregory admitted them into churches, upon him all image-worshippers ground their defence of this practice. Serenus was persuaded that idolatry would be the certain consequence of setting up images in churches; Gregory thought not; but Serenus's conjectures proved true. Thus 600 years after Christ, images and pictures were first allowed to be in churches in the Western parts of the world.§

After Gregory's time, Constantine who was Bishop of Rome from the year 708 to 714 assembled a Council of Bishops, in the year 712 who condemned the doctrine of

* Libri Augustales, collected by Tribonianus, Basilides Theophilus, Dioscorus and Satira. See the Homily against Peril of Idolatry. Also, see Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. xlix.

† Also Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. 8vo. 1803. London. Vol. i. p. 365.

‡ See Gregory's fourth epistle, part ten.

§ See the Homily against Peril of Idolatry.

The Monothelites and afterwards by their advice he caused the images of the ancient fathers who had been at the six legitimate councils to be painted in the entry of Saint Peter's Church, at Rome. When the Greeks heard this, they began to dispute and discuss the matter of images with the Latins, and were persuaded that images could have no place in Christ's Church. The Latins were of a contrary opinion and the dispute became so hot betwixt them that they completely quarrelled, and were never since thoroughly reconciled.—*Ibidem*.

Tertullian on 1st John v. 21. little children keep yourselves from idols or images, says, "He saith not now, keep yourselves from idolatry, that is, from worshipping images; but from the images or idols themselves. Athanasius, in his book against the Gentiles, says, let them tell how God may be known by an image. Lactantius, in his book of the origin of error says, "there is no doubt, but that place is destitute of religion where any image is; for if religion consists in godly things, and that there is no godliness, but in heavenly things, then images are destitute of religion L. 2, chap. 16. Cyrillus says, many have left the creator and worshipped the creature. There is a story told in St. Jerome's works tome 2d page 161, that Epiphanius Bishop of Salamine in Cyprus, who lived about the year 390, wrote thus to John Patrick of Jerusalem: "I entered into a certain Church at Anabatha in Palestine to pray: I found there a linen cloth hanging, in the church-door, having painted, on it, the image of Christ, or of some Saint; for I do not now remember whose image it was; therefore when I saw the image of a man hanging, in the Church of Christ, contrary to the authority of the Scriptures, I tore it and advised the keepers of the Church to wind a poor man that was dead in the aforesaid cloth, and so bury him." And afterwards, on sending another not painted to that church instead of the one which he had torn, he thus writes to the same Patriarch, "I pray you to cause the Elders of that place to receive this cloth from the bearer, and command them that no such painted cloths, contrary to our religion, may be hanged up, in the Church of Christ. For it becomes your goodness to be careful in removing such things as are unfitting for the Church of Christ and offensive to

the people committed to your cares. St. Jerome himself translated this Epistle, into the Latin tongue, because he thought it worthy to be made known and read by many." St. Jerome also gives an excellent character of this Epiphanius. And in his treatise against the errors of John, Bishop of Jerusalem, he says, Bishop Epiphanius was always so revered and esteemed, that Valens the Emperor, though a great persecutor, did not once touch him. We thus see what was the opinion of holy and orthodox Bishops, concerning images, or pictures beginning, about the year 400, to creep into the Church. We also have seen the commands of Valentinian and Theodosius about the year 430 to the same purpose. There is no doubt that the use of images spread among the vulgar, ignorant and superstitious, from the time of Bishop Epiphanius until the time of Philipicus, Emperor of the East, but we never hear that they were set up, in the eastern churches, during that period. Philipicus caused images and pictures to be pulled down and broken, in every place of his dominions, so did Emperor Anastatius who succeeded him; but Theodosius the Third who succeeded Anastatius, in the year 714, and reigned only one year, ordered, during that year, that images should be set up and painted in their places. You will learn from this history, Sir, that unto the year 714, or 715 no images were publicly permitted to be set up, in the eastern churches. But when Leo the Third succeeded to the throne, he found them erected only one year before his succession.* Why then should you, Sir, be so severe against the honest old soldier, who removed an innovation which had been made only a year before he came to the imperial throne, and restored the same form of worship, with respect to images, which had continued from the time of the Apostles unto the time of Constantine the Great, and from Constantine the Great unto his own time? And notwithstanding the character which you have given of him, others say that he was a wise, good, merciful and valiant Prince; † but the monks would allow no good quality to a man who abolished and removed images. Leo reigned twenty-five

* See the Homily against Peril of Idolatry. See also Mosheims Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. page 260. London, 1803, octavo.

† See Gibbon *ibidem*.

years. Nicephorus, who succeeded Irene, is said to have no other virtue than that of granting an universal toleration; but the monks think that this was the cause of his temporal and eternal perdition.* Leo, during the twenty-five years of his reign, abolished image worship and suffered no images to exist in churches: so did his son Constantine Copronymus who reigned thirty-four years. His son Leo IV. who succeeded him, endeavoured to abolish images, but after five years reign, he was poisoned, by his wife Irene, and thus image worship and gross idolatry became triumphant. The profligate Irene having thus in the year 780 accomplished the death of her husband, held the reigns of empire during the minority of her son Constantine, and to establish her authority on more solid foundations, entered into an alliance with Adrian, Bishop of Rome, in the year 786, and summoned a council at Nice in Bythinia which is known by the name of the second Nicene council.† In this council the imperial laws concerning the new idolatry were abrogated, the decrees of the council of Constantinople, which was held in the time of Constantine Copronymus, were reversed, the worship of images and of the cross restored, and they decreed that it was doubtful whether the same worship was not due to the image of Jesus Christ as was due to himself, to the image of the Virgin Mary as was due to herself, and the same worship due to the images of the Saints as are due to themselves: for the acts of this second Nicene council are still extant, a curious monument of of falsehood and folly, of superstition and ignorance. The fathers there assembled unanimously pronounced, that the worship of images, observe that it was not only the admission of images into the churches, *but the worship of them*, is agreeable to scripture, and to reason, to the fathers and councils of the church, and they decreed severe punishments against every person who said that God alone is to be adored.‡

I ask you, my dear Ullathorne, was there not a slow and inevitable progression of transferring the honours of the originals to the copies from the images, mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, of Christ, of St. Peter and St.

* See Gibbon's Decline and Fall, xlix. chap.

† See Mosheim Eccl. Hist. ii. vol. page 266. Also Gibbon *ibidem*.

‡ See Mosheim *ibidem*. Gibbon *ibidem*.

Paul kept in houses (as our most rigid dissenters take paintings of their minister and of such as have been an ornament to their profession, by their good conduct, to put them in frames in their houses, or in the front of their magazines) to the images introduced into churches, by Pope Gregory the First, who commanded that they should not be worshipped: and from these images which were ordered not to be worshipped, to the images commanded to be worshipped by the second Nicene council, approved by Pope Adrian, with a doubt whether they ought not to be worshipped with the same worship which was due to their Archetypes; and from these images worshipped with some doubt, to the opinion of James Naclantus, the Bishop of Clugium or Clusium, who writes in his notes on the first chapter of the Romans, *Ergo not solum confitendum est, fideles in ecclesiâ adorare coram imagine, (ut nonnulli ad cantelam forte loquuntur,) sed et adorare imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo, quin et eo illam venerantur cultu, quo et prototypon ejees propter quod si illod habet adorare latria, et illa latria: si dulia, vel hyperdulia, et illa pariter ejusmodi cultu adoranda est.* That Christ's image is to be worshipped with latria, the Virgin Mary's image with hyperdulia, and the Saints images with dulia; that the Archetypes and their images are to be worshipped with the same honours.

I think, if you would deign to read our homily against peril of idolatry, Sir, and the authorities placed, in the margin of it, you will, having learned from those who have experienced it, be persuaded that it is impossible to bring images into churches without the introduction of idolatry, first among the ignorant and afterwards amongst the learned, by an inevitable progression. As to what that popish spy, Archbishop Laud, introduced into our church, in opposition to our articles, homilies, and rubrick, I wish they were removed. We would then have no pictures on walls, or windows,* bowings to the Commu-

* See the Homily against Peril of Idolatry, octavo edition, page 211. Oxford, 1822. Also page 238. See Rapin's History of England, folio 1733, page 286, ii. vol. See also Sherfield's Case, *ibidem* page 287, 288. See also page 288, note i. *ibidem*. See Dr. Devenant's Case, Bishop of Salisbury in his Letter to Dr. Ward extant in Fuller's Church History, book xi. page 138, 139, 140, 141. Also Parliamentary History, vol. vi. page 353, 354.

tion Table are for the most part laid aside, and very few churches have pictures on their windows or walls. They are dangerous things to the ignorant and poor, who are mostly ignorant. I have another singular opinion besides those of which you accuse me, and that is, that the soul of a poor man is as precious, in the sight of our God and Saviour, as the soul of a rich man.

I have also to observe, though we have pictures painted on the windows and walls of a very few churches, we never kneel down before them, as yet, nor pay them any religious respect, nor burn tapers nor incense before them, or to their honour. Yet we ought to be greatly on our guard concerning them; we are men and women, naturally inclined to idolatry, and by the same progression by which gross superstition has grown up in the Church of Rome, our Church may be infected and polluted.

I can assure Mr. Ullathorne, that what he takes for a description of the inevitable progression of transferring honours from the archetype to the image, was never intended for any such thing. It was only intended as a description of the acts of the worshipper, sometimes on his knees invoking the saint, without the presence of the image; sometimes invoking the saint on his knees before the image of the saint, in day light, burning incense and a taper before it; sometimes invoking and adoring the image, as Naclantus says, with the same worship which is due to its prototype. It is a foolish comparison between my parishioners asking me to pray for them, or my request to them to pray for me, and the petitions put up to saints or angels. The people of my parish never petition me, on their knees, nor would I suffer such homage: they never burn any incense or tapers before me, I never kneel down before them, begging that they may pray for me, neither do I burn incense before them: these would be acts of idolatry; therefore I hope both they and I shall avoid them, though we should request one anothers prayers. I hope I would neither kneel and burn incense before any saint in heaven, nor man upon earth; I hope God would give me resolution to die first; and if I found when I came to the trial of torments in order to force me to it, that I had not resolution to persevere to death, I would at least be convinced that when I yielded, I had committed a breach of duty—a horrible crime.

You tell us, that when you have undertaken to defend the Bishops who assembled at the second Council of Nice. you are vindicating a large body of old men, high in place and in character, though low in the goods of this world, &c. But what is the character given of the Bishops of the eighth century? Historians inform us, "that they abandoned themselves to their passions, without moderation or restraint. They were distinguished by their luxury, their gluttony, and their lust; they gave themselves up to dissipations of various kinds—to the pleasures of hunting, and what was still more remote from their sacred character, to military studies and enterprizes. They had also so far extinguished every principle of fear and shame that they became incorrigible; nor could the various laws enacted against their vices at all contribute to set bounds to their licentiousness, or bring about their reformation.*

You seem to say that the descriptions of God contained in the prophets Daniel, Ezekiel, and St John, are sufficient authorities to paint or make images. Who taught you this? Where is your authority? God has positively forbidden any picture, image, or form of him to be made, because the children of Israel saw no image of him when he spoke to them out of the midst of the fire. If you read on, the words of these prophets will be explained, for the Scripture declares, that God is a pure Spirit, infinite, who replenishes heaven and earth, which the picture does not. It does not explain itself, but rather tendeth to lead men into the heresy of the Anthropomorphites. But if God in any particular chooses to suspend his law, that is no reason that we should imitate it without his special sanction. Though these prophets had such images in their minds, they never dared to paint them, or grave them; as well may we cheat or steal, because God instructed the children of Israel to cheat the Egyptians at their departure from Egypt.†

What does Lactantius say about burning tapers before the images of Christ or the saints?‡ If men would behold the light of the sun, they would perceive that God

* See Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 221. London. 1803. Octavo edition.

† See the aforesaid Homily.

‡ Liber 6. Instit. chap. ii.

has no need of their candles, who has made so good a light for them: and if the light of the sun, which appears so small, has such a great lustre, how bright and splendid must the Maker of it be, with whom there is neither night nor darkness. Again, he says, can a man be in his senses who offers to the giver of light, the light of a wax candle for a gift? God requires from us another light, which is not smoky, but bright and clear, even the light of the mind and understanding.*

† In the Council of Illiberis, in Spain, supposed to be the present Granada, or a town in the mountains of Elvira, in its neighbourhood,‡ it was concluded in the thirty-sixth article thus in the year 305: “we think that pictures ought not to be in churches, lest that which is honoured or worshipped should be painted on the walls.” You say, lest the heathens should worship them; but is it at all probable that the heathens should leave their own temples to worship pictures in Christian churches which they hated; for at that time heathen temples were numerous: and in the forty-sixth canon of that Council, it is thus written: “we thought it advantageous to admonish the faithful that they suffer no images to be in their houses, and if they do not keep themselves clean from images, let them be considered as cut off from the Church.”§ Also, in the concilio Toletano duodecimo, composed of the learned men of all Spain, a decree was made against images and image-worshippers. Melchior Canus does not make such an apology for their proceedings as you do. He charges them directly with impiety. “*Illa lex,*” says he, “*non imprudenter modo, verum impie etiam, a concilio lata est de tollendis imaginibus:*” that is, that law was not only made imprudently, but impiously, about removing images. But he (Canus) belonged to the modern Church of Rome. The Bishops of that Council belonged to a more pure Church.||

The book of Charlemagne, in his own writing, as the

* See the Homily.

† Council Elibertin. canon xxxvi.

‡ See the complete System of Geography. Article, Granada.

§ Minucius Felix says, *we neither worship crosses, nor do we wish to do so.*

|| See Canus Loc. Theolog. lib. 5. chap. iv. conclusion verse 4.

title shews, and which is now printed, shews the judgment of that Prince, and of the whole Council of Frankfort to be against image-worship, and against the second Council of Nice, assembled by Irene, in favour of images and image-worship. The French Bishops wrote four books against the second Council of Nice, containing the sentiments of Pope Gregory I. ; but Adrian, the first Pope of that name, wrote against them the sentiments of Irene's Council, that images ought to be worshipped.* I know there is a forged story that Adrian summoned this Council to establish image-worship against the Spanish Councils, but this is a manifest falsehood. The Popes and Papists have shamefully corrupted this Council, as their manner is, and as it will hereafter appear, in many instances of their interpolating histories and writings of the old doctors, as may become more manifest by the forged gift of Constantine to the Pope, and the notable attempt to corrupt the first Nicene Council, for the Pope's supremacy, practised by Popes in St. Augustine's time, which practice had indeed then taken effect, had not the diligence and wisdom of St. Augustine, and of other learned and godly Bishops resisted and defeated it by their great labour and expense.†

St. Ambrose, in his Treatise concerning the death of Theodosius, the Emperor, says that it is a heathenish error, and the vanity of the wicked to worship the cross ; and yet in later days the Romanists were accustomed to creep on their knees to the cross : though we make a sign of the cross on children or grown people's foreheads when we baptise them, we never worship nor creep to the cross, we make it only as a sign of their having taken upon them Christ's easy yoke and light burden, and that they are not ashamed of his disgrace ; and its being erected on the steeples of our churches only shews it to be a Christian church, not a heathen temple. We do not worship the cross, we might as well worship Christ's executioners, for it helped them to put him to a disgraceful death. The Romanists surpass the folly and the wickedness of the heathen in honouring and worshipping the relics and bones

* See Mosheim and his authorities, vol. ii. Octavo. London. 1803. Page 267 ; and Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. xlix.

† See the Homily against Peril of Idolatry.

of saints. They are mortal men and dead, and therefore no gods to be worshipped. They were poor sinners saved, by the mercy of God, in Christ Jesus, as we ourselves expect salvation; and yet the Romanists kiss those relics, and make offerings unto them on Relic Sunday. And while they offer, lest people be weary and repent of their cost, the music and minstrelsy go merrily all the offertory time, with praising and calling upon those saints whose relics are then present. Yes, and the water wherein those relics have been dipped are with great reverence reserved as very holy and effectual. Is this agreeable to St. Chrysostom, who thus writes of relics? "Do not regard the ashes of the saints' bodies, nor the relics of their flesh and bones consumed with time; but open the eyes of thy faith, and behold them clothed with heavenly virtue and the favours of the Holy Ghost, and shining with the brightness of heavenly light?"*

St. Augustine, in his book *de civitate Dei*, chap. xliii. and also on the 113th Psalm and 36th, greatly approves of the sentiment of Marcus Varro, who thought that religion is most pure without images, and says himself that images are of more force to corrupt people than to teach and instruct them. And again, he says, when images are placed in churches, and placed in honourable sublimity, they soon begin to be worshipped, and breed the most vile affection of error.

My dear Mr. Ullathorne, your reasoning from forms and colours in the mind, to pictures and paintings on canvas, and from letters and words to images, is not conclusive. God has permitted letters and words, but he has prohibited paintings and images, and it would be safer to represent to ourselves in our minds the Almighty Spirit filling the universe, than to copy after what he pleased to represent to the Prophets, which have been otherwise explained, and which they dare not paint, or erect in statuary. I should have no scruple to destroy what people may call the image of Jesus Christ, because I have God's command to do so where I have any authority. I would not foolishly attempt to do so when it is not my property.

* See the Homily against Peril of Idolatry, p. 220. Octavo, and *Homilia de Septem. Macchabæis.*

All the pictures and images of Jesus Christ and the saints cannot now be their nor his likenesses ; wherever we find these images they differ in features and shape, therefore they are called lies in Scripture, professing to represent what they are not the images of.

Beside the word saint carries no more honour than a real christian, at this day. The Apostles addressed all the members of a church as saints : all, that could not, in a judgment of charity, be called saints or holy and faithful brethren, were excommunicated. As to the Popes canonization we value it nothing. Any professing christian, who truly believes and shews by his actions that he does believe, is a saint in every sense of the word. The words of the Apostles, who had a planary inspiration, we honour as the words of God : of themselves we think, they were poor sinners who truly and honestly believed in Christ as the Son of God, who came into the world to work out a perfect righteousness, in their and our stead, who believe ; who suffered the punishment which they and we deserve ; who lay in the grave, and rose again, on the third day, to shew to men and angels that the debt of sin of all believers was paid ; who ascended into heaven there continually to offer up the sweet incense of his merits on our behalf, who believe ; and who now continually makes intercession for us. The whole world was in consequence of Adam's fall involved in a sentence of condemnation, and eternal pains will be, in consequence, inflicted on them, except a comparatively few respites, believers, saved by the labours of the Son of God. You talk about your millions ; but when, it is probable, the world was more populous than it is now, the Church of God was reduced to eight souls, Noah and his family ; the rest were suddenly swept to eternal torments. When, in the days of King Ahab, Elijah thought himself the only worshipper of Jehovah, it was found there were only 7000 to form the Church of God in the whole nation. Our Saviour Christ tells us, that only few comparatively will be saved. St. Chrysostom told, in his sermon to the people of the great city Antioch, consisting, it is said, of one hundred thousand souls. " How many do you suppose there are in our city that shall be saved ? What I am about to say is indeed unpalatable ; yet I will say it.

Among so many thousands, not a single hundred can be found that shall be saved ; and I even doubt if the number be so large." Esdras says, " there are many more of them that perish than of them that shall be saved, like as a wave is greater than a drop." How many millions of heathens are in Asia, Africa, and America? Are they more infallible than I, or am I to turn heathen because of their numbers? I am directed by the infallible word of God, and if popes, councils, and laymen differ from that, or if I cannot reconcile their opinion with it, I will hold their opinion in contempt.

What you say, "that when an individual is seen to reason and act in common life against the received notions of mankind his friends begin to cast their eyes towards the Lord High Chancellor," is surely expressed in the spirit of a persecutor. Was not our Saviour Christ thought mad by his friends? * Did not the Jews say that he had an evil spirit, and was mad? And there is little doubt but you would have joined them in that opinion, had you been amongst them,—because he reasoned and acted against the received notions of mankind. For the same reason Peter and John were cast into prison: Chrysostom and Athanasius were banished; and others had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonments. They were stoned,—they were sawn asunder,—were tempted,—were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheep skins and goat skins, being destitute, afflicted, and tormented. I only mention these to shew you how fallacious your general rule is, in thinking that every one who differs from the common reasoning and acting of mankind should be shut up in a mad house.

I would ask you, Mr. Ullathorne, was either Naclantus' comment on the first chapter of the Romans, or the Byzantyne hymn, condemned by any Pope; for what has not been condemned is acquiesced in, the Byzantine hymn was composed before the beginning of the seventh century, consequently before the separation of the Romish and Grecian churches; for before the end of the sixth century these images made without hands, *Acheiropoietoi*, were propagated in the camps and cities of the Eastern empire. See Ducange in *Gloss. Græc. et Lat.* The

* Mark iii. 21.

question is not, was it approved? for what is not condemned may fairly be supposed not to have given offence. Therefore the idolatry is clear; when a man or church breaks publicly God's commands, it is no matter what is his or that church's intention.

The heathen religion bore the same relation to the Jewish, which popery does to the Protestant religion. God taught the same religion to Adam and Noah, and when Noah's posterity became idolatrous, God chose out Abraham, and taught him the true religion; and when the posterity of Abraham became corrupted by a taint of idolatry in Egypt, God employed Moses to reform their religion, and to bring it back to its original purity; while the heathen degenerated more and more, not by losing those rites which had been taught to Noah, though perhaps they changed some of them; but by the addition of innumerable other ceremonies, and opinions, and images, which were prohibited by God. Afterwards the Israelites often relapsed into idolatry, as all mankind are prone to it, but were reformed by pious kings and prophets, and by providential punishments, until Christ came and suffered, and by his Apostles established what we call the pure Protestant religion, but it degenerated, and became more and more idolatrous; but by God's stirring up his servants, it has been reformed from time to time, since the days of the Apostles, generally cruelly persecuted, and sometimes protected; for as Cudworth tells us,* "the polytheism of the Pagan nations was no other than this, the worship of the one Supreme God, with the pretended inferior worship of created beings, as the ministers of his providence, and as mediators betwixt him and men. Paganism and Popery, therefore, stand with respect to inferior mediators, upon precisely the same grounds. The better informed Pagans addressed the spirits of their early progenitors, supposed to be in heaven, for their intercession with the Supreme Being. The more discerning Papists do the same by the spirits of real or pretended saints. Ignorant Pagans probably treated Jupiter as the Supreme God himself; and ignorant Papists virtually treat the Virgin, or some other departed spirit in the same manner. It is also remarkable, that Pagans assigned, for the invocation of their gods, the same reasons

* Intellectual System. London. 1671. Page 468.

that Papists do for the invocation of their saints." What part then of the heathen corrupted religion shall we disapprove, and what shall we admit? Whatever is not sanctioned by the Bible we shall disapprove, and whatever is sanctioned by the same authority we will admit. There is no other rule under heaven to be depended on. I would ask, does ever the bridegroom kneel down to his bride, burning a taper and incense before her, and declaring that he thus worshipped her? This would certainly be an act of gross idolatry, because in presence of his fellow creatures, he could not honour God more. Are not tapers and incense burned before your saints and images? And do you not kneel before them? These are gross acts of idolatry, let your intentions be what they may. The primitive Christians preferred death to kneeling before the image of a Roman Emperor, and offering incense and burning tapers before it; yet they were in no danger of having any great inward respect for a persecutor. You say that the law against images and pictures was abolished, ceasing to be necessary, when Christ came. The second commandment is binding to the end of the world, as well as the other nine; none of the ten commandments were shadows; mankind are as prone to idolatry and superstition now as they ever were. When was the use of images admitted into the Church? By what law? At what time? It is a heathenish use and custom, says St. Jerome.

St. Jerome, on the tenth chapter, verses 3, 4, 5, of Jeremiah saith, this is the description of idols which the Gentiles worship; their matter is vile and corruptible. And whereas the artificer is mortal, the things which he makes must needs be corruptible; he decketh it with silver and gold, that with the glittering or shining of both metals he may deceive the simple, which error hath passed over from the Gentiles to us that we might think that religion consisteth in riches. Afterwards he says, they have the beauty of metals, and are beautified by the art of painting, but good or profit, there is none in them; they dull and amaze the understanding of the unlearned, as it were, with golden sentences, and eloquence shining with brightness of silver. And of their own devisers and makers they are advanced and magnified, in which there is no utility or profit. Wherefore all such as set up these images do not only bestow

their money and labour in vain ; but, with their pains and cost, purchase to themselves God's wrath and utter indignation, and everlasting damnation both of body and soul.*

Ye hold the Apostle's creed, the Nicene creed, and Athanasian creed ; but alas ! ye destroy their foundation by contrary errors and imaginations inconsistent with them. Though it be the duty of all men to obtain the express knowledge of them in particular, yet the danger of men's souls lyeth in embracing things contrary unto, or inconsistent with, the foundation of them. Whatever it be whereby men or women cease to hold the head, how small soever it seem, that alone is pernicious.

The person of Christ, the Son of the living God, as vested with his office, whereunto he was called and anointed, is the foundation of the Church, the rock whereon it is built ; but that ye may get as far as possible from holding this head, and your minds as far as possible from heaven, ye have placed the Pope between you and him. Jesus Christ is the only and sole Mediator between God and man, to which Mediator alone you ought to pray—to whom alone as Mediator ye ought to kneel, and pay religious honours, and in whose intercession alone ye can trust or depend ; yet ye pray to saints and angels, ye kneel and burn incense before them, and their images shew them as much honour outwardly in presence of the people as ye can possibly shew to God, and ye make them Mediators. This is a worship of your own invention, a voluntary humility, intruding into those things which ye have not seen, vainly puffed up by your fleshly mind, and not holding the head.†

Jesus Christ is the head, from which the Church, *i. e.* all they who have his Spirit dwelling in them, by joints and bands, having nourishment ministered to them, and being knit together by the Holy Ghost, increaseth with that increase which cometh of God our Saviour. He is the foundation on which his Church is built by his Word and Spirit. Though he be God, yet he is also man, our elder brother, to whom we may apply with familiarity and bold-

* See the Homily against Peril of Idolatry, page 249. Oxford. Octavo. 1822.

† Coloss. ii. 18, 19.

ness to obtain mercy, and find favour to help us in time of need.* What avail your orthodox creeds, when ye hold doctrines and practices inconsistent with them?

I did say that you adore bread, and if you be persuaded yourself that it is nothing but bread, while you pay it no inward homage, you have not committed idolatry; but if you have led your ignorant neighbours by your example to adore that which is nothing but bread, and to think it to be a god when it is not, you are not innocent.† Your own devotion to the true God depends on the intention of your mind; but if you worship that which God has forbidden to be worshipped in presence of his people, with all the outward respect by which you can shew honour to God, you have dishonoured God, in the presence of his people, and committed idolatry, let your intention be what it may. If I through mistake bow down to a post, in the presence of my neighbours, when I thought it was my friend, I have a right to explain my mistake to my neighbours and bye-standers, lest my neighbours would think that I had as much respect for posts as for my friends; but if I am habitual in such mistakes, they will be persuaded that I do respect posts as much as my friends.

You say that I condemn without redemption and eternally the greatest part of the Christian world. Now I deny this assertion, because God only can condemn. But I can proclaim what God has spoken: Jonas, on his mission to Nineveh, preached, that in forty days Nineveh should be overthrown—so far he did his duty; but when the people of Nineveh repented, God pardoned them. Jonas was angry. Here he erred. I believe if ye repent, and turn from your sinful practices, you will find mercy. Besides, in whatever manner God chooses to act with you, I hope I shall be pleased and resigned: for I wish no evil to any of my species. I believe ye are idolators. I cannot conceive how your idolatry can be more gross than it is, notwithstanding all your explanations. I have heard these explanations, both in conversation, and in books, a thousand times repeated. I scarcely think in making them that ye are serious yourselves. I therefore believe as a spectator looking towards God and you, that unless you repent of

* Heb. iv. 16.

† 1 Cor. viii.

your idolatry, you will without doubt perish everlastingly ; for God's unerring Word declares, that no idolator, living and dying such, can inherit the kingdom of God.

It is very clear, that if you suppose a piece of bread to be Jesus Christ, contrary to the plain sentiments of Scripture, you are destitute of the truth, and are condemned for your ignorance ; for a man cannot please God who does not serve him according to his will. It was no crime at any time to worship the God of heaven, yet if a man went into an heathen temple, and taught to believe that some image there was the Supreme God, if he worshipped it as the Supreme God, he was guilty of an act of idolatry. Here his intention was to worship the Supreme God, but his ignorance led him to worship what was not that God, yet he was an idolator. Will not the same hold true with respect to the bread and wine in the Eucharist, if they be not Jesus Christ's body and blood, and bones and nerves, and sinews, and Godhead, and soul, as your Doctors expound it ? If you worship these symbols as God, are ye not idolators, if they be not really Jesus Christ ? It is clear ye are guilty. Bishop Fisher, though an eminent believer in Transubstantiation, acknowledges, that if the corporal presence be not certain, it is idolatrous to adore the elements. His words are: " Nulli dubium esse potest, si nihil in Eucharistia præter panem sit, quin tota ecclesia jam per multa secula, idolatra fuerit, ac pro inde quotquot ante nos hoc sacramentum adoraverunt, omnes ad unum esse damnatos ; Roffens contra œcolamp. p. 760. Wioceburg. 1597, that is, it can be doubted by no man, that if there be nothing in the Eucharist but bread, that the whole Church during many centuries was idolatrous, and therefore as many as adored this sacrament before us are all damned. Then the whole depends on the reality of Christ's being present in the Eucharist. You say, or seem to say, that the mysteries of Christ's body and blood are Christ's body and blood themselves. These are the words of Ratramn, and he had sufficiently a few lines before explained his meaning ; a mystery is a sacrament or sign of something else ; therefore adopting this explanation, the mysteries of Christ's body and blood are the signs of Christ's body and blood. We Protestants believe that bread and wine are the mystical signs or symbols, or repre-

sentatives of Christ's body and blood ; so says Ratramn, and it surely is disingenuous in you to say, that *mysteria corporis et sanguinis sunt corpus et sanguis ipsa*. When a noun has a genitive, or several genitive cases after it, it must have a different signification from them by the rules of grammar. You say, if I had read a little more of this work than my author has given me, I would have a different opinion, probably, with regard to the sound and rational doctrine of Ratramn and the ninth century. I can assure you, Sir, whether you believe me or not, that I have read over the whole of Ratramn's book, in the original, before you were born, if your age is rightly reported to me ; and I can tell you a little more of Ratramn than you seem to know. Any person who will read over the extract given in the *Strictures*, which I have copied from Soame's *History of the Reformation*, will clearly see that it is impossible that a man who has expressed himself so, could believe in the real presence. In the words which you next have quoted from him his meaning is clear, " outwardly bread and wine are displayed before us, but inwardly, or under cover of the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ are represented, or rather the benefits procured by the breaking of the body of Jesus Christ, and the spilling of his blood : for we must interpret his meaning in places where he speaks highly figuratively, by passages where he speaks more plainly. And again, in the Eucharist, the body and blood of Christ is not visible, but invisible, that is, represented ; the visible appearance figuratively represents the true invisible subsistence of the body and blood of Christ, which procured for us all the benefits which we derive from his labours and sufferings. I myself, as I said, have read over the whole of Ratramn's book, and no Protestant book ever appeared to me to explain the sacrament of the Lord's Supper more clearly according to the spiritual presence, that is the presence of the Holy Ghost in the hearts and minds of those who with true faith receive the mystical representations of Christ's body and blood, which Spirit Christ has promised to all true believers to strengthen and refresh their souls. When Ratramn's book was published in the sixteenth century, the Romish controversialists said it was forged by Ocolampadius, and published under the venerable name of an

author of the ninth century. This Sixtus Sinensis, and after him Possevine, with extreme impudence pretend; but for want of good memories, they elsewhere tell us, that the author of this book wrote under Charles the Great in the year 810, or the gross, in 886, and was confuted by Paschasius Radbert. The Romish Church did not tread in the steps of some of her divines. She pretended not to dispute the genuineness of Ratramn's piece; she only, by the means of the inquisition at Rome, and the Council of Trent, forbade the reading of it.*

Why, my dear Ullathorne, did you pass over Tertullian's explanation of the words "*this is my body*;" namely, "*this is a figure of my body*," substitute this signification in similar expressions of all the fathers, until the time when ignorance and priestcraft admitted and invented Transubstantiation, and the Protestant doctrine is clearly proved. Beside St. Cyril says, that the sacrament of the Eucharist is an unbloody sacrifice. How can it be unbloody, if the wine is turned into Christ's real blood? against Nestorius. And in all passages of the fathers where it is said that we are made partakers of the body and blood of Christ, the meaning is, we are made partakers of the influences of his Spirit, and all the benefits procured by his crucifixion. St. Paul says, 1 Cor. x. that the bread and wine were the real body and blood of Christ, in the same sense that the rock which Moses struck in the wilderness to bring out water to the thirsty Israelites, was really Jesus Christ. Do you think that that rock was a representation of Christ, or that it was Christ himself? The Apostle also says, in the same chapter, that the Israelites, in the wilderness, when they eat manna, and drank the water which flowed from the rock, eat the same spiritual meat, and drank the same spiritual drink which we do when we eat bread, and drink wine in the Lord's Supper. Was the manna the real body of Christ, and was the water the real blood of Christ? or were they representatives of his body and blood? If they were only the representatives of his body and blood, the same must the bread and wine be in the Eucharist,

* See Usher's Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge. 1631. Page 19. London. Also, see Soame's, vol. iii. p. 158. History of the Reformation. 1827.

About the year 992, Elfric, Archbishop of York or Canterbury, translated from the Latin original some Saxon Homilies; the following is a part of one of them:*

“ There is a great difference betwixt the invisible virtue of this sacrament, and what it appears to us in the qualities of its own nature. In its own nature, it is corruptible bread and wine, but by virtue of the divine institution, it is truly the body and blood of Christ after consecration, not in a corporeal, but spiritual manner. The body in which Jesus Christ suffered, and the Eucharistical body are widely different. The first was born of the blessed Virgin, and consisted of blood, bones, nerves, limbs animated with a rational soul. But the body which we call Eucharistical, is made up of several grains of wheat. It has neither blood, bone, nerve, limb, nor soul in it. We are therefore not to form any corporeal idea of it, but to understand it solely in a spiritual sense. In the Eucharist, whatever repairs our nature, and forms us to a better life proceeds entirely from a mystic virtue and a spiritual operation. For this reason the Eucharist is called sacrament, because one thing appears to our senses, and another to our understanding. What in the sacrament is the object of sight, has a corporeal figure; but what is represented to our understanding has a spiritual force and efficacy. Moreover, the body of Christ, which suffered and rose from the dead, is eternal and impassible, and no more subject to decay or death; whereas the Eucharist is not eternal but corruptible, subject to the force of time, and divisible into many parts. It is ground by the teeth, and passes through the common channels of the body; but notwithstanding the spiritual efficacy of it remains in every part. A great many persons receive this holy body or Eucharist, and yet the multitude of receivers weakens not the force of the operation, the virtue of the sacrament being lodged in every part of what is consecrated, the least part having as much efficacy as the greatest; the reason is, because the virtue does not operate in proportion to the corporeal magnitude, but by means of the divine institution.

“ The sacrament is a type and pledge, but the body of

* See Rapin's History of England. Folio. London, 1732. Vol. i. p. 143.

our Lord Jesus Christ is the truth and reality of the representation. God has vouchsafed to give us this pledge or earnest, till we come to the truth itself, and then the pledge will disappear. For, as hath been observed, the holy Eucharist is the body of Jesus Christ, not corporeally, but spiritually. The Apostle St. Paul, speaking of the Israelites, has these words: I would not that you should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and passed through the sea; and were all baptised unto Moses, in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat; and did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ. That rock, from whence the water flowed, was not Christ in reality, but a type and representation of Jesus Christ, who made this gracious declaration to all the faithful; if any man thirst, let him come to me and drink; and out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. By this he understood the Holy Ghost, which those who believed on him should receive. The Apostle declares, that the children of Israel, who were in the wilderness, eat the same spiritual meat, and drank the same spiritual drink, because the manna with which they were supported forty years together, and the water which flowed from the rock, were types of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, which (types) are daily offered in the Church. That manna, and that water, were the same which we now offer, not corporeally, but spiritually. To understand this, observe that our Lord Jesus Christ, before his passion, consecrated the bread and wine into the sacrament of the Eucharist, and said, this is my body; this is my blood. Although his passion was not over when he pronounced these words, yet by a mystical operation, he changed the bread into his body, and the wine into his blood, just as he had done in the wilderness, before his incarnation, when he turned the manna into his flesh, and the water into his blood."

Any person who peruses this extract, will perceive that there is strong figurative language made use of in some passages, which are clearly explained by others. And lest it should be supposed that the Archbishop who translated these Homilies was of a different opinion, he says in a letter to his Clergy, "the sacrifice of the Eucharist is not

the body in which our Saviour suffered for us, nor the blood he shed for our sakes ; but it is the same body and same blood spiritually, just as the manna was which fell from heaven, and the water which flowed from the rock."

As to the distinction between the real presence of Christ, and the mode of his real presence, you and the schoolmen could possibly know nothing of the subject. Unless you and they admit the bread and wine as a type or sign, or representative of Christ's real body and blood, and that Christ could be present no other way than what he has promised, namely, by the Holy Ghost, in their hearts and minds, who worthily partake of the sacrament, or of the signs of his broken body and shed blood, you and they must make a strange business of it. If it is a representation, you say, it was idolatry, and that I prove it so. But I say no ; for it is an exception to the general rule, sanctioned by God himself. The Holy Ghost dwells in the hearts and minds of all the real disciples of Christ, and the same Spirit dwells in Christ their head immeasurably ; so that Christ and his members are indissolubly joined together, their bodies to his body, and their souls to his soul, by the Holy Ghost, so that if any man has not the Holy Ghost dwelling in him, he is none of Christ's, and therefore if he dies so, he will perish eternally. This bond of union is strengthened between Christ and the faithful, in exhibiting the death of Christ in the way which he has appointed, at his Last Supper, and the Holy Ghost strengthens and nourishes their souls, as their bodies are strengthened and refreshed by bread and wine. St. Paul asserts, that all true believers are the temples of the Holy Ghost, and that he dwells in them. I would wish to know what other proofs beside Scripture the schoolmen would bring to prove the real presence. Is it by a chemical process they would prove it ? For any other proof must, from the nature of the thing, be rank nonsense. It is truly horrid that any men who have obtained a celebrated name, from their talents and conduct, should use their abilities, in imposing upon their fellow creatures, in any such way.

St. Ignatius calls the Eucharist the bread of God ; you say this passage is contained in the Epistle to the Romans : I say it is contained in the Epistle to the Ephesians ; and you put down the whole passage thus, " what I desire is

the bread of God, the heavenly bread, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ." Now Christ tells us that his flesh is meat indeed, and his blood is drink indeed. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. Augustine saith on this passage, "si flagitium aut facinus videtur Jubere scriptura, illic est oratio figurativa.* If the Scripture seems to command a foul crime or villainous deed, there is a figurative speech. It is a figure commanding us to communicate of the passion of the Lord, and sweetly and profitably to lay up in memory that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us, and his blood spilled for us." According to this interpretation the words of Ignatius will stand thus: what I desire is the bread of God, even those benefits which Christ's labours unto death have procured for me. Is this the real presence? And as to the remarkable passage in the Epistle to the Smyrnians, it will also stand thus according to Augustine's interpretation. These heretics abstain from the Eucharist, because they do not acknowledge it to represent the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father, by his goodness, raised up. This is the doctrine of the year 107. The Gnostics abstained from the Eucharist, because according to the doctrine of the time, this would be receiving the sign of that body which suffered and rose again, which body they denied ever to have existed. St. Augustine also says, credere in eum est manducare panem vivum: that is, to believe in him is to eat the living bread: and again he says, qui maducat intus non foris, qui maducat in corde, non qui premit dente, that is, he who eateth within, not without; he who eateth with, or in his heart, not he who crusheth it with his teeth.

St. Justin says, the Eucharistic Elements nourish the bodies of men. According to your quotation, Mr. Ullathorne, these words follow to shew the doctrine more fully. "Nor do we take these gifts as common bread and common drink, but as Jesus Christ our Saviour took flesh and blood for our salvation; in the same manner we have been taught, that the food which has been blessed by the prayers of the words which he spoke, and by which food,

* Tom. iii. de Doctrinâ Christianâ, lib. 3. chap. v. x. xvi.

our flesh and blood, in the change of our flesh and blood, are nourished, is the representative of the flesh and blood of that Jesus incarnate. He refers to the change of our flesh and blood, which are continually changing, not to the change of the food, which is a singular noun, to which the pronoun *their* cannot be applied, or if he refers to the bread and wine, he means their change into our blood, by which our bodies are nourished. St. Irenæus, who died in the year 202, speaks of the corporal nourishment derived by men, from the Eucharistic Elements, and that these consist of two things; the one earthly, the other heavenly; the bread and wine are earthly in themselves, but exhibit to us the heavenly nourishment, the Holy Ghost, which nourishes our souls and bodies unto everlasting life, which Holy Spirit has been procured to us by Christ's body broken, and blood shed for us. Irenæus, writing a history of the heresies which had arisen in the Church, speaks of those who denied that Christ was the Word, through whom all things were made and affirmed, that there was no resurrection of the flesh. This is the passage in the true sense of it. It is our duty to make an offering to God, but this pure oblation the true Church alone makes; the Jews make it not, for their hands are stained with blood in crucifying Christ, and while they continue Jews, approve the justice of his crucifixion, therefore they cannot exhibit, as a thanksgiving offering, the representatives of his body broken, and blood shed, to save them, because they do not acknowledge him to be the Saviour of the world, nor do the assemblies of heretics make it; for how can these prove that the bread over which the words of thanksgiving have been pronounced, is an exhibition of the body of their Lord, and the cup an exhibition of his blood separated from his body by the nails and spear, &c. when they do not admit that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, the Creator of the world, who alone was capable to make an atonement for mankind. There is nothing here, nor in Irenæus, of turning bread and wine into his flesh and blood, for he does not speak of his power to turn bread and wine into his flesh and blood; but if he were not God, equal with the Father, he would not, in assuming the manhood, have been able to redeem his people,

therefore there would have been no ground for this thanksgiving offering.

And in the argument for the resurrection, there is nothing to prove any other thing, than that the bread and wine are representatives of his body and blood ; for Augustine tells us, that to eat his body, and drink his blood, would be *flagitium et facinus*, a foul crime and villainous deed. His argument for the resurrection is, that the body partakes, as well as the soul, the grace or gift of Christ in the Eucharist ; that is the Holy Ghost, as St. Paul says, your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost. This Almighty Spirit binds, as I said before, the souls of the faithful to Christ's soul, and their bodies to his body ; and though the body is dead and laid in the grave, yet that connection is never dissolved, but the same spirit, by his mighty power, will raise them up at the last day. It is thus expressed.

They are truly vain who condemn the whole divine system, and denying the salvation and regeneration of the flesh, maintain that it is not susceptible of incorruption. According to this our Lord did not redeem us by his blood shedding, nor is the cup of thanksgiving a participation of the benefits procured by shedding his blood, nor the bread which we break a participation of the benefits procured by his body being broken.

The argument is, that by what Christ has done and suffered for us, he has purchased us as his Church, bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, that we are united to him by an indissoluble tie. He is the head, we are his members, and as our head has arisen, he, by the power of his Spirit, will raise up all his members ; for we have by what he has done a virtual resurrection in him. He will make our bodies like to his glorious body. But to proceed:—

When, therefore, the mingled chalice and the broken bread receive the word of God, they become a thanksgiving offering for the body and blood of Christ ; by which wine and bread the substance of our flesh is increased and strengthened ; how then can they pretend that this flesh is not susceptible of eternal life which is nourished by the mystical symbols which exhibit Christ's broken body and shed blood, which procures to the bodies and souls of the faithful, eternal life. And as a section of the vine laid in

the earth produces fruit, in due season, and, in like manner, the grains of corn are multiplied, by the blessing of God, which afterwards are used for the benefit of man, and on receiving on them the word of God become a thanksgiving offering which exhibits the broken body and shed blood of Christ; so our bodies nourished by the materials of that thanksgiving offering, namely bread and wine, and then laid in the earth and dissolved, in it, shall, in due time, rise again, by the power of God. Our bodies are clearly nourished by bread and wine. And the Romanists do not allow that the Eucharistic elements nourish the bodies of men; nor is it shown in the passages quoted that this nourishment is not derived until after the body has been dissolved and is risen again. Certainly our bodies are raised up at the last day, by the privileges purchased for us by Christ's labours unto death. Dupin informs us that Amalarius left it doubtful whether the flesh and blood of Christ in the Eucharist are taken up into Heaven, or reserved in our body to the day of our burial, or exhaled into the air, or come out of the body, with the blood or by the pores, or are subject to the accidents of other food. But other authors imagined that this latter opinion is not becoming the dignity of the mystery, and that it was more reasonable to suppose either that the materials were annihilated, or that they were preserved for ever, or that they were changed into flesh and blood and not into humours and excrements. This is the sentiment of an anonymous writer cited by Eriger, and Eriger supports it as the true opinion. Guimond and Alger push the business further, and pretend that the materials of the Eucharist neither ever rot nor are changed although they appear to be so; and if rats should gnaw them or that a man wished to feed upon them, they are taken away miraculously and unconsecrated bread placed in their stead.* But surely if bread and wine are changed into flesh and blood, these cannot be the flesh and blood of Christ at the right hand of God, whom the Heavens must receive, says St. Peter, until the time of the restitution of all things.† They may have the same nature and likeness and similar substance, but they are not the same which are in the Heavens. They are on Earth,

* Dupin III. 53.

† Acts iii. 21.

Christ's flesh and blood are in the Heavens, therefore they are not the same; for the same thing cannot be in different places at the same time. They are not spirits, they are bodies. If a part of Christ's blood and flesh was brought down from Heaven and put in the stead of the bread and wine miraculously annihilated, or removed, this would be the Lord's flesh and blood, but there would be no transubstantiation: for transubstantiation is a change of the substance of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ; not the substitution of the body and blood, for the bread and wine; or, if his whole body were to come down and occupy the place of the annihilated or removed bread and wine, this would be no transubstantiation. Besides, such a change as our senses and reason could not be judges of, nor any chymical process discover, would confound all things. Only by my senses and reason can I learn or obtain information of any thing. If I cannot trust my reason and senses, I do not know whether there is a God, a world, a human being, or I myself in existence; nor can I be sure of any fact recorded in all history. Blessed be God, Jesus Christ did not exhibit credentials which were palpable and enormous absurdities, though his Apostles and himself spoke figurative language, which in other passages they clearly explained.

If, in so clear a passage Gelasius confounded substance and accident, it perhaps may not be wondered at; for we can have no knowledge at all of any substance but by its accidents, nor can we possibly discriminate one substance from another, but by their accidents. While the same colour, smell, weight, taste, sound when struck, malleableness or friability, continue, we account it the same, or a similar substance; for the substance is only a certain cause which produces certain effects on our bodies or senses. Take away the cause or causes, and the effects will cease. I suppose when bread and wine produce certain effects on our senses, after the bread and wine are removed, or turned into other substances; or, in other words, when the causes are changed, God Almighty keeps up the same effects on our senses miraculously in order to deceive us. Is this probable? But if Gelasius was not a very acute metaphysician, he might not have been able to discriminate substance from accident. For the ancient fathers were plain people; they

did not know how to put a parcel of accidents in one hand, and the substance which belonged to them in the other. During seven hundred years in the Church, there was no dispute about Transubstantiation during a very disputatious period; I suppose it was so extremely simple a thing, that neither heathen nor heretic, friend or enemy, opposed it. Is this probable, if ever such a thing was talked of, or believed? Theodoret says, that the mystical symbols, after consecration, loose not their proper nature, so did Cyprian, A.D. 250, Athanasius, 330, Cyril of Jerusalem, 350, Basil, 360, Gregory of Nyssa, 370, Ambrose, 380, Chrysostom, 390, Augustine, 400, Prosper, 430, Cyril of Alexandria, 440, Ephraim of Antioch, 540, Facundus, an African Bishop, 550, Isidore of Seville, 630.* I would wish to ask, how could they be mystical symbols of Christ's body and blood, if they were the body and blood themselves; a symbol is always the sign or representative of a thing. Look into your dictionary; they remain in the figure and appearance of their former substance, to be seen and felt as before, but they are understood to be what they are made, namely, the mystical symbols, or mystical representatives of the body and blood of Christ, by consecration, which they were not before it; if he adored them he was an idolator doubtlessly, for whatever his intention was, he acted contrary to the Scriptures, in adoring the representatives of Christ's body and blood. But you quote another passage of Gelasius, "By the operation of the Divine Spirit these things, the bread and wine, pass into the divine substance, though their nature retains its properties; so did the manna and water in the wilderness pass into the flesh and blood of Christ, that is, they became their representatives." St. Paul, an infallible interpreter, thus explains the business, or subject: so does the Saxon Homily quoted.

I must also assert without any hesitation, that the Council of Constantinople, held in 754, did not continue the bread and wine, because they contained a reality, but though representations were forbidden, this was a representation contrary to the general rule, authorized by Christ

* See Bishop Cosin's Work, who quotes the passages in these authors. See also Archbishop Tillotson's Discourse against Transubstantiation.

himself, who was the Lord of all laws. The decrees of the second Council of Nice are yet extant, and I have given from undoubted sources the part material to the present purpose. You have read some interpolated piece, forged by the agents of the Romish Church, or Baronius, Pagi, or Maimbourg. Maimbourg especially, in his history of this controversy, is full of the most absurd and malignant fictions. They doubted whether Latria was not to be given to the image of Jesus Christ. It is impossible to imagine any thing more ridiculous and trifling than the arguments upon which the Bishops assembled in this Council founded their decrees. The Caroline books propose 120 objections against the Nicene Synod, calling their decision an obsolete error, the madness of ancient paganism; most mad and most absurd arguments in defence of it, driveling worthy of derision; our ancient most holy Bishops and Priests refusing the service and adoration of images, despised them, and unanimously condemned them.* And Irene was advised by the Pope to get image-worship authorized. But it is clear from Scripture that any respect paid to an image purporting to represent Christ, is a horrid crime. I would ask, why was not the Council of 754 established as the seventh general Council? Because God, in his infinite wisdom, thought it proper that the devil should prevail during a certain time, but the Greeks at this day consider it as the seventh Œcumenical Council.† You say the Pope convened the second Council of Nice. The Pope's legates were casual messengers, two priests without any special commission, and who were disavowed on their return. Some vagabond monks were persuaded by the Romanists to represent the Oriental Patriarchs.‡

As to your observation that Berengarius died a member of the Church, professing his belief of the real presence; this is a common trick of the Romanists; he or she died a Papist. I remember many instances wherein I myself could bear testimony that people who were said to die Papists, died true Protestants. This is what they call a

* See Mosheim, vol. ii p. 265. Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. xlix.

† See Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 265.

‡ See Theodore Studites, Ep. i. 38. in Sirmond, Opp. tom. v. page 1319.

pious fraud. Dupin does not believe that Berengarius died believing the real presence.* He often was brought before Popes and Councils, and recanted as often as he was brought there, but when he was liberated, he was grieved that he had not resolution to stand his death, and wrote against it again.

The Archdeacon says of St. Augustine that he was betrayed into one of those pointed sentences to which men of ardent tempers are liable; and that he ought to be understood in a limited sense when he said he would not believe the Gospel, unless he were compelled by the authority of the Church. You see, Sir, that in your quotation from his book against Faustus, that he added to the authority of the Catholic Church the agreement of nations, which shews he had not an unbounded confidence in the Church, as he applied to other evidence in corroboration of hers,† which shows that he was willing to correct the authority of the Church, in his own time, by every help and information which a prudent man could with propriety adopt—this was a limitation. The Catholic Church or Churches which were sound in the faith, in his day, were held together by unity of sentiment, and communicated one with the other; but the Church of Rome, though one of them, and having been placed many years in the capital, yet did not assume, or rather had acquired no power to force them to hold the same sentiments with her, or agree with her in all things. If she wished to give false evidence to any fact, in which she was interested, she could not compel these other Churches to assent to it; therefore all the Churches, in communion with her, could give independent evidences, which in proof of the truth of the Scriptures, their authenticity and source, were strong and corroborative. The libraries of these Churches when compared even with one another, and with the writings of their enemies which were extant in those days, and with the controversies with them, would establish the facts which proved the truth of the New Testament, in the mind of a believer, as coming from the Apostles. But if St. Augustine lived at this day, he would see more need of appealing to all the Churches who had the New

* Dupin III. 151.

† A Few Words, page 41.

Testament in their hands to prove the truth of it. All the Churches in communion with the Church of Rome now are bound under pain of excommunication to bear the same testimony which she does, and also in some places under peril of military execution; and a few centuries ago their case, in any dissent from her, was still worse, therefore evidence of them all amounts to no more than the evidence of one. They all speak the same thing, whether true or false.

Had St. Augustin known that there was a time coming when the Agents of the Church of Rome, by their forgeries and their erasures, would render her testimony of no use, he would have limited this sentence. She has destroyed all the heathen writers who wrote against the Church, which would have thrown great light on the doctrine of the Church at each period, and would have proved, or contradicted, the sameness of her doctrines. She has destroyed many of what she called heretical writers; and it will appear, by and by, that she has erased out of her own early writers what would detect, in many cases, her more modern innovations. Had he known that a time was coming when an infamous Council of Trent would condemn, with a curse, those doctrines which he endeavoured to establish from Scripture, and by the retractations of his former errors, he would have strictly limited this sentence. Had he known that a time was coming when the professors of his doctrines, though they adhered to all the absurdities of Rome should be cruelly persecuted and forced to fly from France, he would have limited this sentence. Had he known that there was a Cardinal Bellarmine to rise up in the Church, who would teach that if any Pope should so far err as to command the practice of vice, and forbid virtuous actions, Catholics (Roman Catholics he means: for the members of the true Catholic Church would hold his opinions in contempt) are bound to believe vices to be good, and virtues to be bad, he would have limited more strictly this sentence.* In fine had St. Augustine known that a time was coming when, nearly under one meridian, some hundreds of wafers, at the very same time, were turned into as many Jesus Christs of Nazareth, while, though in

* De Pontice, Rom. lib. iv. chap. 5.

different places, all and each of them was the very same Jesus Christ, who is at the right hand of God, he would have limited this sentence.

* The third answer to *Quodvultdeus* would have no weight at all to a heathen who was inquiring whether he would turn christian and join the Church or not, nor would St. Augustine himself be satisfied with it. If the Church was found faithful in every thing else, she might be trusted in a particular case, otherwise not, and that trust was only to continue until there was time for investigation.

I suppose St. Augustine, when he said he would not believe the Gospel without the Church's authority, meant the Gospels, Epistles, Acts, and Old Testament; the Archdeacon meant the same by the Gospels. Such quibbling is poor and trifling. These books contain the Gospel which was preached to Adam and Eve, after their fall into sin and misery. The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpents head.

St. Augustine made use of every prudent method for establishing the truth of the Scriptures, both from the writings of the Churches, in communion with Rome, and of the heathens who wrote any thing on that subject. And if there was any doctrine or practice at that time professed or practised by the Church, not found in them, he would, for the same reason, make enquiry about it from the writings of all who wrote about that particular doctrine or practice; but if he found it repugnant to the Scriptures, which had the authority of the Church, or unauthorised by any authentic writings as descending from the Apostles, he would immediately suspect it to be a corruption come into the Church, let head or tail of the Church say what they would. He would make inquiry about it, and interrogate the learned of his own society; but if they could give him no other account than that it was a custom sanctioned by the Church, he would give no more credit to it than I would to the black natives of New South Wales when they make the same answer.

St. Paul taught Timothy doctrines and precepts, by which his own soul might be saved, and the souls of them who heard him, and by which he might govern and regulate other Churches at a distance from St. Paul. Will we

* See a Few Words to the Rev. H. F., page 41.

suppose for a moment that he wholly trusted to his memory in matters of such importance? If he had a plenary inspiration, he did not stand in need of St. Paul's teaching; and if he had not, he would not trust to his memory. He would write down these doctrines and precepts from St. Paul's mouth, or St. Paul would write them down, and deliver them to him; and there is no reason to suppose that such a tradition committed to writing would not be handed down to us in the New Testament, or joined to it; but that it was found that the New Testament in its present state contained every doctrine and precept delivered by St. Paul to Timothy: instead of what you say that we can trace down tradition for some years, I believe there never was any unwritten tradition that lasted one week, since Christ came. I have no doubt that the facts recorded in the four Evangelists were recorded by his Apostles, his witnesses, immediately after their occurrence, and privately kept. St. Peter, James, and John could as well keep records as write letters, which they did. But if these early records were admitted to have been neglected, they who had not a plenary inspiration would avail themselves of consulting the books of the New Testament as soon as they were written to correct and revive their memories. St. Matthew, at the receipt of custom, was accustomed to write, and would be apt to keep a diary. Tradition without being committed to writing was never defended nor supported by any, but deceivers, even by them who wished to deceive. And no body wishes to deceive except for some worldly gratification or profit. I wonder why you are so anxious about my imprudence about speaking concerning loaves and fishes, lest I would lose some meat and clothes by it, and yet you are not so anxious about my salvation. I must say your controversialists are all deceivers. I have given you a specimen of Bellarmine already. Bossuet might as well have written about the variations of his own Churches. He was certainly a man of true genius, but what is genius when prostituted to deception and knavery? His exposition of the Roman Catholic faith was published nine years before it could obtain the Pope's approbation. M. de la Bastide, in two publications, obliged him to quit the field of controversy. Bossuet had a striking proof of the variations of his own

Church in the different receptions that his exposition of the Roman Catholic faith met with from different persons, and at different times. It was approved of by one Pope, disapproved by another. It was applauded by the Archbishop of Rheims, and condemned by the University of Louvain. It was censured by the Sorbonne in the year 1671, and declared by the same a true exposition of the Catholic faith in the next century.*

The things which thou hast heard of me, says St. Paul before many witnesses, commit thou the same to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also. And all this was to be done without any writing. They must have good memories. The thing is absurd, though they had no printers, they had writers who wrote large and small volumes, and spread numerous copies of them through the world. Notwithstanding all your traditions and succession, there never was a Church more tossed about, to and fro, by every wind of doctrine, than yours. In the time of the Emperor Constantius, Pope Liberius became an Arian.† Pope Zosimus, in the year 417, pronounced Pelagius sound in the faith, and unjustly persecuted, by his adversaries.‡ After some time he changed his mind, and joined himself to the opinions of Augustine. Pope Honorius, in the seventh century, professed the doctrine of one will and one operation in Christ: for this he was condemned in the Council of Constantinople some years after his death, namely, in 680, with the other Monothelites, in presence of the Roman legates, who represented Pope Agatho in that assembly, and who confirmed the sentence pronounced by the Council.§ The followers of Augustine, and the Semipelagians, had a long and protracted|| controversy, but the Council of Trent condemned the doctrine of Augustine; and Clement XI. in the year 1713, condemned, by the bull Unigenitus, the opinions of St. Augustine, and established Semipelagianism. But these are only a few of Romish variations; and yet they say they

* See Wake's Exposition—le Clerc, Bibl. Univ. tom. ix. page 438, and Biblioth. de Sciences, &c. tom. xviii. p. 29.

† See Mosheim, vol. i. page 419.

‡ Ibidem, vol. ii. page 89.

§ Ibidem, page 191. 194.

|| Ibidem, 92, 93. vol. vi. 11—15.

are infallible. Indeed the Doctors of the French nation, two hundred years ago, maintained generally, that the leaden age did not differ more from the age of gold, than the modern Church of Rome differed from the ancient and primitive Church of that famous city.*

As to your quibble about Timothy's not being able to learn any thing but to be a Jew from the Old Testament; I would wish to ask what did a Jew who believed in Christ differ from any other Christian? Before Christ came he partook of the sacrifices as the mystical symbols of Christ's broken body and shed blood, who was to come; and when Christ did come, they (the Jews) who believed in him, and dwelt at Jerusalem, partook of the same sacrifices as the mystical symbols of Christ's broken body and shed blood, who suffered for their sins on Mount Calvary, though they also in the Christian assemblies partook of bread and wine as mystical symbols or representatives of the same things. And this they did until the destruction of their temple and worship. Was not the same morality in the Old Testament as in the New? All the difference was, that Christ was now come, which was long expected by the Jewish nation. The same faith and dependence on him had all true believers who were Jews, which they had before his coming. They expected that he would satisfy divine justice, and he did it. They were sure he would do so, and he did not disappoint them.

It is true the New Testament has explained some things better, and cleared difficulties; it is a comment on the Old Testament; but this did not prevent an acute man, who had got written instructions from the Apostles, from learning the whole of Christianity from the Old Testament. And as there never was an opinion among the Jews that the sacrificed victims were turned into the body and blood of Christ, it plainly proves that neither are the bread and wine which are used for the same purpose turned into the real body and blood of Christ. Christ, it is true, produced his credentials to the Jewish nation, and as many of them as were ordained to eternal life believed. We now talk of what real believers in Christ can or could learn from the Old Testament. It is truly ridiculous in you to talk about

* See Mosheim, vol. v. p. 135.

people being converted by reading the Old Testament. Timothy was a convert already, and sent to regulate the affairs of Churches. He was a believer, and had got St. Paul's instructions, when with him, and the Epistle which contains these words afterwards. And we reject all authority from unwritten tradition as being a thing impossible in itself, and as a thing which no man pretends to unless inspired by the devil, and under his power and government. As to the New Testament bearing witness to the Catholic Church, to believe in her as the Old Testament bore witness to Christ, it is an horrible assumption of any Church. Are we to make Christ of the Church? No; both Old and New Testaments bear witness to Christ, and call us to believe in him; and call every member of the Church equally to believe in him, and in the Holy Ghost, which he has purchased for us, and who comes down from heaven into our hearts and minds, to lead us into all truth, and to know Christ's voice in the New and Old Testament, and to convince us of its truth, and of the truth of the promises of God to all believers. The creed teaches us to believe there is a Catholic Church, but it does not teach us to believe in the Church, or to put trust and confidence in it: that trust and confidence is due to God alone. The reason why the Archdeacon would interfere in suspending a clergyman who was a Socinian, &c. is because by comparing the standards of our Church with Scripture, he found them perfectly agreeable to it, therefore he did not scruple to take upon him the superintendance of that Church, to see that others did their duty. But he rules by the Scriptures. A superior or Bishop cannot put a clergyman out of his living in England or Ireland, unless he proves against him some disqualifying immorality, or some doctrine discordant with the standards of the Church, of which standards the Bible is the foundation; and here where we are under more unlimited authority, I have no doubt but English customs will be nearly adhered to. A conscientious Protestant Archdeacon will not exclude from the Church without some transgression of the laws of England, of which the Bible is the foundation. And where there is a wicked case he will interfere as much by a sense of duty as of authority. You do not govern, but by tradition, which gives you a liberty of

imposing on people false doctrines; but he encourages the laity to read the Scriptures, that they may judge whether he does right or not. You assume a lordly dominion over them. But what was the judgment of the ancient fathers concerning the laity's reading the Scriptures, and judging of the meaning of them? Clement Alexandrinus, who lived about the year 218, says, the Word of God is not hid from any; it is a common light, that shineth to all men: there is no obscurity in it; hear it you who be far off, and hear it you who be nigh (Protrept, p. 25.) St. Chrysostom, almost 1,500 years ago, as also his scholar, Isidorus, of Pelusium, plainly enough says, the Scriptures are easy to be understood of every servant, and ploughman, and widow, and boy, and him that is most unlearned; therefore God penned the Scriptures, by the hands of publicans, fishermen, tent-makers, shepherds, cowherds, and unlearned men, that none of the simple people might have any excuse to keep them from reading them, and that they might be easy to be understood of all men, namely, the artificer, the householder, and widow woman, and by him who is most unlearned. Even the Apostles and Prophets, as schoolmasters to all the world, made their writings plain and evident to all men, so that every man of himself only by reading them might learn the things spoken therein.* This clearly shews, that the first Christians not only might read, but also judged of what they read. In another passage he writes; all things in the Holy Scriptures are clear to all those that will come to the Holy Word with a mind religiously disposed.† St. Epiphanius declares the very same thing,‡ and this is just what Protestants now say. Elsewhere Chrysostom again writes, “Every man of himself, only by reading, may understand; ye need nothing else but to read.§ From these extracts it appears that that eminent and ancient father, St. Chrysostom, thought and taught different from modern Popish Priests, who are sworn to support the Council of Trent, whether agreeable to Scripture or not, right or wrong, true or false. Here, in these quotations, there is no credit given to unwritten tradition; the Scriptures are the only rule, and all

* Hom. i. in Matthew, Hom. iii. in Lazarus.

† Chrysostom in 2d Thess. Hom. iii.

‡ Heres. 76.

§ Prolog. in Epistle ad Rom.

people are exhorted to read that they may judge, or be able to judge, whether their clergy teach them false doctrines or not. The perpetuity of faith, recommended to the reading of the Archdeacon, contains a collection of authorities for the real presence, but these authorities for the first 700 years, are only figurative language, after the example of St. Paul, taken in a literal sense. Nicole was a Jansenist, and in his book, entitled *Prejuges Legitimes contre les Calvinistes*, makes use of the same arguments which the Deists use to shew that it is impossible for the general body of Christians to believe on a rational foundation. The two Wallenburgs are very unfair in managing controversy: so is Milner; he contends for victory, not for truth. It is extraordinary that men should be so industrious in leading their fellow creatures into error and idolatry—to introduce into the Church images of Christ, and of his saints, and to call them holy images, when they are only the allurements of Satan—to worship them and the saints, which is forbidden—to worship angels with *dulia* itself is forbidden.* No person ever thought of worshipping saints in the Apostles' days. To put men's trust in the Church for their salvation is idolatry, for that is due to Christ alone—to suppose a wafer is Jesus Christ, and to worship it as such is idolatry of the grossest kind, let people's intentions be what they may. The whole of the Popish religion is calculated to fix man's attention on the earth, not to raise it to heaven. There is not a practice which I have mentioned which is not carefully adjusted to bring the minds of men to a state just the reverse of what Christ and his Apostles would have them to be.

I shall now show what pains the Romanists have taken to suppress the witnesses which prove that the present Church of Rome is quite different from the ancient. The Spanish Popish censors ordered the following:—*Deleatur tota Epistola Uldalrici; deleatur Epistola Augustini de Cœlibatu Cleri; Item totus liber Bertrami vel Ratramni Presbyteri de Corpore at Sanguine Domini penitus auferatur; †* that is, blot out the whole Epistle of Uldalricus; blot out the Epistle of St. Augustine concerning the Celibacy of the Clergy; also, let the whole book of Ratramn, the Presbyter or Priest, concerning the body and

* Rev. xxii. 9, Coloss. xi. 18.

† Usser de Success. 25.

blood of Christ, be entirely taken away. The King of Spain gave a commission to the Inquisitors to purge all Catholic authors; but with this clause, that they should keep the expurgatory index by them privately, neither imparting that index, nor giving a copy of it to any. But it happened by the providence of God so ordering it, that about thirteen years after, a copy of it was gotten and published by Johannes Pappus and Franciscus Junius, and since it came abroad against their wills, they find it necessary now to own it. By these expurgatory tables, what they have done is known to all learned men. In St. Chrysostom's works, printed at Basil, these words, *the Church is not built upon the man, but upon the faith*, are commanded to be blotted out; and these, *there is no merit but what is given us by Christ*. And yet these words are in his Sermon upon Pentecost, and the former words are in his first Homily upon that of St. John, *ye are my friends,* &c.* The like have they done to him in many other passages, and to St. Ambrose, and to St. Austin, and to them all, insomuch that Ludovicus Saurius, the corrector of the press at Lyons, shewed and complained of it to Junius, that he was forced to cancel or blot out many sayings of St. Ambrose in that edition of his works which was printed at Lyons in 1559. Nay, they correct the very tables or indices made by the printers or correctors; insomuch, that out of one of Froben's indices they have commanded these words to be blotted out: *the use of images forbidden; the Eucharist no sacrifice, but the memory of a sacrifice. Works, although they do not justify, yet are necessary to salvation; marriage is granted to all that will not contain; venial sins damn; the dead saints after this life cannot help us.* Nay, out of the index of St. Augustine's words by Claudius Chevalonius, at Paris, 1531, there is a very strange blot out; blot out, *God alone is to be adored, Deus solus est adorandus*, as being a strange doctrine; † passages refuting Transubstantiation, extant in older editions, are cut out in modern ones. ‡ Rabanus Maurus says, in his Penitential, published at Ingoldstad in 1616, in a tome of ancient writers that never saw the light before, " for some

* John xv. 14.

† Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, Polem. Works, 289.

‡ Archbishop Usher's Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge, 13.

of late, not holding rightly of the body and blood of our Lord, have said, that the very body and blood of our Lord, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and in which our Lord himself suffered on the cross, are *in the Eucharist*." Against which error, writing unto Abbot Egilus, according to our ability, we have declared what is truly to be believed *concerning Christ's body*. In the margin it is said that there is a blank in the manuscript copy, and we do easily believe him; for Possevine, the Jesuit, has given us to understand, that manuscript books are to be purged as well as printed.* With respect to Ratramn's book, it had been printed, and had become the theme of general conversation in England, and other countries, before the original manuscripts could be subjected to the inquisitorial pruning knife, therefore "the divines of Douay perceiving that the forbidding of the book did not keep men from reading it, but rather excited them to seek more earnestly after it, thought it better policy that Ratramn should be permitted to go abroad, but handled in such sort as other ancient writers that made against them were accustomed to be. Seeing therefore say they, "that we bear with many errors in old Catholic writers, and extenuate them, excuse them by inventing some device (*excogitato commento*. See the treachery of Papists, *en Papis-tarum fidem*; *Usserius de Success*, 25.) often deny them, and feign (*affingamus*) some commodious sense for them, when they are objected in disputations or conflicts with our adversaries, we see not why Ratramn may not receive the same equity and diligent revisal," (See party spirit, not the desire of their soul's salvation, carried them headlong) "lest the heretics say that we burn and forbid such antiquity as maketh for them;" accordingly when Ratramn says, that the body of Christ is incorruptible, the Eucharist elements corruptible, the Douay divines say, "it were not amiss, therefore, nor unadvisedly done, that all these things should be left out.† There is yet remaining one certain piece or fragment of Elfricus Arch. 6 p. in the library of Worcester, wherein so much as maketh against the matter of Transubstantiation, we have found in the middle of the said Latin Epistle utterly rased out, so that no letter, or piece of a letter, doth there remain. These words so rased out are to

* *Ibidem*, 17.

† Usher's Answer to a Jesuit, 19, 20. *de Success*. 25.

be restored again by another Saxon book found at Exeter. By the erasing of which, one place, it may easily be conjectured what these practisers have likewise done in the rest. The words rased out are these, *Non est hoc tamen sacrificium corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, neque sanguis ejus, quem pro nobis effudit, sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis, sicut manna quod de cœlo pluit et aqua quæ de petrâ fluxit, sicut Paulus,*" &c.* Notwithstanding this sacrifice is not the same body of his, wherein he suffered for us, nor the same blood which he shed for us; but spiritually it is made his body and blood as that manna which rained from from heaven, and the water which did flow out of the rock, as St. Paul says,† It is often a matter of wonder and astonishment with Protestants, that any serious men of sound sense, and good information, can continue in the profession of Popery, but when it is known that such pains have been taken to prevent even learned Romanists from finding in libraries complete information upon their own religion, this circumstance may be accounted for easily enough.‡

When I wish to know whether the Old Testament has received the sanction of Christ, and whether the New Testament was written by his Apostles, I begin and trace the books of the New Testament through all the writers which I can find—either in connexion with the Church of Rome, or out of that connexion, by which means I can find the different books of it quoted, from the time of the Apostles until now; and I find it there recorded, that Christ and his Apostles acknowledged the divinity of the Old Testament. I also find that Jews, and various sects of Christians, were a check upon one another to prevent the corruption of these books; but on account of the various quotations of them, their authenticity is better proved than any other ancient record. We also have very early writers, containing catalogues of these Books. But if I would wish to trace out the truth of any tradition, for instance, the use of images,—Saint Jerome informs me that it was an error derived from the heathens. If I search for the beginning of the doctrine of purgatory, I will find that soon after the death of the Apostles a practice gradually gained ground of praying for the dead, because, most probably, the heathens were con-

* Fox, p. 1041.

† 1 Cor. x.

‡ Soame's History of Reformation, vol. iii. p. 160. 1827.

stantly inculcating, as the Romanists do now, that something of human frailty would generally cling to men, even at the moment of dissolution, and that, consequently, God might be reasonably supplicated to overlook the imperfections with which disembodied souls would enter the invisible world; just as if Christ's blood and righteousness were not able to cover all their guilt, and as if the Holy Ghost by his Almighty power was not able to cleanse and fit the souls of Christ's people immediately for heaven, so as to leave no stain in them. Some entertained a notion that a millenium would soon arise, when the faithful would arise as subjects of the kingdom, to be possessed by Christ for a thousand years before the final judgment, and that the best men would rise earliest, in order to occupy a place under this happy monarchy. Those who were occupied with this opinion accordingly prayed that their own friends might be found among the first to rise for this purpose. Others supposed that disembodied spirits are detained in a place of residence appropriated for that end, until the day of judgment, and that there might be some variations in their condition while in this place. There were also some who believed, that at the last day, all human souls, even that of the blessed Virgin not being excepted, would pass through a fire to the judgment seat. The holders of these opinions thought themselves justified in praying that their friends might easily escape under these posthumous trials. No Christians of any note appear to have believed in primitive times that the human soul, when first released from its mortal incumbrances, is transferred for purification to a temporary fire.* This is rendered sufficiently evident by the fact, that some of the earliest prayers for the dead of which we have any knowledge, include the whole body of departed Christians. It appears from all the ancient liturgies under the names of St. Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory, Naziarzen, and Cyril, that they prayed for all saints, the Virgin Mary herself not excepted, (of such departed spirits, it is not reasonable to suppose that they were thought to be in purgatory). And it is remarkable, that in the Old Roman missal they were used to pray for the soul of St. Leo, as Hincmar, a writer of the ninth century informs us, who says the prayer ran in this form, *Grant, O Lord, that this oblation*

* Bingham i. 758.

may be of advantage to the soul of thy servant Leo, which thou hast appointed to be for the relaxation of the sins of the world. St. Chrysostom says, expressly they offered for the Martyrs. And it is so expressly in the Greek liturgy. We offer unto thee this reasonable service for the faithful deceased, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, Evangelists, martyrs, confessors, religious persons, and every spirit perfected in the faith; but especially for our most holy, immaculate most blessed lady, the mother of God and ever Virgin Mary.* Bishop Fisher says, that in the ancient writers there is almost no mention of purgatory, especially in the Greek writers, and therefore that by the Grecians, it is not believed until this day.† The first that we find directly to have held that there is a purgatory fire provided before the day of judgment, for certain light faults was Gregory the First of that name, who lived as Pope of Rome from the year 590 to the year 603.‡ We here see the variety of notions concerning this subject from time to time, and how praying for the saints was changed to making them intercessors to pray for us. All they, of every denomination, who seek for religious knowledge to any other source than the Bible, or who neglect it, will be continually changing, and their end will be everlasting woe. You say it is shocking to say that the priest makes his Maker. Stephen is said to do great wonders and miracles among the people.§ Philip is said to perform miracles among the people;|| in both these instances God performed the miracles, yet Stephen and Philip are said to do them. I have spoken in the same manner. The promises of Christ to his Apostles were, that he would be with his Apostles, and all them who held their doctrine without addition or diminution, to the end of the world; all they who hold this doctrine, and love it, are taught by the Holy Ghost. The Apostles live in the doctrine which they taught, and left written behind them. All they who obey and believe this doctrine will be saved, and they who believe it not, but who add to it, or take from it, shall be damned. They who love and believe this doctrine form the Church; all others compose the synagogue of

* Ibidem, 757.

† Archbishop Usher's Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge.

‡ Ibidem.

§ Acts vi. 8.

|| Acts viii. 6.

Satan ; let them be learned or unlearned, clergy or laity. As for the fathers who succeeded the Apostles, I believe many of them were good men, but I believe that no Church or Churches kept the pure doctrine of the Apostles, without some degree of corruption during one hundred years. The crossings talked of by Tertullian shewed a degree of superstition of which the Apostles knew nothing. Afterwards purgatory, setting up crosses and images in Churches, holy water, the pantomime of the mass, the real presence, penances, pilgrimages, &c. O merciful God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live ; have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy Word ; and fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.





ERRATA.



- Page 10, line 7, instead of " savour," *read* " Saviour."
- 8, 2d line from the bottom, instead of " advise," *read* " advice."
- 12, 25th line, instead of " Patrick," *read* " Patriarch."
- 8th line from the bottom, instead of " another," *read* " another cloth."
- 13, 1st line, instead of " cares," *read* " care."
- 14, 14th line from the bottom, instead of " are," *read* " is."
- 15, 2d line, instead of " Minister," *read* " Ministers."
- 19th line, instead of " ejees," *read* " ejus," instead of " illod," *read* " illud."

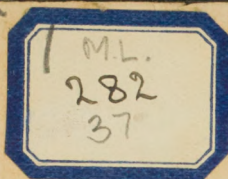
STATUTE

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A letter : to the Rev. W.B.
Ullathorne ... in answer to,
A few words ...

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