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AN

Apology

FOR THE

Church of England,

THE RIGHT REV. JOHN JEWELL, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY:

FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIM, AND ILLUSTRATED WITH COPIOUS NOTES,

BY

THE REVEREND STEPHEN ISAACSON, B. A.

OF CHRIST COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE:

TO WHICH IS PREFILED

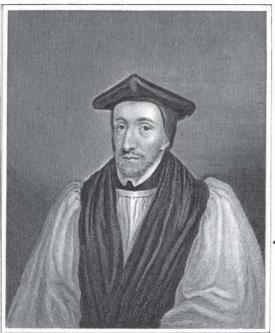
A MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS, AND A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE ON THE DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME; IN REPLY TO SOME OBSERVA-TIONS OF CHARLES BUTLER, ESQ. ADDRESSED TO DR. SOUTHEY, ON HIS BOOK OF THE CHURCH.

" FOR I AM NOT ASHAMED OF THE GOOPEL OF CHRIST; FOR IT IS THE COWER OF JOD UNTO SALVATION TO EVERY ONE THAT BELIEVETS." ROLL 1. 16.

London : JOHN HEARNE, 81, STRAND.

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CHAP. II.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE DOCTRINES AND PRECEPTS SANCTIONED BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AT THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION.

WE Believe that there is one divine nature and essence, which we call GoD; and that this is divided into three equal Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; all of whom possess the same power, the same majesty, the same eternity, the same divine attributes, the same substance: and although these three Persons are so manifestly distinct, that neither the Father is the Son, nor the Son the Holy Ghost, nor the Father; yet we maintain that there is but One God: that he alone is the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things under heaven.

We Believe that Jesus Christ, the only Son of the eternal Father, as had been decreed before the foundation of the world, when the fulness of time was come became incarnate, and took upon him the whole nature of man from the pure and blessed Virgin, that he might disclose to mankind the secret unrevealed purposes of his Father which had been concealed from all ages and generations, and that he might, in his human form, complete the mystery of our Redemption, and nail our sins,* and the written obligation which was against us, to the Cross.

We Believe that for our sakes he died, was buried, and descended into hell; that on the third day, by divine power, he rose again, and returned to life; that after forty days, in the sight of his disciples he ascended into heaven that he might fulfil all things, and placed that . self-same body in which he was born, had lived, and been ignominiously treated-wherein he had suffered the most excruciating torments, and cruel death, † had risen from the grave, and ascended to the right hand of his Father, in a state of majesty and glory, far above all principality and power, dominion and influence, and above every Name which is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come; that He now sitteth there, ‡ and will there remain till all things are completed. And although the Divinity and Majesty of Christ are indeed every where dif-

* Col. ii. 14. + Aug. Tract. 50. in Joh. + Acts iii. 21.

fused, yet it is necessary, (as St. Augustin saith)* that his body be in one place; for we believe, \checkmark that although Christ gave majesty to his body, he did not on that account take from it the corporeal nature; nor must we deny our Saviour † to have been human as well as divine, but believe, as Vigilius, the Martyr, says, ‡ that Jesus has left us in his human, but not in his divine nature, and that although he is absent from us in the form of a servant, yet he is always with us in the form of God.§

We believe that Christ will come again from 4 thence, to exercise a general judgment, as well upon those he shall then find living, as the dead.

We believe that the Holy Ghost, the third s person of the blessed Trinity, is truly God, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding from both the Father and the Son, in a way not known to mortals, and impossible to be explained by them. That it is his office to soften the hardness of the human heart, when by the salu-

> • Tract. 30. in Joh. + Aug. ad Dardan. ‡ Contra Eutych. lib. 1. § Fulgentius ad regem Thrasymundum.

tary preaching of the Gospel, or by any other means, he is received into the breast of man; that he enlightens and leads them to the knowledge of God, guides them in the paths of truth, and entire newness of life, and encourages the hope of Everlasting Salvation.

We believe that there is one church of God. and that not, as formerly amongst the Jews, confined to one corner or kingdom, but Catholic and universal, and extending over the whole earth, in such a manner, that no nation whatever can justly complain of being excluded from the Church, and incapable of belonging to the people of God. We believe, also, that this church is the kingdom, body, and spouse of Christ; that of this kingdom, Christ is the sole monarch; of this body, the sole head; of this spouse, the sole bridegroom; that there are various orders of ministers in the Church, that some are Deacons, others Priests, others Bishops, to whom the instruction of the people, and the care and management of religious concerns, are entrusted. And yet we maintain, that there neither is, nor possibly can be, any one man appointed to exercise supreme controul over the whole Church; for, in

the first place, Christ is ever present to assist w his Church, and requires no vicar,* or sole inheritor and successor; and secondly, no man is endued with a mind sufficiently comprehensive to embrace the universal Church, that is, every part of the world, so as to regulate and administer its affairs with propriety. The Apostles, according to St. Cyprian, † enjoyed an equal share of power, and each was invested with the same authority as St. Peter; they were all in like manner enjoined "to feed the flock, to go into the world, and preach the gospel." St. Jeromet likewise observes, "that all Bishops, wherever they reside, whether in Rome or Eugubium, in Constantinople or Rhegium, held equal pre-eminence, and are of the same priesthood. St. Cyprian § moreover declares, that there is one order of Episcopacy, a perfect and independent part of which each Bishop holds; and according to the decree of the council of Nice, the Bishop of Rome has no more authority in the church than the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch.

* This argument is intended to refute the Popish doctrine, that the Roman Pontiff is Christ's Vicar General on earth, and the temporal prince of his kingdom in this world.

+ De simplicitate Prælatorum. § De simplicitate Prælatorum.

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But the Roman Bishop, who now claims universal ecclesiastical dominion, is unworthy of the name of Bishop, or even of Priest, unless he administer the sacraments, and instruct the people, by preaching and admonishing them on suitable occasions. For, as St. Augustin observes, the Title of Bishop is not * honorary, but efficient, and he must not be considered worthy of that dignity, who does not labour for the improvement of the Church, as well as his own advancement. Nor can either the Pope, or any other individual, be the supreme head and governor of the whole Church, any more than he can be her bridegroom, light, salvation, and life: for these names and titles are the distinguishing privileges of Christ himself, and can, with propriety, be applied to him alone; and we know that no Roman Bishop ever assumed so arrogant a title, previous to the reign of the Emperor Phocas, A. D. 613, who, it is well authenticated, obtained the throne by the murder of his master, the Emperor Mauritius. The council of Carthage † wisely decreed, that no Bishop should be allowed the title of sovereign Pontiff, t or chief Priest; the Pope, therefore, in

* 1 Tim. 1. 2, &c. + Cap. xlvii. ‡ Pontifex Maximus, was the title of the heathen Chief assuming such a distinction, and usurping an \checkmark authority to which he is not entitled, not only acts in defiance of the ancient Councils and Fathers, but assumes (if he believes the writings of his own predecessor, * Gregory) " an arrogant, profane, sacrilegious, and Anti-christian title," and becomes therefore the King of Pride; that Lucifer, who exalts himself above his brethren, who abjures the faith, and thereby shews himself the forerunner of Antichrist.

We maintain, that a minister ought to be lawfully called, and duly and ritually appointed to the Church of God, and that no man ought to intrude into the sacred office at the impulse of his own will and pleasure. We are, therefore, unjustly calumniated by those, who are continually asserting, that confusion and disorder are the characteristics of our party; that nothing is done with regularity and order, for that with us, all are Priests, all Doctors, all Interpreters of the Scriptures.

Priest, and cannot properly be rendered into English any other way, as it does not, in any degree, express the nature of the Episcopal office; yet the popes of Rome have usurped this heathen title!

* Greg. lib. iv. ep. 76, 78, 80 ; lib. vii. ep. 69.

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We, moreover, say that authority has been granted to the Priesthood by Christ, to bind, to loose, to open, to shut. The power of loosing consists in this-That the minister, by the preaching of the gospel, offers to the broken, contrite, and truly penitent heart, absolution through the merits of Christ, and declares the certainty of the remission of sins, and the hopes of Eternal Salvation; or reconciles, restores, and receives into the congregation and unity of the faithful, those sincere penitents who, by any grievous misconduct, or notorious public offence, have shocked the minds of their brethren, and in a manner separated themselves from the Communion of the Church, and the body of Christ .--Again, the power of binding and shutting, is exercised as often as the gate of the Kingdom of Heaven is closed against the unbelieving and obstinate, and the vengeance of God and eternal punishment is denounced against them, as often as those, who have been publicly excommunicated are excluded from the bosom of the Church. Now, the sentence thus pronounced by his ministers, God himself so far approves, that whatsoever is either loosed or bound by them on earth, he has graciously declared shall, in like

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manner be loosed, or bound, and ratified in heaven. But the Key by which the Kingdom of Heaven is thus opened and shut, we say, with St. Chrysostom, is "the knowledge of Scripture;" with Tertullian, is "the interpretation of the Law;" with Eusebius, is "the Word of God."

The disciples of Christ did not however receive this authority that they might hear the private confessions of the people, and attend to secret whispers, as every * *Priestling* now does, and in such a manner, that they appear to consider the KEY entrusted to them for that sole purpose; but it was given to them, that they might go, and teach, and publish the Gospel, and become to the true believer a sweet savour of life unto life—to the unbeliever and infidel, a savour of death unto death: that the minds of the pious, alarmed by the consciousness of their former offences and errors, when they beheld the light of the Gospel, and believed in Christ, might be opened by the Word of God, even as a door is

• Sacrificulus, or Priestling, as here translated, was merely used as an expression of contempt, to designate the young and ignorant amongst the Popish Priesthood, to whom was, however, entrusted the power of granting absolution, &c.

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opened by a key; but that the wicked and rebellious, who refused to believe, and return to the straight path, might be shut up and locked; * and as St. Paul expresseth it, might † "wax worse and worse." In this manner we interpret the Keys, for thus are the consciences of men either opened or shut. We indeed call the Priest, in this case a Judge; but yet, as St. Ambrose[†] says, he hath no right whatever to assume any authority, and therefore it was that Christ, to reprove the negligence of the Scribes and Pharisees in teaching, rebuked them in these words: Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, for you have taken away the key of knowledge, and shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against men. Since then the key which opens to us the Kingdom of Heaven is the word of the gospel, and the interpretation of the Law and Scriptures; where there is no such word, there is no key: and as one key, that is the same word, was given to all, it follows, that the authority of all ministers as to

• "Shut up, and locked," that is, that their hearts might be hardened, and closed against the reception of Truth and the Word of God, which is the true key to open the door of the Human Heart.

^{+ 2} Tim. iii. 18. ; De pœniten. dist. i. cap. Verbum Dei. 5 Matt. xxiii, 13. Luke xi. 52.

binding and loosing is one and the same. We therefore deny that the Pope himself, although soothed by his parasites with these flattering words: * I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, as if they were his peculiar right, and sole property, unless he exerts himself to turn and subdue the consciences of men to the word of God-we, I say, deny that he can either open or shut the door of the Kingdom, or that he hath even possession of the Key. And, although he may teach and instruct the people, (which I sincerely wish he would do, and consider it as in some degree, at least, incumbent on him,) still his Key is neither larger nor better than that of others. For who distinguished him? Who taught him to open more learnedly, or absolve more powerfully than his brethren?

We consider Marriage an holy and honourable estate in all sorts and degrees of men; in the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, blessed Martyrs, Ministers of Religion, and Bishops: that, as St. Chrysostom † saith, it is both lawful and just for a person in such a condition to ascend the epis-

* Matt. xvi. 19. † Chrysost. In Titum. Hom. i. cap. 2. 36 THE DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH

copal throne. And we agree with Sozomen,* when speaking of Spiridion, and Nazianzen † of his own Father, that a pious and active bishop, far from being disqualified by matrimony, becomes, on that very account, a better and more profitable minister. The Law therefore which deprives men of this liberty, and binds them to a life of celibacy, is rightly deemed by us, in the words of 1 St. Paul, the doctrine of Devils; and the source and origin whence the profligacy, immoral and flagitious conduct of the Ministers of God has chiefly risen : which the § Bishop of Augusta, Faber, the abbot of Palermo, Latomus, the tripartite work annexed to the second volume of the Councils, and other champions of the Papal authority confess; and which indeed is apparent from the very nature of the case, and the unanimous consent of all historians. So that Pope Pius || the second decided most properly when he said, that "there were many reasons why the clergy should not be allowed to marry, but far greater and more weighty ones why this privilege should be restored to them."

* Theop. ad Titum x. cap. 6. † In Monodia sua super Basilium. t 1 Tim. iv. 1. 6 Huldericus. || Platina in Vita Pit Secundi.

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We receive and embrace all the Canonical Books, both of the Old and New Testaments; giving thanks to our most gracious God, that he hath furnished us with this light to shine for ever before our eyes; lest, by human fraud, or the snares of hell, we should at any time be seduced into errors and false doctrines. We acknowledge them to be the voice of God by which he has declared his will unto us; that in them alone the soul of man can find rest; for they. * alone, as Origen, St. Augustin, St. Chrysostom, and St. Cyril have taught us, abundantly and fully contain every thing that is necessary for our soul's health: in them is manifested the * power and might of God unto salvation; they are the foundations of the Prophets and Apostles, on which the Church of God is built: by their infallible law, in all cases of error or corruption, the doctrines of the church ought to be tried: in opposition to them, no law, no tradition, no custom, is to be received, not even though St. Paul † himself, or an Angel from Heaven should come and teach otherwise.

We allow moreover the Sacraments of the

* Rom. i. 16. + Gal. i. 8,

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5 Church, that is, the sacred signs and ceremonies which Christ enjoined us to use; that by them he might place before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and more strongly confirm the faith which we have in his blood, and seal in our hearts his grace : and these we call figures, signs, types, patterns, forms, seals, signets, similitudes, examples, representations, remembrances, and memorials: as likewise did Tertullian, Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, Dionysius, and many other Catholic Fathers. Nor do we hesitate, with the same learned Doctors, to call them a kind of Visible Words, the Seals of Righteousness, and Symbols of Grace. At the same time also we expressly affirm, that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the body and blood of our Lord is truly exhibited * to believers; that is, the flesh of the

• The Bishop, in his reply to Harding's Strictures, fully explains the nature of the Sacrament, and the manner in which it ought to be understood; he first cites the following Passage from St. Augustin;—"This is the EATINGE of that meate, and the DRINKINGE of that drinke, that a man dwel in Christe and have Christe dwellinge in him." And again—" of the Sacramentes of Christe, wee doo bothe speake, and thinke reverently, and as it becommeth us, and accordinge to the Holy Scriptures, Wee saie that a CREATURE is a CREATURE, that a SACRAMENTE is a SACRAMENTE, and not GOD. We saie

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Son of God which quickeneth our souls, the meat which cometh from above, the food of immortality, grace, truth, life: and that, by participating in the communion of the body and blood of Christ, we are revived, strengthened, and refreshed unto Immortality, and so joined, united, and incorporated with Christ, that we may ever abide in him, and he in us.

We acknowledge two Sacraments, which properly ought to be so called—Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord: for these we find delivered and sanctified by Christ himself, and approved by St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, and the ancient Fathers.

Baptism is looked upon as the Sacrament of 2⁻¹ the Remission of Sins; as a type of that washing and purification which we have in the Blood of Christ: and from this no one is to be excluded who is anxious to profess the Faith of Christ; not

with St. Augustin, The Sacramente is not our Lorde, but the breade of our Lorde." And again—"In Sacramentes we must cousider, NOT WHAT THEY BE IN DEEDE, but what they SIGNIFIE." The Defence of the Apologie. Ed. Lond. 1567. fol. p. 210.

even the children of Christians, since they are born in sin, and belong to the people of God.

 $2^{\frac{1}{2}}$. We consider the Eucharist, or Supper of our Lord, as a visible symbol of the Body and Blood of Christ in which his death, resurrection, and all the actions of his human life are, in a certain degree, represented to our eyes; that we may give him thanks for his death, and our redemption through it: and by frequenting the Sacrament continually renew the remembrance thereof: that by feeding on the Body and Blood of Christ we may be brought into the Hope of the Resurrection, and of Everlasting Life; and that we may be assured, that his Body and Blood is as effectual for the nourishment of our Souls, as bread and wine for our Bodies. To this solemn feast the people ought earnestly to be invited, that they may all communicate together, and publicly. declare and testify the unity that 'exists among themselves, and the hope which they have in Christ Jesus. For this reason, before the introduction of private mass, if any one wished to be a mere spectator, and was unwilling to participate in the Holy Communion, he was excommunicated, as an infidel and heathen, by the

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ancient Fathers* and Roman bishops of the primitive Church: nor was any Christian, in those days, allowed to communicate by himself, in the presence of others. For Calixtust long since decreed, that after the consecration all should communicate, or be excluded from the Church: observing, that such was the practice of the Apostles, which was followed by the Church of Rome. Moreover, when the people came to the Holy Communion, the Sacrament ought to be administered to them in both kinds. For thus Christ commanded, the Apostles every where ordained, and such was the undeviating practice of the primitive Fathers and Catholic Bishops: and whoever transgresses this regulation; is, according to Gelasius, † guilty of Sacrilege. We therefore maintain that our opponents, who, rejecting the Communion, defend private masses, and a mutilation § of the Sacrament without the

• Chrysostom ad Ephes. Ser. III. de conser. Dist. i. Cap. Omnes.

.† Known in the decree under the name of ANACLETUS. Dist. ii. Cap. Seculares. et cap. peracta.

* ‡ De Cons. Dist. ii. cap. Comperimus.

§ Some copies have *Multitudinem*, alluding to the number of the Popish Sacraments. authority of the word of God, without any ancient Council, without any Catholic Father, without the example of the primitive Church, and without reason; (and this, not only against the positive command and express declaration of Christ, but also in opposition to the uniform practice of antiquity,) are guilty of impiety and sacrilege.

We consider the Bread and Wine as the sacred and heavenly Mysteries of the Body and Blood of Christ; and that by them, Christ himself, being the true Bread of Eternal Life, is in such a measure administered to us, that, through faith, we actually receive his Body and Blood. In affirm-18 ing this however we do not insinuate that the nature of the Bread and Wine suffers any material change, as many visionary writers have lately affirmed; although, at the same time, they have been unable to reconcile their conflicting sentiments on this subject: for it was not our Saviour's intention that the wheaten bread should change its nature, and become, as it were, a divine substance; but that we, as Theophylact observes,* should become new creatures, and in-

• In Johan. Cap. vi.

corporate ourselves with his Divine Attributes. Nothing indeed can possibly be more clear than the words of St. Ambrose;* "The Bread and Wine still remain the same in substance, but are nevertheless changed." With whom † Gelasius agrees, saying; " The Nature of the Bread and Wine is not affected:" and [†]Theodoret argues; "that these Mystical Types do not substantially change, but still retain their former quality, form, and nature." St. Augustin § says; " that which ye see is the Bread and Cup, of which your eyes convince you: but your Faith requires you to consider the Bread as the Body of Christ, the Cup as his Blood. Origen || observes; " that Bread which is sanctified by the word of God, with respect to its material substance, entereth into the Belly, and is cast out into the draught;" and, finally, Christ himself, not only at the consecration, but after the administration, declared that he would drink no more of the fruit of this vine.** Now it is well known, that the fruit of

De Sacramento. lib. iv. c. 4.
† In Dialog. i. et ii. ‡ In Sermone ad Infantes.
§ De cons. dist. ii. cap. Qui manducant. || In Matt. sect. xix.
** St. Luke, xxii. v. 18. 44 THE DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH

the vine is Wine, not Blood. In thus speaking however it is very far from our intention to depreciate the value and importance of the Supper of the Lord, or to consider it a mere formal unimportant ceremony of which we are by many persons so falsely accused; for we affirm that Christ is absolutely present in his Sacraments. In Baptism, that we may be clothed with His Spirit.* In the Communion, that we may receive Him by Grace and Faith, and have Eternal Life through his Cross and Passion. Nor is this a cold, unmeaning assertion, but proceeds from a firm conviction of the Truth: for although we do not absolutely touch the Body of Christ with our lips and teeth, yet we hold him fast, and spiritually eat him in our hearts, through Faith. Nor is that Belief vain which comprehendeth

• St. Chrysostome saithe, wee receive in the Holy Mysteries the onely begotten Sonne of God, meaninge by *Faithe onely*, not by *Mouthe*, even so be writeth of the Sacramente of Baptism: "If any man had geeven thee a Princely Robe, or a crowne, wouldest thou not sette more by it, than by any Gold? Bat I wil geeve thee, not a Princely Robe, but the *Prince himselfe*, to put on thee. Thou wilt saie, howe maie a man put on Christe upon him?" Heare what St. Paul saithe, As many of you as are Baptized in Christe, have put on Christe.

Defence of the Apologie, fol. 285. Lond. 1567.

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Christ, nor received with cold devotion, which is embraced with Faith, Spirit, and Understanding. For Christ himself is so entirely offered. up, and, as far as possible, given for us, that we may assuredly know that* we are Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone; and that he dwelleth in us, and we in him.[†]

In the Celebration therefore of these Mysteries, before they approach the Altar, the People are with great propriety admonished to "lift up their hearts," and direct their thoughts ‡ to Heaven; for there HE is on whom they are about to feed and live. In allusion to which, St. Cyril observes; "that in partaking of these Mysteries all gross ideas are to be banished;" and the Nicene Council, (as quoted by some in Greek), expressly forbids us to think irreverently of the Bread and Wine which is set before us. St. Chrysostom, in one of his chapters, very properly says, that we consider the Body of Christ as the Carcass, and should therefore look upon ourselves as the Eagles: meaning thereby,

> * Gen. ii. 23. † John vi. 56. ; De Consec. dist. i. cap. Quando.

that if we are desirous to approach the Body of Christ we must soar on high, and raise our hearts to the throne of God. For this is the table of Eagles—not of Daws. St. Cyprian* calls this Bread the nourishment of the Soul, not of the Body; and St. Augustin† exclaims, "How shall I hold him being absent? How shall I stretch forth my hand unto heaven, and there reach him on his throne?—By Faith."[†]

In our Churches we do not tolerate the public exhibition and sale of Masses, or the carrying about and adoration of the Bread, and such like idolatrous and blasphemous follies; which they themselves dare not affirm to be founded upon the authority of Christ, or his Apostles. We

* De Cœna Domini. + In Johan, tract xxx.

[†] The words of St. Augustin are—Sende up thy Faithe: and thou holdest him. Thy Fathers (THE JEWES) held him in Fleashe; holde him thou in thy Harte. For Christe beinge ABSENTE, is also PRESENTE. Onlesse he were presente, wee coulde not holde him. But, for as mutche as it is true, that he saithe, Beholde, I am with you until the ende of the worlde, therefore he is gonne, and yet is here. He is comme againe; and hath not forsaken us. For he hath advanced his Body into Heaven; but he hath not withdrawn his Majestie from the Worlde.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 290. fol. 1567.

justly condemn the Popes, who, without any command of God, without any authority of the Holy Fathers, without any precedent, presume to place the Sacramental Bread before the people, not only as a proper object of Divine Worship, but also to carry it about with them on an ambling nag* whithersoever they go: in the same manner as the Persians did formerly their sacred fire, and the † Egyptians the relics of their Goddess Isis. We behold with indignation the Sacraments of Christ reduced to a mere pageantry and show: so that the very thing wherein his Death was to be celebrated and inculcated, and in which the Mysteries of our Redemption ought

* Al this strange solemne festival guise Pope Urbanus the fourthe learned, not of Christe, or Paule, but onely by the Revelation of Dame Eva the Anchoresse: and by her good advise founded the news Feaste of CORPUS CHRISTI, and eaused the Sacrameute to be borne about in Procession.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 203.

The Popish Doctor, Gabriel Bidl, says himself, Christe gave not the Sacramente to his disciples to the ende thei shoulde keepe it with honour: But he gave it to them for their use, saieing to them, Take and eate. Biel Lect. xxvi.

Humbertus, also, states that Christe did not onely blesse the Breade, and reserve it to be broken the next daie: nor did he onely breake it, and laie it up; but beinge broken streightwaie he delivered it. Cited by Cassander in Liturgiis.

† Liber de ceremoniis Ecclesiæ Romanæ.

to be reverently and piously represented, is converted into an idle spectacle to gratify the eyes, and excite the admiration of the ignorant multitude.

Again-it is ridiculous folly, and heathenish impiety in them to assert, and sometimes even persuade credulous fools to believe, that their Masses are capable of communicating to man all 2^{5} v the merits of the Death of Christ; for it is our Faith alone, not the act of receiving the Sacraments, that makes the Cross and Passion of our Saviour profitable for our Salvation. We are justified by Faith in the efficacy of the Sacraments; not by the Sacraments themselves, saith St. Augustin. And * Origen calls "Jesus, the Priest, the Propitiation, and the Sacrifice, which Propitiation is effectual for all mankind, through Faith." We therefore agreeable to this doctrine maintain, that without faith the Sacraments do not profit the living, much less the dead.

> of Purgatory. The State of Purgatory, which forms a leading feature in their articles of belief, though

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• Ad Rom. cap. iii. lib. 3.

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no new fantasy, is nevertheless a mere idle fable. or an old wife's tale. * St. Augustin, it must be confessed, sometimes says that there is such a place, sometimes thinks it not impossible there may be: again he wavers in his opinion, and finally decides against it. and considers that men are deceived on this point by the natural affection they entertain for departed friends: and yet, from this one error. such a host of minor Priests have arisen, that in every corner masses are publicly and openly sold; the Church of God is converted into shops for the sale of indulgencies; and ignorant men persuaded, that nothing is more necessary to be purchased: undoubtedly, nothing can be more profitable for these Priestlings. †

• Aug. in Psal. lxxxv. In Enchiridio, cap. vi. vii. Augustin de civitate Dei. lib. ii. c. 26.

 \uparrow A just idea may be formed of the immense sums obtained by this impious traffic, from Bishop Jewell's celebrated Defence of this Apology, and his elaborate Exposition of the Popish Articles of Religion. In his Reply to Harding, he gives us a fine Picture of the avaricious views and selfish principles of the Papists in general, and concludes with these remarkable words: "As the case nowe standeth, and as moste menne thinke, the Pope could be contented to lose bothe *Heaven* and *Helle*, to save his Purgatorie."

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 308. fol. 1567.

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The multitude With respect to the multitude of of idle Ceremonies vain and superfluous ceremonies, we know that * St. Augustin made heavy complaints in his time. We therefore have rejected a great number of them, knowing that they afflicted the consciences of men, and were burthensome to the Church of God: nevertheless, we observe and esteem not only all those which we are assured were authorized by the Apostles, but also certain others, which did not appear to us oppressive or injurious to the Church of God: for it was our wish, as † St. Paul commands, that all things should be done decently, and in order. At the same time however we have unreservedly abolished those numerous Popish rites, which appeared to us either superstitious, useless, unmeaning, ridiculous, or plainly contradicting the spirit of the Holy Scriptures, and unworthy the adoption of rational creatures; being indignant at observing the worship of God disgraced by such follies.

The use of We make our prayers, as we un-Prayer in our own language. doubtedly ought, in that language

* Ad. Johan. Epist. cxix. †1

† 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

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which our hearers understand, that they may, as St. Paul* expresseth it, receive advantage from joining with us in our devotions. Thus also, the Holy Fathers, and Catholic Bishops, not only in the Old, but also in the New Testament, have uniformly both prayed themselves, and taught others to pray; lest, in the words of St. Augustin, "we should, like jays and parrots, appear to utter that which we do not understand."

Of Mediators, The only Mediator and Intercessor, and Intercessors. The only Mediator and Intercessor, by whom we have access to God the Father, is JESUS CHRIST; in whose Name alone all things are obtained from the Father. The infinite number of mediators who are worshipped in the churches of our adversaries without the least authority of the word of God, savours strongly of impiety and idolatry. Whence, as the Prophet † Jeremiah observes, according to the number of thy Cities so are thy Gods, or even more numerous; so that wretched mortals cannot decide to whom they should offer their supplications. Yet, notwithstanding their almost countless numbers, these men have assigned to each of them a

* 1 Cor. xiv. † Jerem. ii. 28. and xi. 13.

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peculiar office and duty; and pointed out to the deluded multitude what manner of gifts they can bestow, or what miracles they can perform; and have, both impiously and impudently solicited the Virgin Mary "to remember that she is a Mother, to command her Son, and use a Mother's authority over him." *

The doctrine of Original Sin. We maintain that man is both *born*, and *lives* in Sin; that no one can, with truth, say "my heart is clean;" and that the most righteous person is but an unprofitable servant.† The Law of God is esteemed by us as perfect, and worthy of entire and unqualified obedience; but we are still conscious of an utter inability to fulfil it in this mortal life, and that no one can, by his own deserts, be justified in the sight of God. On this account therefore we Believe that Jesus Christ

* Bernardus.

† St. Jerome, in defence of this position declares, that "notwithstandinge wee saie thus, yet wee flatter not Vices; but wee folowe the Authoritie of the Scriptures, that there is nothinge without Sinne. But God hathe shutte up al thinges under Sinne, that he maie have mercie of al." Again, he says, "It is moste certaine, that every man, yea although hee be growen to Perfection, yet needeth the Mercie of God; and that he enjoieth ful Perfection, not of his owne deservinge, but of Grace."

Hieoronymus ad Algasiam, et in Hezeohi. lib. 14. cap. 46.

is our only Help and Refuge that the Mercy of our Father is to be obtained through his Intercession alone; that he is the only propitiation for our Sins, by whose blood our stains are washed out; that, by his sufferings on the Cross, our peace is made with God;* that by the one oblation of himself upon the Tree, he was made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice; and that therefore when he gave up the ghost he exclaimed, † "IT IS FINISHED:" as if by these words he intended to declare that the Price and Ransom for the sins of all the world was now fully paid.

The perfect mess of the Sacrifice of Christ. If there are any persons who still think this sacrifice incomplete, let them go and seek a more perfect one. We, for our parts, knowing it to be the only one, are content with this alone, and seek no other: and as it was to be offered but once, we do not enjoin the repetition of it: and being full and perfect in every respect, we do not substitute a continual succession of our own sacrifices.

• 1 John ii. 2. and iv. 10. Col. i. 20. Heb. x. 14. + John xix. 80. 54 THE DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH

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The nature of Although we assert that our own Good Works. deeds and actions possess no efficacy, and found all our hopes of Salvation upon Christ alone; we do not on that account insinuate, that men may lead profligate and abandoned lives, nor that it is sufficient for a Christian to believe and be baptized, and that nothing farther is expected of him,-" * For the true Faith is a lively Faith, and cannot be idle." We therefore instruct the people after this manner: that God hath called us, not to riot and wantonness, but, as † St. Paul says, to good works, that we might walk in them; that we are delivered from the powers of darkness to serve the living God; that we might cut off the remnant of sin, and work out

• St. Cyprian says—" Howe doothe hee suie, He beleeveth in Christe, that doothe not the thinge that Christe commanded ?" On which passage, Bishop Jewell observes, in his defence— " Hereby it is plaine, that true Faithe is lively, and workeful : and, that an idle Faithe is indeede no Faithe at al. p. 321.

+ Ephes. ii. 10. 1 Col. i. 10.

§ St. Bernard concludes one of his commentaries on the Psalms, in these words: "My merite is the Mercie of God; so longe as God is not poore of mercie, so longe cannot I be poore of merite. If his mercies be greate, then am I greate in merites. This is the whole merite of Man, if he put his whole affiance in the Lorde," Bernard in Psal. Qui habitat.

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our own Salvation with fear and trembling;* that the Spirit of Sanctification might appear to dwell in our bodies, and Christ himself, through Faith, in our hearts.

Finally, we believe, that this same flesh in which we live, though in death it may be turned into dust, will still, at the last day, return to life through the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us; that then, however much we may previously have suffered for his sake, he will wipe away every tear from our eyes; that through him we shall enjoy everlasting life, and remain for ever with him in glory.[†] Amen.

* Phil. ii. 12.

+ The cause of our Resurrection, says St. Paul[•] is the spirit of God that dwelleth in us; and according to Origen, "We shall rise again, because of the Spirit that dwelleth within us; for of necessity the Spirit must have his house restored unto him;" and St. Augustin, in similar language declares, "This is my whole hope, and all my trust. For in Christ our Lord is Flesh and Blood, which is a portion of each of us. Therefore, where a portion of mine reigneth, there I believe that I reign also.

Origen ad Rom. cap. viii. lib. 6. Augustini Meditationes, cap. xiv.

* 1 Cor. c. xv.

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CHAP. III.

THE ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF THE VARIOUS HERESIES IN THE CHURCH, AND THE AGES DURING WHICH THEY FREVAILED.

These are the frightful heresies under colour of which a great part of the world is at this day condemned by the Pope without a trial. The attack should rather have been commenced against Christ, against the Apostles, against the holy Fathers; for with them have these doctrines originated, by them have they been sanctioned and established: unless, indeed, they are disposed to assert, (and possibly they may) that Christ did not institute the holy Communion to be distributed among the faithful; or that the Apostles of Christ and the ancient Fathers said private masses in every corner of the Churches; sometimes ten, or even twenty in a day: or perhaps they will affirm, that Christ and his Apostles drove away the plebeian portion of the Community from a participation in the Sacrament of his Blood; or that, that, which is to day every where practised by these men, (and

so practised too that he who complies not is condemned as a Heretic), was not denominated sacrilege by their own Gelasius: that St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, Gelasius, Theodoret, St. Chrysostom, and Origen, never declared the Sacramental Bread and Wine to continue what they were in their unconsecrated state; never said that what we behold upon the Lord's table is Bread; that the substance of the Bread and nature of the Wine remain altogether and entirely unchanged, and that the Bread itself, considered materially, " goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught:"-or will they say that Christ, his Apostles, and the holy Fathers offered up their prayers in a language not understood by the people? will they say that Christ, by that one oblation of himself, once offered, hath not completed the work of our Redemption? or, that this sacrifice was so imperfect, that now we have need of another?

All this they must, in substance, assert, unless they argue that all laws, both human and divine, are vested in the person of the Pope; or that, as one of his parasites hesitated not in the true spirit of flattery to assert, he could, when he thought proper, annul the decisions of the Apostles and Councils; nay, invalidate even the Apostolical Canons themselves: * that it was not for him to be directed either by the example, the institutions, or the laws of Christ.

These are the doctrines we have been taught by Christ, by the Apostles, by the holy Fathers: these, unaltered, uncorrupted, we teach the people of God; and for this cause indeed it is, that we are this day stigmatized as Heretics by this usurper of religious authority.

O, eternal God! And has Christ, have the Apostles, have so many Fathers, all been involved together in the same error? Were Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, St. Chrysostom, Gelasius, Theodoret, all Apostates from the Catholic Faith? Was the singular unanimity of so many venerable Bishops and learned men only an Heretical Conspiracy?

Are we to be condemned for maintaining those sentiments which gained them so much approba-

* Dist. xxxvi. Lector in Glossa. Dist. lxxxi. Presbyter.

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tion? Has that which in them was Catholic, now suddenly, with the veering breath of human caprice, become schismatic? Shall what was formerly true, because it no longer pleases them, be deemed false? Let them give us another Gospel, or at least show some plausible reason why these Pillars of Faith, which for so many ages have attracted the eye of public admiration, for so many ages upheld the Church of God, should now at length be demolished?

We are convinced that the word which Christ revealed, and his Apostles preached, is sufficient for our salvation—sufficient to propagate all truth—sufficient to convict every species of Heresy.

From this alone do we condemn all those ancient Heresies, which our adversaries declare that we have recalled from Hell: Nay, Arians, Eutychians, Marcionites, Ebionites, Valentinians, Carpocratians, Tatians, Novatians—all those, in a word, who have entertained impious ideas of God the Father, of Christ, of the Holy Spirit, or of any other point in Christianity, (inasmuch as the Gospel of Christ condemns them,) we too pronounce them impious and abandoned—we, too pursue them with detestation, even to the gates of Hell, and not only so, but if any of these heresies break forth and intrude themselves on our notice, we curb them with the severe and rigid discipline of the civil law.*

We confess indeed that certain new and hitherto unheard of Sects, as Anabaptists, Libertines, Mennonians, Zuenckfeldians, arose immediately after the Reformation: but, thanks be to God, the world now sees, clearly enough, that we neither generated, educated, nor nourished these monsters. Peruse, whosoever thou art, peruse our books; they may every where be procured. What work ever proceeded from the pen of any one of our party favourable to the speculations of these madmen? At this very hour no countries are so free from this infection as those where the Gospel is freely and publicly preached; and this very circumstance, if properly and attentively considered, is a convincing

• The Bishop appears, in this place, to allude to the execution of George Paris, an Arian, who was burnt in the reign of Edward VI. April 4th, 1551, for Heresy, though he was a German by Nation. Godwin's Annals.

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argument that we teach the truth of the Gospel; for darnel springs not up without corn, nor chaff without grain. Who knows not how many heresies simultaneously arose in the times even of the Apostles themselves at the first propagation of the Gospel? Who ever before had heard of Simon, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion, Valentinus, Secundus, Marcosius, Colorbasius, Heracleon, Lucian, Severus? But why mention these? Epiphanius enumerates eighty, St. Augustin more, and those distinct heresies which grew up together with the Gospel. But what then? Was the Gospel not the Gospel because so many heresies accompanied it? Was Christ, on that account, not Christ? But, as was before observed, it is not among us who freely and publicly teach the Gospel that these Heresies have sprung up. It is among our adversaries, in blindness and in darkness, that these pestilences originate, and receive progressive strength, while the truth is suppressed by them with savage tyranny, and can be heard only in the sequestered corner and the secret meeting. Let them make the experiment: let them give free scope to the Gospel: let the truth of Jesus Christ shine, and emit its rays throughout the Universe; and they will soon see these

shadows disappear before the light of the Gospel, even as the beams of the rising sun dissipate the nocturnal clouds: for whilst our adversaries remain in a state of useless inactivity; we, who are falsely charged with fostering and promoting these heresies, are daily engaged in exposing and repressing them.

As far as regards their accusation of our having lapsed into Sectarianism, enlisted under the banners of Luther and Zuinglius,* and our utter want of unanimity on doctrinal points of the last importance; what would they have said, had they been contemporary with the Apostles and the † Fathers? What would they have thought, had they heard one affirm, I am of Paul; another, I am of Cephas; a third, I am of Apollos? Had they beheld St. Paul rebuking St. Peter; and, in consequence of a conflict in their

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Eras. in Præf. tom. ii. Hieronymi.

^{*} Zuinglius was the author of the *doctrine*, and Calvin of the *discipline* of this Sect, who are now generally known as Calvinists—the designation of Zuinglians having been long disused.

⁺ The learned Erasmus says, "In those days, it was a great point of wisdom to know how to be a Christian."

opinions, separating from Barnabas? Had they lived in those days, when, according to Origen, the Christians were so divided by faction, that, save the name alone, no vestige of Christian unanimity remained : when, as Socrates informs us, their discussions and divisions were the subject even of theatrical ridicule: when the Emperor Constantine describes the tide of disunion and animosity to have run so high as far to exceed every former calamity: when Theophilus, Epiphanius, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, Ruffin, St. Jerome, who were all Christians, all Fathers, all Catholics, were inflamed against each other, by the most bitter and implacable animosity: when, as Nazianzen affirms, "the members of the same body consumed each other; when the East rose in conflict with the West, irritated by the dispute about leavened bread, and the observation of Easter: things of no such mighty importance: and when such was the innovating Spirit of the Councils, that new decrees and new creeds were continually sanctioned :--had they, I repeat it, lived in these days, what then would they have said? Which party would they have espoused? Whom would they have rejected? What Gospel would they have credited? Whom

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would they have stigmatized as heretics? Whom esteemed as Catholics? But now, Luther and Zuinglius alone descend into the arena; and how tragical the scene!

And, ought we then, because they happen to differ on certain points, to conclude that both are wrong; that neither have received the Gospel; that neither have taught it in the spirit of rectitude and truth?

But, good God! who are these who take cognizance of our dissentions? Are they themselves unanimous? Are all of them resolved upon one system of practice? Do no animosities, no dissentions, prevail among them? "Why then do the Scotists and Thomists agree no better with each other on the nature of reward, whether it is a matter of strict justice, or an act of pure mercy? Why are they at issue on the nature of Original Sin in the blessed Virgin; on the obligation of a solemn and a single vow? Why do their Canonists affirm that auricular confession is founded on the positive Law of Man; while their Scholars contend for its divine institution? Why does Albertus Pighius differ

from Cajetanus, Thomas from Lombardus, Scotus from Thomas, Ochamus from Scotus, Alliacensis from Ochamus, the Nominalists from the Realists? Not to mention the various orders and disagreements of Monks * and Friars, (some of whom consider that Holiness of Life consists in eating Fish, others in living upon Herbs; some in wearing shoes, others, sandals; some prefer linen garments, others woollen: there are moreover, the Black Friars and the White Friars; some shave their heads entirely, others only in front; some wear shoes, others go barefooted; and some wear a girdle, which others decline: †

* Step. Gardiner in Sophistica diaboli. Rich. Faber, Recantatio Berengarii Schola et Glossa. Guimundus de Consec. Dist. ii. Ego Beren.

† Bishop Jewell, in his defence, observes, "The Pharisees, it appeared, made no great account of the Holiness of their Garments; yet, notwithstanding, under the colour and shadow thereof, they deceived the people, and therefore Christ saith unto them, Wo unto you, Scribes and Pharisees; and unto the people he saith, beware of them that love to go in long robes."

Defence of the Apologie, p. 344.

To this, the saying of Macrobius may be added, "Dolosi hominis dolosæ vestes." Lactantius, in the same spirit, declares, that "if any man thinks that apparel, precious stones, or the like, which are by us esteemed, are pleasant or agreeable to God, undoubtedly he knoweth not the nature of God." Lib. vi. cap. 25. 66

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thus resting all their pretensions to sanctity on a peculiar mode of dress and diet. Besides these, they ought to remember that two opinions are entertained by their divines respecting the natural presence of the Body of Christ at the Lord's Supper: for some of them affirm that at the Holy Communion they literally eat his flesh, others deny it: some say that the entire body of Christ is present in the Eucharist, this opinion also finds opponents: some again affirm that Christ consecrated the elements by a certain divine power, others contend it was by the act of blessing: some again by the conception of five * solemn words in his mind, others by uttering the same: some think that by the use of the demonstrative pronoun " THIS," being one of the five words Christ pronounced, the natural bread was pointed out, while others prefer construing it into † a vague and general expression without any reference to quantity or kind. They ought to remember that there are some among them who say that dogs and mice may really eat the Body of Christ; t there are others who mani-

• Thomas. + Gardiner.

t " It is a moste certaine, and undoubted Article of our Faithe, that no Creature can eate the Body of Christe, but he

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festly and resolutely deny it: there are some who say the very * accidents of bread and wine can afford nourishment; there are others who say the substance of the bread returns. Why should I add more? It were prolix and tedious to enumerate every thing. The whole form of this religion and doctrine, even among the founders and supporters of it, is enveloped in the clouds of uncertainty and dispute. They are seldom unanimous, except indeed like the Pharisees and Sadducees of old, or Herod and Pilate, in their opposition to Christ.

Let them therefore depart, and establish a uniform system of Religion among themselves.— Unity and Concord are the leading features of Christianity: by these alone however we cannot distinguish the Church of God. There was

that is a member of Christes body. This," saith St. Augustin, " is the eating of that meat, and the drinking of that drink, for a man to dwell in Christ, and to have Christ dwelling in him." Whosoever therefore will holde, that a *dogge*, or a monse maie eate the very Body of Christe, and that really, and in deede, or whoso staggereth, or doubteth, whether it maiebe so or no, Accursed be he.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 349. • De consec. Dist. ii. Species. Glossa.

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no want of unity among the worshippers of the Golden Calf; nor among those who with united voices cried out against our Saviour; Crucify him, Crucify him. Nor, although we observe the Corinthians torn by dissensions, a diversity of opinion existing between Paul and Peter, Barnabas and Paul; and the Primitive Christians at variance on some points of doctrine; are we therefore to conclude there was no Church of God among them. Those, whom our adversaries contemptuously denominate Zuinglians, and Lutherans, (but who in reality are Christians, united by the ties of friendship and fraternity,) do not differ respecting the principles and fundamental points of our religion, upon God, upon Christ, upon the Holy Spirit, upon the means of Justification, or Eternal Life: it is only upon one point, and that of no great weight and importance: nor do we despair, or rather we do not so much as doubt of the speedy restoration of concord;-and if there be any whose opinions are erroneous, we trust, that all party spirit and selfish views being abandoned, God will grant them ability to see the delusion under which they labour, so that, as in the Council of Chalcedon, the subject being fairly discussed,

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all the roots and branches of discord may be eradicated, and cut off, and buried in the grave of everlasting oblivion. Amen.

But the charge they bring against us, that we are men of abandoned habits, and careless of religion, is indeed one of the most serious complexion: though in truth it should not much affect us; because they themselves who bring it know that it is scandalous and false. Justin Martyr tells us, that at the first preaching of the Gospel and open declaration of the name of Christ, all Christians were called Atheists! When Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, appeared before the tribunal of the Proconsul, the words by which the populace incited him to the massacre and destruction of every professor of the Gospel, were, * Aips rous 'Adious; that is, remove those impious men who do not acknowledge a God. Not that the Christians in reality denied God, but because they did not pay their adoration to stocks and stones, which then received the divine worship. But the world sees plainly enough what trials and sufferings we have endured at

* Euseb, lib. iv. cap. 15.

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their hand for the sake of our religion and our God. Imprisonment, flames, and water have been our portion. They have wallowed in our blood, not because we were adulterers, robbers, murderers; but because we acknowledged the Gospel of Jesus Christ; because we put our whole trust and confidence in the living God; because, O gracious Father ! we too truly, too justly complained, that by their vain traditions they had violated the divine Law; that these our adversaries, who have both wilfully and obstinately despised the commandments of God, were hostile to the Gospel, and enemies of the Cross of Christ.

But these men, as soon as they clearly perceived that our Doctrine could not fairly be impugned, made our Morals the subject of their invective: they accused us of condemning all Good Works; of opening the door to Licentiousness and Profligacy, and of seducing the people from the Paths of Virtue.

We must indeed confess that the lives of the most devout and pious Christians always were, and ever will be, liable to some exceptions, how-

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ever pure and chaste their conversation may have been. And such is our natural propensity to evil, and the proneness of our minds to suspicion, that what was never either done or dreamt of, hath often been reported and credited as matter of fact. For as in the whitest garment the least stain is easily detected, so in the most spotless character is the slightest flaw without difficulty discovered. Neither do we consider all those who have embraced the doctrines of the Reformation as angels without spot or blemish; nor our opponents so blind, as not to observe whatever is blameable in us, however minute; nor so friendly, as to put a favourable construction on it; nor so ingenuous, as to look back upon themselves, and weigh our merits by their own. But then, if we diligently enquire into this matter from the beginning, we find that even in the times of the Apostles there were some Christians who caused the name of Christ to be blasphemed and evil spoken of amongst the Gentiles.

The Emperor Constantine is related by Sozomen to have made heavy complaints, that many persons, after they had entered the Christian Church, became worse than they were before; 72

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and St. Cyprian* thus bewails the corruptions of his own times: "The wholesome discipline, which the Apostles delivered unto us, a long period of ease and undisturbed repose has utterly destroyed; men are intent upon enlarging their possessions, and apply themselves with insatiable avarice to the improvement of their fortunes; wholly neglecting the examples of the early believers in the time of the Apostles, which ought on all occasions to be followed. There are now no devout priests-no sincere faith in the ministers -no compassion in works of mercy-no restraint in morals: men are become effeminate, and woman's beauty is counterfeit :" and before him, Tertullian exclaims in like sadness of spirit,-"Wo unto us who are now called Christians! We live the Lives of Heathens under that venerable name."

But without reciting any more authorities we will conclude in the words of Gregory Nazienzen when describing the deplorable state of his own times: "We are now hated by the Heathen on account of our vices, and are become objects of

9 De Lapsis.

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derision and scorn, not only to men and angels, but even to the lowest infidel." Such was the state of the Church of God when the Light of the Gospel began first to shine upon it, when the fury of tyrants was not yet assuaged, or the sword diverted from the necks of Christians.— Surely then we ought not to be astonished, if men still remain men, though dignified by the name of Christians,

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and south that