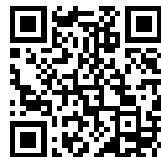


---

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

<https://books.google.com>





THE  
UNIVERSITY  
OF CHICAGO  
LIBRARY











K

# THE WORKS

OF

THE REV. DANIEL WATERLAND, D.D.

11

FORMERLY

MASTER OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

CANON OF WINDSOR,

AND ARCHDEACON OF MIDDLESEX.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A REVIEW

OF THE

AUTHOR'S LIFE AND WRITINGS,

BY

WILLIAM VAN MILDERT, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF.

---

THIRD EDITION, WITH COPIOUS INDEXES.

---

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

---

OXFORD:

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M. DCCC. LVI.

BT15  
N32

Handwritten scribbles or faint markings, possibly representing a signature or initials.

# CONTENTS

OF

## THE SIXTH VOLUME.

A SUMMARY VIEW OF THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION.....	Page 1
AN INQUIRY CONCERNING THE ANTIQUITY OF THE PRACTICE OF INFANT COMMUNION, AS FOUNDED ON THE NOTION OF ITS STRICT NECESSITY .....	39
LETTERS ON LAY-BAPTISM.....	73
LETTERS TO THE REV. MR. LEWIS, MERGATE, KENT ....	235
LETTERS TO JOHN LOVEDAY, ESQUIRE .....	407
LETTERS TO THE REV. DR. ZACHARY GREY, BROWNE WILLIS, ESQ. AND THE REV. DR. WILLIAMS .....	441
LETTER TO THE REV. MR. LAW .....	453
ADDITIONAL NOTES BY DR. WATERLAND ON SOME OF HIS OWN WRITINGS .....	457
INDEX OF TEXTS .....	499
GENERAL INDEX .....	515



A  
SUMMARY VIEW  
OF THE  
DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION.





A

SUMMARY VIEW

OF THE

DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION.

THE doctrinal points of *regeneration* and *renovation* have been lately brought upon the carpet; and I have, upon another occasion, taken the liberty to throw in some few thoughts upon them. Now the subject of *justification* being nearly allied to the former, and seeming also to want some further illustrating, by way of appendage or supplement to the points before mentioned; my present design is to give you a *summary view* of it, by considering,

- I. What the *name* imports.
- II. What the *thing* contains.
- III. How it stands *distinguished* from *renovation* and *regeneration*.
- IV. What are the *concurring causes* on *God's* part, and on *man's*, to produce it, and to preserve it.
- V. What are the common *extremes* which many have been apt to run into on this head, and how they may be avoided.

I.

The first article is the *name*, which ought to be *defined* before the *thing*; and, in order thereto, must be first *distinguished*.

There appears to be sufficient ground in *scripture* for distinguishing *justification* into *active* and *passive*: for as the name *regeneration*, when denoting an *act* or *grant* of God, bears an *active* sense, and when denoting a *privilege* received by *us*, bears a *passive* sense; such also is the case with respect to the name *justification*. It means either *God's grant*, for it is *God* that *justifies*<sup>a</sup>; or it means *our privilege, endowment, possession* holden of God<sup>b</sup>, as we are said to be *justified* by him. *Justification* always supposes *two parties*, one to *give*, and another to *receive*; whether *without any act* at all on the *receptive* side, as in the case of *infants*, or whether *accompanied with receptive acts*, as in the case of *adults*, who may be properly said to *accept* and *assent* to, as well as to *receive* or *enjoy*. God, the supreme Lawgiver, may be considered either as a *Rector* and *Governor* contracting with *man*, and laying down the *terms* of his *covenant*; or as a *Judge*, giving *sentence* according to the *terms laid down*. Correspondently, *man* may be considered either as *accepting* the terms upon his *entering into covenant*; or as *pleading* them afterwards at the *bar of justice*, at the Divine tribunal. There is no more difference between those two several views of the same thing, than there is between the *issuing out* a *general grant* for the *benefit* of all persons who shall duly and properly *accept* it; and the *actual conferring* the *benefit* of that *grant* upon the persons *so accepting*: but some have chosen *one* view for the easier and apter explaining (as they conceived) the nature of *justification*; and some have preferred the *other*, for the like reasons<sup>c</sup>. The general way has been to understand *justification* as a kind of *law term*, expressing a *judicial transaction*. *Pro-*

<sup>a</sup> Rom. iii. 25, 26, 30. iv. 5. viii. 33. Gal. iii. 8. Tit. iii. 7. Rom. iv. 25. v. 18. N. B. In the two last texts, the word for *justification* is *δικαίωσις*, which bears an *active* sense.

<sup>b</sup> *Δικαιοσύνη*, which may as well be rendered *justification* as *righteousness*, appears to mean *our righteousness*, which we hold of *God's grace* by faith in Christ Jesus, in the following texts; Rom. i. 17. iii. 5, 21, 22. ix. 30, 31. x. 3. 1 Cor. i. 30. 2 Cor. v. 21. Philip. iii. 9. 2 Pet. i. 1. Matt. vi. 33.

<sup>c</sup> "It is indeed to be granted, that *justification* importeth, not making

"of a man righteous, but declaring him and accounting him righteous, treating him and dealing with him as righteous: all this is true; and yet I will not grant that it is so properly understood to be the act of God as sitting upon the throne of judgment, (whether according to mercy or justice,) as the act of God contracting with man for everlasting life, upon condition of submitting to the covenant of grace, and the terms of it." *Thorndike, Epil. book ii. p. 40.* Conf. Puffendorf. *Jus Feclal. Divin. p. 144, 166, 172, 319, 349, 353.*

*testants* of every denomination have set themselves to defend it<sup>d</sup>: and even *Romanists* also, many of them, have readily submitted to it<sup>e</sup>. So that the word *justification*, in this view, and in the *active* sense, will signify *God's pronouncing* a person *just*, and his *accepting* him as such<sup>f</sup>; while, in the *passive* sense, it will signify *man's being so declared*, and thereupon *accepted* into new privileges, and his enjoying the benefits thereof. So much for the *name*.

## II.

I am next to consider what the *thing* granted and received *really is*, or what it *contains*.

Here we are to observe, not barely what the *word* itself strictly and grammatically *signifies*, but what it *stands for*, and must stand for, as made use of in this *particular case*, or in such and such *circumstances*. The *evangelical notion* of it must be governed by *evangelical principles*: it is a *complex notion*, which takes in *more ideas* than the *name* would necessarily signify in *different circumstances*.

1. *Remission of sins* is most certainly one *considerable part*, or ingredient, of *evangelical justification*: not that the *name*, abstractedly considered, imports it, but the *nature of the thing*, in this case, *requires* it. Had our *first parents* preserved their *innocence* entire, they would have been thereupon *justified* as *inherently* and *perfectly just*, needing no *pardon*: but men in a *lapsed state*, being all of them more or less *sinners*, cannot be accepted as persons who *have had no sin*, but as persons *discharged* from it. I need not here say, *how*, or upon *what account*; because that will be considered hereafter in its proper place: but in the mean time it is self-evident, that the *justification* of a *sinner* must include *remission of sin*. I may add, that such *remission of sin* properly signifies a *discharge from the penalty* due to it; not from the *blame* it carries with it; except it be in

<sup>d</sup> Bishop Andrews's Serm. p. 76. Field, p. 291. Bishop Bull, p. 411. &c. Frid. Spanhem. Fil. tom. iii. p. 276. Vitringa, Observat. Sacr. lib. iv. c. 10. sect. 6, &c. tom. i. p. 346. Buddæus, Instit. Theol. p. 951. Deylingius, Obs. Sacr. tom. iii. p. 561.

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Gul. Forbes, Consid. Modest. p. 98. edit. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Justificatio evangelica quæ Deum auctorem respicit, definiri potest, actio

Dei qua poenitentem absolvit, propter merita Christi viva fide accepta et applicata. Fogg. Theolog. Speculat. Schema, p. 427.

¶ Si consideretur (justificatio) cum respectu ad conditionem *justificati*, est *mutatio status*, quem respiciens obtinet erga Deum, unde cessante reatu, propter merita Christi viva fide applicata, non est condemnationi obnoxius. Ibid. p. 427, 428.

such a sense as Zacharias and Elisabeth were pronounced *blameless*<sup>h</sup>; for so all good Christians, living up to the *Gospel terms*, and persevering to the end, will be pronounced *blameless* at the last day: and so are they esteemed of here, in the *mean season*, by God, who searches the hearts<sup>i</sup>.

2. But, besides *remission of sin*, a *right and title* to life eternal, but founded only upon *promise*<sup>k</sup>, is included in the *Gospel notion* of *justification*: not that the bare force of the *word* requires it, (for a man might be properly said to be *justified*, who is *acquitted* from *penalty*, though not entitled to a *reward*.) but we know what the *scripture promises* are; and that a *discharge from penalty* hath thereby a *sure title to rewards* connected with it: therefore *evangelical justification* comprehends, according to the *full notion* of it, not only a *title to pardon*, but a *title to salvation* also, a title to both for the time being<sup>l</sup>.

3. To these some learned Divines have added the *sanctification* of the *Holy Spirit*<sup>m</sup>, as a *third ingredient*, to complete the nature or notion of *justification*: but that persuasion is scarce tenable, unless we first qualify it with proper *distinctions*. If by *sanctification* we understand *renovation* of the *inward man*, that has no place in the *justification* of *infants*; besides that even in *adults* it is rather a *qualification* for the privilege, than the *privilege itself*: but if by *sanctification* of the *Spirit* be meant only the *baptismal unction*, or that *sealing* of the *Spirit*<sup>n</sup>, which goes along with all *valid*, and of course with all *saving* Baptism<sup>o</sup>; that indeed must necessarily be supposed in all *baptismal justification*, as a part of it, or an ingredient in it; inasmuch as *justification* cannot be conceived without some work of the *Spirit* in conferring a *title to salvation*. In this sense, every person *justified* is *ipso facto* sealed and consecrated by the *Spirit* of God. But the truth of this matter will more fully appear under another head in the sequel.

<sup>h</sup> Luke i. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Grab. in Annotatis ad Bulli Opp. p. 414. edit. ult.

<sup>k</sup> *Debitor enim factus est [Deus] non aliquid a nobis accipiendo, sed quod ei placuit promittendo. Aliter enim dicimus homini debes mihi quia dedi tibi; et aliter dicimus, debes mihi quia promisisti mihi.—Illo ergo modo possumus exigere dominum nostrum, ut dicamus, redde quod promisisti, quia fecimus quod*

*jussisti: et hoc tu fecisti, quia laborantes juvisti. Augustin. serm. clviii. de verbis Apost. Rom. viii. p. 762. tom. v. edit. Bened.*

<sup>l</sup> Vid. Bull. Exam. Censur. ad Animadv. iii. p. 537, 538.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Gul. Forbes, Consid. Modest. p. 118, &c.

<sup>n</sup> See Bingham xi. 1, 6.

<sup>o</sup> See Regeneration Stated, &c. vol. iv. p. 442, 443.

## III.

Having thus briefly considered *what justification is, and what it contains*; I proceed to observe how it is *distinguished from renovation and regeneration*, to both which it is indeed very nearly allied.

1. By *renovation* I understand the *inward renewing of the heart and mind*<sup>p</sup>; the same that commonly goes under the name of *inward sanctification* of the *Spirit*. This is necessarily presupposed, in some measure or degree, with respect to *adults*, in their *justification*; because “without holiness no man shall see the Lord<sup>q</sup>,” no man shall be *entitled to salvation*; that is to say, no man *justified*. But though this consideration sufficiently proves that *sanctification* and *justification* are *near allied*; yet it does not prove that they are the *same thing*, or that one is properly *part* of the other. An *essential qualification* for any *office, post, dignity, or privilege*, must be supposed to *go along* with that *office, post, &c.* but still the *notions* are very *distinct*, while the *things* themselves are in fact *connected* of course. So stands the case between *sanctification* and *justification*: the one is a *capacity* for such a grant; the other is the *very grant* itself: the one is an *infused and inherent quality*, God’s work *within* us; the other, an *outward privilege, or extrinsic relation*, God’s gracious act *towards* us. In short, *sanctification* denotes the *frame of mind*, the holy disposition; while *justification* denotes the *state* which a man is in with respect to God, his *discharge from guilt and penalty*, his *Christian membership*, his *heavenly citizenship*, his *Gospel rights, pleas, and privileges*.

Again: *sanctification* is commonly understood of the *mind, or soul* only; while *justification* is of the *whole man*. The title which the *body* hath to a future *resurrection or redemption*, is included in the very notion of a *justified* man.

It may be further noted, that *justification may be supposed*, where *sanctification* (according to the full notion thereof) *is not*; as in the case of *infants* newly baptized: they are indeed thereby *sanctified* in a certain sense; but not in the sense of a proper *renewal of mind and heart*. These considerations sufficiently mark out the *difference* between *justification* and *sanctification*.

2. I am next to observe, how *justification* differs from *regeneration*. They *differ* but little as to the *main things*; since the

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. p. 433, &c.

<sup>q</sup> Hebr. xii. 14.

grants made, and the *blessings* conferred, are much the *same in both*: but still there is *some* difference, and that both *notional* and *real*.

So far as the *main things* are the *same*, they are however expressed under *different figures*: for in *regeneration*, God is considered as a *Father* begetting us into a new life of light, blessings, and privileges; but in *justification*, he is considered either as a *proprietor* making over the same grants, or as a *judge* giving favourable sentence from the throne of mercy.

Another *difference* is, that *regeneration*, in the strict sense, expresses no more than the *first admittance* and *entrance* into such and such rights and privileges; and therefore comes but *once*; but *justification* is a thing *continued*<sup>r</sup> during the whole spiritual life: one is giving and receiving *life*; the other is giving and receiving *growth* and *increase*.

A third *difference* is, that *regeneration*, in the stricter sense<sup>s</sup> of that name, may admit of the distinction of *salutary* and *not salutary*: whereas *justification* admits not of that distinction at all, being *salutary* in the *very notion* of it, as it imports a *right* and *title to salvation*, for the time being, on the *Gospel terms*.

A fourth *difference* is, that *regeneration*, *once given* and *received*, can never be *totally lost*, any more than *Baptism*, nor ever want to be *reiterated* in the *whole thing*<sup>t</sup>: but *justification* may be *granted* and *accepted*, and *take place* for a time, and yet may *cease afterwards*, both *totally* and *finally*<sup>u</sup>. These several articles of

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Gul. Forbes, p. 261. Bulli Op. p. 437. and compare my Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, vol. iv. p. 644. 647. 655. 665.

<sup>s</sup> Of the *stricter* and *larger* sense of the word *regeneration*, see *Regeneration Stated*, vol. iv. p. 436, 437, 441, 444.

St. Austin followed the *stricter* sense when he said, Simon ille Magus natus erat ex aqua et Spiritu, tom. ix. p. 169.

In another place, he followed the *larger* sense, which takes in *renovation* to complete the notion of *regeneration* considered as *salutary*.

Qui natus est ex Deo habet caritatem —videat si habeat caritatem, et tunc dicat, natus sum ex Deo. — Habeat caritatem; aliter non se dicat natum ex Deo. *Augustin*. tom. iii. part. ii. p. 859.

Hence it appears, that as the word *faith* sometimes signifies simply *faith*, and sometimes *saving faith*, so the word *regeneration* admits of the like twofold meaning.

<sup>t</sup> See *Regeneration Stated*, &c. vol. iv. p. 431, 433, 435, 436, 444.

<sup>u</sup> See Article XVI. and Homily on Good Works. Compare Bulli Op. p. 668. *Augustan*. Conf. c. xi. Truman, Great Propit. p. 153, 178. Heylin. *Histor. Quinquartic*. part. i. p. 17, 28, 33, 86. part. iii. p. 31, &c.

The sense of our Church on this head is manifest from this single consideration; that she looks upon it as *certain by God's word*, that all *children baptized* are so far *justified*, inasmuch as if they *die* before *actual sin*, they are *undoubtedly saved*. Now it cannot be doubted but that many who

*difference* sufficiently shew that the *names* are not tantamount, but that they stand for *things different*; similar in some respects only, not in *all*.

## IV.

Having considered *what justification is*, and *how distinguished*, I may now pass on to inquire into its *constituent causes*, *principal* and *less principal*, *efficient* and *instrumental*, *divine* and *human*, and the like: for there are *several causes*, more or less contributing to the *justification* of a person; that is, to the making him a *sure title to salvation* for the time being.

1. *God the Father* is here to be considered as *principal*, as he is the head and fountain of all. Of that there can be no question, and therefore I need not say more of it: the *Divine philanthropy* is of *prime consideration* in the whole thing.

2. In the next place, *God the Son* is here to be considered as the *procuring* and *meritorious* cause of *man's justification*, both by his *active* and *passive* obedience<sup>w</sup>. This, though it may be disputed by such as will dispute any thing, or every thing, yet seems to be generally admitted among the sober Divines of all the great divisions of *Christians*.

3. In the third place, *God the Holy Ghost* is here to be considered as the *immediate, efficient cause*: for proof of which, we need go no further than our Lord's own words, that, "except one be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God<sup>x</sup>;" which is as much as to say, he cannot have a *title to salvation*, cannot be *justified*. Neither need we here put in the restriction, *ordinarily* so far as the *Spirit* is concerned: his *immediate agency* must be supposed, in *all cases*, and upon *every supposition*.

4. After the three *Divine Persons*, principally concurring and cooperating in *man's justification*, we may next pass on to the *subordinate instruments*: and here come in the *ministry*, the *word*, and the *sacraments*<sup>y</sup>; but more particularly the sacrament of

have been baptized in *infancy*, may, and do fall afterwards, both *totally* and *finally*: therefore our Church must of consequence allow and suppose, that persons once *justified* may *totally* and *finally* perish.

<sup>w</sup> See Gul. Forbes, Consider. Modest. p. 67, &c. Thorndike Epil. book ii. p. 254, &c. Puffendorf. Jus Feclal. p. 187.

<sup>x</sup> John iii. 5. Comp. 1 Cor. vi. 11. xii. 13. Tit. iii. 5, 6, 7.

<sup>y</sup> Sacramenta sunt *media offerentia* et *exhibitia ex parte Dei*: *fides medium* recipiens et apprehendens *ex parte nostra*. Gerhard. Loc. Comm. part. iv. p. 309.

Tantum dicimus, quemadmodum *fides* est quasi *manus nostra*, qua nos quærimus et accipimus; sic *verbum* et



*Baptism*; which perhaps may here deserve a *large* and *distinct* consideration, as it has been too often omitted, or but *perfunctorily* mentioned, in treatises written upon the subject of *justification*.

If we look either into the *New Testament*, or into the *ancient Fathers*, we shall there find that the *sacrament of Baptism*, considered as a *federal rite* or *transaction* between God and man, is either declared or supposed the ordinary, necessary, outward *instrument* in God's hands of man's *justification*: I say, an instrument in *God's* hands, because it is certain, that in that sacred rite, *God himself bears a part*<sup>z</sup>, as *man also bears his*; and that in both *sacraments* (as our Church teaches) "God embraces us, and offereth himself to be embraced by us<sup>a</sup>." According to the natural order of *precedency*, the authorized *ministry* is *first* in consideration<sup>b</sup>; the *word* next; then *hearing*, and *believing* with a penitent heart and lively faith; after that, *Baptism*, and therein the first solemn and certain *reception of justification*, which is afterwards continued by the same *lively faith*, and the use of the *word*, and of the other *sacrament*.

Now, as to *Baptism*, and its being, ordinarily, the necessary outward mean or instrument of *justification*, the immediate and proximate form and rite of conveyance; that will be easily made appear from many clear texts of the *New Testament*, as also from the concurring verdict of *antiquity*, the best interpreter of the sacred writings.

First. The *texts* I shall here take in their order. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned<sup>c</sup>." Here the word *saved* amounts to the same thing in the main with *justified*, being opposed to *condemned*: and it is further observable, that the *believing* here must be understood of a *lively* faith; yet that *alone* is not said to *save*, or *justify*, but with the addition of *Baptism*, or in and with the use of *Baptism*: for whatever some may please to teach of *faith only* as *justifying*, the *exclusive term*, most certainly, is not to be understood in opposition, either to the *work* of the

*sacramenta esse quasi manus Dei, quibus is nobis offert et confert quod fide a nobis petitur et accipitur. Vos-sius de Sacram. Vi et Effic.* Op. tom. vi. p. 252.

<sup>z</sup> See Review of the Doctrine of the

Eucharist, vol. iv. p. 468, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Homily on the Common Prayer and Sacraments.

<sup>b</sup> Rom. x. 13, 14, 15. Tit. i. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Mark xvi. 16.

Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Ghost ; or to the standing means of conveyance which they have chosen. The warmest contenders for faith *alone* are content to admit that the exclusive term, *alone*, is opposed only to every thing else on *man's part* in *justifying*, not to any thing on *God's part* : now I have already noted that *Baptism* is an *instrument* in *God's hand*, who *bears his part* in it ; and therefore *Baptism*, in this view, relates to *God's part* in *justifying*, and not to *man's*. It is not indeed said in the text just cited, that he who is not *baptized* shall be *damm'd*, as it is said of him who *believeth not*. God reserves to *himself* a liberty of *dispensing* in that case. At the same time, he has made no *promise* or *covenant* to *justify* any one *without* the use of *Baptism* : so that still *Baptism* must be looked upon as the *ordinary standing instrument* of *justification* on *God's part* ; and we have no certain *warrant* for declaring any one *justified* independently of it.

The next remarkable *text* is, “ Except one be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God, cannot see the kingdom of God<sup>d</sup>.” Where we may observe, that *born again*, in the second verse, is interpreted of *Baptism*, (*sign and thing signified*,) in the fifth ; and the emphatical word, *cannot*, is twice made use of in that case. What room then is there left for pretending any direct and positive *promise* from God to *justify* any man *before*, or *without* that *ordinary mean* ? Say that *faith* is our *instrument* for *receiving* justification, which is saying enough ; still *Baptism* must be *God's instrument*, ordinarily, for *applying* or *conferring* it, in virtue of what our Lord himself, in that place, has *twice* solemnly declared. But I pass on.

In the second of the Acts, we read these words of St. Peter to the Jews of that time ; “ Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost<sup>e</sup>.” Now it is to be noted, that true repentance, in such case, *presupposes* some degrees of preparatory *grace* and *lively faith* ; and yet *Baptism* was to *intervene* too, in order to *remission*, that is, in order to *justification*, and the gift of the *in-dwelling* of the Holy Spirit of God.

So again in the case of St. Paul, at his conversion to Christ-

<sup>d</sup> John iii. 3, 5. See Regeneration Stated, &c. vol. iv. p. 428.

<sup>e</sup> Acts ii. 38.

ianity: he had been a *true believer* from the time when he said, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" But he was not yet *justified*: his sins remained in charge for *three days* at least longer; for it was so long before Ananias came to him, and said, "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord &c." *Baptism* was at length his grand *absolution*, his *patent of pardon*, his *instrument of justification* granted him from above: neither was he *justified* till he received that *Divine seal*, in as much as his *sins* were upon him till that very time.

Pass we on to the Epistle to the Romans, where St. Paul says; "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death?" (that is, into a *participation* of the *death* and *merits* of Christ, through which also we *die* unto sin. "Therefore we are buried with him by Baptism into death<sup>h</sup>." In *Baptism* is the first formal solemn *death unto sin*, in the *plenary remission* of it; which comes to the same as to say, that there also *commences* our *justification* entire: all before was but *preparatory* to it, as *conception* is to the *birth*<sup>i</sup>.

The same St. Paul says; "By one Spirit are we all baptized into one body<sup>k</sup>." Now if we are first *incorporated* into the *mystical* body of Christ by *Baptism*, it is manifest that we are there also first *justified*: for no man strictly belongs to Christ till he is *incorporated*; neither is any one *justified* before he is *incorporated*, and made a *member* of Christ, a citizen of heaven.

St Paul also says; "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ!" Words very observable, as plainly intimating, that ordinarily a person is not made a *child of God* by *faith*, till that faith is *exerted* in, and *perfected* by, *Baptism*. *Faith* in *adults* is the *hand* whereby they receive the privilege of *adoption* and *justification*; while the *sacrament* is the *hand* whereby *God* dispenses it.

God is the donor, and he can dispense the grace to some without *faith*, as to *infants*; and to others without *Baptism*, as to *martyrs* principally, and to *catechumens* prevented by extremi-

<sup>f</sup> Acts ix. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Acts xxii. 16.

<sup>h</sup> Rom. vi. 3, 4. See Wolfius in loc.

<sup>i</sup> Fiunt ergo *inchoationes* quædam fidei, *conceptionibus* similes: non tamen solum *concipi*, sed etiam *nasci*

opus est, ut ad vitam perveniatur æternam. *Augustin. de Divers. Quæst. ad Simplic. tom. vi. lib. i. p. 89.*

<sup>k</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 13. See my Review, &c. vol. iv. p. 668, &c.

<sup>l</sup> Gal. iii. 26, 27.

ties: but still the *ordinary* rule is, first to dispense it upon a *true and lively faith*, sealed with the *stipulations* mutually passed in *Baptism*.

So again, we read in the Epistle to the Ephesians as follows: "Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the "word<sup>m</sup>;" that is, by the *words* used in the *form* of *Baptism*, as St. Chrysostom interprets<sup>n</sup>. If then *Baptism* is the ordinary *instrument* whereby Christ *cleanses* the members of his Church; by the *same* he must be supposed to *justify* them; as *cleansing* and *justifying* are words of *like import* in this case, meaning the *same* with *remission of sins*, which is one great *part* of *justification*.

St. Paul elsewhere speaks of his new converts, as "putting off "the body of the sins of the flesh by Christian circumcision," that is, *Baptism*, "buried with Christ in *Baptism*, and risen with "him through the faith of the operation of God,—having all "their trespasses forgiven them<sup>o</sup>." What is this but saying, that they were *justified*, instrumentally, by *Baptism*? The same thing is, at the same time, said to be brought about by *faith*<sup>p</sup>, (which is indeed the instrument of *reception* on man's part, as *Baptism* is of *conveyance* on God's part,) but still that very *faith* is supposed to be exerted in, and completed by, *Baptism*, before it *justifies*, so far as it does *justify*.

I proceed to a noted text in the Epistle to Titus: "Not by "works of righteousness which we have done, but according to "his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and "renewing of the Holy Ghost;—that being justified by his "grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eter- "nal life<sup>q</sup>." It is manifest, by comparing the three verses together, that *Baptism* is here made the *mean* through which, or the *instrument* by which, the *Holy Spirit* of God worketh *regene-*

<sup>m</sup> Ephes. v. 25, 26. Significatur heic omnino Baptismus, verbo junctus, tanquam *instrumentum* purificationis. *Wolfius* in loc. Compare Pearson on the Creed, art. x.

<sup>n</sup> Chrysostom in loc. tom. xi. p. 145. item Damascen. in loc. Op. tom. ii. p. 190.

<sup>o</sup> Coloss. ii. 11, 12, 13. See *Wolfius* in loc. Wall's Hist. of Infant Bapt. part i. c. 2. Defence, p. 688, &c. Blackwall, Sac. Classics, tom. ii. p. 189.

<sup>p</sup> Διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ea inferitur *efficacia* et *virtus* Dei, quæ *fidem* in Colossensibus procreavit, similis illi, qua Christum excitavit ex mortuis. *Wolf.* in loc.

<sup>q</sup> Tit. iii. 5, 6, 7. Compare *Regeneration Stated*, vol. iv. upon this text. De Baptismo hæc accipienda esse Patres crediderunt:—nec aliter interpretes recentiores tantum non omnes. *Wolfius* ad loc.

ration, renovation, and justification; and that justification, the last named, is, in order of nature, (though not in order of time,) the last of the three, as the result of the two former, in the same work of grace, in the same federal solemnity. It may be noted by the way, that *Baptism*, in this text, is not considered as a work of man, but as an instrument, rite, or federal transaction between God and man.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, we read thus: "And having an High Priest over the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water. Let us hold fast the profession of our faith," &c. In these few words are pointed out the *meritorious cause* of our justification, expressed by the *sprinkling*, viz. with the blood of Christ, in allusion to the blood of the ancient sacrifices; the *instrumental mean* of conveyance, *Baptism*, expressed by the washing of our bodies; and the *instrumental mean* of reception, expressed by the word *faith*. The *merits* of Christ, applied in *Baptism* by the Spirit, and received by a lively *faith*, complete our justification for the time being. I know not whether the Apostle's here laying so much stress upon our bodies being washed with pure water might not, among several other similar considerations drawn from the New Testament, lead the early Fathers into a thought which they had, and which has not been so commonly observed; namely, that the application of water in *Baptism* secured, as it were, or sealed the body to an happy resurrection: while the Spirit more immediately secured the soul; and so the whole man was understood to be spiritually cleansed, and accepted of God, in and by *Baptism*<sup>s</sup>. They had also the like thought with respect to the elements of the other sacrament, as appointed by God for insuring the body to an happy resurrection along with the soul<sup>t</sup>. Whether that ancient

<sup>r</sup> Heb. x. 21, 22, 23.

<sup>s</sup> The thought is thus expressed by an eminent Father of the second century:

*Corpora enim nostra per lavacrum illam quæ est ad incorruptionem unitatem acceperunt; animæ autem per Spiritum: unde et utraque necessaria, cum utraque proficiunt ad vitam Dei, &c. Irenæus, lib. i. c. 17. p. 208. edit. Bened. Compare Tertullian de Baptismo, c. iv. p. 225. De Anima, c. xl.*

p. 294. Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. iii. p. 41. Nazianzen. Orat. xl. p. 641. Hilarius, Pict. in Matt. p. 660. edit. Bened. Nyssenens, Orat. de Bapt. Christi, p. 369. Cyrill. Alex. in Joann. lib. ii. p. 147. Ammonius in Catena in Joann. p. 89. Damascen. de Fid. Orthodoxa, lib. iv. c. 9. p. 260.

<sup>t</sup> Irenæus, lib. iv. c. 18. p. 251. lib. v. c. 2. p. 293, 294. Tertullian. de Resur. Carnis, c. viii. p. 330. Cyrill. Hierosol. Mystag. iv. p. 321. Pascha-

*rationale* of the two sacraments be not, at least, as good as any *modern* ones, I leave to be considered, and pass on.

St. Peter says, "Baptism doth also now save us; not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer [stipulation] of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ<sup>u</sup>." What I have hereupon to observe is, that Baptism *saves*: that is, it gives a just *title* to salvation; which is the same as to say, that it conveys *justification*. But then it must be understood not of the *outward washing*, but of the *inward, lively faith*, stipulated in it and by it. *Baptism* concurs with *faith*, and *faith* with *Baptism*, and the *Holy Spirit* with both; and so the *merits* of Christ are savingly applied. *Faith alone* will not ordinarily serve in this case; but it must be a *contracting* faith on *man's part*, contracting in form, corresponding to the *federal* promises and engagements on *God's part*: therefore Tertullian rightly styles Baptism *obsignatio fidei*<sup>w</sup>, *testatio fidei*, *sponsio salutis*<sup>x</sup>, *fidei pactio*<sup>y</sup>, and the like. But I shall say more on the head of *faith* in a distinct article below.

There is yet another very observable text, which might have come in, in its place; but I chose to reserve it to the last, for the winding up this *summary view* of the *Scripture doctrine* on this head. It runs thus: "Such were some of you: but ye were washed," (*viz.* in *Baptism*,) "but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God<sup>z</sup>." I think it better to render it *were*, or *have been*, than *are*, as best suiting with the *original*, and with the *were*, just going before; but the sense is much the same either way. Here are *three concurrent causes* of *justification* (together with *sanctification*) mentioned together: *viz.* the *meritorious cause*, the *Lord Jesus*; the *efficient and operating cause*, the *Spirit of our God*; and the *instrumental rite of conveyance*, *Baptism*. From these several passages of the New Testament laid together, it sufficiently appears, not only that *Baptism* is the *ordinary instrument* in God's hands for conferring *justification*; but also, that ordinarily there is no *justification* conferred either

sus de Corp. et Sang. Domini, c. xlviiii. p. 355.

xix. p. 1602.

<sup>u</sup> 1 Pet. iii. 21. See my Review, vol. iv. c. xi. p. 706.

<sup>w</sup> Tertullian. de Pœnit. c. vi. p. 125. Conf. de Resur. Carn. c.

<sup>x</sup> Tertullian. de Bapt. c. vi. p. 226.

<sup>y</sup> Tertullian. de Pudicit. c. ix. p. 562.

<sup>z</sup> 1 Cor. vi. 11. See Wolfius in loc. Bull. Op. Lat. p. 411, 422.

before it or without it. Such grace as precedes Baptism amounts not ordinarily to justification, strictly so called <sup>a</sup>: such as follows it, owes its force, in a great measure, to the standing virtue of Baptism once given <sup>b</sup>.

Secondly, To confirm what has been here proved from scripture, or rather to shew the more plainly that we are not mistaken in so interpreting, I may next briefly add the concurring verdict of the ancients, bearing testimony to the same doctrine, down from St. Barnabas of the first age, about the year seventy, to the end of the fourth century, or later.

Barnabas declares, that Baptism procures remission of sins <sup>c</sup>: therefore it procures justification. He declares further, that men descend into the water full of sins and pollutions: therefore, by his account, they are not justified, ordinarily, before Baptism. Some moderns have imagined the ancients built their strict notions of the use and necessity of Baptism upon too rigorous a construction of John iii. 5. But it is certain that they had those strict notions before St. John's Gospel was written; and that Barnabas, in particular, pleaded texts out of the Old Testament for the same doctrine, and that later Fathers had several other texts to produce, besides John iii. 5, such as I have cited. But I proceed.

Hermas, of the same century, affirms, that a Christian's life is and shall be saved by water <sup>d</sup>; which amounts to the same with what we have before seen in St. Peter, and admits of like interpretation. His elsewhere declaring remission of sins to belong to Baptism <sup>e</sup>, imports as much as saying that justification hangs upon it. In another place, he expresses his sense of the necessity of Baptism to salvation (consequently to justification) still more positively.—“ Before any one receives the name of the Son of God, he is liable to death: but when he receives that seal, he is delivered from death, and is assigned to life. Now that seal

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Augustin. de divers. Q. ad Simplic. tom. vi. lib. i. p. 89. item epist. xciv. p. 720. and compare Regeneration Stated, &c. vol. iv. p. 433.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Augustin. de Nupt. et Concupisc. tom. x. lib. i. p. 298. Compare my Review, &c. vol. iv. p. 645.

<sup>c</sup> Τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ φέρον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Barnab. Epist. c. xi. p. 36. Ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γέμοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπου, καὶ ἀνα-

βαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες κ. τ. λ. Ibid. p. 38.

<sup>d</sup> Quoniam vita vestra per aquam salva facta est et fiet: fundata est enim verbo omnipotentis et honorifici nominis. Herm. lib. i. vis. 3. sect. 3. p. 798. ed. Fabric. Compare Wall's Hist. of Inf. Bapt. part i. cap. 1. p. 2.

<sup>e</sup> In aquam descendimus, et accipimus remissionem peccatorum nostrorum. Herm. Mandat. iv. sect. 3. p. 854.

“ is water, into which persons go down liable to death, but come out of it assigned to life.” Here it is plain, that *Baptism* is presupposed to justification, which is made the effect and consequent of it. I defend not *Hermas's* inference or retrospect, with respect to the ancient Patriarchs. *Baptism* is the *Gospel instrument* of justification: but other symbols, and other instruments, served the same purpose under the preceding dispensations.

Justin, of the next age, undertaking to describe the order and method of training up, and admitting new converts to Christianity, particularly observes, that they who are persuaded, and do believe those things to be true which are taught them, and do undertake to live accordingly, are directed to fast and pray for the forgiveness of their former sins; and are afterwards brought where there is water, and so they are regenerated, being washed with water, in the name of the three Divine Persons; (the necessity of which is apparent from John iii. 3, 4, 5. and Isaiah i. 16, 20.) and then they receive remission of sins in water: but provided that they truly repent them of their sins<sup>h</sup>. The order here specified runs thus: faith, repentance, Baptism, dedication to God, renovation in Christ, remission of sins, which is justification. The two first preceded Baptism; the three last accompanied it, as the fruits and effects of it, being subsequent in order of causality, if not in order of time. Preparatory grace, we know, must be before all; but Justin had no occasion there to be particular on that head.

Irenæus, thirty or forty years later in the same century, teaches, that every son of Adam needs the laver of regeneration to relieve him from the transgression with which he is born<sup>i</sup>; that is, to save him, as he elsewhere explains<sup>k</sup>.

Clemens, of the same time, speaking of *Baptism*, says;

<sup>f</sup> Antequam enim accipiat homo nomen filii Dei, morti destinatus est: at ubi accipit illud sigillum, liberatur a morte, et traditur vitæ. Illud autem sigillum aqua est, in quam descendunt homines morti alligati, ascendunt vero vitæ assignati. *Herm. Sim.* ix. sect. 16. p. 1008. Compare Wall, part i. cap. 1. p. 2—5. and Bingham xi. 4, 6. p. 203, 204.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Augustin. *Enchirid.* p. 241. tom. vi.

<sup>h</sup> Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. p. 88, 89, 90. edit. Lond. Compare Wall, *Inf. Bapt.* part i. cap. 2. p. 12, 13. 2nd edit.

<sup>i</sup> Quoniam in illa plasmatione, quæ secundum Adam fuit, in transgressionem factus homo indigebat lavacro regenerationis; postquam linivit lutum super oculos ejus, dixit ei, vade in Siloam, et lavare; simul et plasmationem, et eam quæ est per lavacrum regenerationem restituens ei. *Iren.* lib. v. cap. xv. p. 312. edit. Bened.

<sup>k</sup> Omnes enim venit per semetipsum salvare: omnes, inquam, qui per eum renascuntur in Deum, infantes, et parvulos, et pueros, et juvenes, et seniores. *Iren.* lib. ii. cap. 22. p. 147.



"Being baptized we are illuminated, being illuminated we are made sons, being made sons we are perfected, being perfected we are immortalized.—This work is variously denominated; grace, and illumination, and perfection, and laver: laver, by which we wipe off sins; grace, by which the penalties due to sins are remitted; illumination, by which that holy and salutary light is viewed, that is, by which we gaze on the Divine Being!" *Baptism* is here supposed to be the instrument of illumination, remission, adoption, perfection, salvation: under which, jointly considered, must be comprehended all that concerns justification, though the name itself is not used.

Tertullian calls *Baptism* "the happy sacrament of water, whereby we are washed from the sins of our former blindness, and recovered to eternal life<sup>m</sup>." He adds that we are born in water, and are no otherwise saved than by the abiding in it, or by the use of it in *Baptism*<sup>n</sup>. He answers the objection drawn from the sufficiency of faith alone, as in the instance of Abraham. The sum of his solution is, that what was not required formerly is required now: that the Gospel has made a new law, a new rule for it, and has tied us up to such form. He refers to Matt. xxviii. 19. and to John iii. 5. and to the instance of St. Paul, recorded in the Acts; who, though he had before faith sufficient, yet was strictly required to add *Baptism* to it<sup>o</sup>. From hence it is plain, that Tertullian understood *Baptism* to be the ordinary and indispensable mean or instrument of justification; insomuch

<sup>l</sup> Βαπτίζόμενοι, φωτιζόμεθα· φωτιζόμενοι, υιοποιούμεθα· υιοποιούμενοι, τελειούμεθα· τελειούμενοι, άπαθανατιζόμεθα.—καλεΐται δέ πολλαχώς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, χάρισμα, καὶ φῶτισμα, καὶ τέλειον, καὶ λουτρόν· λουτρόν μὲν, δι' οὗ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀπορρυπτόμεθα· χάρισμα δέ, ὡς τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι ἐπιτίμια ἀνείται· φῶτισμα δέ, δι' οὗ τὸ θγιον ἐκείνο φῶς τὸ σωτηριον ἐποπτέεται, τούτεστιν δι' οὗ τὸ θεῖον δέξωποιούμεν. Clem. Alex. Pedagog. lib. i. cap. 6. p. 113. edit. Oxon. Conf. Nazianzen. de Bapt. Orat. xl. p. 638.

<sup>m</sup> Felix sacramentum aquæ nostræ, qua abluti delictis pristinæ cæcitatibus, in vitam æternam liberamur. Tertullian. de Bapt. cap. i. p. 224.

<sup>n</sup> In aqua nascimur: nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus. Ibid. Præscribitur nemini sine Baptismo competere salutem, ex illa

maxime pronuntiatione Domini, qui ait, nisi natus ex aqua, &c. Ibid. cap. xii. p. 228. Conf. de Anima, cap. xl. p. 294.

<sup>o</sup> Hic ergo scelestissimi illi provocant quæstiones: adeo dicunt, Baptismus non est necessarius, quibus fides satis est; nam et Abraham nullius aquæ nisi fidei sacramento Deo placuit. Sed in omnibus posteriora concludunt, et sequentia antecedentibus prævalent. Fuerit salus retro per fidem nudam, ante Domini passionem et resurrectionem. At ubi fides aucta est, credendi in nativitatem, passionem, et resurrectionem ejus, addita est ampliatio sacramento, ob-signatio Baptismi, vestimentum quodammodo fidei, quæ retro erat nuda, nec potest [esse] jam sine sua lege. Lex enim tinguendi imposita est, et forma præscripta. Tertull. de Bapt. cap. xiii. p. 229.

that he thought even a *layman* guilty of *destroying a soul*, if he should refuse to give a person *Baptism* in a case of *extremity*, no *clergy* being present<sup>p</sup>. Nevertheless, the same Tertullian indulged some particularities as to the point of *delaying* Baptism in some cases; and has been thought not very *consistent* with himself in that article; especially where he makes it an argument for such *delay*, that “*faith entire is secure of salvation*.” But he hereby only *qualified* his former doctrine, so as to *except* some very *rare* and *extraordinary* cases, where delays might be made, not out of *contempt*, but *reverence* towards the sacrament: otherwise the *ordinary* rule was to stand inviolable<sup>r</sup>. As to the *excepted* cases, they would be *rare* indeed, since *Baptism* might be had upon very short warning<sup>s</sup> in any *extremity* almost according to his principles, if so much as a *laic* could but be found to confer it. But I return to the point in hand.

Cyprian, more cautious in the point of *delays* than his master Tertullian, gives this reason why the *Baptism* of *infants* should not be deferred (in danger of death) to the *eighth* day; that it is our duty, so far as in us lies, to take care that *no soul be destroyed*<sup>t</sup>. It is plain from hence, that he thought there was, ordinarily, no *justification* previous to *Baptism*, the appointed channel of conveyance, the fountain head of the spiritual life: for such was Cyprian’s opinion of it, as appears through all his writings<sup>u</sup>. Not only so, but he expressly mentions *justification* as one of the graces conferred in it<sup>w</sup>.

I pass on to the next century; where we find the *elder* Cyril declaring, that a person comes to *Baptism* bearing his sins, dead in sins, (therefore not yet *justified*;) but that he comes out *quicken*ed in righteousness<sup>x</sup>; which is the same as to say, *justified*.

<sup>p</sup> Reus erit *perditi* hominis, si supersederit præstare quod libere potuit. Cap. xvii. p. 231.

<sup>q</sup> Si qui pondus intelligant Baptismi, magis timebunt *consecutionem* quam *dilationem*: fides integra secura est de salute. Cap. xviii. p. 232.

<sup>r</sup> See Wall, Hist. of Inf. Bapt. part i. c. 4. p. 23. Bingham, xi. 4. 10. p. 212.

<sup>s</sup> Cæterum omnis dies Domini est, omnis hora, omne tempus habile Baptismo, cap. xix. p. 232.

<sup>t</sup> Universi judicavimus, nulli homini nato misericordiam Dei et gratiam denegandam: nam cum Dominus in evangelio suo dicat, *Filius*

*hominis non venit animas hominum perdere, sed salvare*; quantum in nobis est, si fieri potest, nulla anima perdenda est. Cyprian. *Epist.* lix. ad Fidum, p. 98. edit. Bened.

<sup>u</sup> Cyprian. *Epist.* i. p. 2. *Epist.* xxiii. p. 32. *Epist.* lxxii. p. 128. *Epist.* lxxiv. p. 140. *Epist.* lxxvi. p. 155, 157. De Habit. Virgin. p. 180. Testimon. lib. iii. cap. xxv. p. 314. De Orat. Domin. p. 206.

<sup>w</sup> Quomodo tales *justificare* et *sanctificare* baptizatos possunt, qui hostes sacerdotum, &c. *Epist.* lxxvi. p. 155.

<sup>x</sup> Κατέρηκε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ φορῶν

Basil, of the same century, expresses himself fully to our purpose, in these words; "Whence are we Christians? By *faith*, will every one say. But after what manner are we *saved*? By being *regenerated* through the *grace* which is conferred in *Baptism*.—For if *Baptism* is to me the *beginning* of *life*, and that *regeneration day* is the *first* of days; then it is manifest that voice is of all the most *precious* which is sounded forth upon the *grace of adoption*." *Baptism* is here supposed to be, as it were, the *first delivery* of *God's grant* of *adoption*, and consequently of *justification*, which is much the same thing. *Faith* goes before, as the *hand* stretched out, ready to *receive*: but it cannot be *received* before it is *given*: neither is it ordinarily first *given* but in *Baptism*; nor *continued* afterwards but in *virtue* of it, *due qualifications* supposed all the while. In another chapter the same Father says, "*Faith* and *Baptism* are two means of salvation, near akin to each other, and *inseparable*. For *faith* is *perfected* by *Baptism*, and *Baptism* is *grounded* in *faith*, and both are *completed* by the same [Divine] names."

Hilarius Diaconus, some years before Basil, taught the same doctrine; interpreting St. Paul's quotation from the Psalmist (which the Apostle applies to the purpose of *justification*, Rom. iv. 6, 7, 8.) of what is done in *Baptism*, of the *justification conferred* in that *holy solemnity*: from whence it is evident, that he understood *Baptism* to be the *ordinary standing mean*, or *instrument of conveyance*.

τὰς ἀμαρτίας· ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς χάριτος ἐπίκλησις σφραγίσασα τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐ συγχωρεῖ λοιπὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ φοβεροῦ καταποθῆναι δράκοντος. νεκρὸς ἐν ἀμαρτίαις καταβὰς, ἀναβαίνει ζωοποιηθεὶς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. Cyril. Hierosol. Catech. iii. p. 45. edit. Bened. Conf. Catech. xvii. p. 282.

Ἡ Χριστιανοὶ πόθεν ἡμεῖς; διὰ τῆς πίστεως πᾶς τις ἀν εἶποι· σωζόμεθα δὲ, τίνα τρόπον; Ἀναγεννηθέντες, δηλονότι, διὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι χάριτος. —εἰ γὰρ ἀρχὴ μοι ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα, καὶ πρώτη ἡμερῶν ἐκείνη ἡ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἡμέρα, δηλονότι καὶ φωνὴ τιμωτάτῃ πασῶν ἡ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τῆς υἰοθεσίας ἐκφωνηθεῖσα. Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. x. p. 21, 22. edit. Bened.

Ἡ Πίστις δὲ καὶ Βάπτισμα, δύο τρόποι τῆς σωτηρίας, συμφυεῖς ἀλλήλοις, καὶ

ἀδιαίρετοι. πίστις μὲν γὰρ τελειοῦται διὰ βαπτίσματος· βάπτισμα δὲ θεμελιοῦται διὰ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκάτερα πληροῦνται. Basil. ibid. cap. xii. p. 23.

Ἡ Propheta autem tempus felix prævidens in Salvatoris adventu, beatos nuncupat, quibus sine labore vel aliquo opere per lacrum remittuntur, et teguntur, et non imputantur peccata. Apostolus tamen propter plenitudinem temporum, et quia plus gratiæ in Apostolis est quam fuit in Prophetis, majora protestatur quæ ex dono baptismatis consequimur; quia non solum remissionem peccatorum accipere nos, sed justificari et filios Dei fieri profitetur, ut beatitudo hæc perfectam habeat et securitatem et gloriam. Hilar. Diac. in Rom. iv. 8. inter Opp. Ambros. tom. ii. p. 49.

I shall shut up this detail of *Fathers* with the words of St. Austin; who, undertaking to explain the *four things* mentioned by the Apostle, (Rom. viii. 30.) *predestinate, called, justified, and glorified*, says of the *third* thus: "Behold, persons " are *baptized*, all their sins are forgiven, they are *justified* from " their sins<sup>b</sup>." He repeats the same doctrine soon after in words still more express<sup>c</sup>. It would be endless to quote passages from the same Father to prove that, in his account, there is no *justification*, ordinarily, *before* or *without Baptism*. It was a fixed principle with him, that *justification* ordinarily *commenced* with *Baptism*, and not *otherwise*.

From hence (as I may note by the way) we may easily understand what St. Austin meant by his *famed maxim*, which many have often perverted to a very wrong sense; namely, that *good works follow after justification, and do not precede it*<sup>d</sup>. In reality, he meant no more than that men must be *incorporated in Christ*, must be *Christians*, and *good Christians*, (for such only are *justified*,) before they could practise *Christian works*, or *righteousness*, strictly so called<sup>e</sup>: for *such works only* have an *eminent right* and *title* to the name of *good works*; as *they only* are *salutary* within the *covenant*, and have a *claim* upon *promise*. Works before *justification*, that is, before *salutary Baptism*, are not, in his account<sup>f</sup>, *within the promise*; but are *excluded* rather, according to the *ordinary* rule laid down in John iii. 5. and divers other texts before cited. But I return.

Enough hath been said to shew, that *Baptism* is, by Divine

<sup>b</sup> Ecce enim baptizati sunt homines, omnia illis peccata dimissa sunt, justificati sunt a peccatis. *Augustin.* Serm. clviii. de Verb. Apostol. Rom. viii. 762. tom. v.

<sup>c</sup> Unusquisque vestrum jam ipsa justificatione constitutus, accepta scilicet remissione peccatorum per lavacrum regenerationis, accepto Spiritu Sancto, proficiens de die in diem, &c. *Augustin.* *ibid.* p. 763. Conf. Chrysostom. in Rom. viii. 30. Hom. xv. p. 595. tom. ix. ed. Bened. Damascen. in eund. loc. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 33.

<sup>d</sup> Sciat se quisque per fidem posse justificari, etiamsi legis opera non præcesserint: sequuntur enim justificatum non præcedunt justificandum. *Augustin.* de Fid. et Oper. cap. xiv. p. 177. tom. vi. Justificationem opera non præcedunt. *Augustin.* de Spirit.

et Litera, cap. xxvi. p. 109. tom. x. Bona opera subsequuntur gratiam, non præcedunt. *Opp. imperf. contr. Julian.* lib. i. cap. 141. p. 956. tom. x. Conf. tom. ii. p. 717, 720, et tom. vi. p. 89.

<sup>e</sup> Mandata ejus sancta et bona sibi tribuebant; quæ ut possit homo facere, Deus operatur in homine per fidem Jesu Christi qui finis est ad justitiam omni credenti: id est, cui per Spiritum incorporatus, factusque membrum ejus potest quisque, illo incrementum intrinsecus dante, operari justitiam. *Augustin.* de Spiritu et Lit. cap. xxix. p. 113. Conf. cap. xxxiv. p. 119. tom. vi.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Augustin. de divers. Quæst. ad Simplic. lib. i. p. 89. tom. vi. Item de Spirit. et Lit. cap. xxxiv. p. 119. tom. vi.

appointment, the *ordinary instrument* for conveying the grace of *justification*. *Scripture* and *antiquity* are clear in this matter: and so likewise are our *Church forms*; particularly our *baptismal* offices, *Catechism*, and *Confirmation*.

I am aware that some eminent *moderns*<sup>h</sup> have presumed to teach, that the *first justification* in adults is *antecedent* to *Baptism*, and that *Baptism* rather *seals* and *confirms* it, than *conveys* it; but I see no sufficient ground for that doctrine, either in *scripture* or *antiquity*, or in the *public offices* of our Church; but much the contrary: and it seems, that the mistake in this matter first arose, either from the confounding the first preparatory *renewings* of the grace of the Spirit, with the grace of *justification*; or from a misinterpreting of St. Paul's doctrine relating to *justifying faith*, as if the Apostle in mentioning *one instrument* of justification had thereby excluded every instrument *besides*, which he does not. It might as well be pleaded, (as I before hinted,) that the Apostle had thereby excluded the work of the *Father*, or *Son*, or *Spirit*, from the office of *justification*; as that he excluded the visible *means*, *rites*, or *sacraments*, in and by which they jointly operate. St. Paul's phrases, or *exclusive terms*, infer no such thing; neither is his *faith* opposed to *Baptism*, but it takes it in, ordinarily, and is neither *salutary* nor *lively faith*, till *plighted in that ordinance*<sup>i</sup>.

5. From the instrument of *conveyance on God's part*, we may next proceed to the instrument of *reception on man's*; which I take to be *faith*, as I have more than once intimated, and must now explain.

I am sensible that some very eminent men<sup>k</sup> have expressed a dislike of the *phrase* of the *instrumentality* of *faith*; and have also justly rejected the *thing*, according to the *false* notion which

<sup>g</sup> Publ. Bapt. of Inf. and Private Bapt. and Bapt. of those of riper years.

<sup>h</sup> Bucer. Script. Anglican. p. 730.

<sup>i</sup> This article was maintained, against Cartwright, by Whitgift first, and afterwards by Hooker. (See Hooker's Works, book v. chap. 60. §. 4.) Field, after both, vindicates the Protestants on that head, against the reproaches of their Popish adversaries, as follows:

"Stapleton saith, that a threefold fraud of the Protestants, touching remission of sins, is to be avoided:

"first, in that they make our *justification* to consist in the *sole remission* of sins by *faith*, that the *sacraments* confer nothing to our *justification*. But this is untrue; for they teach no such thing; but that *Baptism* and *repentance* are necessarily required in them that are to be *first justified*." Field on the Church, b. iii. Append. p. 298.

<sup>k</sup> Hammond, Catech. Opp. vol. i. p. 36. Tillotson, Posth. Sermon. vol. ii. p. 480, 486. Bull. Opp. Latin. p. 418, 512, 555, 655, 657, 658. Truman, Great Propit. p. 194, 195.

some had conceived of it. It cannot, with any tolerable sense or propriety, be looked upon as an instrument of *convoiance* in the hand of the *efficient* or *principal* cause: but it may justly and properly be looked upon as the instrument of *reception* in the hand of the *recipient*. It is not the *mean* by which the grace is *wrought, effected, or conferred*: but it may be, and is, the *mean* by which it is *accepted or received*<sup>1</sup>: or, to express it a little differently, it is not the *instrument* of justification in the *active* sense of the word; but it is in the *passive* sense of it.

It cannot be for nothing that St. Paul so often and so emphatically speaks of man's being justified *by faith*<sup>m</sup>, or through *faith* in Christ's blood<sup>n</sup>; and that he particularly notes it of Abraham, that he *believed*, and that his *faith was counted to him for justification*<sup>o</sup>; when he might as easily have said, had he so meant, that man is justified by *faith and works*, or that Abraham, to whom the *Gospel was preached*<sup>p</sup>, was justified by *Gospel faith and obedience*. Besides, it is certain, and is on all hands allowed, that, though St. Paul did not directly and expressly oppose *faith* to *evangelical works*, yet he comprehended the works of the *moral law* under those works which he excluded from the *office of justifying*, in his sense of *justifying*, in those passages: and further, he used such arguments as appear to extend to *all kinds of works*: for Abraham's works were really *evangelical works*, and yet they were *excluded*. Add to this, that if *justification* could come even by *evangelical works*, without taking in *faith* in the meritorious sufferings and satisfaction of a Mediator; then might we have "whereof to glory<sup>q</sup>," as needing no pardon; and then might it be justly said, that "Christ died in vain<sup>r</sup>." I must further own, that it is of great weight with me, that so early and so considerable a writer as Clemens of Rome, an apostolical man, should so interpret the doctrine of *justifying faith*,

<sup>1</sup> Quod per fidem, tanquam *organum*, gratiam justificationis accipi vel apprehendi dicunt Protestantes, nœ illi Romanenses—nimium *morosi* censors sunt, quibus ista loquendi forma improbat; præsertim propter verbum *apprehendendi*: eodem enim modo loquuntur etiam multi doctissimi Romanenses. *Pererius in Rom. v. 2.* Maldonat. in *Joh. vi. 29.* videatur, et Estius in *Rom. iii. 28.* Claudius Espenœus in *1 Tim. vi. 12.* ubi horum novorum criticorum temerita-

tem recte castigat. Gul. Forbes, *Consid. Modest. p. 24.* Conf. p. 38. edit. nova, A. D. 1704.

<sup>m</sup> Rom. i. 17. iii. 22, 28, 30. v. 2. ix. 32. Gal. ii. 16. iii. 8, 11, 14, 22, 24, 26. v. 5. Phil. iii. 9.

<sup>n</sup> Rom. iii. 25. Gal. ii. 20. Phil. iii. 10.

<sup>o</sup> Rom. iv. 3. Gal. iii. 6.

<sup>p</sup> Gal. iii. 8.

<sup>q</sup> See Rom. iv. 2.

<sup>r</sup> See Gal. ii. 21.

as to *oppose* it plainly even to *evangelical* works however exalted. It runs thus: " They (the ancient Patriarchs) were all therefore " greatly glorified and magnified ; not for their own sake, or for " their *own works*, or for the *righteousness* which they themselves " wrought, but through his good pleasure. And we also being " called through his good pleasure in Christ Jesus, are not " *justified* by ourselves, neither by our own wisdom, or knowledge, " or *piety*, or the *works* which we have done in *holiness of heart*, " but by *that faith* by which Almighty God *justified* all from the " beginning<sup>s</sup>." Here it is observable, that the word *faith* does not stand for the whole system of Christianity, or for *Christian belief* at large, but for some particular *self-denying* principle by which good men, even under the *patriarchal* and *legal* dispensations, laid hold on the *mercy* and *promises* of God, referring all, not to *themselves* or their *own deservings*, but to *Divine goodness*, in and through a *Mediator*. It is true, Clemens elsewhere, and St. Paul almost every where, insists upon true *holiness of heart* and *obedience of life*, as indispensable *conditions* of salvation, or *justification* ; and of that, one would think there could be no question among men of any judgment or probity : but the question about *conditions* is very distinct from the other question about *instruments* ; and therefore both parts may be true, viz. that *faith* and *obedience* are *equally conditions*, and *equally indispensable* where *opportunities* permit ; and yet *faith* over and above is emphatically the *instrument* both of *receiving* and *holding* justification, or a title to salvation<sup>t</sup>.

To explain this matter more distinctly, let it be remembered, that God may be considered (as I before noted) either as a

<sup>s</sup> Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν διὰ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κληθέντες, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν δικαιούμεθα, οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας, ἢ συνέσεως, ἢ εὐσεβείας, ἢ ἔργων ὧν κατεργασάμεθα ἐν ὀσιώτητι καρδίας· ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πίστεως, δι' ἧς πάντας τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς ἐδικαίωσεν. Clem. Rom. Epist. i. cap. 32.

<sup>t</sup> A learned foreigner illustrates this matter by the case of *marriage*, as every good person is conceived to be married to Christ, and to become one flesh with him. Ephes. v. 31, 32. Now there are many *qualifications*,

*conditions, capacities*, requisite to a *valid* marriage : but still *consent* or *contract*, with due solemnities, is what formally *makes* the matrimonial bond, and what gives it its sanction. Respect, obedience, love, do not properly *effect* it ; but *consent* does. So *faith* binds the contract, consummates the marriage covenant with Christ, while the rest are considered as *qualifications* or *conditions* of the stipulation, not as the formal stipulation itself. Vid. Wessellii Dissertat. Academ. p. 147, &c. 281.

party contracting with man, on very *gracious* terms<sup>u</sup>, or as a Judge to pronounce judgment upon him.

Man's first coming into covenant (supposing him *adult*) is by assenting to it, and accepting of it, to have and to hold it on *such kind of tenure* as God proposes: that is to say, upon a *self-denying* tenure, considering himself as a *guilty* man, standing in need of *pardon*, and of *borrowed* merits, and at length resting upon *mercy*<sup>w</sup>. So here the *previous* question is, whether a person shall consent to hold a privilege upon this *submissive* kind of tenure or not? Such *assent* or *consent*, if he comes into it, is the *very thing* which St. Paul and St. Clemens call *faith*<sup>x</sup>: and this *previous* and *general* question, is the question which both of them determine against any *proud claimants* who would hold by a more *self-admiring* tenure.

Or, if we next consider God as sitting in judgment, and man before the tribunal, going to plead his cause; here the question is, what *kind of plea* shall a man resolve to trust his salvation upon? Shall he stand upon his *innocence*, and rest upon *strict law*; or shall he plead *guilty*, and rest in an *act of grace*? If he chooses the *former*, he is proud, and sure to be *cast*: if he chooses the *latter*, he is *safe* so far, in throwing himself upon an *act of grace*. Now this question also, which St. Paul has decided, is *previous* to the question, what *conditions* even the act of grace itself finally insists upon? A question which St. James in particular, and the *general* tenor of the whole scripture has

<sup>u</sup> Neque enim hoc *fœdus* naturam habet *emptionis*, *venditionis*, aut *locationis*, *conductionis*, aut alicujus contractus *innominati*, *do ut facias*, *facio ut facias*, ubi eorum quæ invicem præstantur *æqualitas* requiritur: sed habet aliquam convenientiam cum contractu *feudali*, ubi una pars *ex gratia* quid in alterum confert, quæ autem altera vicissim præstat, non *retributionis* sed tantum *recognitionis* vim habent, grati, fidelis, ac devoti animi testem. Puffendorf. *Jus Feodal. Divin.* sect. liv. p. 191. Conf. sect. li. p. 172.

<sup>w</sup> Summa huc redit, quod is [Christus] peccata generis humani, in se suscepit, eaque expiavit, ac pro iisdem justitiæ Divinæ satisfecit, eo cum effectu ut qui in ipsam *credunt*, seu in ejusdem *merito* et *satisfactione* om-

nem suam *fiduciam* reponunt, *ejus intuitu* gratiam Dei quærunt, peccatorum remissionem, *solidam* et eorum tribunali divino subsistentem *justitiam*, cum aliis beneficiis quæ cum Deo reconciliatos comitantur, et demum *vitam æternam* consequantur. Puffendorf. *ibid.* sect. xlviii. p. 166.

<sup>x</sup> Quia *fœdus* ac Divina beneficia per eandem [fidem] *acceptantur*; cum invitatis et reluctantibus ista impingere nolit Deus, neque id citra extinctionionem *moralitatis* fieri possit. *Ibid.* sect. li. p. 172. Ex parte hominum ordinavit medium *ληπτικόν*, seu per quod istud acceptatur, *fidem*; quam etiam hominibus offert, sed *moralis*, non *physico* aut *mechanico* modo. *Ibid.* sect. lxxviii. p. 319. Conf. sect. lxxxv. p. 349.



abundantly satisfied; and which could never have been made a *question* by any considerate or impartial Christian. But of that I may say more under another article. What I am at present concerned with is to observe, that *faith* is emphatically the *instrument* by which an adult *accepts* the covenant of grace, *consenting* to hold by *that kind of tenure*, to be *justified in that way*, and to rest in *that kind of plea*, putting his *salvation on that only issue*.

It appears to be a just observation, which Dr. Whitby makes, (Pref. to the Epist. to Galat. p. 300.) that Abraham had *faith* (Hebr. xi. 8.) before what was said of his *justification* in Gen. xv. 16. and afterwards more abundantly, when he offered up his son Isaac: but yet neither of those instances was pitched upon by the Apostle, as fit for his purpose, because in both *obedience* was joined with *faith*: whereas here was a pure *act of faith* without *works*, and of this *act of faith* it is said, "it was imputed to him " for righteousness."

The sum is, none of our *works* are good enough to stand by *themselves* before him who is of *purser* eyes than to behold iniquity. Christ only is *pure* enough for it at first hand, and they that are Christ's at second hand, in and through him. Now, because it is by *faith* that we thus interpose, as it were, Christ between *God* and *us*, in order to gain *acceptance* by him; therefore *faith* is emphatically the *instrument* whereby we *receive* the grant of *justification*. *Obedience* is equally a *condition*, or *qualification*, but not an *instrument*, not being that *act* of the *mind* whereby we *look up* to God and Christ, and whereby we *embrace* the promises.

"Faith," by St. Paul's account of it, "is the substance of " things hoped for," as making the things *subsist*, as it were, with certain effect in the mind. It is the "evidence of things " not seen," being, as it were, the eye of the mind, *looking* to the *blood* of Christ, and thereby inwardly warming the affections to a firm reliance upon it, and acquiescence in it<sup>2</sup>. But this is to be understood of a *firm* and *vigorous* faith, and at the same time *well grounded*.—*Faith* is said to *embrace* (salute, welcome) the things *promised* of God<sup>a</sup>, as things *present* to view, or near at hand. There is no other faculty, virtue, act, or exercise of the mind, which so properly does it as *faith* does: therefore *faith* particularly is represented as that by which the Gentile converts

<sup>1</sup> Hebr. xi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. iii. 25.

<sup>a</sup> Hebr. xi. 13, 14.

laid hold on justification<sup>b</sup>, and brought it home to themselves. And as *faith* is said to have *healed* several<sup>c</sup>, in a *bodily* sense; so may it be also said to *heal* men in a *spiritual* way, that is, to *justify*, being immediately *instrumental* in the *reception* of that grace, more than any other *virtues* are. For as, when persons were *healed* by *looking on the brazen serpent*<sup>d</sup>, their *eyes* were particularly *instrumental* to their *cure*, more than the *whole body*; so *faith*, the *eye* of the mind, is particularly *instrumental* in this affair, more than the *whole body* of graces, with which it is accompanied: not for any supereminent excellency of *faith* above every other virtue, (for *charity* is greater<sup>e</sup>;) but for its particular *aptness*, in the very *nature* of it, to make things *distant* become *near*, and to admit them into close embraces. The Homilies of our Church describe and limit the doctrine thus: "*Faith* doth not shut out *repentance, hope, love, dread*, and the "*fear* of God, to be *joined* with *faith* in every man that is *justified*; but it shutteth them out from the *office* of justifying<sup>f</sup>;" that is to say, from the *office* of *accepting* or *receiving* it: for as to the *office* of *justifying* in the *active* sense, that belongs to *God only*, as the same Homily elsewhere declares<sup>g</sup>. The doctrine is there further explained thus: "Because *faith* doth "*directly send us* to Christ for *remission of our sins*, and that, "*by faith* given us of God, we *embrace* the *promise* of God's "*mercy*, and of the *remission* of our sins, (which thing none "*other* of our *virtues* or *works* properly doth,) therefore the "*scripture useth* to say, that *faith without works* doth *justify*<sup>h</sup>:" not that this is to be understood of a man's being confident of

<sup>b</sup> Rom. ix. 30, 31, 32.

<sup>c</sup> Matt. ix. 22. Luke vii. 50. viii. 48. xvii. 19. xviii. 42. Mark v. 34. x. 52.

<sup>d</sup> Numb. xxi. 8, 9. Comp. Isa. xlv. 22. John iii. 14. Conf. Gul. Forbes, Consid. Modest. p. 28, 29. Grabe in Notis ad Bulli Harmon. p. 450, 451.

<sup>e</sup> 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

<sup>f</sup> Homily of Salvation, part i. p. 19.

<sup>g</sup> Homily of Salvation, part ii. p. 22, 23, and part iii. p. 24. Among the later Homilies, see on the Passion, p. 347, 349. and concerning the Sacrament, part i. p. 376, 379. Conf. Nowelli Catech. p. 41. Gul. Forbes, Consid. Modest. p. 23, 24, 38. Hooker, Disc. on Justific. Works, Sermon II. §. 31. Tyndal, p. 45, 187, 225, 330, 331. Field p. 298, 323. Conf. Augustan. art. xx. p.

18, 19. Spanheim, tom. iii. p. 141, 159, 761, 834. Le Blanc. p. 126, 267.

<sup>h</sup> Homily of Salvation, part iii. p. 24.

N. B. In the 28th Article of our Church, we are taught, that "*the mean* "*whereby* the body of Christ is *received* and eaten in the supper, is "*faith*." Compare Jewel's Defence, &c. p. 234. and my Review, vol. iv. p. 538, 569, 578, 579, 595, 597, 766. No one can doubt but that *charity* is as necessarily required to a *worthy* reception of the *Eucharist*, or to a *real* reception of the *body* and the *graces* thereon depending, as *faith* can be: they are *both* of them *equally* *conditions*: but *faith* particularly is the *mean*, or *instrument*; which *charity* in this case is not. *Charity* is

his *own* election, his *own* justification, or his *own* salvation in particular, (which is quite another question, and to be determined by other rules,) but of his *confiding* solely upon the *covenant of grace* in Christ, (not upon his *own* *deservings*,) with full assurance that so, and *so only*, he is *safe*, as long as he behaves accordingly.

The *covenant of grace* has *conditions* annexed to it, which I am next to consider.

6. The *conditions of justification* are of great weight; for without them no *instruments* can avail. Those *conditions* are *faith* and *obedience*; as St. James hath particularly maintained<sup>i</sup>. St. Paul had before determined the *general* and *previous* question, as to the *tenure* whereby we are to hold, or the *plea* by which we ought to abide; namely, by *grace*, in opposition to *claims*: and when some *libertines* had perverted (as is probable) St. Paul's doctrine very widely and strangely, and made an ill use of it; then St. James shewed that that very *faith*, which was to rest in a covenant of *grace*, supposed a *conformity* to the *terms* of it; otherwise it would be found but a *dead faith*, no *Christian faith* at all: for a *cordial belief* of the Divine *promises*, and a *cordial acquiescence* in God's *covenant*, *implies* and *includes* a *cordial submission* to the *terms* and *conditions* of it; otherwise, it is nothing but empty *ceremony*.

Upon the whole, the perfect agreement between St. Paul and St. James, in the article of *justification*, appears very clear and certain. St. Paul declares, that, in order to come at *justification*, it is necessary to stand upon *grace*, not upon *merit*; which St. James does not *deny*, but *confirms* rather in what he says of the *perfect law of liberty*, James i. 25. ii. 12. St. Paul makes *faith* the *instrument of receiving* that *grace*; which St. James does not dispute, but *approves* by what he says of Abraham, (chap. ii. 23.) only he maintains *also*, that, in the *conditionate* sense, *justification* depends *equally* upon *faith* and *good works*; which St. Paul also *teaches* and *inculcates* in effect, or in other words, through all his writings. If St. Paul had had precisely the same question

excluded here from serving as a *mean*, from the *office* of being an *instrument*, and nobody takes offence at it: why should they therefore in the other *sacrament*, the sacrament of the *first justification*, when the cases are parallel? Our Church is constant and

uniform in *both*; and so are the *ancient Churches* likewise, upon reasons grounded in the very nature of *faith*, as an act or habit *specifically different* from *charity*.

<sup>i</sup> James ii. 14—26.

before him which St. James happened to have, he would have decided just as St. James did: and if St. James had had precisely the *same question* before him which St. Paul had, he would have determined just as St. Paul did. Their *principles* were exactly the *same*, but the *questions* were *diverse*, and they had different *adversaries* to deal with, and opposite *extremes* to encounter, which is a common case.

It may be noted, that that *faith* which I here call a *condition*, is of much wider compass than that *particular* kind of faith which is precisely the *instrument of justification*. For *faith*, as a *condition*, means the *whole complex of Christian belief* as expressed in the *creeds*; while *faith*, as an *instrument*, means only the laying hold on *grace*, and resting in Christ's *merits* in opposition to our *own deservings*: though this also, if it is a *vital* and *operative* principle, (and if it is not, it is nothing worth,) must of course *presuppose*, carry with it, and draw after it, an hearty *submission* to, and *observance* of, all the necessary *conditions* of that *covenant of grace*, wherein we repose our whole trust and confidence. So that St. Paul might well say, "Do we then "make void the law (the moral law) through faith? God forbid: "yea we establish the law<sup>k</sup>." We exempt no man from religious *duties*; which are *duties* still, though they do not *merit*, nor are practicable to such a degree as to be above the need of *pardon*: they are necessary *conditions*, in their measure of *justification*; though not *sufficient* in themselves to *justify*, nor *perfect* enough to stand before God, or to abide trial: therefore Christ's *merits* must be taken in to *supply* their defects; and so our resting in Christ's *atonement*, by an humble, self-denying *faith*, is our last resort, our anchor of salvation both sure and steadfast, after we have otherwise done our utmost towards the fulfilling of God's sacred laws, towards the performing all the *conditions* required<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Rom. iii. 31. See Norris's Pract. Disc. vol. iii. Disc. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Coram Deo nihil valet quam *Filius* ejus charissimus, Jesus Christus: ad illum ubicunque est, respicit; in illo complacuit: hic *totus* sanctus et purus est coram illo. Filius autem non per *opera*, sed per *fidem* in corde absque omni opere, *apprehenditur*. Charitas et opera nec sunt nec esse possunt *Filius* Dei, aut *justitia* quæ coram Deo *pura* et sancta

sit, ut est *Filius*. Itaque per se non consistunt coram Deo ut *justitia pura*, qualis est *Filius*. Quod vero *justa* et *sancta* vocentur, ex *gratia* fit, non ex *jure*: neque illa æque respicit Deus ut *Filius*, sed tantum propter *Filius* ea tolerat, et fert illorum impuritatem: imo *coronat* ea et præmiis afficit, sed id omne propter *Filius*, qui in corde habitat per *fidem*. Luther. in Seckendorf. lib. iii. p. 357. A. D. 1541.

That *good works, internal and external*, are, according as *opportunities* offer and *circumstances* permit, *conditions* properly so called, is clear from the whole tenor of scripture, as hath been often and abundantly proved by our own *Divines*<sup>m</sup>, and is admitted by the most judicious among the *foreign Reformed*<sup>n</sup>.

Yet some have been very scrupulous as to this innocent name, even while they allow the *absolute necessity* of *good works*, as indispensable *qualifications* for future blessedness. Why not *conditions* therefore, as well as *qualifications*? Perhaps, because that name might appear to strike at *absolute* predestination, or *unconditional* election; and there may lie the scruple: otherwise, the difference appears to lie rather in *words* than in *things*.

Some will have them called not *conditions*, but *fruits* or *consequents* of justification. If they mean by *justification*, the same as the *grace* of the Holy Spirit, and the *first grace* of *faith* springing from it, they say true<sup>o</sup>: and then there is nothing more in it than an *improper* use of the word *justification*, excepting that from *abuse* of *words* very frequently arises some corruption of *doctrine*.

If they mean only, that *outward* acts of righteousness are *fruits* of *inward* habits or dispositions; that also is undoubtedly true: but that is no reason why *internal* acts, virtues, graces, (*good works* of the *mind*;) should not be called *conditions* of the *primary* justification; or why the *outward* acts should not be justly thought *conditions* of *preserving* it.

But if they mean that *justification* is ordinarily given to *adults*,

<sup>m</sup> Bull. Opp. Latin. p. 412, 414, 415, 430, 434, 514, 516, 544, 583, 645, 668, edit. ult.

Stillingfleet's Works, vol. iii. p. 367, 380, 393, 398. Tillotson's Posth. Serm. vol. ii. p. 484, 487.

<sup>n</sup> Vossius de Bonis Operibus, Thes. x. p. 370. Opp. tom. vi. Frid. Spanhem. fil. Opp. tom. iii. p. 141, 159. Conf. Gul. Forbes, Consid. Modest. p. 195, &c.

<sup>o</sup> Nemo computet bona opera ante fidem; ubi fides non erat, bonum opus non erat: bonum enim opus intentio facit, intentionem fides dirigit. *Augustin. in Psal. xxxi. p. 172. tom. iv.*

Crede in eum qui justificat impium,

ut possint et bona opera tua esse opera bona: nam nec bona illa appellerim, quamdiu non de radice bona procedunt. *Ibid. p. 174.*

N. B. St. Austin is not constant in his notion of *good works*, but he uses the phrase in a twofold sense, *larger* or *stricter*. Sometimes he means by *good works*, works flowing from *grace* and *faith*, whether before or after Baptism; as he does here: and sometimes he means works strictly Christian, subsequent to the *incorporation* in Baptism, that is, subsequent to *justification*. The want of observing this his twofold use of the phrase, has led some uncautious readers into mistakes.

without any preparative or previous *conditions of faith and repentance*, that indeed is very *new doctrine and dangerous*, and opens a wide door to *carnal security* and to all *ungodliness*. But enough of this matter.

The sum of what has been offered under the present head is, that we are *justified* by God the *Father*, considered as *principal* and *first mover*; and by God the *Son*, as *meritorious purchaser*; and by God the *Holy Ghost*, as *immediate efficient*; and by *Baptism*, as the ordinary *instrument of conveyance*; and by *faith* of such a kind, as the ordinary *instrument of reception*; and *lastly*, by *faith and holiness*, as the necessary *qualifications and conditions* in *adults*, both for the *first receiving* and for the *perpetual preserving* it. Such and so many are the *concurring*

P The order of *justification* is thus expressed in King Edward's Catechism, written by Poynt, A. D. 1553, countenanced by the other Bishops and Clergy, and published by the king's authority.

" 1. The *first* and *principal*, and " most proper cause of our *justification* and *salvation*, is the goodness " and love of God, whereby he chose " us before the world.

" 2. After that, God granteth us " to be *called* by the preaching of the " Gospel of *Jesus Christ*; when the " *Spirit* of the Lord is poured upon " us: by whose guiding and govern- " ance we be led to settle our *trust* " in God, and *hope* for the performance " of his promise.

" 3. With this *choice* is joined, as " companion, the *mortifying* of the " *old man*, that is, of our affections " and lusts.

" 4. From the same *Spirit* also " cometh our *sanctification*, the *love* " of God and of our *neighbour*; jus- " tice and uprightness of life.

" 5. *Finally*, to say all in sum, " whatever is in us, or may be done " of us, honest, pure, true, and good; " that altogether springeth out of this " pleasant rock, the goodness, love, " choice, and unchangeable purpose " of God; he is the *cause*; the rest " are the *fruits* and *effects*.

" 6. Yet are also the *choice* and " *Spirit* of God and *Christ* himself " *causes* conjoined and coupled with

" each other: which may be reckoned " amongst the *principal causes* of sal- " vation.

" 7. As oft therefore as we use to " say, that we are *made righteous* and " *saved by faith only*, it is meant " thereby, that *faith*, or rather *trust* " *alone* doth *lay hard upon*\*, under- " stand, and perceive our *righteous-* " *making* to be given us of God *freely*: " that is to say, by no *deserts* of our " own, but by the *free grace* of the " Almighty Father.

" 8. Moreover *faith* doth ingender " in us *love* of our neighbour, and " such *works* as God is pleased " withal: for if it be a *lively* and " *true* faith, quickened by the Holy " Ghost, she is the mother of all " good saying and doing. By this " short tale, it is evident by what " means we attain to be righteous. " For, not by the *worthiness* of our " own deservings were we here- " tofore *chosen*, or long ago *saved*, " but by the *only mercy* of God, and " *pure grace* of Christ our Lord; " whereby we were in him made to " *do those good works* that God had " appointed for us to walk in. And " although *good works* cannot *deserve* " to make us righteous before God, " yet do they so *cleave unto faith*, " that neither *faith* can be found " *without* them, nor *good works* be " any where found *without* faith."

Fol. 68. in Heylin *Quinquartic. contr.* p. 105.

\* For hold.

causes, operating, in their order and degree, towards man's *first* or *final justification*. It would be altogether wrong to *separate* them, or to set them *one against another*, or to *advance any one* or *more*, to the *exclusion* of the *rest*.

I may observe further, for the preventing any mistake or misconception, that I might have considered *Baptism* as an *external instrument of reception* in the hand of *man*, as man bears a part in that sacrament; and so there would be *two* instruments of *reception*, external and internal, *Baptism* and *faith*: and if any one chooses so to state the case, I shall not object to it. But having mentioned *Baptism* before, as the *instrument of conveyance* on *God's* part, which is most considerable, I thought it of less moment to bring it up again under a different view, because that would be understood of course.

I cannot dismiss this head without throwing in a word or two of the wise provisions made by our Church, in bringing *children* to *Baptism*, that they may be both *regenerated* and *justified* from the first. It is right and safe for the children themselves: and not only so; but the very doing it is further of use to prevent or remove the perplexities raised by contentious men on the subject of *justification*.

Some will tell you that *good works* are not *conditions* of justification: it is certainly true in the case of *infants*, (which is the common case with us,) for neither *works* nor *faith* are *conditions* required of *them*: they are *justified* without either, by the *free mercy* of God, through the alone *merits* of Christ.

Some will plead, that man is utterly *unable* to do *good works* before he is *justified* and *regenerated*: they should rather say, before he receives *grace*; for that is the real and the full truth. But what occasion or need is there, for disturbing common Christians at all with points of this nature now? Are we not all of us, or nearly all, (ten thousand to one,) *baptized* in *infancy*; and therefore *regenerated* and *justified* of course, and thereby prepared for *good works*, as soon as capable of them by our years? *Good works* must, in this case at least, (which is *our* case,) *follow* after *justification* and *regeneration*, if they are at all: and therefore how impertinent and frivolous is it, if not hurtful rather, to amuse the ignorant with such notions, which, in our circumstances, may much better be spared? Our Church has so well provided for that case by *Infant Baptism*, that we need not so much as inquire whether good works *preceed* or *follow*

justification in the case of *adults*, since it is not our case. We are very sure that, in *our* circumstances, *good works* do not *precede*, but *follow* justification, because they come after *Baptism*, if they come at all. The truth, and the whole truth, of this matter seems to lie in the following particulars :

1. *Infants* are *justified* in *Baptism*, without either *faith* or *works*; and if they *grow up* in *faith* and *obedience*, the privilege is *continued* to them: if not, it is *taken away* from them, till they *repent*.

2. *Adults*, coming *fitly prepared*, are immediately *justified* in *Baptism*, by *faith*, without any *outward works*, without a *good life*, while they *have not time* for it; but if a *good life* does not *ensue afterwards*, when *time* and *opportunities* are *given*; they *forfeit* the privilege received, till they *repent*.

3. *Adults*, coming to *Baptism* in *hypocrisy* or *impenitency*, (like *Simon Magus*,) are not *justified*, whatever their *faith* be; because they want the *necessary* and *essential qualifications* or *conditions*: but if they afterwards turn to God with *true faith* and *repentance*, then they enter into a *justified* state, and so continue all along, unless they *relapse*.

4. Neither *faith* nor *works* are required in *infants*: both *faith* and *inward works* (a change of heart) are required in *all adults*: *faith* and *works* (*inward* and *outward*) are indispensably required in *all adults* who *survive* their *Baptism*, in proportion to their *opportunities*, *capacities*, or *abilities*. But enough of this.

## V.

Having hitherto endeavoured to explain the *nature*, and to set forth the *causes* and *instruments* of *justification*, in as clear a manner as I could; I proceed now, *lastly*, to point out some *extremes*, which many have been found to run into, on the right hand or on the left: so hard a thing is it to observe a middle course, and to pursue the safe and even road. Those *extremes* or *deviations* are many, but are reducible to two; one of which, for distinction sake, I may call the *proud extreme*, as disdaining to accept the *grace of God*, or the *merits of Christ*; the other may be called the *libertine extreme*, as abusing the doctrines of *grace* and *satisfaction*, to serve the ends of *licentiousness*.

1. I shall begin with the *proud extreme*. The Pagans, formerly, were so proud of their *good morals*, that they conceived they had no need of Christ, either to make them better, or to secure the



Divine acceptance; and therefore they would not so much as listen to the terms of *Christianity*<sup>q</sup>.

The Pharisaical Jews were as proud, or prouder, in their way, claiming, as it were, *justification* as a *debt*, rather than a *favour*, as if they had no need of *grace*, or were too exalted to accept of *pardon*. This high conceit of themselves and their own perfections made them averse to Christ, and kept them from submitting to the *Gospel way of justification* or *salvation*.

The Pelagians, of the fifth century, by over-magnifying *free will* and *natural abilities*, at the same time depreciating or slighting *Divine grace*, unwarily fell into the *proud extreme*; though not so grievously as the Jews and Pagans had done before. St. Austin, however, very justly made use of the same way of reasoning against *them*, which St. Paul had made use of against Jews and Pagans; because the same *general reasons* concluded equally against *all*<sup>s</sup>.

The Schoolmen of later days, and the Romanists still later, one by setting up a kind of *merit of congruity*<sup>t</sup> as to works preceding justification, and the other by maintaining a *merit of condignity*<sup>u</sup> with respect to works following, and by admitting *works of supererogation*<sup>w</sup>, have apparently run too far into the *proud extreme*; only differently modified, or under a *form*, somewhat different from that of the self-assuming claimants of older times. Wherefore the first *Reformers*, finding that the same

<sup>q</sup> Multi enim gloriatur de operibus, et invenis multos Paganos propterea nolle fieri Christianos, quia quasi sufficiunt sibi de bona vita sua. Bene vivere opus est, ait: Quid mihi præcepturus est Christus? Ut bene vivam? jam bene vivo: quid mihi necessarius est Christus? Nullum homicidium, nullum furtum, nullam rapinam facio, res alienas non concupisco, nullo adulterio contaminor: nam inveniatur aliquid in vita mea quod reprehendatur, et qui reprehenderit, faciat Christianum. *Augustin. in Psal. xxx. Enarr. 2. p. 171. tom. iv.*

<sup>r</sup> Rom. iv. 4. xi. 6. Compare Truman, Great Propitiation, p. 184, 300.

<sup>s</sup> Hoc possumus dicere quod de lege dicit Apostolus, si per naturam justitia, ergo *Christus gratis mortuus est*.—Qui suis meritis præmia tamquam debita expectant, nec ipsa merita Dei gratiæ tribuunt, sed viribus pro-

præ voluntatis, sicut dictum est de carnali Israel, *persequentes legem justitiæ, in legem justitiæ non perveniunt. Quare? Quia non ex fide, sed tamquam ex operibus*. Rom. ix. 31, 32. Ipsa est enim justitia ex fide, quam Gentes apprehenderunt, de quibus dictum est. Rom. ix. 30.—Ipsa est justitia ex fide, qua credimus nos justificari, hoc est, justos fieri, gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.—Quæ ex Deo justitia in fide, in fide utique est, qua credimus nobis justitiam Divinitus dari, non a nobis, in nobis, nostris viribus fieri. *Augustin. Paulino Epist. clxxxvi. p. 664, 666. tom. ii.*

<sup>t</sup> Against Merit of Congruity, see the 13th Article of our Church.

<sup>u</sup> Concil. Trident. Sess. vi. Can. 32. Bellarmin. de Justificat. lib. v. cap. 17.

<sup>w</sup> Against which, see the 14th Article of our Church.

general reasons, which St. Paul had made use of in another case, might be justly applicable in this case also; they laid hold of them, and urged them with irresistible force against all kinds of human *merit*, or pretended *merit*, however disguised, or however set off with art or subtilty. Thus came the doctrine of justification by *faith alone*<sup>x</sup>, that is to say, by the *alone merits* and *cross of Christ*, (as Bishop Jewel interprets it<sup>y</sup>;) to be a distinguishing principle of the *Reformation*.

The Socinians, by rejecting *Christ's satisfaction*, and of course standing upon their *own works* as available to salvation, independent of it, have only chosen another way of committing the same fault, and of running into the *proud extreme*.

The Deists, who boast of their *morality*<sup>z</sup>, in opposition to *Gospel faith* and *Gospel obedience*, are, in this respect, so nearly allied to the *Pagan philosophers*, who lived in Christian times, that they may be said to fall under the same predicament with them; excepting only the additional aggravation of their *apostasy* from the faith whereunto they had been baptized.

Those *enthusiasts*, who fear not to boast even of a *sinless perfection* in this life; they (whatever their *pretences* are) are remarkably peccant in the *proud extreme*, even to a degree of *madness*, and stand condemned by many express passages both of Old Testament and New.

Lastly, If there be any amongst us, as probably there may, who, though knowing themselves to be *sinner*s, yet think that the *good works* of *alms*, or other the like bounden duties, will satisfy for their *sins*; and who thereupon conceive that God would do them *wrong*, if he should not, for their *good deeds*, *pardon* their *evil deeds*; such also may be said to err in the *proud extreme*, not considering that all their *good deeds* are only *so many strict dues*, and that the paying off a debt *in part* entitles *no man* to a *discharge* for the *remainder*. God, for Christ's

<sup>x</sup> See the 11th Article of our Church.

<sup>y</sup> Jewel, Def. of Apology, p. 66.

<sup>z</sup> Their main principle is thus expressed in a Latin distich:

Haud crucient animum quæ circa religionem

Vexantur lites; sit modo vita proba.

Baro. Herbert. See my Discourse on Fundamentals, vol. v. p. 100, 101, 102.

Near akin to these, are such as magnify *moral virtues*, *Pagan virtues*, as acceptable in themselves, and needing no *atonement* nor *sacrament* to recommend them to the Divine acceptance. See the Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments, vol. iv. p. 85, 86, 90. and Supplement, p. 129, 130, &c. 137, 138.

sake<sup>a</sup>, may give a discharge for the *whole*, to every *penitent* offender, after his sincerely performing *some part* of his duty: but a man's own *good works*, be they ever so many or so great, cannot *in themselves* be pleaded by way of proper *atonement* for his sins.

Having thus briefly enumerated the most, or the most common *mistakes* or *miscarriages* in the matter of *justification*, on the *assuming* side, derogating from the honour of God's *free grace*, and from the *merits* of Christ, which are the valuable *consideration* upon which, or for the sake of which only, God *justifies* as many as he does justify; I shall now proceed to observe something of the common *mistakes* in the *other extreme*, which concerns the necessary, essential *conditions* or *qualifications* required in every *adult* whom God shall accept.

2. It is a dangerous and fatal *extreme* so to *magnify*, or to pretend to *magnify grace* or *faith*, as thereby to *exclude*, *sink*, or any way *lessen* the *necessity* of true and sincere, and (so far as human infirmities permit) universal *obedience*<sup>b</sup>. There is the

<sup>a</sup> Non patitur enim *justum* Dei judicium, ut *justum* censeat aliquem qui *justitiam* non habet: non habet vero *justitiam* ullam *peccator* nisi in *Christo*, et per *mysticam* arctissimamque illam *unionem* cum *Christo*. Jer. xxiii. 6. 2 Cor. v. 21. 1 Cor. i. 30. Quæque ideo tantopere inculcatur in N. T. ubi fideles sexcentis in locis dicuntur esse in *Christo*. Et celebratur pariter in V. T. in Psal. xlv. Cantico Canticorum toto. Isa. liv. 5. Hos. ii. 18, 19. Quia scilicet in ea est fundamentum *justificationis* peccatoris coram Deo. Vinculum vero hujus *unionis* præcipuum, absque quo *unio* hæc nullatenus consistit, est *fides* actualis in *Christum*, moriturum olim, nunc mortuum, in adultis; vel *Spiritus fidei* in infantibus electis. *Wesselius, Dissert. Academ.* p. 148. Tum tandem *justificari* peccatorem coram Deo *sola fide*, qua *dextram* dat sponso ac sponsori, ejusque *dextram* tenet, et qua sola *connubium stabile* cum ipso contrahens, *justitia vicaria* ejus imputatur illi ut *sua*, et jus accipit ad omnia ejus bona.—Bona opera postea imponuntur *justificatæ* (reginæ) ut in quibus non est *causa* regnandi, sed *via* tantum ad regnum gloriæ.

Omnes ergo externe *vocati* (quibus *Rex* *Messias* sponsor fœderis, cum *justitia vicaria*, omnique *gratia* ejus quotidie offertur in Evangelio, quibusque ipse *dextram suam conjugalem* blande porrigit) semetipsos diligenter et serio examinare debent, num huic *reginæ*, seu *Ecclesiæ* veræ, ut ejus *membra* genuina, accenseri queant. *Ibid.* p. 281.

<sup>b</sup> *Signa* fidei justificantis sunt 1. *Totum* velle *Christum* suum esse, non tantum ut *sacerdotem*, sed etiam ut *regem*. 2. *Solum* velle *Christum*, cum *abnegatione justitiæ propriæ*, omniumque *sanctorum*, quæ nulla est. 3. *Gaudere* in *fide*, et animosa in *adversis fiducia* stare ad *dextram regis*, eique adhærere, etiam dum ducit per ignes et aquas. 4. *Abnegare voluntatem propriam* quandoque *naturalem*, semper *pravam* ac *perversam*, et *regis voluntati* arcanae et revelatæ se patienter ac prompte submittere. Si horum nihil in semetipsis deprehendant, hoc ipso momento, absque ulla *dilatione*, *fide sincera* fœdus *conjugale* contrahant, &c.—Si vero horum aliquid in se ipsis invenient gratias immortales agant—*Stent* porro in *fide* animosi, &c. p. 281, 282.

greater need of the utmost caution and circumspection in this particular, because corrupt nature is very prone to listen to, and to fall in with any appearing arguments, any prettexts, colours, handles for *relaxation of duty*, and for *reconciling their hopes* and their *lusts* together. St. Paul was aware, that some of ill minds might be apt to pervert his sound doctrine of *justification* by *faith*, to the purposes of *licentiousness*; but *truth* was not to be suppressed for fear some should *abuse* it; (for what is there which some or other may not make an ill use of?) neither would it have been right to let *one extreme* go *uncorrected*, only for the preventing the possible, or even probable danger from weak or evil minded men, who might take the handle to run into *another*. St. Paul therefore was content so to correct an error on the right hand, as, at the same time, to guard against a greater on the left<sup>c</sup>.

Notwithstanding all his *guards*, some there were, (as he supposed there would be,) who even in the *apostolical age* did *pervert* the doctrine of *grace*, to serve the ends of *licentiousness*: and some or other, probably, have done the like, designedly or undesignedly, in every age since. St. Paul had taught, that none of our *works* are *pure* or *perfect* enough to abide the *Divine scrutiny*, or to *claim* justification as a debt<sup>d</sup>, or a matter of *right*; which is undoubtedly true: but *libertines* changed that *true* and *sound* proposition into this very *unsound* one; that *good works* are not so much as necessary *conditions* or *qualifications* for *justification*. St. Paul had also taught, that *faith*, or an humble *reliance* upon the *grace* of God through the *merits* of Christ, in opposition to *self-boasting*<sup>e</sup>, or standing upon the *perfection of our own performances*, was our only *safe plea* before God, our only *sure way* to be *justified*, after doing the best we could for performing our bounden duties: this *true* and *important* proposition some turned into quite another, *contradictory* to the whole tenor of the *Gospel*; viz. that *faith alone*, a *dead faith*, separate from evangelical *obedience*, is the *only condition* of salvation. Against such *dogmatizers*, and against such *loose principles*, St. James engaged, reproving and confuting the men and their errors in few, but very strong words<sup>f</sup>. St. Peter also and St. John, though more obscurely, combated the same error<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> See Rom. iii. 31. vi. 1, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Rom. iv. 4. xi. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Rom. iii. 27. 1 Cor. i. 29, 31.

Ephes. ii. 9. Rom. iv. 2.

<sup>f</sup> James ii. 14—26.

<sup>g</sup> 2 Pet. i. 5—10. 1 John iii. 7—10.

That some or other, in after-ages, were very prone to run into the extreme of *licentiousness*, taking an handle from the doctrine of *grace*; as others were apt to run into the *proud extreme*, from the doctrine of the *value* and *necessity* of a *good life*; may be judged from what a *Father* of the fifth century says in opposition to *both*<sup>h</sup>.

It is certain that the Antinomian and Solifidian doctrines, as taught by some in later times, have deviated into a *wild extreme*, and have done infinite mischief to *practical Christianity*. I have not room to enumerate, much less to confute, the many *erroneous* and *dangerous tenets* which have come from that quarter: neither would I be forward to expose them again to public view. They have been often *considered* and often *confuted*. Let them rather be buried in oblivion, and never rise up again to bring reproach upon the *Christian name*. But take we due care so to maintain the doctrine of *faith*, as not to *exclude* the *necessity* of *good works*; and so to maintain *good works*, as not to *exclude* the *necessity* of *Christ's atonement*, or the *free grace* of God. Take we care to perform all evangelical duties to the utmost of our power, aided by God's Spirit; and when we have so done, say, that we are *unprofitable servants*, having no strict *claim* to a reward, but yet looking for one, and accepting it as a *favour*, not challenging it as *due* in any right of our *own*; due only upon *free promise*, and that promise made not in consideration of any *deserts of ours*, but in and through the alone *merits*, active and passive, of Christ Jesus our Lord.

<sup>h</sup> Si se homo justificaverit, et de justitia sua præsumserit, cadit: si considerans et cogitans infirmitatem suam, et præsumens de misericordia Dei, neglexerit vitam suam mundare a peccatis suis, et se omni gurgite flagitiorum demerserit, et ipse cadit. Præsumtio de justitia quasi dextera est: cogitatio de impunitate peccatorum, quasi sinistra est. Audiamus

vocem Dei dicentem nobis, *ne declines in dexteram aut sinistram*, Prov. iv. 27. Ne præsumas ad regnum *de justitia tua*: ne præsumas ad peccandum de misericordia Dei. Ab utroque te revocat præceptum divinum, et ab illa *altitudine*, et ab ista *profunditate*: illuc si ascenderis, præcipitaberis; hac si lapsus fueris, demergèris. *Augustin.* in *Psal.* xxxi. p. 171. tom. iv.

**AN INQUIRY**  
**CONCERNING THE**  
**ANTIQUITY OF THE PRACTICE**  
**OF**  
**INFANT COMMUNION,**  
**As founded on the Notion of its STRICT NECESSITY.**



A N I N Q U I R Y  
CONCERNING  
I N F A N T C O M M U N I O N .

---

THE article of *Infant Communion*, though not much thought of amongst us, (as we have not had much occasion,) is a part of the general subject of the *Eucharist*, and may deserve some consideration at this time ; if it be only for the sake of clearing up a point of doctrine in some degree, and for the obviating such scruples as have been raised about it.

Some have censured it, as *ancient* practice built upon *erroneous* principles, aggravating every circumstance after an *invidious* manner, in order to raise a *general* prejudice against the *ancients*<sup>a</sup>, as of slight authority.

Others have laid hold on the same topic, for sinking the credit of the *Fathers* with respect to one *particular* point ; namely, that of *Infant Baptism* : for, say they, if the *ancients* were so widely mistaken in regard to *Infant Communion* ; what great stress can be laid, either upon their *judgment* or their *practice*, in the article of *Infant Baptism*<sup>b</sup> ?

Others, lastly, (though very few in these parts of the world,)

<sup>a</sup> Dallæus de Usu Patrum, lib. i. Whitby, *Stricturæ Patrum*, p. 212, &c. c. 8. p. 175. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 293. De <sup>b</sup> See Dr. Wall, *Hist. of Inf. Bapt.* Cult. Relig. lib. v. c. 3, 4, 20. Clericus, part ii. c. 9. sect. 17. vol. ii. p. 447. Animadv. in Op. Augustini, p. 521. ed. 3.



have declared their approbation of *Infant Communion*, and have seriously pleaded for a revival of it. Dr. Bedell, of the last century, (Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland,) seems to have been in those sentiments<sup>c</sup>: and now lately, a pretty large essay has been published, on purpose to recommend the *ancient practice* (as it is supposed) of *Infant Communion*<sup>d</sup>.

These things considered, the question appears to be worth the looking into: and so my present design is to offer some thoughts upon it, in order to set that matter, so far as I may, in a just light, for the removing scruples, or for the rectifying misconceptions.

It seems to be a mistake to imagine, that *Infant Communion* (if we understand it of *mere infants*) was the *ancient practice* of the Church. There is no appearance of any thing of that kind before the *middle* of the *third* century, the time of Cyprian; and that in the African churches only: and all that can be proved from Cyprian is, that *children* (boys and girls, not *mere infants*) were then and there brought to communion. Neither is there any clear proof, that they were brought thither under a notion of any *strict necessity*: for it might be done upon such *prudential* reasons as move us to bring *children* to church at this day, training them up in the way that they should go; or, if it was founded upon stronger reasons, they might be such as resolved only into the then present *expediency*, or into a superabundant *caution*: as I shall endeavour to make out more at large in the sequel.

From the middle of the *third century*, down to the beginning of the *fifth*, we hear little or nothing of the practice. We must take a large stride, from St. Cyprian down as low as to St. Austin, before we come at any thing which does but look that way. In St. Austin's works, from the time of the Pelagian controversy, (which began about A. D. 410,) there are some passages which have been thought uncontestable evidences of the *practice of Infant Communion* in his time, as likewise of its being founded upon a notion of *strict necessity*, as taught in John the sixth.

## I.

St. Austin hath been supposed to maintain, that *Infant Com-*

<sup>c</sup> Bishop Bedell, in Usher's Letters, No. 163. p. 442, 445.

<sup>d</sup> An Essay in Favour of the ancient

Practice of giving the *Eucharist* to *Children*. By James Peirce of Exon. A. D. 1728.

union is as *necessary* to life eternal, as *Infant Baptism*; and that *baptized* infants have as much need of the *Eucharist* as the *unbaptized* have of the *other* sacrament; *both* sacraments being *alike necessary* to the salvation of all persons.

But St. Austin hath never *directly* and *in terms* said, that *baptized* infants cannot be *saved* without the *Eucharist*: it is no *express* doctrine of that great man, but a *consequence* only, drawn from his words; and not by any considerable writers of *his time*, or *near* it, (so far as appears,) but by some who came *long after* him, and in *contradiction* to those who lived in the *ages next* to him. Whether the *consequence*, so drawn and fixed upon him in later ages, be really *just*; and whether his meaning was truly such as hath been pretended, is now the point of inquiry: and I shall proceed to examine into it with some care.

First, If St. Austin's other most *avowed* and often *repeated principles* are a standing *contradiction* to the supposed *necessity* of *Infant Communion*; that will afford a strong presumption against what he has been charged with, and such as cannot, or in reason ought not, to be overruled, but by something stronger. This being premised, as a safe general ground to rest upon, and abide by, I now go on to the inquiry.

St. Austin's doctrine of the complete *sufficiency* of *Baptism* to the *salvation* of infants, is so fully expressed many ways, and so frequently inculcated in his works, that it is scarce conceivable, how he could imagine the *Eucharist* to be *necessary* over and above; unless we could suppose him the most inconsistent, self-destroying writer in the world. To come to particulars.

1. In the first place, his *constant, standing doctrine* is, that *Baptism* confers *perfect remission* of all sin<sup>e</sup>: which was also the known doctrine of the whole Church before his time, and after<sup>f</sup>. Now as *salvation* must of course follow upon *perfect remission* so long as it abides, (and abide it must in infants *baptized*, till guilty of *actual sin*,) with what sense or consistency could St. Austin teach, that infants once *baptized* could have any present need of the *Eucharist*, to bring them into a state of *salvation*?

2. Another standing *principle* with St. Austin was, that *Bap-*

<sup>e</sup> Qui regenerantur in Christo, remissionem accipiunt prorsus omnium peccatorum. *Augustin. de Nupt. et Concupiscent.* lib. i. c. 26. p. 294. tom. x. ed. Bened. conf. p. 299, 423.

424, 458, 540. tom. x.

<sup>f</sup> See my Review, &c. vol. iv. c. 9. p. 660, &c. and Bingham, book xi. chap. 1. sect. 2. book xix. chap. 1. sect. 2.

*tism*, singly, gives a present, certain *tittle* to *life eternal*s. How then could the same *Father* consistently say or mean, that they could not be *saved* without the *Eucharist*<sup>h</sup> ?

3. It was likewise an avowed *principle* with St. Austin, and the whole Church, that infants, by their *Baptism*, were constituted *fideles*, were of the number of the *faithful*<sup>i</sup>; which was as high and honourable a name as could be given to *actual* communicants, to true and good Christians. If therefore infants were already, by *their Baptism*, entitled to the *name* and *privileges* of *communicants*, for the time being, they could not want the *outward sacrament* of the *Eucharist*, to make them more so.

4. Another noted *principle* of St. Austin was, that the *grace* of a *Mediator* was the *one thing necessary* to the *salvation* of infants, and that such *grace* was given them in and by *Baptism*<sup>k</sup>: therefore again, by his accounts, the partaking of the *outward sacrament* of the *Eucharist* could not be *necessary* to the *salvation* of *baptized* infants.

5. It was St. Austin's *settled persuasion*, that *baptized* infants could never afterwards forfeit the *salutary grace* once given at the font, till they should become guilty of *actual sins*<sup>l</sup>. From

¶ Simul justitiæ, vitæque æternæ secundi hominis sociati renascuntur in Baptismo. *Augustin. de Peccat. Merit.* lib. i. c. 16. p. 12. Absit ut causam parvulorum sic relinquamus, ut esse nobis dicamus incertum, utrum in Christo regenerati, si moriantur parvuli, transeant in æternam salutem. *De Don. Perseverant.* c. xii. p. 837. tom. x. conf. p. 273, 274, 279, 291, 292, 318, 328, 449, 450, 482, 536, 680, 686, 899, 902, 1023, 1074, tom. x. item p. 942. tom. v. et 1190. tom. v.

Quicumque negat parvulos per Baptismum Christi a perditione liberari, et salutem percipere sempiternam, anathema sit. *Concil. Carthag. in Augustin.* epist. clxxv. p. 620. tom. ii. conf. p. 266, 268, 511, 585.

<sup>h</sup> Conf. Wall's Hist. of Infant Baptism, part i. c. 15. sect. 5. vol. i. p. 202.

<sup>i</sup> Parvulum, etsi nondum fides illa, quæ in credentium voluntate consistit, jam tamen ipsius fidei sacramentum *fidelem* facit.—*Fidelis* vocatur, non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ipsius

rei sacramentum percipiendo. *Augustin. ad Bonifac.* ep. xcvi. (alias xxiii.) p. 268.

Ubi ergo parvulos ponimus *baptizatos*, nisi inter *fideles*, sicut *universæ* ubique *Ecclesiæ* clamat auctoritas? *Augustin. de Peccat. Merit.* lib. i. c. 33. p. 35. conf. c. 25. p. 20. Item *Serm.* ccxciv. p. 1119, 1190, 1192. tom. v.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Augustin. epist. clxvi. p. 585, 591, 592. *De Peccat. Merit.* lib. i. c. 22, 25.

<sup>l</sup> Respondeo, tantam illius sacramenti, hoc est, *Baptismi salutaris*, esse virtutem in sancta compage corporis Christi, ut, semel *generatus* per aliorum carnalem voluptatem, cum semel *regeneratus* fuerit per aliorum spirituales voluntatem, deinceps non possit vinculo alienæ iniquitatis obstringi, cui nulla sui voluntate consentit.—Semel *perceptam* parvulus *gratiam* non amittit nisi propria impetate, &c. *Epist.* xcvi. (alias xxiii.) p. 263, 264.

whence it plainly follows, that they could not forfeit it by their not receiving the *Eucharist* during their nonage.

6. St. Austin further teaches, that infants by their *Baptism*, are made the *temple* of the *Holy Spirit*, and thereby *sealed*, and *insured* to everlasting *salvation*<sup>m</sup>. How could this be, if *Baptism* still wanted to be *rendered salutary* by the *other sacrament*, by the outward *Eucharist*?

7. Elsewhere he expressly maintains, that *spiritual regeneration* (by which he means *Baptism* of water and of the Spirit) is *alone* sufficient to deliver an infant from the *power of darkness*, and to translate him into the *kingdom of Christ*; and to secure him, if he dies in that state, against all manner of pains or perils in a world to come<sup>n</sup>. Could he consistently say this, had he thought that *both sacraments* were as *necessary* as *Baptism alone*?

8. Another *principle* of St. Austin's, consonant with those before mentioned, is, that *Baptism* makes an infant a *member of Christ*: not merely a member of the *outward Church*, but a *vital* or *living* member of *Christ's body*<sup>o</sup>.

9. Another noted *doctrine* of St. Austin, near akin to the former, is, that the sacrament of *Baptism* amounts to a complete *ingraftment* or *incorporation* in Christ, and that such *incorporation* or *ingraftment* is a *principal end* and *use* of *Baptism*, being a *necessary* qualification for, or introduction to *eternal life*: which he collects from our Lord's doctrine laid down in John vi. P

<sup>m</sup> Dicimus ergo, in *baptizatis* parvulis, quamvis id nesciant, *habitare Spiritum Sanctum*, ep. clxxxvii. c. 8. p. 686. *Templum Dei* futurus es, cum *Baptismum* acceperis. *De Fid. et Op.* c. 12. p. 175. tom. vi.

<sup>n</sup> Tanta est Dei misericordia— ut etiam prima hominis ætas, id est, *infantia*, si *sacramenta* Mediatoris acceperit, etiamsi hanc in eis vitam finiat, translata scilicet a *potestate tenebrarum* in *regnum Christi*, non solum pœnis non præparetur æternis, sed ne ulla quidem post mortem purgatoria tormenta patiatur. Sufficit enim *sola spiritualis regeneratio*, ne post mortem obsit quod carnalis generatio cum morte contraxit. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xxi. c. 16. p. 636. tom. viii. Conf. *De Peccat. Merit.* lib. i. c. 19.

N. B. Though he says *sacramenta* in the plural, he means only *Baptism*; as is plain by what follows. It is

very common with the Fathers to express a *single* sacrament in that *plural* way; as is well known to the learned, with the reasons of it. Daillé has often noted it, and has manifested the same by great variety of evidences, in his book *De Confirmatione*.

<sup>o</sup> Nec *viveremus*, nisi per spiritua-lem connexionem *membra* hujus essemus: ideo nobis opus fuit *nasci*, et *renasci*, epist. clxxxvii. p. 688. *Membrum Christi* futurus es, cum acceperis *Baptismum*. *De Fid. et Op.* c. 12. p. 175. tom. vi. *Omnes qui renascuntur, membra ipsius fiunt*.—Si vis ascendere, esto in *corpore Christi*: si vis ascendere, esto *membrum Christi*, serm. cxciv. p. 1188. tom. v.

<sup>p</sup> Nihil agitur aliud cum parvuli baptizantur, nisi ut *incorporentur* Ecclesiæ, id est, *Christi corpori membrisque socientur*.—Nonne veritas sine ulla ambiguitate proclamat, non solum in *Regnum Dei* non baptizatos parvu-

From all which we may reasonably draw the following inferences: 1. That since *Baptism* amounts to a complete *incorporation*, for the time being, it could not want the *other* sacrament to make it more so. 2. That since *baptismal* incorporation is a pledge of *eternal life* by itself, it could not need the *Eucharist* to make it *salutary*. 3. That since St. Austin drew this doctrine chiefly from John vi. he must have understood the *incorporation* there spoken of, as a privilege *common* to *both* sacraments. But of that particular I shall say more in its proper place.

10. But further, the same *Father* does not only suppose that a *baptized* infant has part in the *body* of *Christ*; but that he is, by his baptism, *dipped*, as it were, in the *blood* of *Christ*: for he teaches that *Baptism*, or the *baptismal water*, is *red*, (so he figuratively expresses it) with the *blood* of *Christ*, as *consecrated* in it or by it<sup>8</sup>. Other *Fathers* of the Church express the same thing in still plainer and stronger terms: and it was the prevailing doctrine of *antiquity*, that all the spiritual graces of the *Eucharist* were conveyed in *Baptism* as well as in the *Eucharist*; and that as many as were duly *baptized*, were, in effect, thereby made *partakers* of the *body* and *blood* of *Christ*: such being the high notions of the *sufficiency* of *Baptism*, universally prevailing in those times, what room could there then be for the doctrine of the strict *necessity* of *Infant Communion*?

11. Another *doctrine* of St. Austin is, that all those who are really *members* of *Christ*, *true* and *living* members, do, *ipso facto*, in virtue of such their *membership*, continually *eat* his *flesh*, and *drink* his *blood*<sup>9</sup>. Hence it follows, that infants *baptized*, having thereby been made *true* and *living* members of *Christ*, and having never yet forfeited their privilege by any *actual* sin, must of

los intrare non posse, sed nec vitam aeternam posse habere, præter Christi corpus, cui ut incorporentur, sacramento Baptismatis imbuuntur? Augustin. de Peccat. Merit. lib. iii. c. 4. p. 74, 75.

<sup>9</sup> Significabat mare rubrum Baptismum Christi. Unde rubet Baptismus Christi, nisi Christi sanguine consecratus? In Joann. tract. 11. p. 377. tom. iii. Conf. p. 942. tom. v.

<sup>r</sup> The testimonies are collected into one view by Albertinus, De Eucharist. p. 448, 564. and by Bingham, xi. 10, 4. xv. 4, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Qui ergo est in ejus corporis unitate, id est, in Christianorum compage membrorum (cujus corporis sacramentum fideles, communicantes de altari, sumere consueverunt) ipse vere dicendus est manducare corpus Christi, et bibere sanguinem Christi. De Civit. Dei, lib. xxi. p. 646. N.B. St. Austin allows this to be true, provided such *membership* has not been forfeited by some *voluntary* transgressions; and therefore he must be presumed to allow the fact with regard to *baptized* infants not yet capable of *actual* sin.

course be supposed, in virtue of that their *membership*, continually to *eat* Christ's *flesh*, and to *drink* his *blood*, in such a sense as St. Austin there speaks of; and therefore could not be by him supposed to lie under any *necessity* of having that by *two* sacraments, which was effectually supplied by *one*.

12. I must further take notice of another *principle* of St. Austin's, which may appear somewhat refined and uncommon; but was a favourite notion, and what he much dwelt upon: it was this; that *Baptism* makes a person to *be* that *very thing* which is *mystically represented* and *participated* in the *Eucharist*<sup>t</sup>. He grounds the notion on St. Paul's words: "We being many *are one bread, and one body,*" &c. Therefore Christians are themselves the *body* signified, or represented by the *bread* of the *Eucharist*: therefore every true Christian makes a *part* of what that bread signifies, and of what the communicants partake of. Whether the notion be strictly just, is not now the question: it was St. Austin's notion, and that is sufficient for our present purpose. For if *baptized* infants, being of the number of the *faithful*, and so making a *part* of Christ's body the Church, were, in consequence, a part also of the body *signified* and *participated* in the *Eucharist*; they could not need the *outward* Eucharist to bind them *closer* to the *body* of Christ, or to make them *partakers* of it. This argument is well urged by Fulgentius<sup>u</sup>, to the very same purpose for which I now urge it; namely, to shew that *Baptism*, during infancy, was, in St. Austin's account, *equivalent* to both sacraments; and in such case, either virtually supplied or fully superseded the *external Eucharist*. I have now enumerated twelve several articles of *doctrine*, all *maintained* by St. Austin, and all seeming to *contradict* (directly or indirectly) the supposed *necessity* of *Infant Communion*. Wherefore, it appears not reasonable to conceive, that he really espoused any

<sup>t</sup> Si bene accepistis, vos estis quod accepistis: Apostolus enim dicit, *Unus panis unum corpus multi sumus*.—Vos ante, jejunii humiliatione, et exorcismi sacramento, quasi *molebimini*: accessit Baptismus, et aqua quasi conspersi estis, ut ad formam panis veniretis.—Accedit *Spiritus Sanctus*, post aquam ignis, et effici-mini panis, quod est corpus Christi. Serm. ccxxvii. p. 973. tom. v. conf. serm. ccxxix. p. 976.

Ad aquam venistis et conspersi estis, et unum facti estis: accedente *fervere* Spiritus Sancti cocti estis, et panis Dominicus facti estis. Ecce quod accepistis. Serm. ccxxix. p. 976. conf. serm. cclxxii. p. 1103. tom. v. Contr. Faust. lib. xii. c. 8. N.B. The losing this notion has been the chief occasion of missing St. Austin's true sense: the reviving it will make every thing clear.

<sup>u</sup> Fulgent. ad Ferrand. p. 226.

such *necessity*, in *contradiction* to his own *standing principles*: much less probable is it, that he should go on in it, time after time, for near twenty years together, never suspecting any *inconsistency* in it, (so far as appears,) never charged by his adversaries, the Pelagians, with it. Such is our argument *a priori*, that St. Austin *could not teach, could not intend* to teach the strict *necessity* of *Infant Communion*: he *could not* do it with any *sense* or *consistency*; because he *constantly maintained*, many ways, the complete *sufficiency* of *Baptism* to the *salvation* of all *infants*, during such their infant state.

Secondly, But, besides what has been thus urged *a priori*, to shew that he *could not teach* such necessity; there are yet other considerations, *a posteriori*, to be taken in, which may persuade us that he *did not*.

1. He did not ordinarily interpret John vi. of the *outward* sacrament of the Eucharist, but of the *inward* grace signified by it, or exhibited in it. There is this very observable difference between John iii. 5. and John vi. 53. that the *former text* teaches the necessity both of the *outward* sacrament and of the *inward* grace; while the *latter* teaches only the necessity of the *inward* grace, abstracted from the *outward* signs. Had the *Eucharist* been as plainly pointed out in John the sixth as *Baptism* is in John the third, *both* must have been allowed to be *equally necessary*: but it is worth observing, that the *former* teaches the necessity of spiritual regeneration and incorporation, as *confined* to one *particular form*, or *outward* instrument; the *latter* teaches the same *necessity* of spiritual incorporation, *at large*, not mentioning any *particular form*, not restraining the privilege or benefit to the *Eucharist* only.

St. Austin seems to have been well aware of this distinction, by his so frequently interpreting John vi. not directly of the *outward* Eucharist, but of the *inward* graces only, signified by it. Sometimes he interprets the *feeding*, there mentioned, to mean only the *partaking* of the *body* of Christ, or of being *incorporated* in Christ<sup>w</sup>: sometimes, he makes it the same with *abiding*, or *dwelling* in Christ<sup>x</sup>, or with being *members* of

<sup>w</sup> *Nisi manducaverint homines carnem ejus: hoc est, participes facti fuerint corporis ejus. De Peccat. Merit. lib. iii. c. 4. Vis ergo vivere de Spiritu Christi? In corpore esto Christi.—Accedat, credat, incorpo-*

*retur, ut vivificetur. In Johann. tract. xxvi. p. 499. tom. iii. Conf. De Civit. Dei, lib. xxi. c. 25. p. 646.*

<sup>x</sup> *Manducare illam escam, et illum bibere potum, est in Christo manere, et illum manentem in se habere.*

Christy, or with being the *temple* of Christ<sup>z</sup>: all which *privileges* he looked upon as *common* to both sacraments, and not confined to the *Eucharist* only; as may sufficiently appear from what I have before noted in relation to the *sufficiency* of *Baptism*, as taught by the same Father. Therefore, by his accounts, infants must have been supposed to enjoy, in and by virtue of their *Baptism*, all that John the sixth directly speaks of as *necessary to life*; and therefore this Father *did not* so interpret that chapter as to make it favour the supposed *necessity* of *Infant Communion*.

Sometimes he interprets the *meat* mentioned in St. John, of an *alliance*, or *union* with Christ<sup>a</sup>, and sometimes of the *grace* sent from above<sup>b</sup>; which, by his accounts, is *common* to *Baptism* with the *Eucharist*: and therefore again, *baptized* infants, as such, must have been by him supposed to *feed* spiritually upon Christ, in such a sense as our Lord there speaks of, and could not want the *outward* *Eucharist* to make them partakers of the spiritual banquet: wherefore St. Austin scruples not to say, that while a person is *regenerated*, or *born again*, (meaning in *Baptism*,) he *feeds* upon Christ, is *feasted*, is *satiated*<sup>c</sup> with that heavenly food: such plainly is his meaning.

2. To confirm this further, it may be noted, that St. Austin makes the *putting on of Christ* (which is done in *Baptism*) to be tantamount in sense, and equivalent in virtue or efficacy for the obtaining *eternal life*, with the *feeding upon him*<sup>d</sup>: indeed, all

*In Johann.* tract. ii. p. 501. conf. 504.

Re vera Christi corpus manducare, et ejus sanguinem bibere; hoc est, in Christo manere, ut in illo maneat et Christus. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xxi. c. 25. p. 647.

⁷ Ut simus in ejus corpore, sub ipso capite in membris. *In Johann.* tract. xxvii. p. 502. Manemus autem in illo, cum sumus membra ejus, p. 504. Nec isti ergo dicendi sunt manducare corpus Christi, quoniam nec in membris computandi sunt Christi. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xxi. c. 25. p. 646.

⁸ Manet autem ipse in nobis, cum sumus templum ejus. *In Johann.* tract. xxvii. p. 504. Signum quia manducatur et bibit, hoc est, si manet et mandetur, si habitat et inhabitatur. *Ibid.* 502.

⁹ Hunc cibum et potum societatem

vult intelligi corporis et membrorum suorum. *In Johann.* tract. xxvii. p. 502.

⁸ Nemo autem implet legem, nisi quam adjuverit gratia; id est, panis qui de cælo descendit. *Ibid.* tract. xxvi. p. 494.

⁹ Qui credit, manducat: invisibiliter saginatur, quia invisibiliter renascitur: infans natus est novus intus est. Ubi novellatur, ibi satiatur. *Ibid.*

⁹ Non autem habere parvulos ritam, nisi habeant Christum, quem procul dubio habere non possunt, nisi induerint eum eo modo quo scriptum est; Quotquot in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis: non ergo habere vitam, nisi habeant Christum, Johannes Evangelista testatur dicens, Qui habet Filium, habet vitam: qui non habet Filium, vitam non habet. *Contr. Julian.* lib. vi. c. 27. p. 677.



that he meant to prove against the Pelagians, by quoting John vi. was only this; that infants must *have Christ*, must have *part in Christ*, in order to *eternal life*; and could not be *saved*, could not have *life*, in or by their *natural, unregenerate state*<sup>o</sup>, as the Pelagians pretended. He had no occasion to say, or to conceive, *baptized* infants could not be saved without the *Eucharist*; neither does he once say it: but what he was concerned to prove was, that *unbaptized* infants, ordinarily, could not come at *life eternal*<sup>l</sup>: and he proves it by this medium; that infants could have *no life* without *partaking* of Christ, whom they could not *partake* of without being *incorporate* in Christ, and that by *Baptism*. That such *incorporation*, once made in *Baptism*, wants to be *completed, improved, or renewed*, by the *Eucharist* during infancy, he no where teaches: but in a multitude of places, (as hath been shewn,) he either directly or indirectly teaches, that, during the state of *mere infancy*, it *does not*: because *Baptism* alone, for the time being, is *sufficient* to all intents and purposes, and is, in effect, *feeding* upon the *body and blood* of Christ.

3. To confirm this still further, we may note, that St. Austin entertained so high an opinion of the *virtue* and *efficacy* of *Baptism* to *salvation*, from the beginning to the end of the *spiritual life*; that he looked upon all other *religious offices* as deriving, in a great measure, their use and force from it. He supposes not only the *first remission* at the font, but *all remission* upon *prayer or repentance afterwards*, to look back to *Baptism*, and to stand in it, or to be as nothing without it<sup>5</sup>. Even *eucharistical remission*, and *eucharistical graces*, by the same principle, can be only *baptismal remission* and *baptismal graces* continued, or

<sup>o</sup> Quid enim apertius tot tantisque testimoniis Divinorum eloquiorum, quibus dilucidissime apparet, nec præter *Christi societatem* ad vitam salutemque æternam posse quemquam hominem pervenire.—Nonne veritas sine ulla ambiguitate proclamat, non solum in regnum Dei, *non-baptizatos* parvulos intrare non posse, sed nec *vitam æternam* posse habere præter *Christi corpus*, cui ut incorporentur, sacramento *Baptismatis* imbuuntur. *De Peccat. Merit.* lib. iii. c. 4. p. 74, 75.

<sup>l</sup> Hoc testimonium adhibitum est evangelicum, ne parvuli *non-baptizati* vitam posse habere credantur. *Epist.*

*ad Paulin.* 186. No. 28. p. 673.

Si autem cedunt Domino Apostolorum, qui dicit non habituros *vitam* in semetipsis, nisi *manducaverint* carnem Filii hominis et *biberint* sanguinem (quod nisi baptizati non utique possunt) nempe aliquando fatebuntur parvulos *non-baptizatos* vitam habere non posse. *Ibid.* No. 29. p. 673.

<sup>5</sup> Augustin. De Nupt. et Concupisc. lib. i. p. 298. Hesy chius well expresses his sense in few words: Virtus præcedentis *Baptismatis operatur* et in ea, quæ postea acta fuerit, pœnitentia. *In Levit.* lib. ii. p. 118. Compare my Review, &c. vol. iv. p. 646.

reiterated. He calls the Lord's Prayer a *quotidian Baptism*<sup>h</sup>, while he considered it as an instrument of pardon, and as offered up in and with the *Eucharist*<sup>i</sup>; which amounts to calling the *Eucharist* itself a kind of *quotidian Baptism*. Now if St. Austin believed that *Baptism* had its *federal effect* during the *whole spiritual life*, and that it *operated in all other religious offices, or services*, deriving, as it were, its *own virtue and efficacy* upon them; it is obvious to conceive how, in his account, an infant already *baptized*, and having hitherto done nothing to *forfeit the graces or benefits* of it, might be justly said to *partake* even of the *Lord's table*, as partaking of that sacrament, which *virtually carried in it all the life and spirit* of the other; and which was *originally, primarily, eminently*, all that the other is in a *secondary way, or in consequence* of *Baptism*.

4. I shall only add further, (to shew that St. Austin had no notion of any such strict *necessity* of the *Eucharist* to all persons *baptized*, as he had of the *necessity* of *Baptism* to the *unbaptized*,) that, when a case was put to him, concerning the *salvation* of the *thief upon the cross*<sup>k</sup>, as dying *unbaptized*, he appeared to be very much perplexed with it, and not willing to admit the fact; conceiving that, probably, the thief had received *Baptism*, or however that the *negative* could not be proved. He esteemed that solution to be the safest, to evade the whole difficulty. All the while, though he was well aware, or might certainly know, that the same *thief* died without ever receiving the *holy Communion*; yet he was in no pain about it, so far as appears, nor looked upon it, as any difficulty at all: a plain sign, that he had no such opinion of the strict *necessity* of the *Eucharist* to salvation, as he had of the *necessity* of *Baptism*.

Having thus endeavoured to shew, many ways, that St. Austin consistently *could not*, yea, and that he *did not* teach the *necessity* of *Infant Communion*; what hinders that we may not now safely and justly reject the contrary supposition, as a *vulgar error*, or

<sup>h</sup> Remissio peccatorum non est in sola ablutione sacri Baptismatis, sed etiam in oratione Dominica quotidiana. — In illa invenietis quasi *quotidianum Baptismum* vestrum. Serm. ccxiii. c. 8. Conf. De Fid. et Op. c. xxvi. p. 191. Enchirid. c. lxxi. p. 223. De Symbol. ad Catech. c. 7. p. 555. tom. vi.

<sup>i</sup> Constituit Deus in Ecclesia, tempore misericordię prorogandę, *quoti-*

*dianam medicinam*, ut dicamus *dimitte nobis debita nostra*, &c. ut his verbis lota facie, *ad altare* accedamus, et his verbis lota facie, *corpore* Christi et *sanguine* communicamus. Serm. de Scriptur. p. 96. tom. vi. conf. p. 869. Eucharist called *quotidiana medicina*, epist. liv. (alias cxviii.) p. 125.

<sup>k</sup> Augustin. de Orig. Animę, lib. i. c. 9. p. 343. lib. iii. c. 9. p. 379.

as an *injurious charge* upon a very great and good man, one of the ablest Divines of his time? It will be pleaded, notwithstanding, that the same Father has, in several places of his works, laid down this principle; that infants, without Baptism, and without *partaking* of the Lord's *body* and *blood*<sup>1</sup>, or without *partaking* of the *Lord's table*<sup>m</sup>, cannot enter into life: and further, he has sometimes interpreted, as it seems, John vi. 53. directly of the *Lord's table*<sup>n</sup>. But is it any where expressly or directly said, that *baptized* infants cannot have *life* without the *Eucharist*? No; not once, in all this Father's writings. And yet, if that were really his meaning, it is very strange and unaccountable that he should never once declare it in plain or broad terms. Why did he never argue against the Pelagians (as the objection supposes he should) in some such form as this, viz. that it is so far from being true, that *unbaptized* infants can have *life*; that even infants *baptized* can have no *life* without the *Eucharist* over and above their *Baptism*? This would have been arguing *a fortiori*, and in a very clear and affecting way; such as could not have escaped so acute a wit, had that been really his meaning, or such his principle: but he has *never done it*; which alone is a good presumptive argument, that he *never meant it*. But in order to give a just solution of the objected difficulties arising from some *few* passages *seemingly repugnant* to the whole tenor of his *standing doctrines*; we ought to attend

<sup>1</sup> Beatæ memoriæ Innocentius Papa, sine Baptismo Christi, et sine participatione corporis et sanguinis Christi vitam non habere parvulos, dixit. *Augustin. ad Bonifac. contr. 2 Epist. Pelay. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 436. tom. x.*

Si ergo, ut tot et tanta testimonia concinunt, nec salus, nec vita æterna sine Baptismo, et corpore et sanguine Domini cuiquam speranda est, frustra sine his promittitur parvulis. *De Peccator. Merit. lib. i. c. 24. p. 20.*

Nullus qui se meminit Catholicæ fidei Christianum, negat aut dubitat, parvulos non accepta gratia regenerationis in Christo, sine cibo carnis ejus et sanguinis potu, non habere in se vitam. *Ad Paulin. Epist. clxxvi. (alias cvi.) p. 673.*

<sup>m</sup> Ecclesiæ Christi insitum tenent præter Baptismum et participationem mensæ Dominicæ, non solum ad reg-

num Dei, sed nec ad salutem et vitam æternam posse quemquam hominem pervenire. *De Peccator. Merit. lib. i. c. 24. p. 19.* Infantes sunt, sed mensæ ejus participes fiunt, ut habeant in se vitam. *Serm. clxxiv. p. 834. tom. v. but compare p. 973.*

Cur ministratur sanguis (qui de similitudine peccati in remissionem fusus est peccatorum) quem bibit parvulus ut habere possit vitam, si de nullius peccati origine venit in mortem. *Opus Imperfect. contr. Julian. lib. ii. c. 30. p. 967.*

<sup>n</sup> Dominum audiamus, inquam, non quidem hoc de sacramento lavacri dicentem, sed de sacramento mensæ suæ, quo nemo rite nisi baptizatus accedit: *Nisi manducaveritis, &c. non habebitis vitam in vobis.* Quid ultra quærimus? *De Peccator. Merit. lib. i. c. 20. p. 15.*

carefully to his other most *avowed tenets*, and to his customary train of ideas. Infants cannot be saved without *Baptism*, and without *partaking* of the *body* and *blood* of Christ. Right: they cannot be saved without the *outward* washing, and the *inward* grace superadded: they cannot be saved without *Baptism*, and what *Baptism* constantly *carries with it*<sup>o</sup>, where no bar or obstacle interferes; as there is none in that case. But what is it which *Baptism carries with it*? St. Austin has before told us: infants are thereby *cleansed* from all *defilement*, purged from all sin, for the time being: they are become *regenerate* by the *Holy Spirit*, are of the number of the *faithful*, are the *children of God*, have *part* in Christ, and his *passion*, and the *salutary* influences of it; are the *temple* of the Holy Ghost and of Christ, are *members* of Christ's *body*, are *incorporate* with him, *abiding* in him, *inhabited* by him: they have *put on* Christ, have been *dipped* in his *blood*, *feasted* and *satiated* with it; yea, they are *partakers* of his *body*, and are *themselves* a *part* of what is *signified*, and of what is *participated* in the *Eucharist*. What can they want more, during their infant state, to make them *partakers* of Christ's *body* and *blood*, or *partakers* of the *Lord's table*? It may be said, perhaps, they are not *actually*, not *literally*, communicants: they have not *eaten* the eucharistical *bread*, nor drank the consecrated *wine*: very true: but yet they are *partakers* of the *spiritual feast*, and have a *part* in the *mystical banquet*; and therefore are, *in effect*, and in *just construction* of Gospel-law, *companions* at the *Lord's table*. They are *fideles*, that is, *communicants*, in just account, (being neither *catechumens* nor *penitents*,) and therefore *virtually*, or *interpretatively*, *partakers* of the altar.

<sup>o</sup> Chrysostom's account of *Baptism*, comprised in a beautiful climax, may be worth the inserting, to be compared with St. Austin's.

"You are herein made not only *free*, but *holy*; not only *holy*, but *just* likewise; not barely *just*, but *children* also; not *children* only, but *heirs*; nor merely *heirs*, but *brethren* of Christ; nor *brethren* only, but *co-heirs*; nor *co-heirs* only, but *members* also; nor *members* only, but his *temple*; nor *temple* only, but *organs* of the *Holy Spirit*." Chrysost. *Homil. ad Neophyt.* Vid. Wall, *Inf. Bapt.* part i. c. 14. sect. 3.

¶ Dailé himself allows that the

ancients, in some cases, conceived a *virtual* confirmation to amount to the same with *actual*. By parity of reason, a *virtual* communion must have been looked upon as tantamount to *real*. His words are;

*Justi autem, eodemque sensu sancti, item fideles apud veteres dicebantur Christiani, qui omni Ecclesie communionem fruebantur, adeoque, quod summum erat, Eucharistiae participes ad mensam Domini accumbebant: qui partim catechumenis, partim penitentibus opponebantur, ex quibus justius communionis illi quidem nondum erant adepti, hi vero crimine suo amiserant.*—Apparet Patres (Eliberitanos) eum qui in fide qua vincetus

They have all their Christian privileges entire, have never forfeited any of them. If indeed they had any *new* sins to answer for; or if they had absented from the communion through any *contempt*, or *wilful neglect*; they might then be thought to have *impaired* their first privileges, or in some degree to have *renounced* them: but such is not their case. *Baptism* made them *commensales* at once, as *admission* into a *corporation* makes a man *free* of that corporation, and of all the *franchises* of it, till forfeited by culpable neglect. Therefore *baptized* infants, during their minority, are communicants *in right*, as *true Christians*, and as *denizens* of the *city of God*; and they are also communicants *in effect*, and in *real enjoyment*, as really partaking of the *Christian banquet*.

It may still be objected, that St. Austin has never explained his meaning in the way which I have here done. I allow that he has not directly done it: but he has, here and there, dropped intimations more than sufficient to enable us to do it for him, and to warrant us in the doing it. He had no occasion himself to clear up the difficulty in such a way, since no one had objected it to him. Probably it was no difficulty at all in those days, while the *ancient* principles of the Church were better understood than they have been in later times. However, it is allowable to make use of any reasonable supposition, by which so eminent an author may turn out *consistent* with himself, and may stand clear of the invidious charge of *self-contradiction* in a momentous article. It is no more than doing justice to his great and admired name, and to the Church of God in his time, as well as to an important doctrine of practical Christianity.

I had almost forgot to take notice, how and why St. Austin was led to make use of John vi. 53. (which he supposed to con-

erat, sed sine manus impositione decesserat, eodem numero ac nomine censeri quo fuisset si vivus manus impositionem accepisset. *Dallæus de Confirmat.* p. 162. Conf. De Cult. Relig. p. 276.

He had said before: Non invitus concesserim Eliberitani concilii temporibus et sequentibus obtinuisse, ut nisi qui manus impositionem accepissent, nulli ad *Eucharistiam* admitterentur. P. 161.

These things laid together, it appears by the confession even of Daillé

himself, that those ancient *Fathers* understood infants *baptized* to be in Church account *justi, sancti, fideles*, or in one word *communicants*, though they lived not to partake either of the *Eucharist* or the *Chrism*. There were but three orders in all; *communicants, catechumens, penitents*: now it is plain that infants *baptized* were neither *catechumens* nor *penitents*; therefore they must have been *communicants* in Church account; not *literally*, but *virtually*, or *interpretatively* such.

cern chiefly the sacrament of the *Eucharist*.) in order to prove the necessity of *Baptism to life eternal*. He would have had no occasion for that text at all, had it not been for the refined subtleties of the Pelagians in evading other texts. John iii. 5. was express, that without *Baptism* no one could enter into the *kingdom of God*; and that might have sufficed with fair or reasonable disputants: but the Pelagians eluded it, by contriving an odd distinction between *God's kingdom* and *life eternal*; pretending that *unbaptized* infants, though they could not enter into the *kingdom of God*, properly so called, yet might however be admitted to a state of *life and bliss* in a world to come<sup>9</sup>. Now St. Austin, observing such their perverse subtilty, had recourse to John vi. 53. in order to defeat and frustrate it. For there, when our Lord again speaks of an *incorporation* in Christ, as renewed in the *Eucharist*, the style runs, that without *that* you have *no life in you*: therefore it is plain, that any person who has *no part in Christ*, who has nothing but his *natural state* to trust to, is not only shut out from the *kingdom of God*, but also from *eternal life*. Neither could it be of moment to urge, that what our Lord has here said in John vi. related more immediately to the sacrament of the *Eucharist*, than to the other sacrament of *Baptism*, upon which the debate turned: for the *eucharistical* incorporation depends entirely upon the *baptismal* one; owes all its force and virtue to it, and is but the *same thing* renewed; (and *renewed* it cannot be, if it never *commenced*;) therefore *Baptism*, the initiating sacrament, the foundation of our *union* with Christ, and the very soul and spirit of all the *graces* of the *Eucharist*, must be *necessary to life*; which was the thing to be proved. Such appears to be the turn and process of St. Austin's reasoning on this head<sup>r</sup>: and being so understood,

<sup>9</sup> Habent quo confugiant, atque ubi delitescant, quia non ait Dominus, si quis non renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non habebit vitam, sed, ait, non intrabit in regnum Dei: nam si illud dixisset, nulla hinc dubitatio possit oboriri. Auserator ergo dubitatio—Dominum audiamus, inquam, non quidem hoc de sacramento *lavacri* dicentem, sed de sacramento *mensæ suæ* quo nemo rite nisi *Baptizatus* accedit: *Nisi manducaveritis*, &c. *Augustin. de Peccat. Merit.* lib. i. c. 20. p. 15. Conf. serm. cccxiv. p. 1183. tom. v. De Origin. Animæ, lib. iii.

c. 13. p. 382. tom. x.

<sup>r</sup> Dilucidissime apparet nec *præter Christi societatem* ad vitam salutemque æternam posse quemquam hominum pervenire—Nihil agitur aliud, cum parvuli baptizantur, nisi ut *incorporentur Ecclesiæ*, id est, *Christi corpori membrisque* socientur—nuncquid et illud ambiguum est, *nisi quis renatus fuerit*, &c.—nuncquid et illud, quia *nisi manducaverint homines carnem ejus*, hoc est, *participes facti fuerint corporis ejus*, non habebunt vitam? His atque ejusmodi aliis, quæ nunc prætereo, testimoniis,—nonne

it proves what he intended to prove, and no more. It proves the necessity of *Baptism to life*; because the *incorporation* in Christ, upon which *life* depends, cannot so much as *commence* without it. It does not prove the like necessity of the *Eucharist*; because the *incorporation* required subsists *before* it, and *without* it, and, while not *impaired*, does not want to be *renewed* or *refreshed* by it: besides, that while a person, by virtue of *one* sacrament, is as completely partaker of *Christ* and the *Holy Spirit*, as he could be, in his circumstances, by *both*; he is supposed, in true and just construction, to have *both* sacraments in *one*.

To be short, St. Austin did not cite John vi. in order to prove that infants must *literally* partake of the *Eucharist*; but to prove that they must really have that *incorporation* which is *common* to *both* sacraments, and which, when once given in *Baptism*, and not impaired by any subsequent sins, makes them, to all real and salutary purposes, as much *partakers* of the *Lord's table*, and of all the *benefits* of it, as the participating of the *outward* Eucharist could do. *Literally* they have not *faith*; and yet they are of the number of the *faithful*: *literally* they exert no *repentance*; and yet they are considered as *repenting*<sup>s</sup>. Even so, and for the like reason, though *literally* they are not *communicants*; yet they are *considered* as such, and really are so in full *virtue* and *beneficial effects*. This principle St. Austin bare in mind, and constantly *supposed*, where he did not directly *say* it.

## II.

Having thus far cleared, as I conceive, St. Austin, the principal man, there will be the less need of saying any thing of those who followed him in the same argument; because they are all of them to be interpreted by the same rule, and must stand or fall with him. But because Pope Innocent I, Marius Mercator, Faustus Reiensis, Pope Gelasius I, and particularly Fulgentius, all within less than fourscore years of St. Austin,

veritas sine ulla ambiguitate proclamat, non solum in regnum Dei non baptizatos parvulos intrare non posse, sed nec vitam æternam posse habere præter Christi corpus, cui ut incorporantur, sacramento Baptismatis imbuuntur? *De Peccat. Merit.* lib. iii. c. 4. N. B. He here resolves the salvation or eternal life of *baptized* infants into their *incorporation*, (not

into their participating of the *Eucharist*.) even when he quotes John vi. among other texts, to prove it: and he, in the same breath, fully and expressly maintains, that infants, in and by *Baptism*, singly, obtain that *incorporation* to which eternal life is annexed.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Augustin. de Peccat. Merit. lib. i. c. 19.

have dropped some things to the like purpose, and may be of some use for further illustration, or confirmation of the same thing; I shall now proceed to consider them also, and in the same order as I have named them.

Pope Innocent I, in the year 417, (five years after St. Austin's first engaging the Pelagians in such manner as has been mentioned,) gives his thoughts upon this article, in a letter sent to the Council of Milevis then sitting upon the question. He, I say, in that letter, after quoting John vi. 53. to prove that infants can have *no life* without *Baptism*, proceeds thus: "They who maintain that infants have *life* without *regeneration*, seem to me to be disposed to make void even *Baptism* itself, by their asserting that such infants have that, which it is believed they cannot have *conferred* upon them any other way than by *Baptism*. If therefore their meaning is, that the want of *regeneration* is no *disadvantage*, they must of consequence say, that the sacred *waters* of regeneration are of no *advantage*." We may observe from this paragraph, that the *life* spoken of in John vi. (whatever sacrament may there be referred or alluded to,) is expressly declared to be *conferred in or by Baptism*. Suppose it to be given in the *Eucharist*; yet it is *first* given in *Baptism*, yea and in the *Eucharist* by *virtue* of *Baptism*: the argument turns upon that very supposition: from whence it is manifest, that our author conceived the *eucharistical* incorporation to be nothing more than the *baptismal* one *continued*, or *renewed*: consequently, if the *baptismal* one remained *entire*, and *unimpaired*, (as in *infants* it must,) there could be no need of the *Eucharist* to them; because their *Baptism* hitherto superseded it, or rather, virtually and eminently contained it.

For as *Baptism alone* was both *faith* and *repentance* to such infants, according to the principles of that age<sup>u</sup>; so was it likewise the *Eucharist* to them, for the same reason, and in the same way of favourable and natural construction.

<sup>t</sup> Illud vero quod eos vestra fraternitas asserit prædicare, parvulos æternæ vitæ præmiis sine baptismatis gratia posse donari, perfatum est: *Nisi enim manducaverint carnem Filii hominis, et biberint sanguinem ejus, non habebunt vitam in semetipsis. Qui autem hanc [i. e. vitam] eis sine regeneratione defendunt, videntur mihi*

ipsum Baptismum velle cassare, cum prædicant hos habere quod in eos creditur non nisi *Baptismate conferendum*. Si ergo nihil volunt officere non renasci, fateantur necesse est nec regenerationis sacra fluenta prodesse. *Innocent. Epist. apud Augustin.*

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Augustin. de Peccat. Merit. lib. i. c. 19, 27.



As Austin and Innocent both hit upon the same thought, and held a correspondence with each other; it has been made a question, which of them *first* suggested it, or which gave the first hint: but perhaps both might have borrowed it from St. Cyprian, who had made use of the same an hundred and fifty years before<sup>w</sup>. Cyprian at that time was aware, that John vi. did not so properly teach the necessity of the *outward Eucharist*, as the necessity of that *inward incorporation* with Christ, signified and exhibited in the Eucharist: which, being begun in *Baptism*, looked back to it, and resolved into it, and still rested in it, as in its proper seat: therefore, whatever is said in John vi. of the *necessity* of having *part* in Christ, in order to *life*, does, at the same time, proclaim the absolute *necessity* of having it in the *first instance*, viz. in *Baptism*, without which there can be no *second*. Wherefore Bede (who was a knowing Divine) understands John vi. 57. of what is common to *both sacraments* <sup>x</sup>.

Our next author to Innocent is Marius Mercator, contemporary with him, and joined in the same common cause against the Pelagians. He speaks highly of the graces and privileges of *Baptism*, as amounting to *salvation, redemption, and renovation*. Afterwards, quoting John vi. 53, which he appears to understand as belonging or alluding to the *Eucharist*, he takes notice, that without *Baptism*, no one *uses* that other sacrament, *nor is partaker* of it <sup>y</sup>: where he seems to distinguish between *using* that sacrament and *partaking* of it. Most certainly, no one *comes to the Eucharist* till he has been *baptized*, neither does he *savingly partake of it* (directly or indirectly, literally or interpretatively) without being first *regenerate* by *Baptism*: therefore, without all controversy, and beyond all pretence or evasion, an *unbaptized* infant *partakes not* of that sacrament in any sense, nor feeds upon the body or blood of Christ. Thus far was supposed

<sup>w</sup> Ad regnum Dei nisi baptizatus et renatus fuerit, pervenire non posse. In Evangelio cata Johannem: *Nisi quis renatus fuerit, &c. nisi ederitis carnem Filii hominis et biberitis sanguinem ejus, non habebitis vitam in vobis.* Cyprian. *Testimon.* lib. iii. c. 25. p. 314.

<sup>x</sup> Bed. in Genes. lib. i.

<sup>y</sup> Videamus Baptisma ipsum, cujus virtutis sit, quotve et quantas habeat vires, et effectuum causas. Dicit de illo Paulus Apostolus: *Qui nos redemit,*

*salvos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis.* Ergo, et salus, et redemptio, et renovatio est. Nullane ergo poena erit *non-baptizatis* parvulis, non habere salutem, redemptionem, renovationem? — Non manducare carnem Domini, et bibere sanguinem ejus? De quo sacramento vox Salvatoris est, *Nisi manducaveritis, &c.* Quod certe, sine ulla tergiversatione, sine *Baptismo* nullus *usurpat*, nec fit *illius particeps* sacramenti. Mercat. *Subnotat.* c. viii. p. 53.

clear and unquestionable; and it was sufficient to silence the Pelagians, with whom the author was concerned, and so he proceeded no further. But had the question been put, whether a *baptized* infant, as such, might be looked upon as a *partaker* of the *Eucharist*, *virtually* or *in effect*, being partaker of *salvation* and *redemption* in Christ; the author has left room enough for resolving the question in the *affirmative*; yea he has, by intimation and implication, so resolved it. Nestorius, in the same Mercator, does it more plainly and directly: for he asserts, that the *body* and *blood* of Christ do, *by Baptism*, (N. B.) loose the *penal* sentences, which stand in force against all the unregenerate<sup>z</sup>. What is this but saying, that infants, *in and by Baptism*, are *partakers* of Christ's *body* and *blood*, and so, in effect, are *communicants* without *literally* receiving the *outward* communion?

The Hypognosticon, which has sometimes been ascribed to St. Austin, is now believed by the best critics to belong to our Mercator. There we are told, that infants, born under defilement, are cleansed, *in Baptism*, by the *blood* of Christ<sup>a</sup>: consequently they are *partakers* of the *blood of Christ*, in and by *Baptism*. The same author, after quoting John vi. 53. to prove, against the Pelagians, that infants could not be *saved* without *Baptism*, asks, how they could have the *life of the kingdom of heaven*, without being born again of water and of the Spirit, being neither *fed with the flesh* of Christ, nor made to drink of his *blood shed for remission of sins*<sup>b</sup>? Had he intended this of their *literally* partaking of *both* sacraments, he must have denied the *sufficiency* of *Baptism alone* to *remission*: which would be flatly contradictory to his *express* doctrine in the passage before cited, and other places also of the same treatise<sup>c</sup>: therefore he must mean, that *Baptism alone* supplies all the uses of the *other* sacrament, making the person, for the time being, a *partaker* of

<sup>z</sup> — Auferet enim secum unusquisque (catechumenus) *penales sententias* adversum naturam prolatas. Non enim factus est particeps *corporis* ejus et *sanguinis*, qui *per Baptismum* has sententias solvit, &c. *Mar. Mer.* p. 77.

<sup>a</sup> Hoc cœno peccati, quo nascuntur squalidi, ut in regnum cœlorum ingrediantur immaculati, immaculato, *per Baptismum*, sanguine Christi mundantur. *Hypognost.* lib. v. c. 2. p. 37. *Augustin.* Opp. tom. x.

<sup>b</sup> Quomodo igitur vitam regni cœlorum promittitis parvulis non renatis ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non *cibatis carne*, neque *potatis sanguine Christi*, qui fusus est in remissionem peccatorum? *Hypognost.* lib. v. c. 5. p. 40.

<sup>c</sup> Omnino in remissionem peccatorum baptizantur et parvuli: alioquin non habebunt in regno cœlorum *vitam*. *Dimittitur* enim eis regeneratione spiritali quod traxerunt, ut sæpe dixi, ex *Adam* generatione carnali. *Cap. viii.* p. 42.

the *body* and of the *blood* of Christ: and indeed he almost says it in terms, when he says of such infants, that they are *baptized* in the *blood* of Christ<sup>d</sup>, and at the same time calls *Baptism* their *drink*.

Faustus Reiensis, supposed to be the author that goes under the name of Eusebius Emisenus, argues against the Pelagians from John vi. 53. much after the same way, and is to be interpreted by the same rules<sup>e</sup>. As I have nothing very particular to observe from him, it may suffice just to have mentioned him in his turn. He flourished about A. D. 472.

Pope Gelasius flourished in the close of the same century, about A. D. 492. He reinforces the same argument for the necessity of *Infant Baptism*, drawn from John vi. 53. insisting upon it, that infants cannot have *life* without *eating* Christ's *flesh* and *drinking* his *blood*; nor so *eat* and *drink*, unless *baptized*. He may be understood of *spiritual feeding*, abstracted from the *Eucharist*. For he does not say, that they must so eat and drink *in the Eucharist*: but he asserts, that infants obtain life *by their Baptism*, and that they are translated to God's right hand by *sacred regeneration*<sup>f</sup>. This is too much for him to have said, had he thought that the *actual use* of both sacraments had been as *necessary as one*: but if the *prime* sacrament, in such a case, was thought to be *equivalent to both*, or eminently to *contain both*, then all is rational and right.

We may now come down to Fulgentius, at the head of the next century. He indeed was the first man who spake clearly,

<sup>d</sup> Attende edictui ejus: *Non opus est sanis medicus, sed male habentibus. Et adversus eum falsum de parvulis dicere conticesce, qui eis potum, non sanis, sed ægrotantibus Baptismum in suo sanguine procuravit. Hypognost. c. viii. p. 42.*

<sup>e</sup> Nisi manducaveritis, &c. Quod testimonium contra Pelagii blasphemias evidentissimum atque validissimum est, qui asserere arrepta impietate præsumit, non *propter vitam*, sed *propter regnum cælorum* Baptismum parvulis conferendum. Sub his enim Dei verbis, quibus Evangelista pronuntiat, non habebitis *vitam* in vobis, aperte intelligenda est omnis anima munere *Baptismi* vacua, non solum gloria carere, sed *vita*. *Faust. Regiens. in Pasc. Hom. v. p. 267.*

<sup>f</sup> Quia *propria* non habent ulla

peccata, constat eis sola prorsus *originalia* relaxari. Itaque omnibus, etiam solis, remissis, vitam *per Baptismum* consequuntur æternam, &c. — Unde et Dominus ait, (quod utique nisi *baptizatis* convenit,) *Qui non manducaverit, &c. De vita æterna* hoc dictum nullus addubitat, quoniam multi non manducantes *hoc sacramentum* vitam habere videantur præsentem. Nihil est ergo quod dicant quod *non renati* infantes tantummodo in *regnum cælorum* ire non valeant; — dum sine *Baptismate corpus et sanguinem* Christi nec edere valeant, nec potare, sine autem hoc *vitam* in semetipsis habere non possint. — *Baptizatos* sinant ad dextram salutarem *sacra regeneratione transferri. Gelas. apud Harduin. Concil. tom. ii. p. 890.*

fully, and distinctly to the point now in hand, having a particular occasion for so doing. The difficulty had not been started before: or there had appeared no difficulty in it, among such as understood the prevailing principles of former times. However, in Fulgentius's days, Ferrandus, one of his *deacons*, had proposed a scruple to Fulgentius, about the *necessity* or *use* of the *Eucharist* to those who had been *baptized*; desiring to know whether, if any died immediately after *Baptism*, and before they could receive the *Eucharist*, they incurred *any* damage, or *none*; and if any, *how much*, or *what*.

Fulgentius, without the least scruple or hesitation, immediately solved his doubt, by telling him, that from the moment any person was *baptized*, he was *ipso facto* a communicant, a *partaker* of the *bread* of the *Eucharist*, as he was a *member* of the *body* signified in it, and as he was himself a *part* of that very *body*, and of that very *sacrifice* there offered; meaning the collective *body* of true *Christians*. This he declares to be the doctrine of the *holy Fathers* before him, which they had believed and taught as an *unquestionable* verity<sup>h</sup>. He goes on to confirm the same from a whole sermon of St. Austin himself<sup>i</sup>. From hence we may clearly perceive how to reconcile the more obscure passages of St. Austin, or other *Fathers*, so as to make their *standing doctrine* of the *sufficiency of Baptism* perfectly consistent with what they have been thought to teach of the *necessity of Infant Communion*. They did not mean (as indeed they did never say) that *baptized* infants must presently be admitted to the Lord's table, or must receive the consecrated *bread* or *wine*: all they really meant was, that *unbaptized* infants must have *Baptism*, must have *regeneration*, in order to *incorporate* them

§ Petimus ut veloci responsione nos instruas, *utrum noceat, quantum noceat*, an omnino *nihil noceat*, si quis *baptizatus* in nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis, sacro cibo *potuque* fraudetur. Ferrand. ad Fulgent. p. 215.

<sup>h</sup> Tunc incipit unusquisque *particeps* esse illius unius *panis*, quando cœperit *membrum* esse illius unius corporis, quod in singulis membris, quando in Baptismo capiti Christo subjungitur, tunc jam Deo *viva hostia* veraciter immolatur. Illo enim *nativitatis* munere sic fit *sacrificium* sicut fit et *templum*. Qui ergo *membrum* corporis Christi fit, quomodo non ac-

cipit quod ipse fit, quando utique illius fit *verum* corporis *membrum*, cujus corporis est in sacrificio sacramentum? Hoc ergo fit ille *regeneratione* sancti Baptismatis, quod est de sacrificio sumpturus altaris. Quod etiam sanctos patres *indubitanter credidisse et docuisse* cognoscimus. Beatus etiam Augustinus de hac re sermonem fecit admodum luculentum, &c. Fulgent. ad Ferrand. p. 226.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Augustin. serm. cclxxii. p. 1103. tom. v. edit. Bened. conf. serm. cccxvii. p. 973. et serm. ccxxix. p. 977.

into Christ's body, and to make them truly *partakers* of his *flesh* and *blood*. Being once *so regenerate*, and *so incorporate*, they were *communicants* of course, in *construction* of *Gospel-law*, and in *Church account*, as much as if they had *literally* received the *holy Communion*.

Fulgentius therefore concludes his epistle with these excellent words: "No one ought to entertain any the least doubt, but that every one of the faithful is then made a *partaker* of the Lord's *body* and *blood*, when he is made a *member* of Christ's body in *Baptism*. Neither can he be thought *no sharer* in the [sacramental] *bread* and *cup*, though he should depart this life before he eats of that bread, or drinks of that cup; provided only that he retains his *union* with Christ's body: for he is not without a *partnership* in that sacrament, or without the *benefit* of it, so long as he is himself that *very thing* which the sacrament *imports*<sup>k</sup>."

This resolution of Fulgentius may be sufficient to end all dispute on this head; considering how *clear* and how *peremptory* it is, and given in the name of the *holy Father* before him; considering likewise, how *knowing* and how *eminent* a personage he was, how near to St. Austin's days, and how great an admirer of him and his writings; an African also, and the *mouth*, as it were, of all the African churches in his time.

I am aware that endeavours have been used to elude the force of his testimony<sup>l</sup>. But the pretences are slight and trivial, mostly built upon misconception and misrepresentation<sup>m</sup>, as every discerning reader will perceive upon the slightest examination: and therefore I shall spare myself the trouble of confuting or reciting them<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Nec cuiquam esse aliquatenus ambigendum tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis sanguinisque Domini participem fieri quando in Baptismate membrum corporis Christi efficitur: nec alienari ab illo panis calicisve consortio, etiamsi antequam panem illum comedat, et calicem bibat, de hoc sæculo, in unitate corporis Christi constitutus, abscedat. Sacramenti quippe illius participatione et beneficio non privatur, quando ipse hoc quod illud sacramentum significat, invenitur. *Fulgentii. ibid.* p. 227, 228.

<sup>l</sup> Whitby, *Strictur. Patr.* p. 214. Bingham, *xv.* 4, 7.

<sup>m</sup> It is strangely mistaking him, to say he resolved the case into the necessity of it, or *unavoidable impediment*, (such as in which the ancients judged favourably of the want, even of *Baptism* itself,) when he so plainly resolves it into quite another principle, viz. that infants *baptized* are by their *Baptism* communicants in *just construction*, and real effect, as therein *partaking of Christ*, of his *body* and *blood*, yea and of his *table*.

<sup>n</sup> Bede's construction of John vi. 53. may give some light to Fulgentius. Nemo absque hujus [sacramenti] consortio, vitæ consors possit esse

III.

I have now pursued this matter down from the beginning of the *fifth century* to the beginning of the *sixth*: so it rested, as I apprehend, till the *dark ages* came on; till the close of the *eighth century*, or the opening of the *ninth*. Then began some variation in this matter; when the *ancient* principles might easily be forgotten, or else be misunderstood. From that time we may date the *first rise* of the doctrine of the *strict necessity* of *Infant Communion*. About the year 794, there are some appearances of such a notion's beginning to prevail<sup>o</sup>: but in the century next following, it made great advances; when it came to be a rule, that a *Presbyter* should have the Eucharist *always ready*, to give to *infants*, either as soon as baptized, or when in danger of death<sup>p</sup>; and that if a Bishop were not present to *confirm* a child immediately upon *Baptism*, the officiating Priest should not wait, but should directly give him the *Communion*<sup>q</sup>. These and the like rules were plain indications of such a notion's prevailing in the Latin churches of those times. And one may draw a good presumptive argument from thence, that no such principle had obtained in the *earlier* ages, because no such *rules* were then thought on, so far as appears<sup>r</sup>. One may observe, by the reasons given in the ninth century, and after, for *Infant Commu-*

perennis: *Nisi enim manducaveritis*, &c. Bed. in Genes. lib. iii. in Gen. xiv. 18, 19, 20. No one can *have part* in eternal life, without *having part* in that sacrament. So far is certain. But then it is to be considered, that every *baptized* person, who has not forfeited nor impaired his Baptism, continually has *part in*, or *partakes* of the Lord's table: he is a communicant *in right*, and in *real effect*, without any thing more. He is a *guest* of that table, in the same sense as he is a *citizen* of heaven.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Caroli M. Capit. prolix. de non adorand. Imagin. lib. ii. c. 27. A. D. 757.

<sup>p</sup> Semper Eucharistiam presbyter habeat paratam ut quando quis infirmatus fuerit, aut parvulus ægrotaverit, statim eum *communicet*, ne sine *viatico* moriatur. *Walt. Aurelian.* c. vii. p. 461. *Harduin. Concil.* tom. v. Conf. Regino. lib. i. c. 69. p. 57. *Ivon. Decret.* part. ii. c. 20. *Burchard.* lib. v. c. 10. Vid. etiam

*Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* tom. i. p. 160, 162. tom. iii. p. 548. *Baluz. Not. ad Reginon.* p. 551. *Bingham,* xv. 4, 7.

<sup>q</sup> Postea vestiatur infans vestimentis suis. Si vero Episcopus adest, statim confirmari eum oportet chrismate, et postea *communicare*: et si Episcopus deest, *communicetur* a Presbytero. *Pseud. Alcuin. Offic. de Sabbat. Pasch.* p. 259. *Conf. Martene,* tom. i. p. 192, 195, 197.

<sup>r</sup> So far from it, that the ancients made no provision for the *Eucharist* (like as for *Baptism*) in extreme cases; never allowed any *deacon*, much less a *laic*, to administer. They suffered many to die without *confirmation*, in country villages, and so of course without the *Eucharist*, (to which confirmation ought to be *previous*;) apprehending no danger to the *salvation* of infants by those neglects. *Vid. Hieron. Dialog. contr. Lucifer.* c. 4. *Conf. Concil. Eliberit. can. lxxvii.*

nion, that the advocates for it were far gone off from the *ancient* principles of the Church, and particularly from those of St. Austin. For instance, Jesse, Bishop of Amiens, about A. D. 814, insists upon communion, that the infant may become a *member of Christ*<sup>s</sup>: and Rabanus Maurus, A. D. 847. requires the same, that the child may thereby become the *temple* of God<sup>t</sup>: both which effects were sufficiently provided for by *Baptism* alone, according to St. Austin and all the *ancient Fathers*. No wonder therefore, if a *wrong practice* came in, when once men had forgotten the *old and right principles*. How long, or how far the doctrine of the *necessity* of *Infant Communion* prevailed in the west does not certainly appear<sup>u</sup>. Archbishop Lanfranc, of the eleventh century, A. D. 1073, *disowned* it, declaring it no doctrine of the English or foreign *churches*: and he scrupled not to argue against it from *scripture* and *reason*, and likewise from St. Austin's principles<sup>w</sup>.

The Greeks had not yet come into the notion of the strict *necessity* of *Infant Communion*; if we may judge by the rule of Christodulus, Patriarch of Alexandria in the eleventh century, A. D. 1048; which was, that, ordinarily, communion should be administered to infants along with Baptism; but that, in *cases* of *extremity*, Baptism *only* should be given, *without the Eucharist*<sup>x</sup>: from which we may reasonably infer, that the Greeks of that time did not think (whatever others may have thought since) that *Baptism* and the *Eucharist* were of *equal* necessity: for, had they so conceived, they would have contrived, some way or other, to administer *both* together to every *dying* infant. The more *modern Greeks* of the fourteenth century, and downwards, have pleaded warmly for *Infant Communion*, and the *necessity* of it, in their disputes with the Latins<sup>y</sup>; grounding their doctrine upon John vi. 53. rigorously interpreted: and yet they know very well how to explain that text to a *virtual*, not *literal* communion,

<sup>s</sup> Ut Christi membrum esse possit. *Jesse Ambianens. apud Baluz. in Not. ad Regin. p. 552.*

<sup>t</sup> Ut Deum habere mereatur in se habitorem. *Raban. Maur. de Instit. Cleric. c. xxviii.*

<sup>u</sup> It is thought to have continued in some churches to the twelfth or thirteenth century. See Bingham, xv. 4, 7. Calvoer. Ritual. Eccles. tom. i. p. 306.

<sup>w</sup> Lanfranc, Ep. ad Donat. p. 361.

<sup>x</sup> Quando *infanti* Baptismus administratur, jejunos erit, &c. neque absque communione licet Baptismum administrare. Hæc autem intelligenda sunt juxta alios canones multos, nempe si *periculum mortis* non urgeat: tunc enim, non modo licet, sed præcipitur administrare Baptismum absque Eucharistia. *Renaudot. Histor. Patriarch. Alex. p. 423.*

<sup>y</sup> Vid. Arcudius, p. 45—50, 324.

as often as they have a mind to prove from the same text, that *saints departed* were *communicants* of the altar<sup>z</sup>. I shall say nothing of the *present* practice of the Greek or Oriental churches; because it would lead me too far, to do it distinctly; and a confused general account would be of no use. Enough has been said to shew, that the *necessity* of *Infant Communion* has not the countenance of *antiquity*: the rest is of small moment, in comparison.

IV.

I intend not, however, by any thing which I have here said, to deny that the *ancients* admitted persons much *younger* to communion, than is now commonly done in these western parts of the world. All I insist upon is, that they gave not the communion to *mere infants*, but to *children*, perhaps five, six, seven, or ten years old; and that under a notion of prudent *caution*, rather than of *strict necessity*, so far as appears.

Cyprian (about A. D. 250) speaks of a young girl's receiving the *Eucharist*<sup>a</sup>: but learned men<sup>b</sup> observe, that she might be, or probably was, four or five years old: others dispute the probability, thinking she was not so old, but a mere infant<sup>c</sup>: whatever the case was, it was a *single instance*, so far as appears, and of one *particular church*, the church of Carthage; and it is not said upon *what principle* such practice was founded.

The Constitutions, called Apostolical, twice make mention of *children*, as receiving the *Communion*<sup>d</sup>. They were *children*, *παιδιά*, not *mere infants*, not *νήπιοι*. They might be seven or ten years old, or older: from whence an argument may be drawn, that the *infants* did not communicate; since they are not so much as named in this particular recital.

Timothy, Bishop of Alexandria, in his Canonical Answers, about A. D. 380, puts the case of a lad of *seven* years old, a *catechumen*, being present at the *oblation*, and eating of it through ignorance; and he determines, that such lad, so receiving, should immediately be *baptized*<sup>e</sup>. One may reasonably from thence conjecture, that *seven* years of age was then thought

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Nicol. Cabasilas Exposit. Liturgiæ, c. xlii. p. 253. in Biblioth. Patr. tom. ii. ed. Paris. And compare Arcudius.

<sup>a</sup> Cyprian, de Lapsis, p. 132.

<sup>b</sup> Wall, Hist. of Infant Bapt. part ii. c. ix. n. 15. Zornius, Opusc.

Sacr. tom. i. p. 735.

<sup>c</sup> Peirce, Essay on Infant Communion, p. 38, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Constit. Apostol. lib. viii. c. 12. p. 403. c. 13. p. 409.

<sup>e</sup> Timoth. Alexandr. apud Harduin. Concil.



an age proper for receiving. For how could such a lad steal in and receive, if other lads of his size or years did not then come to the Lord's table? One may further perhaps infer, that *that* was the *lowest* age then and there approved of for the Communion: for otherwise, why should he so particularly have mentioned *that* age, or why should he not have made the same rule for lads of four, five, or six years old, had any come to Communion so young in that Church?

Pope Leo (about A. D. 440) speaks of communicating *infants*: but by his account of them, they were old enough to make their responses, to say *Amen*, if not more<sup>f</sup>.

Dionysius so called (probably Petrus Fullos, who lived about A. D. 480,) is supposed to speak of the Communion as given to *children*<sup>h</sup>: but an attentive reader will see reason to believe that the whole passage is to be understood of *Baptism* only<sup>i</sup>.

Gennadius Massiliensis mentions *children* as admitted to *communion*, after returning from heretical assemblies to the Church: and he would have others *answer* for them with respect to their *faith*. He lays down the same rule for *adults* in that case, if slow of understanding<sup>k</sup>. So that the *parvuli*, the *children*, of whom he speaks, might be seven or ten years old, if not more: for boys of that age might not be capable of giving any rational, satisfactory account of their *faith*, in disputed articles.

Gregory of Tours (about A. D. 573) tells us a story of an *infant Jew* who happened to receive the *Eucharist* among the *Christian* children, communicants<sup>l</sup>. The story perhaps is fabulous: but his manner of telling it is an argument of the *practice* of his own time. However, that child which he speaks of was supposed to be old enough to make a report of what had been done, and therefore was not a mere infant.

The eleventh Council of Toledo (A. D. 673) has been sometimes cited in favour of the practice of *Infant Communion*; where, in mitigation of a former canon, (which had laid the censure of excommunication upon those who did not eat and drink the elements, when administered,) they provided a salvo

<sup>f</sup> Leo, epist. xlix. p. 518. tom. i. edit. Quenell.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Lequien, Dissertat. Damas. cen. p. 43.

<sup>h</sup> Dionysiaster. Eccles. Hierarch. c. vii. n. 11. p. 417.

<sup>i</sup> Conf. Pseudo-Justin. Quæstion. ad Orthodox. 375, 376. and Vasquez, tom. iii. p. 337.

<sup>k</sup> Gennadius Massil. Dogm. c. xxii.

<sup>l</sup> Gregor. Turon. p. 732. ed. Bened. Niceph. l. xvii. c. 25.

or exception for persons under sickness, or under a state of *infancy*: but I leave it to the learned to consider whether the words may not rather be understood of *adult* persons, who might happen to be *speechless* through some disease, and so not able to give account of themselves, during that exigency: for it would be strange to imagine or suspect that any *mere infants* should be excommunicated.

Bede, in the year 734, speaks of *boys* and *girls* coming to communion, and both approves and advises it<sup>m</sup>: but he says not a word of *mere infants*: which yet he could not well have omitted on that occasion, had it been the practice of his time, or had he entertained any notion of the strict *necessity* of *Infant Communion*.

The Gregorian Sacramentary does indeed speak very plainly of *Infant Communion*<sup>n</sup>: and so likewise does the *Ordo Romanus*<sup>o</sup>: but both those offices, considered as *interpolated*, and according to the state they now appear in, may reasonably be judged to bear date no earlier than the decline of the eighth century, or beginning of the ninth, if so early<sup>p</sup>. By that time, it is granted, *Infant Communion* had crept in, and under a persuasion of its *necessity*, founded upon John vi. taken together with some passages of the *ancients* misunderstood.

The sum is, that the *early ages* did give the Communion, not to *mere infants*, but to *children* of *ten* years old, or perhaps *seven*; scarcely to any younger; unless we may except the single instance reported by Cyprian. I mention *ten years old*; because that was the age pitched upon as the most likely for children, ordinarily, to become guilty of *actual* sin, or for sin to be *imputed*<sup>q</sup>. I mention *seven*; because some children (of better education, or riper capacity) might even at that age be thought capable of sin: or that age might be pitched upon for the greater caution and security: such seems to have been the rule

<sup>m</sup> Bedæ Epist. ad Ecgbert. p. 311. edit. Cant.

<sup>n</sup> Pontifex redit in sacrarium, expectans ut cum vestiti fuerint *infantes*, confirmet eos, qui etiam non prohibentur *lactari* ante sacram communionem. *Gregor. Sacram.* lib. i. c. 20.

<sup>o</sup> Illud autem de parvulis providendum est, ut postquam baptizati fuerint, nullum cibum accipiant, nec

*lactentur* antequam communicent sacramenta corporis Christi. *Ordo Rom.* I. p. 28. in *Mabillon. Mus. Ital.* tom. ii. Conf. Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. i. p. 177, 179, 180, 181, 198.

<sup>p</sup> See Dodwell, of Incensing, n. 55. p. 218. Dallæus, de Confirmat. p. 377. Oudin, tom. i. p. 1818.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Timoth. Alex. Canonic. Respons. Conf. Martene de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. tom. i. p. 431.

formerly in the Church of Alexandria: as I have before hinted, and of some Latins in later times<sup>r</sup>: and such is the rule of the Muscovites at this day<sup>s</sup>; derived, very probably, from *ancient* tradition. For though the *ancients* constantly maintained the *sufficiency* of *Baptism* to the *salvation* of *infants*; yet they extended it not beyond the time of their *infancy*, or *nonage*; conceiving it to hold certainly while such children should be incapable of *actual* sin, or *grievous* sin, and no longer<sup>t</sup>: so that as soon as a child should arrive to the age at which sins are imputable, they might think the use of the *other* sacrament *necessary*, or at least *expedient* and *safe*. The doctrine of our Church is: that "it is certain by God's word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved<sup>u</sup>:" in which words the *undoubted sufficiency* of *Baptism* is extended no further than to the time of committing *actual* sin. The *sufficiency* of *Baptism*, while it excludes the *necessity* of *Infant communion*, is no argument by itself against a more *early* communion than is now in practice amongst us: so that the *ancients* were very consistent in not admitting *Infant Communion* properly so called, but withal admitting *children* of six, seven, or ten years of age to the Lord's table.

However, it is certain that they did not, could not proceed upon John vi. in such their practice: for had they founded it upon verse 53, rigorously interpreted, they must have given the communion even to *mere infants*, as the Greeks of late times have done<sup>w</sup>. The *ancients* seem to have founded their practice

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Martene, Anecdot. tom. iv. p. 712, 1082. Apostol. Const. lib. vii. c. 25. p. 374.

<sup>s</sup> Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 182, 238. Brerewood, p. 167.

<sup>t</sup> See St. Austin above, p. 6. The same principle obtained down to the ninth century, as appears from Strabo, de Reb. Eccl. c. vi.

<sup>u</sup> Rubrick at the end of the Office of Public Baptism of Infants. N. B. This Rubrick in King Edward's First Book ran thus: "And that no man shall think, that any detriment shall come to children by differring of their *confirmation*, he shall know for truth, that it is certain by God's word, that children being *baptized* (if they depart out of this life in

their *infancy*), are undoubtedly saved." In King Edward's Second Book it ran thus: "It is certain by God's word, that children being baptized have all things necessary for their salvation, and be undoubtedly saved." At the Restoration it was altered to what it now is, amounting to the same in sense with what it first was.

<sup>w</sup> Nic. Cabasilas of the fourteenth century, Simeon Thessalonicensis of the fifteenth, and others of the sixteenth, are cited in Arcudius de Concord. Eccl. p. 45, &c. 324, &c. Compare Gabriel Sionita in Leo Allatius, p. 1667. Smith's Account of the Greek Church, p. 161. Simon's Crit. Hist. p. 5, 6, 13. Covel, p. 186.

upon *prudential* reasons, or general reasons of *edification*, pursuant to Christian principles. They *knew* that *children* were *safe* in their *Baptism*, while guilty of no *actual* sins: they *knew not* so certainly whether they were *secure* after committing sins, without *repentance* and the *Eucharist* besides: they chose what they thought was *safest* and *best*: upon that principle, *probably*, (for I have no clear and certain authorities for it,) they gave the Communion to *children*, at such an age as I have before mentioned.

V.

Now, if it should be asked, whether we at this day may not be obliged to do the same? I take leave to answer as follows:

1. Scripture hath not precisely determined, at *what age* a person should first be admitted to communion. 2. There is no *example* of admitting young *children* to it, till the time of Cyprian, the middle of the *third century*: and it might be much later, before the practice became general. 3. If the practice was founded (as probably it was) upon this principle; that as soon as *Baptism* became *impaired*, the use of the *Eucharist* ought to come in as *subsidiary*, or *supplemental* to it; it was a principle of weight, but not *certain* enough to create any *strict obligation*: for since *Baptism* hath its *federal* effect all along, who can presume to say, that the *Baptism preceding*, and the *repentance subsequent*, may not be *sufficient* for *remission*, till such time as children grow up to riper age, so as to be better qualified for *self-examination*, and for *discerning* the *Lord's body* in the holy Communion? 4. Since the question seems to turn chiefly upon the *expediency* of the thing, and since *expediency* is known to vary with times and circumstances; it seems to be mostly left to the *wisdom* and *integrity* of church governors, to determine, in every church, what shall be judged, upon the whole, most for the honour of God, and the interests of true religion, and the good of souls. Much may be pleaded, on the foot of *expediency*, for the *ancient* practice<sup>x</sup>: much also may be pleaded, on the same foot of *expediency*, for the *modern* usage<sup>y</sup>. A multitude of circumstances must be taken into account, in order to form a

<sup>x</sup> See Bishop Taylor's *Worthy Communicant*, chap. iii. sect. 2. p. 142, &c. Peirce's *Essay*, part iv. p. 171, &c.

<sup>y</sup> See Bishop Taylor, *ibid.* p. 147.

*Suicer. Thesaur.* tom. ii. p. 1139. Bingham, xv. 4, 7. Arcudius, de *Concord. Eccl.* p. 44. Towerson on the *Sacraments*, p. 282.

clear judgment upon the whole: and therefore, as I before hinted, it seems to be a matter properly lodged with the church governours; whose directions therein are the safest rule for private Christians to be guided by, and to submit to without hesitation or scruple. The *ancients* expressed their *reverence* for the sacrament in a way suitable, perhaps, to their circumstances: the *moderns* may express *no less reverence* for the same sacrament in a way somewhat different, as circumstances are also different. It is sufficient to have shewn, that the *ancients* did not practise *Infant Communion*, properly so called, at all; nor give the Communion to *children* under a notion of such strict *necessity* as hath been pretended. They had their *prudential* reasons for their practice in their times; and we also have the like *prudential* reasons for a *different* practice in ours.

## VI.

Before I take leave of the subject, it may not be improper to take some notice of the conduct of the *Romanists* with relation to the charge made against the *ancients*; as likewise of the conduct of the *Protestants* in relation to the same charge: because, as I conceive, neither of them have been so careful to do the *ancients* justice in this article, as might have been expected or desired.

The *Romanists*, for the sake of two great Popes, Innocent and Gelasius, and for the honour of the Trent Council, are obliged, in a manner, to acquit the *ancients* of teaching the *necessity* of *Infant Communion*: and therefore several very learned writers<sup>z</sup> amongst them have particularly laboured in this article, to take off the injurious imputation. Nevertheless, they appear but faint or lame advocates in this cause; not maintaining it to advantage, or not upon right principles; because they are perplexed with another cause, wherein they think it concerns them to extol the *Eucharist* very highly, derogating as much from the *other sacrament*. They cannot bear to be told, that *Baptism* carries in it all the *spiritual graces* and *privileges* which the *Eucharist* can be supposed to do; or that it is as properly a *sacrifice* as the *Eucharist* is; or that it makes a person *partaker*

<sup>z</sup> Arcudius, de Sacram. Euchar. lib. iii. c. 45. p. 344, &c. Bona de Reb. Liturg. lib. ii. c. 19. p. 711. Noris, Vindic. Augustin. c. iv. p. 71. item p. 167. Natalis Alexand. tom. iii. sect. 2. dissert. 16. p. 549. item tom.

v. p. 129. The Benedictine Editors of St. Austin, tom. x. Theol. Lovaniens. Augustin. Opp. tom. vii. p. 189. in Annot. Vasquez. in 3 Thom. Diap. 214. c. 4. sect. 35, 36.

of the *body and blood* of Christ, for the time being, as much as the *Eucharist* does. These are all true and sound principles; and upon these principles the *ancients* maintained the *sufficiency* of *Baptism*, in opposition to any supposed *necessity* of *Infant Communion*: but as the present *Romanists* cannot go so far, without risking the credit of *transubstantiation*, which they are strangely fond of; they cannot make so clear, or open, or full defence of the *Fathers* in this article, as might be wished. Maldonate<sup>a</sup>, for his part, was content to give them up in this point, for the sake of establishing his own construction of John vi. And a late zealous defender of *transubstantiation*, finding that the high notions of the *efficacy* of *Baptism* stood in his way, has been pleased to insinuate, that what the *ancients* have so frequently inculcated in favour of *one* sacrament, was to be understood of *both* sacraments in conjunction<sup>b</sup>; and thus he hoped to get clear of the plain and full testimonies pleaded by the learned and judicious Albertinus<sup>c</sup>. This new turn may indeed serve the *Romish cause* in one branch of controversy; but it is betraying it in another, wherein the credit of Pope Innocent, and of Pope Gelasius, and of the decrees of the Trent Council appear nearly concerned: for unless the *Fathers* really taught the *sufficiency* of *Baptism* alone, to such purposes as have been mentioned, there is no effectual way of clearing the *Fathers* from the charge of maintaining the *necessity* of *Infant Communion*; though the Trent Council hath affirmed that they stand clear of it.

As to *Protestants*, I cannot say that they have conducted always unexceptionably in this article: for though, in the controversy about the *Eucharist*, they have constantly pleaded the authority of the *ancients*, as to making *Baptism* *equivalent* to the *Eucharist* in all respects, or in some respects more considerable, which is so far right; yet, for the sake of overthrowing *Papal infallibility* they have sometimes been too willing to give up Innocent and Gelasius, (and with them St. Austin also, and other *ancients*<sup>d</sup>,) with respect to the *necessity* of *Infant Communion*: which, in effect, seems to be pulling down with one hand what they build with the other. Either let the *ancients* be

<sup>a</sup> Maldonat. in Johan. vi. 53. p. 1486, 1487, 1488. Bapt. part ii. c. 9. and Bingham, xv. 4, 7. But Thorndike thought more

<sup>b</sup> Touttaei Dissertat. Præv. in justly of the *Fathers* in this article, Cyrill. Hieros. p. 192, 206, 208. Epilog. p. 176. De Jur. finiend. Controv. p. 285.

<sup>c</sup> Albertin. de Eucharist.

<sup>d</sup> So Dr. Wall, Hist. of Infant

allowed to speak fully up to the *sufficiency* of *Baptism* ; and then they add much weight to the *Protestant* cause in the controversy about the *Eucharist* : or, if they were weak enough to assert the *necessity* of *Infant Communion*, let them not be called in to prove that *Baptism* amounted to *spiritual sacrifice*, or that it was the same thing, in effect, with *feeding* upon the *body* and *blood* of Christ. There is no maintaining *both* parts, no reconciling both ends of a contradiction. *One* of the positions, as they confront each other, must be given up ; and I am willing to hope enough hath been said to determine impartial judges, *which* to give up, and *which* to retain.

**LETTERS**  
**ON**  
**LAY-BAPTISM.**





DR. WATERLAND'S  
FIRST LETTER ON LAY-BAPTISM.

To the Rev. Mr. P——, Rector of L——.

*M. C. October 29, 1713.*

REVEREND SIR,

I HUMBLY thank you for your very obliging letter, wherein you do me too much honour, to suppose me either equal to so large and difficult a subject, or able to hold the argument, however just and good, against the ingenious and learned Mr. ——.

Nevertheless I should think myself very happy, could my affairs permit me to accept of your kind invitation, because I am sure the conversation of two such worthy persons could not but be both agreeable and edifying; and if I should lose my cause, I should still be a gainer. However, till opportunity favours me with what I much wish for, be pleased to take a few thoughts in writing, as they occur to me amidst a crowd of other business, and to excuse either the inaccuracy of style and method, or any hasty slips of a running pen.

I am not at all surprised at Mr. Kelsall's judgment on the case. It is not very long since I was myself of the same opinion, being led to it, as I suppose he may, partly by the good-nature of it, and partly by the authority of great names, as the Bishops of Sarum and Oxford, &c. besides some passages of antiquity

not well understood ; and I was pleased, I confess, to see all, as I thought, confirmed by Mr. Bingham's Scholastical History of Lay-Baptism. But second thoughts and further views have given a turn to my judgment, and robbed me of a pleasing error, as I must now call it, which I was much inclined to embrace for a truth, and could yet wish that it were so.

The arguments or scruples mentioned in your letter have all, besides many more, been considered, canvassed, answered, carefully, solidly, and, in my humble opinion, fully and completely. If Mr. Kelsall had seen Mr. Lawrence's Answer to Mr. Bingham, I hardly think he could despise that gentleman's learning or judgment. But I must have a care of being too positive, lest I should seem too far to trust *my own*, or to pay too little deference to *his*, which I have a great value and veneration for.

I have sent what papers I had by me relating to the controversy. And some I had lent out, otherwise you would have had all.

It were needless for me to say any thing in the cause, after what hath been said infinitely better : only to give you a little present ease, till you can have leisure to peruse the whole controversy, I shall venture to offer a few things about it.

The cause depends upon scripture, antiquity, and reason.

I. As to scripture, it is confessed that it confines the administration of Baptism to the Clergy, as much as it does any other of the *sacerdotal powers*. The commission is plain and clear, and certainly leaves no more room for Lay-Baptism than for Lay-ordination, Lay-absolution, Lay-consecration of the Eucharist, Lay-preaching, and praying. If therefore we take the liberty of going from the institution in one case, we may as reasonably do it in all, supposing the like necessity. And yet scripture hath no where intimated that we may do it in any ; but has rather taught us by some severe examples, as in the case of Saul and Uzza, that positive ministrations, confined by the institution of them to certain rules or persons, must rather be left unperformed, than performed irregularly.

This perhaps you will grant, but still will insist upon it, that they are valid to the *recipients*, though against rules and orders : and here the maxim, *quod fieri non debuit factum valet*, is brought in to confirm it, and the instance in the case of marriage is also thought to be pertinently alleged, as if the case were parallel. But to all this it is answered :

1. That the maxim mentioned is true only of *errors in circumstantials*, not of *errors in essentials*. Suppose a man to marry his sister, or a second wife while the first is living : here is an error in *essentials*, and the fact is null and void, notwithstanding the maxim, *quod fieri*, &c.

2. It is asserted, that though the minister be not essential to marriage, yet to Baptism he is. In marriage it is *decent* that it be done by a Priest or Deacon, in Baptism it is *necessary*. Marriage is a covenant between the two parties : its essence is their mutual contract, the minister is a circumstance only. Baptism implies a covenant between God and man ; its essence is their mutual contract in such manner and form as is appointed. The administrator acts for God, and in God's name, which none can do without commission from him. Such commission therefore is *essential* ; and without it the whole is void, as much as if I should pretend to act in the queen's name without order or warrant, to levy soldiers, naturalize strangers, or any thing of like nature. All would be null and void, and the maxim of *quod fieri*, &c. would here be false and impertinent.

3. To this I add, that from your own concession, that a "layman is guilty of a sin in the very act of baptizing," it seems to follow that the *act* is *void*. I never could well digest that assertion, that it is *sinful* in the *administrator*, and yet *valid* to the *receiver*. It is an hard saying, that one may be *damm'd* for doing that, without which the other could not have been *saved*. I suspect some fallacy in this, though where it lies I cannot perhaps tell you. Were I a layman, and thought that the salvation of any one or more depended upon my baptizing them, I would certainly do it : but then, I could not think it a sin, but a duty, as one of the highest acts of charity, to do it. How will you get off this, but by saying, that if it is a sin in the administrator, it is likewise ineffectual to the receiver ? If the salvation of another depends upon it, it is certainly no sin : therefore, say I, if it be a sin, it can be so only in such cases as where nothing depends upon it, that is, wherever such Baptism is sinful in the whole act, or ought not to have been given, it is *void*. I will not be positive in this argument, being sensible it wants many distinctions and cautions to make it go down, which I have not room to consider. But I am persuaded it is right in the main, and well deserves some further consideration.

Having seen then that scripture gives no commission to any

but the *Clergy* to baptize, that therefore Lay-Baptisms are unauthorized and sinful, and therefore, as I have endeavoured to prove, *invalid*, notwithstanding the exceptions brought to the contrary; I now proceed to a distinct argument drawn from the judgment and practice of the ancients.

II. The ancients do with one voice, for above three hundred years, condemn Lay-baptism, not so much as putting in any exception for cases of necessity. Tertullian indeed within that time does speak in favour of it; but it is only his own private opinion, and founded upon a very weak reason. Him I except. All the rest are for us, or not against us. But Mr. Kelsall thinks, that though the ancients did condemn Lay-baptism as not fit to be, yet if it was given, they thought it valid, and never to be repeated. This I very much want to see proved, or so much as probably inferred, from any thing that occurs in the ancientest writings.

I know that irregular heretical Baptisms were allowed to be *valid* both before and after St. Cyprian's time, (though he himself and some other Bishops differed in their judgment and practice in that point from other churches, and appealed to ancient custom in defence of themselves;) and I scruple not to own, that within a while it became a constant rule in most churches, that such heretical or schismatical Baptisms should stand good, provided they were administered in the name of the Trinity. If this be what Mr. Kelsall attempts to prove by "the many and great authorities" you speak of, it is readily granted, nor will any one dispute so clear a point with him. But then it is insisted upon, that this proves nothing for Lay-baptism. Those heretical and schismatical Baptisms were not Lay-Baptisms; or if they were, those very churches that allowed them to be valid would have annulled them. They were administered by men of a *sacerdotal character*, and on that account were reputed *valid*. It was thought that neither schism nor heresy, nor any censures of the Church, could deprive them of the *indelible character*; so that at any time, if they returned into the Church, they were received in without being *reordained*. Upon this ground their Baptisms were esteemed *valid*, and so were not reiterated; or those churches, who for a time did rebaptize, did it because they thought heresy and schism nulled the orders of heretical and schismatical priests, and consequently their Baptisms, and every other ministerial performance of theirs.

The question in those times was not, *whether Lay-baptisms were null*, both sides supposing that as an undoubted principle: but whether *heresy and schism nulled Orders, and reduced heretical priests to mere laymen*. It was at length determined in the negative. And therefore the Baptisms of heretical or schismatical priests or deacons, if administered in the name of the Trinity, were received as *valid*, having all the essentials of Baptism, *water, commission, and form*.

If I am mistaken in this, upon which the whole controversy in great measure depends, I shall be glad to be set right; and I shall be further thankful to Mr. Kelsall, if he will give me but one plain authority, except Tertullian, for the validity of Lay-baptism, as such, before St. Austin.

If I have thus got over "the many and great authorities," the other smaller objections will be easily dealt with.

You say, we hereby unchurch the reformed churches abroad.

We answer, that this principle of the invalidity of Lay-baptism, which several of them hold as well as we, does not unchurch them, if their want of episcopal ordination doth not, which is a distinct question. If their Orders are good, their Baptisms are so too. If you deny them *that*, they will not thank you for the *other*.

As to our own Church, we hope the consequences drawn from this principle are not so black and tragical as is imagined, and many reasons might be given to shew that they are not. But this were needless and tedious. Suppose the worst: the argument is weak and inconclusive. *A doctrine condemns thousands*, therefore it is false. Apply this to the *doctrine of the necessity of holiness*, which condemns more: apply it to the doctrines we hold against the Church of Rome, which condemns more than all the Protestants perhaps put together: apply it to the *doctrine of salvation by Christ alone*, which condemns millions, or may be five parts in six of the whole world. Are the doctrines therefore false? No surely. To what purpose then is it to allege the multitudes concerned in the consequences of them? The argument, if it proves any thing, proves this only, that the age has been either very ignorant, or very corrupt, to reject sound doctrine, and that it wants to be reformed, and to be instructed better. And I hope this may be a sufficient answer to what you hint of the act of toleration, and French Refugees; though it may be said further, that a man's want of *valid Baptism*, if he is

episcopally ordained, does not void his ministerial performances. A man may have orders and authority to make others what he is not himself; as one, that is not himself free, may by commission make others so. This you will see enlarged upon very handsomely by Mr. Lawrence and Dr. Brett. And if this point be well settled, as I think it is, it takes off very much from the force of your objection of the many and unavoidable ill consequences of our doctrine of the invalidity of Lay-baptism. But why should I be further tedious? You have the books from whence I have taken my hints, and what I have here written is little more than an extract from them. Be pleased to peruse the whole controversy, and give me your thoughts as frankly as I have given mine. If yourself or Mr. Kelsall will be so kind, as either to clear my apprehension on any points which are yet to me obscure, or to set me right where I am wrong, the favour will be accepted with all possible thankfulness and respect by,

Good Sir,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

D. W.

P. S. I ventured to shew this letter to a very learned and considerable man here, who came occasionally to see me; and he was pleased to give me his approbation.

## REV. E. KELSALL'S ANSWER

TO

DR. WATERLAND'S FIRST LETTER,

*Addressed to the same Gentleman to whom the foregoing Letter was written.*

---

*May 12, 1714.*

REVEREND SIR,

I WAS much surprised upon the receipt of your letter with Mr. W.'s enclosed; being very sensible that the discourse I had with you at our last meeting did not deserve the notice you have taken of it; and no less concerned to find that the occasion of your giving yourself so much trouble.

I ought and would sooner have paid you my respects upon this occasion, but that (besides many interruptions) those books lately written upon the subject of our discourse, which I had seen, were got out of my hands; and it required some time and trouble to recover a sight of them again; (for they were not my own;) without which, I would not go about to answer the very fine letter which you sent me.

Indeed I must complain of you for thus setting a gentleman upon me, whom I am so little able to encounter; who has, in few words, spoken so very well for his own opinion, that I find cause enough to wish you had not cut out such work for me, unless I had had more skill and capacity to manage it with success.



The very large and undeserved compliments he makes me, I must attribute wholly to the honour I have of being in the number of your acquaintance. Mr. W. can have no other excuse for misplacing them upon a stranger. Sir, I shall not at present offer any return to that part of his letter, but to congratulate him with a very sincere respect upon the eminent station which his merit has lately placed him in.

Had I the honour to be known likewise to him, there would be no need to assure him, that I can with ease forsake the most *pleasing error*, when convinced that it is an error. The *good-nature*, or pretended charity, there is in a false opinion, cannot make it near so welcome as the most ill-natured truth, if truth can deserve such an epithet. And as for *great names*, if any such have influenced my judgment, they are the Whitgifts, the Bancrofts, the Hookers, the ancient Rubrics, and even present practice of our Reformed Church of England, together with the Councils and Fathers of the primitive ages. Sir, I believe every position in Divinity which is new, to be false; and that in all questions relating to religion, discipline, or government, *reason* ought to submit to *Scripture*, and Scripture be interpreted by the sense and practice of *antiquity*; and consequently that *history* is the best and shortest decider of this and of every controversy in religion.

Mr. W. very well observes, that the cause depends upon these three. Having considered what offers itself, 1st, from scripture, 2ndly, from antiquity, he gives you, in the last place, his thoughts upon that which reason has to allege against his opinion. I crave leave, Sir, to communicate to you my thoughts upon this last article first, which will let us into a full view of the importance of this question, and of the consequences which the doctrine of the absolute invalidity of Lay-baptism is attended with.

#### SECT. I.

1. And here I make no scruple to confess, that were the reason of the thing to be considered alone, had there been no intimation from scripture, especially no authorities of our own, nor precedents of the primitive Church to influence this dispute, I should have still been (as some years since I was) strongly prejudiced in favour of Mr. W.'s opinion.

2. In the mean while, if it shall appear, as I apprehend it will,

that in some cases Baptism by lay-hands hath been permitted by the Church, and in no case (if administered with water in the name of the blessed Trinity) altogether disannulled, so as that the receiver should be baptized anew, what must we do? I think Mr. W., I am sure most writers on both sides of the question allow this to have been the case ever since St. Austin, at least in the Western Church. And if we derive our sacraments, as we do the succession of our priesthood, through the corrupted channels of the Church of Rome, then I am very much afraid, that an invalidity proved in the first, will inevitably infer an invalidity in the latter too.

3. The Church of Rome, ever since St. Austin, hath allowed not only *laymen*, but even *women* in cases of necessity to baptize; and we can produce canons of that Church<sup>a</sup> requiring the curates to instruct their people in the form of baptizing, that, where necessity should require, they might know how to do it aright. Which practice was so exceeding frequent among them, that it was morally impossible, but that many of their Clergy must be such as had in their infancy been so baptized.

4. Now to suppose such Baptisms are altogether null and void, must needs have a terrible influence upon the state, not of the Church of England alone, but of all the churches of Europe. For if the Baptism of such Clergymen as we now speak of was invalid, so was their Ordination too: they were laymen still, and of the lowest class, laymen unbaptized. They could not have the keys of the Church delivered to them before they were members of it. Such men, acting as Priests, could not baptize; acting as Bishops, could not ordain. And yet they did pretend to do both, as apprehending no cause to doubt the competency of their own authority. The effect whereof must needs be an endless propagation of nullities in respect both of Baptism and Ordination. So that here is a dreadful blow given to the episcopal succession at once through the whole Western Church. Nay, through the Eastern too, if our accounts of that part of Christendom may be depended upon: which tell us that the Grecian churches, as well as the Roman, have for many ages permitted laymen, in cases of necessity, to baptize. I do not say

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Salisb. A. D. 1420. Rubr. R. 14. *ibid.* Can. 2. Concil. Arelat. de Baptismo, Apud Binium, tom. vii. A. D. 1260. ap. L. E. Du Pin. Eccles. p. 2. Item Concil. Ravenn. A. D. 1311. Hist. tom. xi. R. 11. et Concil. Ravenn. A. D. 1314.

that the succession of the priesthood is hereby totally destroyed; but the marks and evidences of it are so obscured, and indeed made so entirely invisible to mortal eyes, that upon this hypothesis we can have no assurance without a revelation from heaven, that we ourselves are in the Church, and consequently in a state of salvation, or that there is a Bishop, a Sacrament, or a Christian, in the whole Christian world.

5. You see the consequences drawn from *this principle* (viz. the utter invalidity of Lay-baptism) are altogether as *black and tragical* as can be *imagined*. And they affect the Church of England the more in this respect, that whilst she was reforming from the errors, corruptions, and heresies of the Church of Rome, she made no alteration in the matter of Lay-baptism; but on the contrary *confirmed* the opinion then received<sup>b</sup>, that Baptism administered by lay-hands in the name of the blessed Trinity ought not to be repeated: as we shall see in the sequel of this letter.

6. I know not whether I need to add, that many of our Clergy, ordained since the accursed rebellion of forty-one, when royalty and episcopacy both were trampled under foot, are and have been such as were baptized in those times by laymen, *by vile wicked laymen, usurpers of the priesthood, acting in defiance of the episcopal authority*.

7. Now to pronounce a nullity upon all the ministrations of Clergymen so baptized, is what neither the interests of our own, nor those of the Church Catholic will permit. Which nullity nevertheless is a consequence, that I see not how the advocates of the aforesaid principle can avoid. But let us hear what they say to this.

8. First therefore some of that side make short work of it, and roundly tell us, they will not answer for consequences; and that if their opinion be true, no consequences can make it otherwise.

9. But with submission, I cannot but think an objection grounded upon consequences so very important requires and deserves a better answer than this. Give me leave to add, that I can by no means believe any position in Divinity to be true, which inevitably draws along with it consequences so exceedingly grievous, absurd, and intolerable.

<sup>b</sup> See the Rubric in the Office of Private Baptism, in King Edward VI. and Queen Eliz. their Liturgies.

10. Indeed should this answer come from a Cartwright, from an enemy of our Church, from a fanatic, or any one tinctured with that leaven, I should not wonder at it. Any doctrine attended with consequences destructive to the episcopal succession will be grateful to such a palate. And in this case it will be our concern, more than his, to look after consequences.

11. But my business is not with such. I speak to gentlemen who are true and zealous lovers of the Church of England particularly, as well as of the Catholic Church in general, and abhor consequences prejudicial to either. If it be true (what I think we are all agreed upon) that the indefectibility of the Church, promised by her Lord and Spouse, cannot otherwise subsist, than with the joint subsistence of the episcopal succession; then I desire it may be observed, that they who content themselves with this answer, give up for an opinion, (conceived by many learned men to be altogether new,) the very *being* of the Church of England, and of the Catholic Church too; give up even their own *character of Christians*, at least make all these things very doubtful, till a revelation from heaven shall determine who among us are *validly* baptized, ordained, &c. and who are not.

12. And Mr. W. is desired (if it be possible) to find out some way to cure the just suspicions, and remove the endless scruples, which his hypothesis will naturally suggest to the minds of thinking men concerning the validity of their Baptism, and the reality of their being within the covenant of grace, and in a state of salvation.

13. For in this case it is not sufficient that a Clergyman, or a reputed Clergyman, was his, or your, or my immediate baptizer, unless we be well assured that *he* was baptized by one in holy orders too, and the same of *this other* baptizer also, and so upwards to the very infancy of Christianity. An error in any part of the succession from the Apostles' time to ours, though never so remote, will in this case have as fatal a tendency, as if it were never so near us. Nay, the older it is, the more mischievous, because propagated through many hands, and length of time so far, that the original and extent of it are not to be discovered at this distance of time, and the effects of it are consequently not capable of redress.

14. In the mean time I must ask this gentleman's pardon, if I cannot think he states the objection fairly; when (in that

paragraph of his letter, where he speaks of the influence this doctrine is thought to have upon the state of the Church of England) he represents our sense of it barely thus; "a doctrine "condemns thousands, therefore it is false." I agree with him, that such "an argument is as weak and inconclusive" as he can wish; and am therefore the less obliged to take notice of the parallel which on this occasion he makes between this and other doctrines, viz. "of the necessity of holiness, of salvation by "Christ alone," and "those doctrines wherein we differ from the "Church of Rome;" all which, to be sure, are not the less true, because multitudes are thereby condemned. But by the way, I cannot but observe that his parallel is defective, because these last named doctrines do indeed *condemn thousands*, but upon a quite different ground, namely, a voluntary culpable defect in the persons so condemned; whereas the doctrine of the invalidity of Lay-baptism condemns many more thousands, not for any culpable defect residing within themselves, or occasioned through any negligence of their own, but for a misfortune altogether inevitable, as being derived to them through a train of errors and nullities from those who have lived long before them; and the more inevitable as well as irremediable, because it is impossible to discover the fountain-head where it began, and consequently to trace the succession of it, or find out who are affected by it, and who not.

15. You see the objection, as I have stated it here, implies no less, than that this doctrine does, by its consequences, 1st, raise fears and scruples of the last importance in the consciences of the best and most innocent Christians living, for which it provides no satisfaction: 2dly, it undermines the very foundations of our ecclesiastical constitution, by darkening all the evidences we have of the episcopal succession; and thereby, 3dly, threatens a nullity to all the ministrations (nay to the very being) of the priesthood through the whole Christian world.

16. But in answer to this, Mr. W. tells us, that "a man's "want of valid Baptism, if he is episcopally ordained, does not "void his ministerial performances," &c. I agree with him, "that this point well settled takes off much from the force of our "objection of the many and unavoidable ill consequences," &c. for it takes off all that I think worth insisting upon. But when he tells us, he thinks this point *is well settled*, I must crave leave as yet to dissent from him. For after the best inquiry I can

yet make, I do not find that this doctrine hath any countenance either from antiquity, reason, or scripture.

17. That this opinion hath no encouragement from ecclesiastical *antiquity*, I must take for granted, till I see antiquity alleged in favour of it, which no advocate hath yet pretended, as despairing, I suppose, to find any thing of it there. It is a notion altogether new, not heard of till after this dispute about Lay-baptism arose, and now advanced merely to serve a turn, to set aside an objection, which is too hard for any other answer. It was news to St. Jerome to hear, that a man (no Christian) could make a Christian, that is, baptize: so far was he from imagining, that one in those circumstances could consecrate, ordain, &c. “*Novam rem asseris, ut Christianus quisquam factus sit ab eo qui non fuit Christianus.*” Hier. Dial. adv. Lucif. cap. 5. In the mean time, as was said before, the novelty of any doctrine is a sufficient ground to believe it false, and the very *silence* of antiquity an effectual condemnation.

18. And I dare appeal to the greatest masters of *reason* and good sense to judge, whether one that is no Christian can be a Christian Priest<sup>c</sup>, one that is not of Christ's family be a steward of it, one that has no right to partake of the body of our Lord be a sufficient dispenser thereof, one that is not a member of the Church be a governing member. For I take all the rightful spiritual governors of this holy society to be members, even the most illustrious members of it, considered as a society purely spiritual. 1 Cor. xii. Ephes. iv.

19. I know no person that affirms a man's Baptism to be a *part*<sup>d</sup>, much less an *essential*<sup>e</sup> *part of his ministerial commission*. But I take it to be a qualification, without which a man is incapable of such a commission. And though what Mr. W. offers be true, that “one, who is not himself free, may by [an extraordinary] commission make others so;” yet, I presume, no laws of any kingdom will suffer an alien to be a standing officer in the government, as Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are in the Church. And now we are considering the force of commissions, I will suppose a prince, through ignorance, grants a commission to one that is dead, or become an idiot, or fallen

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Hicks's Letter to the Author of Lay-baptism Invalid. App. p. 111.

<sup>e</sup> Lay-baptism Invalid, part i. Appendix. p. 135.

<sup>d</sup> Dr. Brett, Inq. into the Judgment and Practice of the Primitive Church,

under some other natural incapacity. You will hardly say, such a commission is valid. Suppose then the spiritual governors of the Church grant, through mistake, a spiritual commission, in order to transact spiritual matters, to one that is spiritually dead, that is, unbaptized; why should the latter be thought valid, the former not?

20. Indeed had the Fountain and Giver of all spiritual gifts said it should be valid, then we had had nothing to do, but to acquiesce. But nothing like this is to be met with in the *holy scriptures*, wherein he has revealed to us what is his will and pleasure. Upon which account Mr. W.'s *point*, which he thinks *well settled*, is at the best but precarious, or rather evidently false, having neither *scripture*, *reason*, nor *antiquity* to support it. It is the rule of the Church of England, as well as of St. Jerome, *Quicquid de scripturis sacris auctoritatem non habet, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur.*

21. Dr. Brett indeed alleges St. Paul for an instance to countenance this opinion<sup>f</sup>, whom he affirms to have been "validly ordained, before he was baptized, by Christ himself, who called him by a voice from heaven:" and that this was "the only ordination he received." But then he grants that that Apostle "did not execute his commission till after he was baptized." So that, whatever date the commission might bear, it is plain he could not use it till he was baptized, this being a fundamental qualification for it. Which observation, I think, destroys the inference he would make from this example, or rather turns it against him.

22. So our blessed Lord invested his Apostles with their commission<sup>g</sup> before his ascension. Which commission nevertheless was not to take place till they were "endued with power from on high<sup>h</sup>," that is, "were baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire<sup>i</sup>," as St. John the Baptist expresses it, and thereby qualified for the effectual discharge of their apostolical office.

23. And after all, that which this learned and reverend author takes for St. Paul's *only ordination*, I cannot conceive to be any ordination at all, or other than a declaration of the meaning and design of that miraculous light which he saw, and of our Lord's will and purpose concerning him, in answer to those

<sup>f</sup> App. in Answer to Lord Bishop of Oxford, p. 111, &c.

<sup>h</sup> Luke xxiv. 49.

<sup>i</sup> Luke iii. 16. Acts ii. 3, 4.

<sup>g</sup> John xx. 21, 22, 23.

questions of his, "Who art thou, Lord?" and, "What wilt thou have me to do?" To me it seems plain, that his solemn consecration to the apostolical function came afterwards, and is recorded Acts xiii. 2, 3. And if so, St. Paul is again so far from furnishing a *demonstrative argument* in favour of the cause which he is alleged for, that he is a noble instance against it.

24. As for the Doctor's objection, that in this case, "he would have been an Apostle by man, though not of man," contrary to the style he uses Gal. i. 1, I think St. Luke has effectually cleared that, 1st, by the history of his conversion, where we plainly see that his designation to the office was not *by man*; was not owing to any human or deputed authority, but to Christ himself, who declared it to him by a voice from heaven; and, 2dly, by the account he gives us of his consecration to that office by imposition of hands, which was also performed, not upon any human consultation or resolution concerning him, but by the immediate command of the Holy Ghost<sup>k</sup>; so that upon these grounds he might well assert to himself the magnificent titles which he uses in the inscription of his Epistle to the Galatians, although he did receive imposition of hands from those who were his seniors in that office.

25. If it be replied, that he preached before he was thus consecrated by imposition of hands, I might answer from Dr. Brett<sup>l</sup>, that it was an *extraordinary case*, like divers others recorded in the New Testament, occurring in that age of miraculous and extraordinary dispensations, from which no conclusion can be drawn to affect us now, when the Church is settled, and we tied down to forms and methods of Divine appointment, handed to us through the several ages of Christianity.

26. But I rather choose to make use of Dr. Hammond's answer upon another occasion. The Socinians (his adversaries in that discourse<sup>m</sup>) asserted a right in the laity to exercise the sacerdotal function, especially in cases of necessity, and to prove it, pretended, "that those who were dispersed after the death of St. Stephen, were not ordained by any, and yet preached the doctrine of Christ." Dr. Hammond having refuted and exposed this last assertion of theirs, adds in the close, that supposing it true, that some of those who were then dispersed were

<sup>k</sup> Acts xiii. 2.

<sup>l</sup> App. in Answer to Lord Bishop of Oxford, p. 112.

<sup>m</sup> Discourse of the Imposition of Hands, &c. in his Letter of Resolution to Six Queries, sect. xciv.



not ordained, and yet nevertheless preached the Gospel, "yet of them these two things must be observed: 1st, that they were in a remarkable manner filled all with the Holy Ghost, Acts iv. 31, which was certainly done to fit them for some extraordinary work, such as there follows, the speaking of the word of God with boldness. And for this they were as fully qualified by the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, and the effects thereof, speaking with tongues, or prophesying, or gifts of healing, as any are by imposition of the Apostles' hands pretended to be. And yet, 2dly, all that we find assumed by them is, divulging the Gospel wheresoever they came, chap. viii. 4. and xi. 19. And that liberty, where the Gospel is not yet known, we shall not deny to any." These are his words.

27. Now this was exactly St. Paul's case. He received the Holy Ghost at the same time with his Baptism, by the ministry of Ananias, Acts ix. 17. After this we find him preaching the Gospel, ver. 20. But we hear not of any thing else that he did till after his consecration, recorded chap. xiii. 3. Then indeed he ordained elders, chap. xiv. 23, confirmed the disciples, chap. xix. 6, dispensed the sacraments, chap. xx. 7, and did every thing that the other Apostles had power to do.

28. I have done at present with Dr. Brett. I am next to consider what the author of *Lay-baptism Invalid* offers out of the Old Testament in favour of this opinion<sup>n</sup>. He urges the similitude of circumstances betwixt a person uncircumcised and one unbaptized: and pretends, that as the want of circumcision during the forty years' abode of the Jewish Church in the wilderness, did not vacate the ministry of those priests and Levites who were born in that time; so neither can the want of Baptism now vacate the ministrations of one that is consecrated to the Christian priesthood by episcopal hands.

29. I answer, 1st, it is well known that the Levitical priesthood was hereditary, that the posterity of Aaron and the tribe of Levi were born with a right to the several branches and degrees of it, and therefore might in a large sense be called priests before their actual consecration, or even their circumcision, being from their birth designed for the priesthood. Now, admitting it true, that some of these had, even before they were circumcised, been allowed by God to exercise their sacerdotal

<sup>n</sup> App. to the first part of *Lay-Baptism Invalid*, p. 137.

function, it will prove nothing more than this, that God, who hath formerly ratified the ministrations of an uncircumcised Levite, (designed for, though as yet not initiated in, the priesthood,) may still dispense with his own institutions when he pleases, (though we must not,) and ratify things transacted in his name by persons unbaptized, who (continuing such) are incapable of an ordinary call to the priesthood. But that he actually does so, it is presumption in us to imagine, without a Divine warrant signifying his will and pleasure.

30. But, 2dly, this suggestion of Mr. L.'s supposes for truth, what I take to be evidently false, viz. that some who by birth were entitled to the priesthood in the Jewish Church, acted in that capacity before they were circumcised. For what need was there of this? There were priests enough to do it without *them*; persons regularly circumcised and consecrated to the office. For the proof whereof, I desire three things may be considered :

31. 1st, That Aaron himself died but a few days before they entered into the land of Canaan, Num. xxxiii. 38, who had to assist him, Eleazar, Phinehas, Ithamar, &c.

32. 2dly, That not only Eleazar, Phinehas, Ithamar, &c. but (for ought that appears to the contrary) such in general of the tribe of Levi as came out of Egypt, and were afterwards consecrated to the priesthood, lived to come into the land of Canaan. I expect here to be told, that they all perished in the wilderness, by the sentence passed upon them, Num. xiv. 23. But Joshua v. 4, 6. tells us, they were only the *men of war* who so perished. And the sentence itself, as it is repeated and explained Num. xiv. 29. affects those only who had been numbered from *twenty years old* and upwards, plainly referring to the account taken, chap. i. where the tribe of Levi is left out, nor so much as mentioned till ver. 47. where we are told that the Levites were not numbered among them. And accordingly Dr. Hammond, in his paraphrase on Ps. xc. 10, mentions those men of war, who were condemned to die in the wilderness, under the exact number of 603,550, which is the sum total recited Num. i. 46. without including the tribe of Levi. The numbers of the Levites are taken afterwards by themselves, from *one month* old upwards, Num. iii. 15. So that to me it seems very plain, that the sentence declared chap. xiv. 29. does not include the tribe of Levi; and consequently that the Jewish Church might, at their arrival in

the land of Canaan, have many priests among them, who were not born during their abode in the wilderness. Since my writing this, I find myself confirmed in this conjecture by two eminent commentators, besides Dr. Hammond, viz. Corn. a Lapide in Numbers xiv. 29. and Masius in Josh. xxiv. 4.

33. I am aware, in the mean while, that in the twenty-sixth chapter, after the recital, not only of the twelve tribes, (who are there again numbered from twenty years old and upwards, ver. 2.) but of the Levites too, (who likewise, as before, are again numbered from one month old and upward, ver. 62.) it is expressly said, ver. 64, 65. "Among these there was not a man of them whom Moses and Aaron the priest numbered, when they numbered the children of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai. For the Lord had said of them, They shall surely die in the wilderness. And there was not left a man of them, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun."

34. But that this remark of the sacred historian must relate only to the twelve tribes, and not to that of Levi, is still plain, (I will not say from Moses himself being still alive, who was of this tribe, and makes this remark, but) from Eleazar's living some years after the Israelites were settled in Palestine, who was born long before their departure out of Egypt, being then at man's estate, and consecrated to the priesthood at the same time that his father Aaron himself was, Exodus xxviii. 1. Levit. viii. and chap. x. 6. And the same answer I give to any objection that may seem to offer itself from Num. xxxii. 11.

35. 3dly, Suppose our evidence of the tribe of Levi's exemption from the general sentence passed upon the Israelites were less than it is, yet it is certain, from Num. xiv. 29, that none of any tribe under twenty years were concerned in it. Which space of time affords room enough for a sufficient number of priests of the tribe of Levi, who had been born and circumcised in Egypt, being grown up, to supply the places of those who died in the wilderness; and consequently takes away all pretence of a necessity for Levites *uncircumcised* to minister in that office.

36. It appears therefore, that Mr. L.'s scripture argument for the validity of holy orders conferred upon an unbaptized person, is grounded upon a case altogether fictitious and imaginary, and therefore proves nothing but a great want of better arguments. And in truth, it seems at first sight a wild imagina-

tion to fancy, that, when God would not permit any of the sons of Aaron, who had a blemish upon his body, to officiate or come nigh to the altar, Lev. xxi. 23. (whom nevertheless he suffered to eat the holy bread, ver. 22.) he should yet suffer any to exercise the office of Priest who was uncircumcised, and consequently under an incapacity of so much as eating the passover, Exodus xii. 48.

37. And now I shall leave this argument with one observation of my own from scripture relating to this matter, viz. that St. Paul, in his discourses 1 Cor. xii. and Ephes. iv. pressing the duty of peace, unity, and charity, so speaks in both places of the Christian Clergy, as supposing them of course to be members of the Church or body of Christ, (which no unbaptized person is,) this seeming a fundamental qualification for the character they were adorned with. He arms the laity against all suggestions of envy, repining, or discontent, upon account of preference or superiority of one above another, with this consideration, that they, as well as their Bishops and other ministers, are members of the same body, partakers of one and the same spirit, candidates of the same hope of their calling, initiated by the same sacrament of Baptism, &c. This is enough, considering that no instance of an unbaptized priest is recorded to have happened, much less to have been approved or ratified by the Church in all the ages of Christianity; I say, this is enough to inform us what qualifications the Church, the Apostle, and especially the Holy Ghost, who guided his pen, did expect and require in a minister of the Gospel.

38. So that, upon the whole, I am still of opinion, that this *point* of the validity of holy orders, conferred upon an unbaptized receiver, is not *well settled*, and am strongly inclined to despair that it ever will. And till it be, I cannot see how the modern invalidators of Lay-baptism can avoid the consequences before recited, so destructive to the succession of the Christian priesthood, and consequently to the very being of the Church and of the sacraments, supposing at present, what by and by will be but too easily proved, that Baptism by lay hands hath so far been allowed and owned as sufficient for the ends of Baptism, as not to need repeating, in the primitive as well as modern ages of Christianity.

39. You see, Sir, I do not concern myself with the case of the foreign Reformed, of whom we are told the Calvinists and

Zuinglians have espoused the principle of the invalidity of Lay-baptism, going herein further than Calvin probably intended, and directly contrary to Zuinglius. What they will *thank us* for granting, I matter not, nor does it concern the question. The Church of England seems to have determined their case, allowing their Baptism to be valid, their Orders not. For she receives them to Lay-communion without rebaptization, but not into her priesthood without reordination. All my request concerning them is, that (after her example) seeing, by command from our ecclesiastical superiors, we have often prayed for them by the title of the Reformed Churches, we would allow them as good a right to that appellation, as (in the defect of other administrations) a valid Christian Baptism can confer upon them. Which though administered by lay-hands, Mr. L. himself seems now and then to admit in cases of extreme necessity, when not done in defiance of the episcopal divine authority. Such among them is the case of all persons, especially of inferior quality, who are forced so to receive that sacrament, or not to have it at all.

40. I know not what Mr. W. intends by his mentioning the *act of toleration* and the *French Refugees*. I presume it is no advantage to his cause, that the Church of England at this day receives all those Refugees, who conform to her doctrine, into her communion, and some of them to holy orders too, without insisting upon a rebaptization. But her judgment of this matter we shall have further occasion to speak of by and by.

## SECT. II.

1. As to scripture, Mr. W. tells us, "it is confessed, that it confines the administration of Baptism to the Clergy." I suppose the scripture he intends is the commission to baptize, recorded St. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. "Go ye," &c. And if he means, that Apostles and their successors alone are the ordinary regular dispensers of it, I agree with him. But if his meaning be, that the effects of Baptism are by the words of the commission made to depend in all cases upon the administrator's being in holy orders, I know not who those are that *confess* this, unless Mr. Lawrence and his followers. I believe it will appear, that the ancients, (such of them as speak to the point,) Optatus Milevitanus, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and others, are of a different opinion.

2. Calvin indeed, in his letter to the Protestants of Mompel-

gard, argues in this manner; "Quibus enim, obsecro, dictum est, Ite, Baptizate, nisi his quibus data jam erat docendi potestas et munus commissum?" And from him the English Puritans (who were his great admirers in the days of queen Elizabeth) imbibed their notion of the invalidity of Lay-baptism, as they did their other beloved notion of the non-necessity of that sacrament.

3. And yet Calvin was not absolutely for rebaptizing all that had been baptized by lay-hands. In one of his letters (dated Nov. 13th, 1561) he has indeed these words: "Adulterinum Baptismum censemus, qui administratus est a privato homine." But in the same letter he adds, that in respect of the particular state of religion at that time among them to whom he writes, "Non tantum errori danda est venia, sed ferendus est qualis-cunque Baptismus." The error he speaks of relates to the lay-administration of that sacrament. He concludes with condemning, and advising them absolutely to condemn, all Baptisms administered by women, for which he quotes the Council of Carthage. "Deinde," says he, "quia veteri Decreto Concilii Carthaginensis prohibitæ sunt fœminæ ab officio baptizandi, neminem offendet novitas, quæ metuenda esset in viris." It seems, in his opinion, Baptism administered by *laymen* had the countenance of antiquity, so far as to be reputed valid; for which reason he cautions them against the scandal that would attend the repeating of it, which he thought the world could not but look upon as an innovation. Upon the whole, it is very plain that Calvin did not look upon the minister to be of the *essence* of the sacrament; for whatsoever is that, must not be dispensed with upon any considerations whatsoever.

4. So that, for ought I perceive, Mr. W., Mr. L., and their friends, are the first that have so rigidly expounded the commission, as to make the *ye*, the persons to whom it was delivered, *essential* to every thing transacted by it. Now the *novelty* of their interpretation is alone a just objection against it. But it is well, if it does not hurt their own cause, as much as it will ours. It ought to have been considered that the words, "Go ye," &c. were spoken to *Apostles* only, and their *successors*, viz. the *Bishops* of the Church. And if the minister be *essential*, then none but such, none but Apostles and Bishops, neither Deacon, Priest, nor laic, must baptize. Thus, though the primitive church did not make the minister *essential*, yet they

thought the office so firmly tied to the episcopal chair, that no man could regularly baptize without leave from thence; and accordingly would not ordinarily suffer either a Presbyter or a Deacon to administer this sacrament in the presence of a Bishop; even by the same rule, as all succeeding ages have forbidden laics to do it, when a lawful minister can be had. It is true, in the New Testament we hear of Deacons baptizing, but that was when no Apostle or Bishop was present; and only furnishes us with a precedent, that upon some emergencies others may *validly* baptize, besides those to whom the commission so to do was first given.

5. Sir, with submission to better judgments, I rather take the commission to be a conveyance of power to the Apostles and Bishops, the spiritual governors of the Church, not only to receive the converted world into the Church, by baptizing them with water in the name of the Trinity, but also to appoint the ministers of that rite, not only Presbyters and Deacons, but (where these cannot be had) even laics too, and moreover to be the sole and supreme judges in case of any irregular or disputed Baptism, to annul it, or to receive it as valid, and all this under no other restraint or limitation, but what the analogy of faith, the needs of the Church, and their own discretion shall impose upon them. And this, with a promise from our Lord to ratify what they shall jointly decree in matters of that nature; "Lo, I am with you" &c. and, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

6. This, I think, Mr. Bingham has in the main proved for me, in the second and third sections of the first part of his Scholastical History of Lay-baptism. To this account may be referred those passages quoted by our adversaries from St. Ignatius and others who wrote in the infancy of the Church, in which the dispensing of the sacraments, and other branches of the ecclesiastical power, are lodged solely in the Bishop. And in the same sense we may well understand St. Chrysostom, when he affirms, that "these things are administered only by those sacred hands, the hands he means of the Bishop<sup>o</sup>," whom he calls *ιερέως*, as the Latins called him *sacerdos*. And to the same purpose Tertullian, Jerome, Isidore of Seville, and others speak, as we shall

<sup>o</sup> Τῶν τοῦ ἱερέως λέγω. Vide infra.

see by and by; of whom howsoever they might lodge the right of administration originally in the Bishop, yet not one made the minister (as some moderns have done) *essential* to the sacrament.

7. This power the Bishops of the primitive Church did put in practice. The same power the Bishops of the Reformed Church of England did ever claim, have ever used, not finding themselves confined or abridged in the use of it by any general Council: sometimes allowing laymen to baptize in case of necessity; at other times obliging their people to call in a lawful minister on those occasions; never declaring Lay-baptism null, but (in conformity to the practice of the primitive Church) taking always more care of the matter and form, than of the minister of the sacrament.

8. This, Sir, at present is my opinion. And I do not yet see, that I hereby carry the power of the Church or of her Prelates *higher* in this than it ever was in the dispensation of the other sacrament, which was never yet (and, I hope, will not now begin to be) thought a grievance by the true sons of the Church, so long as there was no mutilation, nor any error committed in *essentials*. I mean no more than what Dr. Cave gives an account of in his Primitive Christian. part i. chap. 11. where he says, the Eucharist was wont to be sent home to those, who could not be present at the public service, by the hands of a Deacon, or, in cases of necessity, by any other person. He instances in the story of Serapion, to whom the Priest, who kept it ready consecrated by him, being himself sick, and unable to visit him, sent it by the hands of a little boy, (the historian Eusebius calls him *παιδάριον*.) who, as he had been instructed by the priest, put it into the old man's mouth a little before he expired. The story is in Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. cap. 44. This was certainly as large a stretch of power, and as great a variation from the primitive institution, as the permission of Lay-baptism can well be imagined, and yet not unusual in that age.

9. I add, that if the account here offered (of the commission, "Go ye," &c.) be true, it seems to me extremely to alter the whole nature of our dispute, and to make the question of Lay-baptism a question only of discipline, not of doctrine. And then our superiors may admit a Baptism irregularly administered by a lay-usurper as *valid*, if they please, at the same time that



they censure his presumption in so acting; or, if they think fit, they may refuse to ratify such Baptisms, and order a readministration, without censuring what former ages or other churches have done, and consequently without bringing themselves or the Church under those inconvenient and indeed ruinous consequences, which have been shewn to be inevitable, and to lie very heavy on Mr. W.'s side of the question, whilst it is looked upon as matter of doctrine. For doctrines are sullen things, and admit no alteration or abatement for the sake of any inconveniences, how great soever. But discipline is variable, and has been changed, and may be so again, as the circumstances and necessities of the Church shall require.

10. But let us hear what Mr. W.'s judgment of the commission is. He says, "It leaves no more room for lay-baptism, than for lay-ordination, lay-absolution, lay-consecration of the Eucharist, lay-preaching and praying;" and adds, that "If we go from the institution in one case, we may as reasonably do it in all, supposing the like necessity." But I deny, that admitting the Baptism of a layman, under the qualifications foregoing, as "valid, is going from the institution." Besides, the like necessity cannot be supposed in the instances he alleges. For neither ordination, nor absolution, nor the Eucharist, are so universally nor so absolutely necessary to salvation, as Baptism is declared to be<sup>p</sup>. What he means by "lay-preaching and praying" in this place, I do not well know. I presume he will not forbid lay-Christians to pray together in public in those countries, (supposing there be such,) where there are no Clergy, nor any possibility of procuring a Clergy to do it for them: and where there are, there is not *the like necessity*. And so for *lay-preaching*. Shall a lay-Christian, in a savage infidel nation, think it unlawful for him to publish the Gospel among such people? Who ever blamed the captive maid of Iberia for attempting the conversion of that nation, which she happily effected by her divulging the Gospel, and by the miracles which God enabled her to work on that occasion? Who ever found fault with Frumentius, a Christian layman, for the like attempt in the Indies? Both these did indeed take care by their counsels and endeavours to have in due time a regular Clergy settled in those countries. But till that could be done, necessity, which has no law, justified what they did.

<sup>p</sup> John iii. 5.

11. With submission, I think he (as well as the author of Lay-baptism Invalid) mistakes the case of Saul and Uzza, whom he produces as instances of God's displeasure for meddling with the priesthood, although in extraordinary emergencies. It does not appear to me that Saul usurped the sacerdotal office. For the sacrifices he offered were done indeed *by his order*, and in that sense he may be said to be the doer of them: but they were done by the ministry of the priests, who were there present, say the learned, being by their office (a competent number of them) constant attendants upon the army. Num. x. 9. Deut. xx. 2. 1 Sam. xiv. 18, 19, 36. But his crime was his impatience and distrust of the Divine Providence, which prevailed with him to violate the orders given him to wait till Samuel came, 1 Sam. x. 8. who, had he been there, was not qualified with his own hands to have offered sacrifice, being himself no priest, but a Levite, 1 Chron. vi. 33. Psalm xcix. 6: on which account, whenever we hear of Samuel's offering sacrifices, we must understand no more than that he, being a prophet, a judge, and eminent magistrate in the government, caused or ordered it to be done by the proper minister, and was the chief person present at the solemnity.

12. Neither do I think Uzza to have been an usurper of the priesthood. He was a Levite, and probably a Cohathite. Which order was appointed to *carry* the ark of God themselves, not (like Philistines) to put it into a cart. So that, whatever danger the ark might seem to be in, it was a danger occasioned through their neglect and omission of their duty. But the same law which required them to carry it themselves, required them so to carry it *upon staves* as not to touch it, Num. iv. 15. death being the penalty threatened in case they did. Which penalty accordingly Uzza suffered for his *rashness*, rather than *usurpation* or *ambition* of an office that did not belong to him.

13. In the mean time, the question among us is not whether lay-persons may lawfully baptize, much less exercise other parts of the sacerdotal office. So far am I from affirming any such thing, that I believe, whatever pretence they may have, so much as to baptize even in cases of utmost necessity, depends altogether upon the will of their ecclesiastical superiors, who may allow or disallow it, as they see cause, being a matter wherein the discipline rather than doctrine of the Church is concerned, as I said before. But to presume to do it in ordinary cases, in

defiance of the Christian priesthood, as our schismatical lay-preachers do, is what we all readily agree, there is no more ground for in scripture, than there is for *lay-ordination, lay-absolution, &c.* Concerning such usurpers, Mr. W. and we are all of the same opinion: and, were there room or leisure for it, or were it pertinent to my design, I should willingly join with him in treating such acts of sacrilegious impiety and presumption with all the severity of language he can desire. All that we insist upon is, (as he very truly observes,) that a Baptism administered (though by a lay-Christian,) with water in the name of the blessed Trinity is *valid to the recipient*, howsoever criminal it may be in the administrator. To which purpose some have (not amiss) applied the maxim, *quod fieri non debuit factum valet*. Others, I perceive, allege the case of a marriage solemnized by a person not ordained, as parallel to this, and apply the maxim alike to both cases. Whether the parallel be in every respect just or not, I shall not take upon me to determine; only shall offer you my reasons why Mr. W.'s account of this matter gives me no satisfaction.

14. He begins with telling you, that "the maxim is true only of errors in circumstantials, not of errors in essentials." His distinction is very good, and touches the cases home, which he there puts, of polygamy and an incestuous marriage. But it will do him no service in the case before us, till it be proved, first, that the minister is *essential* in Baptism; secondly, that he is not equally so in marriage too. He does indeed affirm, that he is essential in the first, and but circumstantial in the other; that in the case of marriage it is *decent* that it be done by a Priest or a Deacon, that in Baptism it is *necessary*. But he barely *says* this: he tells us, in the case of Baptism, that "the commission is plain and clear, and leaves no more room for lay-baptism, than for lay-ordination," &c. and in the case of marriage, that "it is no more than a covenant between the two parties, that its essence is their mutual contract, and that the minister is a circumstance only." All this he *affirms*. But till some proof be offered for it besides his own affirmation, he will not take it amiss to be answered, as Tertullian, St. Austin, and others of great name have lately been answered, that "all this is only his own private opinion."

15. In the mean time, if this be so, if marriage be no more than "a covenant between the two parties, if its essence be their

“mutual contract, and the minister but a circumstance;” then I cannot see, but the pretended marriages of the Quakers are as *valid* as ours, though not so *decent* and regular. They have the essence, the covenant, and mutual contract between the two parties. And their want of the minister is only an *error in circumstantialis*, which, howsoever it may affect the *decency* and regularity of the thing, cannot render it *invalid* or *null*. And then, why does not our Church receive and own such a marriage? What need the civil legislature, whenever they have occasion in any act of parliament to speak of such pretended marriages, always to subjoin a proviso, that nothing in that act shall extend or be construed so as to declare them good? And what need the Quakers, more than others, be so careful not to die intestate, but that they know, without a will the law will not suffer their children to inherit, as looking upon them to be illegitimate?

16. And those, who, under Cromwell's usurpation, being not content with having been joined together in a pretended marriage by the civil magistrate, were desirous to have a minister do that work for them again, desired this, I am inclined to think, not merely upon secular considerations, to rescue their children from the disgrace and inconveniences attending an illegitimate issue, (which they had cause enough to fear, in case the royal family should ever come to be restored,) but especially to satisfy their own consciences that they were really married, and consequently that their cohabitation as man and wife was lawful.

17. I ever thought, that in every vow or promissory oath which we make to one another, God had become a party as well as we, being called in, not only as a witness, but as a judge too, a revenger if we violate our vow: and consequently, that in marriage, (an act of religion of Divine institution, and a most solemn vow,) there had been, besides *the two parties contracting*, a third party also, even the author of marriage, the God who calls himself Love, who appears there by his minister, his representative, proxy, and commissioner, to ratify and complete the whole transaction, as well as to give his blessing to it. This to me appears very plain from the institution itself, from God's owning it to be *his* act, Mal. ii. 15. from the nature of religious actions in general, and from our own rubrics and form of matrimony prescribed in our most excellent Liturgy. In this sense, I presume, it is God who receives the woman at the hands of her

father or other friend, and disposes of her where she is designed, in allusion to Prov. xix. 14. And more plainly, when the man and the woman have performed their share of the solemnity, God, by the hands and mouth of his Priest who represents him, completes the whole action by joining their hands together, proclaiming it to be his own act, ("Those whom God hath joined together," says the Priest who acts in his name, "let no man put asunder,") and then declaring them to be "man and wife together." Which declaration the Priest makes "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And here it is that the conjugal relation begins: now they commence man and wife, and from henceforward in the remaining part of the office they are so styled, which they were not before, all the former part being only preparatory to this. So that to me the essence of the marriage seems to consist in this last act of the Priest's joining both together, and declaring them to be man and wife in the name of the blessed Trinity; unless you would rather have it consist in the joint concurrence of all the three parties acting in it, which I shall not dispute with you.

18. It is plain, through the whole solemnity the minister acts "for God and in God's name, which," Mr. W. says, "none can do without commission from him." From which account of marriage, I flatter myself that I have gained the point I aimed at, and proved, that the Priest is at least as *necessary* in marriage, as he is in Baptism; or that, if he is but *circumstantial* in that, he is not *essential* in this; and consequently, that in respect of a layman's acting instead of the Priest, the maxim, *quod fieri non debuit*, &c. will hold as well in Baptism, as it will in marriage. For in both God is alike represented by him that ministers; and if, when a layman usurps the office in one, even Mr. W. being judge, the act shall nevertheless be *valid*, I see no reason at all why it should not in the other too.

19. The only thing that can be alleged here is, that there is an express commission ("Go ye," &c.) granted only to the Apostles and their successors to baptize, which cannot be said of marriage.

20. But not to repeat what has been said already concerning this matter, I think this objection will still admit of a twofold answer.

21. 1st, That the *general* commission given to the Apostles and their successors, (viz. to the whole Christian priesthood,)

to represent Almighty God, and to act in his name in his several transactions with mankind, reaches to *all* acts of religion, and consequently to the solemnization of marriage too, and thereby makes marriage and Baptism equal, in respect of the pretended necessity of a lawful minister to the validity of the action.

22. 2dly, That so to interpret the baptismal commission as to make the minister *essential* to true Baptism, is to teach a doctrine which is altogether new, is countenanced by none of the ancient Fathers, is contradicted by some, is disclaimed by the known practice of the primitive Church, and ought therefore to be rejected by us.

23. This ought not to be said without proof, which is to appear by and by. In the mean time, holy scripture suggests something further in relation to this matter, from the parallel case of circumcision a parallel more just and nearer akin to the subject of our dispute than that of marriage was.

24. If the administration of the sacrament of circumcision was *not restrained* by the institution to the priesthood, as Mr. L. suggests, (Lay-baptism Invalid, part i. p. 104,) but left in common to such of the Jewish laymen as had skill and dexterity enough to perform it, as is the general opinion; then we have an instance from *scripture* of a sacrament esteemed even in *ordinary* cases to be *regularly* administered by lay hands. And seeing the Christian sacrament of Baptism is, if not more, certainly not less necessary to salvation than circumcision was, John iii. 5, seeing Baptism and circumcision have both the very same spiritual intendment and mystical signification, and are in a manner the same in substance, conveying the same grace, sealing the same covenant, Rom. iv. 11. and Col. ii. 11, and differing only in the rite of administration; we want a reason, why Baptism may not in like manner be *validly* at least administered by the laity in cases *extraordinary*, where a lawful dispenser of the sacrament cannot be had. Sir, I shall (till better evidence appear) presume to affirm, that there is no appearance of any ground for this difference between the one and the other in the reason and nature of the two ceremonies; nor any real foundation for it in scripture interpreted, as it ought to be, by the judgment and practice of antiquity, and of the Catholic Church in all ages.

25. But if the dispensing of that Jewish sacrament was *confined to the priesthood*, it is nevertheless plain, from the instance

of Zipporah circumcising her own child, Exod. iv. 24, 25, 26, that cases of necessity were excepted. It is pleasant here to observe, how Mr. L. in considering this case, gives up all his principles at once. He says, upon supposition, that "circumcision was to be performed by the master, as he was the priest of his family; yet it does not follow that Zipporah did any thing more than what she had a right to do; because her husband's authority was devolved upon her in his sickness, when he was unable to do it himself;—that he might order his wife to do it in his stead, and consequently it was interpretatively done by himself, because by his authority," &c. These are very remarkable words; and I hope he will not hereafter blame us, although we should say, that in cases of extreme necessity, when the Priest is absent, or (if present) under a natural incapacity, his power may devolve upon a woman; that in such cases he (much more the Church) may order those (even women) to dispense a sacrament, who have no authority so to do by the institution; and that, what such substitutes do in pursuance of those orders, is by interpretation his act, or rather the act of the Church from whom they received their deputation. I think, all this follows plainly from M. L.'s own concessions.

26. But the Calvinist writers have treated Zipporah very coarsely<sup>9</sup>, and passed hard censures upon her on this account. They have styled her, *stulta et iracunda mulier*, and fear not to deny that God approved what she did. Calvin, and our countryman Cartwright<sup>r</sup>, labour to aggravate her pretended crime as much as possible; and will not allow the event to be a sufficient declaration that the act pleased God. Zanchy observes, that the angel was appeased<sup>s</sup>, "because the child was circumcised, not because it was she that did it." In which words he gives us all that we need to insist upon in the question: "For seeing our adversaries," to use Mr. Hooker's words on this occasion, "are not able to deny, but circumcision, being in that very manner performed, was to the innocent child which received it true circumcision; why should that defect, whereby circumcision was so little weakened, be to Baptism a deadly wound?"

<sup>9</sup> Calv. Inst. lib. iv. cap. 15. sect. 22. Jun. et Trem. in locum. H. Zanch. Expl. cap. v. Ep. ad Eph. loc. de Bapt. cap. 4, 11, 17. Wendelin. Christ. Theol. lib. i. cap. 22. thes. 8.

<sup>r</sup> Quoted by Hooker, Eccles. Pol.

book v. note 62.

<sup>s</sup> Placatus fuit angelus: verum quod fuerit circumciscus puer, non quod illa circumciderit. Zanch. in loco supra citato.

27. And here it will not be unseasonable to add the observation of a learned writer well versed in the Jewish customs<sup>t</sup>. He says, that a Christian, being himself uncircumcised, is therefore not admitted among the Jews to circumcise an infant: but adds, that, if such a thing should nevertheless at any time happen, they do not esteem a circumcision so administered to be invalid, but reckon such a child truly circumcised, and justify themselves by a proverbial maxim, *quod factum factum*, exactly answerable to ours, *quod fieri non debet, factum valet*.

28. As I am writing this part of my letter, another instance of a *female* administration of this rite occurs to me, which I should have placed a little before, had I thought of it, and am not content yet to pass it by. It is in 1 Maccab. i. 63. in the original thus, *Καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς περιτεμηκυῖας τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἐθανάτωσαν κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα*.

29. I have done with the case of circumcision. But before I enter upon the third part of my design, there remain yet one or two particulars in this part of Mr. W.'s letter to be considered.

30. He argues from the nullity of subjects acting in the civil government without a competent authority, viz. "levying soldiers, naturalizing strangers," doing other things in the queen's name without order and warrant. I know not in what sense the levying of soldiers without authority can be said to be *null* and *void*. *Illegal* indeed it is, *criminal*, and penal in the highest degree. But concerning such actions in general, does the consequence hold from things secular and civil to sacred? Are the reasons the same in both? Because all grants, deputations, commissions, &c. from earthly princes to their subjects, and in general all human transactions, whereby we bind ourselves to each other, ought to appear genuine and voluntary, and must therefore pass under forms of law, to ascertain the rights of all parties concerned, and prevent the mischiefs which must otherwise accrue through fraud or forgery, will it follow, that we must not trust God himself also without the like securities? God is not under the like necessity in the administration of Baptism, that mortal princes are in the administration of their earthly governments, to annul that which is done in his name by an usurper of his authority. I say, he is under no *necessity* to do this: much less to do it to the prejudice of an

<sup>t</sup> J. Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. cap. iv.



innocent person, a person incapable by his age of refusing or choosing the baptism of a schismatical usurper. Nay, where the receiver, by choosing or knowingly accepting a baptism so irregularly given, makes himself equally criminal with the giver, no man can prove, that he has not even in this case received the sacrament, that is, the outward part of it, which the Church never yet thought fit to be repeated, although he be still destitute of the grace of the sacrament by reason of the schismatical state and indisposition he lies under, rendering him at present incapable of it. Which incapacity his sincere repentance, absolution, and reconciliation to the communion of the Church will effectually remove, and perfect that which before was defective. But this can be the case only of adults, who are bound not only to demand the sacrament of Baptism as soon as they are qualified for it, but to demand it too of the proper minister, and in a regular manner. If an infant be baptized by improper hands, the guilt and all the consequences of it lie at their doors who were actors in it. The infant, having received the whole substance (the matter and form) of the sacrament, is as sure of the grace attending it, as all the promises of the New Testament can make him. Nor is it to be imagined, that he can miss the blessing purely for a defect that cannot be justly charged upon him, who was only passive in the administration.

31. I speak here more especially of such graces, blessings, and privileges attending this sacrament, as the infant is at present capable of possessing and reaping benefit from, during the state of infancy. In which state if he dies, I can by no means think it is all one to his future condition, whether he were baptized or not, as some notions lately advanced would incline us to believe. We have been told, that the practice of Lay-baptism in cases of necessity was at first grounded upon an opinion, that that sacrament is of absolute necessity to the receiver. And what do they say to this? the Calvinists, and of late others, have been pleased to condemn this opinion, and brand it as superstitious, (though it prevailed almost universally in the Church in all former ages,) and have put a new, a loose, and uncertain construction upon those decretory words of our Lord, John iii. 5, that they might with the better grace object to the practice said to be grounded thereupon.

32. Now concerning the state of baptized persons dying in infancy, the Church affirms, with good authority, that they are

undoubtedly saved: concerning others, the Church of England chooses to affirm nothing, rather than affirm without warrant, only excludes them from her office of Christian burial. St. Austin, that *hard Father* styled by some, affirms children, dying without Baptism, to be "in damnatione omnium mitissima<sup>a</sup>," by which perhaps he might mean the punishment of loss rather than pain. But admitting that he meant the latter, that the good Father's zeal against the Pelagians carried him too far in this, and that infants dying without baptism do not suffer any torments in the next world: does it necessarily follow from hence, that they are not losers by having gone unbaptized out of this? What if Mr. Dodwell's notion of the *immortalizing Spirit* conferred in baptism be true? then every soul that departs without Baptism, not under the stain of actual sin, is (not miserable indeed, but) lost to all eternity. What if St. Gregory Nazianzen's opinion<sup>x</sup> should prove to be right; that children dying unbaptized shall be free from pain, but shall not be received to glory? For innocence alone, (as that Father observes in the place cited,) though it exempts from punishment, will not entitle to reward. Nay, do but suppose there are different degrees of glory and happiness in that world, and that the very lowest place there is prepared for the infants of heathens, and of others who suffer their children to go out of this life under all the disadvantages of being unbaptized. Methinks if this, if any of these suppositions be true, if it be but probable, or even possible, that infants, by being baptized, as they are distinguished in this world from the children of infidels, may also be preferred above them in the next; we have sufficient inducements (as our predecessors in former times did) still to affirm, that Baptism is necessary, *absolutely* necessary, for infants, for adults, for all; and consequently, if this were the original ground of Lay-baptism, it and the practice built upon it will continue as truly justifiable, as they were anciently believed.

33. But Mr. W. is at a loss to understand, how that which is *sinful* in the *administrator* is yet *valid* to the *receiver*. If, instead of *valid*, he had used the word *efficacious*, and by *receiver* had meant an *adult*, who chooses and prefers such a *sinful administration* before that which is regular and agreeable to the order.

<sup>a</sup> August. de Pecc. Meritis, lib. i. et passim alibi.

<sup>x</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. xl.

which God hath established in his Church, he might well be at a loss to understand it; because such an indisposition of mind hinders the effect, till it be removed by repentance, absolution, &c. as we observed before.

34. In the mean time, the Church, especially the lay part of it, were in an evil case, if every sinful circumstance in the administration should make the administration itself void and null to a receiver duly qualified to receive benefit by it. This were to make the efficacy, nay, the very *being* of the sacraments, depend, not upon God, but man. What think you of all schismatical and heretical administrations in former ages? were not they sinful? Yet that they were altogether *null*, Mr. W. himself will not say, being performed, as he observes, by "men of sacerdotal character; which being indelible, neither schism, nor heresy, nor any censures of the Church could deprive them of; men, who, if they returned to the Church, were received in without being reordained."

35. Further, he thinks it "an hard saying, that one may be damned for doing that, without which the other could not have been saved." Sir, it is not a new assertion, that God so husbands the sinful actions of men, as thereby to serve the ends of his providence, the needs of his Church, and the necessities of his servants. Judas, and Pilate, and the Jews, who conspired against and killed the Lord of life, (such of them as did not afterwards repent and believe in him,) are in hell for having done what they did; and yet without it mankind could not have been saved. And this answer I take to be sufficient with respect to all baptisms administered in defiance and opposition to the Christian priesthood, by those lay usurpers, counterfeit ministers of the Gospel, who officiate in fanatical congregations, and act without episcopal ordination. And as for other laymen, who, without any design to affront or invade the priesthood, or disturb the peace and settled order of the Church, acting upon inducements truly Christian and good, shall venture, when a lawful minister cannot be procured, to baptize a dying infant themselves, or do the like to an adult not baptized before, dying, and afraid to die without this "seal of the servants of God upon his forehead," and earnestly desirous to receive it; I say, as for such, even supposing the principle they act upon to

be a mistake, yet I can by no means think they are in any danger of being severely handled by a kind, an equitable, and most merciful Judge, for such their pious and charitable intentions. I do not say, that a good intention will justify an action that is plainly evil. But surely it will go far to excuse an action that is at worst but doubtful, and recommends itself too with so fair an appearance of charity to a soul in danger. And supposing the principle, which in this case they act upon, to be no mistake, then there is neither sin nor danger in what they do.

### SECT. III.

1. The third thing to be considered in this dispute, is the judgment and practice of the ancient Church. This I shall pursue no further than from the apostolical age down to St. Austin.

2. Sir, I cannot without astonishment find Mr. W. assuring us, that "the ancients do with one voice, for above three hundred years, condemn Lay-baptism, not so much as putting "in any exception for cases of necessity;" (only Tertullian he excepts;) when I recollect, that, in all that period of time, there are only two writers that make any mention of Lay-baptism; of whom Tertullian (the elder of the two) affirms it to be valid: and the other is an impostor, the forger, I mean, of the Apostolical Constitutions, who, as he is quoted by Mr. Bingham, does no more than forbid the use of it in ordinary cases, but pronounces nothing concerning the validity or invalidity of it even then.

3. I deny not, but it is easy to collect (what, I suppose, Mr. W. means) many passages out of St. Ignatius and others of the *ancientest* writers, wherein the right of administering in religious matters is asserted to the *priesthood*, as proper *only* to them, and the people forbidden to meddle or do any thing in holy things without the concurrence and approbation of the Bishop. To the same effect St. Chrysostom, (who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century,) discoursing of the dignity of the Christian Priesthood, and thereupon mentioning the two sacraments of the Church, the Power of the Keys, &c. says, "All these things are administered by no other, but only by "those sacred hands, those, I say, of the Priest<sup>2</sup>." By observing

<sup>2</sup> Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα δι' ἐτέρου μὲν ἐπιτελεῖται χειρῶν, τῶν τοῦ ἱερέως λέγω. οὐδενός, μόνον δὲ διὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων De Sacerd. lib. iii. cap. 5.

the original words in the margin, which I have transcribed from St. Chrysostom, you will see Mr. L., by his translation of them<sup>a</sup>, has favoured his own cause more than he could in strict justice do. But no matter. In these and the like sayings, to be met with in ancient authors, no more is intended, but to set forth the dignity and preeminence of the Priesthood, especially of the episcopal order, and to deter laics from despising or invading those offices which belong to men of the episcopal or sacerdotal character. To which end it was highly proper to allege the settled order and general rules appointed in *ordinary cases*: and it would have been highly improper to descend to *particular circumstances*, to *cases excepted* out of the general rule, *cases extraordinary*, and for which extraordinary provision must be made. I know no reason why any Divine of the Church of England may not freely do the like, (as without question most of us have done.) join in such speeches with St. Ignatius, St. Chrysostom, &c. and assert the just rights of the Christian Clergy, without thinking himself thereby obliged to say that Lay-baptism is invalid; which is the construction that our adversaries put upon these expressions of the great men before cited. For a further answer to what is alleged from St. Chrysostom, I refer you to Mr. Bingham's Scholastical History of Lay-Baptism, part i. sect. 5 and 15.

4. Mr. W. is content to give up Tertullian, having first used the modish sovereign charm to take off, at least to discredit his evidence. He lived and wrote his treatise of Baptism about the end of the second century, and is the *oldest writer* extant who mentions the practice of Lay-baptism, and yet (which is strange!) is not allowed to be a competent witness upon the case. It is said, he spoke not the practice of the Church, but *only his own private opinion*, and that too *founded upon a very weak reason*. A nimble and easy way this, of taking off an evidence that we do not like! So St. Austin, so the Council of Eliberis, so St. Jerome, Optatus Milevitanus, and others, *spoke only their own private opinions*, in what they delivered relating to this dispute. And we on the other side, with as much right, may say the same of any ancient writer, who shall be quoted (if any can fairly be quoted) for the opposite side of the question, and cry out, such

<sup>a</sup> Lay-Bapt. Inval. part i. Prel. Disc. p. 16, 17. he translates thus; "administered by no other man *living*, " but by those sacred hands alone, the " hands, I say, of the Priest."

or such a Father spoke only his own private opinion. By which means among us we shall have found out a most compendious way to stifle and set aside all the authority of the primitive Church, (except what relates to those few articles of faith and discipline which have been established by general councils,) and make for the future all convictions from antiquity impracticable and impossible.

5. Let Tertullian's *reason*, upon which he is said to *found* his opinion, be never so weak, we have at present nothing to do with that. A man may be very well acquainted with the customs and usages of the Church, without always knowing the true ground and reason of them. And admit, that a mistake is committed in the latter, that ought not to prejudice the account he gives of the other. Our business then is to learn from him (if we can) whether the Church in his days did in any case permit laymen to baptize, or did receive persons so baptized to the Eucharist, without insisting upon their being baptized by a Bishop, a Priest, or a Deacon. To this purpose Mr. Bingham very well observes, that it would be strange, if Tertullian, describing just before the practice of the Church in permitting Presbyters and Deacons to baptize by the *Bishop's* authority, should invert his discourse immediately in the very next words, and not mean the practice of the Church, when he comes to speak of laymen. Scholast. Hist. of Lay-Baptism, part i. chap. 1. sect. 8. Mr. Dodwell, who was the first that thought so, had reason to acknowledge that conjecture of his to be a paradox.

6. I cannot see that Tertullian's own words<sup>b</sup> give any ground for it, which I paraphrase thus; "The Bishop hath the (original) right to give Baptism. Next under him the Presbyters and Deacons, but not without permission from and dependence upon the Bishop, for order's sake and decency in the Church of God, which is necessary for the preservation of peace." (It is plain he speaks here of the ordinary administrations performed in public.) "Else" (i. e. abating for the necessity of preserving peace, order, and decency, as before) "there is nothing in the nature of the sacrament itself, but what laymen may administer too; for what is received in common may be given in common." In the following words he seems to reprove the forward

<sup>b</sup> Tertull. L. de Bapt. cap. 17. honorem. Quo salvo, salva pax est. Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos qui est Episcopus. Alioquin etiam laicis jus est. Quod Presbyteri et Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesie potest, &c.

presumption of some laics, who took upon themselves to baptize, even when there was no great necessity for it, admonishing them to be more modest and cautious in the use of this power, seeing even their superiors in the Church, the Presbyters and Deacons, have it in subordination to the Bishop, and must not usurp the episcopal office, and therefore that they much more should content themselves to use it in private, not in public, and that too but in cases of extreme necessity, and when the ordinary administrator cannot be had.

7. This testimony from Tertullian will receive further light and strength from another passage in the same author. In his exhortation to chastity he inveighs violently against second marriages; and, among other arguments which he brings against them, he alleges this for one<sup>c</sup>, that, considering the necessity a layman may sometime lie under (in the absence of a Priest) to baptize, and do things which ordinarily belong only to the sacerdotal order, he ought to observe the sacerdotal discipline too; and that it would be a great absurdity for a man twice married to do these things, because a second marriage, according to the discipline of those times, unqualified a man for being ever admitted to holy orders. You see, Sir, he insists upon the same qualification in any layman, who in case of necessity should baptize, which the Council of Elvira did some time after in their thirty-eighth canon, wherein they give leave to those laymen only, whose own Baptism was entire, and who had not been twice married, to baptize a catechumen in case of necessity. Both Tertullian and the Council desiring to have that office done, if not by a clergyman, at least by a layman not unqualified to be a clergyman; and both the one and the other agreeing, that, in such cases of extremity, a layman might do it consistently enough with the discipline then in use.

8. And to prevent any objection from the layman's *offering* being here spoken of, as well as his baptizing, it is sufficient to remember what Dr. Cave tells us relating to this matter<sup>d</sup>, viz.

<sup>c</sup> Tertull. Exh. ad Cast. cap. vii. Igitur si habes jus sacerdotis in temetipso, ubi necesse est habeas, oportet etiam disciplinam sacerdotis necesse sit habere jus sacerdotis. Digamus tinguis, Digamus offers &c. edit. Pamel.

<sup>d</sup> Prim. Christ. part i. chap. 11. This custom continued long in the

Western Church. See can. lviii. of the Sixth Council in Trullo, and Balsamon's note upon it: Οἱ μέντοι Λατίνοι ἄζυμα διηλεκῶς ἐγκόλπια φέροντες, καὶ λαϊκοὶ ὄντες, οὐ μόνον ἑαυτοῖς τούτων μεταδιδόασιν ὡς ἁγιασμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέροις. Latini autem azyma assidue in sinu ferentes, etiamsi sint laici, ea non solum sibi, ut sacramenta,

“ That in those early times nothing was more common, than for Christians to carry, or to have sent to them, some parts of the Eucharist, which they kept in some decent place in their houses against all emergent occasions.” Their religious use whereof upon such occasions is doubtless what Tertullian here means by *offering*.

9. It is true, Tertullian was a Montanist when he wrote this. But what then? Sure he could not be so forsaken of his understanding, or of his integrity either, as to argue upon premises which he knew to be false. Certainly no man of common sense would wilfully make himself so ridiculous, as to pretend to persuade men against second marriages, upon the topic of supposing them to be thereby unqualified to baptize, &c. in cases of necessity, if Baptism by laymen (howsoever qualified) had at that time been never practised, or, if practised, rejected as null and void. In a word, he supposes no more concerning Lay-baptism in this, than what he had affirmed before in his treatise of Baptism, which he wrote whilst he was a Catholic, and wrote particularly against the Montanists. And from both places together we may fairly conclude, that Lay-baptism was used in that age in extraordinary cases both among Catholics and others, who by schism or heresy were fallen from the communion of the Church.

10. Having done with Tertullian, we come next to him who loved to call Tertullian his master, viz. St. Cyprian, from whom, I confess, I have no positive evidence. But I am apt to think his very silence upon this subject, when he had such an inviting occasion to speak of it, will afford us a fair presumptive argument, that Baptism administered by a layman with water, in the name of the blessed Trinity, was not (at least not generally) thought invalid in his time, and particularly that it was not so in his own opinion of it. As Pamelius<sup>e</sup> has made it evident beyond contradiction, that Tertullian was of St. Cyprian's mind in the question of rebaptizing heretics; so it seems extremely probable that St. Cyprian had the same sentiments with Tertullian in the affair of Lay-baptism. Else how comes it to pass, that St. Cyprian, among all his arguments for the nullity of heretical baptism, should never urge the probable danger there was of its being administered among them by the laity? If he

impertunt, sed etiam aliis. *Apud* <sup>e</sup> Pamel. in Tertull. Parad. xii. et *Bevereg. Pand.* tom. i. p. 225. passim in Annot. in S. Cypriani Opera.



had thought a lay-administration a fundamental defect in this sacrament, how was it possible for him to pass over in silence an objection of so great importance, and which had so very probable a foundation ?

11. It is not sufficient here for Mr. W. to tell us, as he does, that the baptisms administered among heretics were “ administered by men of sacerdotal character.” I grant those heretics had (generally) episcopal orders and government among them : the validity whereof I refer you to Mr. Bingham for an account of, especially in the second part of his Scholastical History. But what I insist upon is, that, considering the many enormities and uncanonical practices usual in heretical congregations, St. Cyprian had reason enough to believe, that *laics* did among them presume to baptize, even where no necessity could be pretended. Tertullian will justify this suggestion by the account he gives of the heretics in those times, *Lib. de Præscrip. adv. Hæret. cap. 41.* “ *Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ quam procaces, quæ audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, forsitan et tingere.*” And by and by, “ *Nusquam facilius proficitur quam in castris rebellium, ubi ipsum esse illic, promereri est. Itaque alius hodie Episcopus est, cras alius ; hodie Diaconus, qui cras lector ; hodie Presbyter, qui cras laicus. Nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera injungunt.*” And St. Augustin in his tract of heresies tells us<sup>f</sup>, that the Pepuzians and Quintillians (cotemporaries with Tertullian and St. Cyprian) dignified even the women with the honour of the priesthood. There are other evidences in being that will prove this, which I cannot come at for want of books ; Epiphanius particularly, from whom St. Augustin makes his short collection, and quotes him in that very chapter. And if the case was thus, especially if these things were done (as all things [*in castris rebellium*] among schismatics and heretics are done) in defiance of all power and order established in the Church ; then certainly it is not possible to imagine, that the Cyprianists (among their other arguments) should not make use of this, the most plausible of them all, if Lay-baptism had in that age been generally thought null and invalid.

12. Thus we might fairly presume. But it seems St. Basil is

<sup>f</sup> *Tantum dantes mulieribus principatum, ut sacerdotio quoque apud eos honorentur. Aug. Lib. de Hæres. c. xxvii.*

in our way, who was born about seventy years after St. Cyprian's martyrdom. He tells us, that St. Cyprian and his own predecessor Firmilian had affirmed concerning the Cathari, the Enoratites, the Hydroparastatæ, and the Apotaactitæ, that by their heresies they had forfeited the grace of the Holy Spirit, that their clergy thereby were become laics, and had lost the power of baptizing, ordaining, &c. and therefore ordered, that those who had been baptized by them should, if they returned to the Church, be again cleansed with the true baptism of the Church, as having before been baptized only by laymen.

13. But it ought here to be observed, that St. Basil does not give us the words either of St. Cyprian or Firmilian; at most, he only says, they were of that opinion, and that they gave order so and so. And though it is not improbable, but St. Basil might see some writings of theirs which are not extant now; yet, considering that there is no such thing to be met with at this day in all St. Cyprian's writings, nor in Firmilian's letter to him preserved among St. Cyprian's works, there is room to think, first, that St. Basil might forget and mistake his authors, or mistake their meaning, and the true ground upon which they built their arguments. Dr. Brett's suggestion, that St. Cyprian used the foregoing argument in his letter to Firmilian, which is now lost, and which he supposes St. Basil might see in the archives of Cæsarea, is wholly precarious, as easily denied as affirmed; and the less likely to be true, because there is no mention of any such thing in Firmilian's answer. I add, that it is hard to think he would make use of an argument in one single letter to Firmilian, which in all his other writings upon the same subject he never thought fit to mention.

14. There is room to conjecture, that St. Basil, by his τοῖς ΠΕΡΙ Κυπριανὸν καὶ Φιρμιλιανὸν, might mean, not the persons of Cyprian and Firmilian, but the disciples and followers of their

§ S. Basil. ad Amphil. can. i. ap. Bever. Pand. tom. ii. Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, τοῖς περὶ Κυπριανὸν λέγω καὶ Φιρμιλιανὸν τὸν ἡμετέρον, τούτους πάντας μὴ ψήφῳ ὑποβαλεῖν, Καθαροῦς, Ἐγκρατίτας, καὶ Ὑδροπαραστάτας, καὶ Ἀποτακτίτας· δι' ἃ ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τοῦ χωρισμοῦ διὰ σχίσματος γέγονεν· οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποστάτες, οὐκ ἐτί εἰσχον τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς. ἐπέλιπε γὰρ ἡ μετάδοσις τῶ δια-

κοπῆναι τὴν ἀκολουθίαν.—οἱ δὲ ἀπορραγέντες, λαϊκοὶ γενόμενοι, οὔτε τοῦ βαπτίζειν, οὔτε τοῦ χειροτονεῖν εἶχον τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὐκ ἐτί δυνάμενοι χάριν πνεύματος ἁγίου ἑτέροις παρέχειν, ἥς αὐτοὶ ἐκπεπτώκεισι. δι' ἃ, ὡς παρὰ λαϊκῶν βαπτισομένους τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐκέλευσαν ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τῶ ἀληθινῶ βαπτίσματι τῶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνακαθαίρεσθαι.

party : who, though they sided with these great men in the dispute, might mistake the principles upon which they acted, or might act upon different principles of their own. For instance, Tertullian was for rebaptization, but not upon the same grounds that our adversaries tell us St. Cyprian was. I see not at present how this conjecture can be disproved ; and if it be allowed, it easily reconciles the difference between Firmilian's and St. Cyprian's own account of the principles they went upon, and this account of St. Basil.

15. But suppose in the mean time, what cannot be proved, that St. Cyprian himself had argued in that manner as is pretended ; then, as on the one hand Mr. W. must upon his own principle confess, that St. Cyprian spoke therein not the doctrine of the Church, but " his own private opinion ;" (for Mr. W. owns, that " that question, whether heresy and schism nulled " orders, and reduced heretical priests to mere laymen, was " determined by the Church in the negative ;") so, on the other hand, I cannot see how Mr. W. can prove, that the nullity of Lay-baptism (if it was his opinion) was other than *his own private opinion* too. He says indeed of the Cyprianists and their adversaries, that " both sides supposed the nullity of Lay-baptisms as an undoubted principle ;" and that the main dispute was " whether heresy and schism nulled orders." He says this, but upon what authority, we are left to seek. And certainly he gives us a very wrong account of the state of that controversy. For, were it true, what he affirms, that the nullity of Lay-baptisms was received by both sides as an undoubted principle, it would be next to miraculous, that no one word of this should be met with in the many letters and treatises that were written upon that dispute, not the least mention made of such a principle, when there was so fair an occasion for it, neither by Pope Stephen and his party on the one side, nor by Firmilian, St. Cyprian, or any of their adherents on the other ; nay, that the direct contrary to this, the validity of Lay-baptism, should be affirmed, and taken for granted too (as if he expected no contradiction in it) by Tertullian, who was a stout and learned champion of the latter party, and indeed senior to Cyprian and Firmilian in that dispute, and doubtless understood the grounds of it as well as they. So far is it from being certain that Cyprian, Firmilian, or their adherents, who asserted the rebaptization of heretics, (much less their opposers,) " supposed the

“ nullity of Lay-baptisms as an undoubted principle !” whilst, on the other hand, it is demonstratively certain, that Tertullian, who asserted the same thing, did it upon principles altogether different.

16. I have offered all I had to offer concerning St. Cyprian, and persuade myself that Mr. W. and his friends cannot easily wrest him away from us : but if they could, still I am of opinion that they must give us St. Basil in exchange<sup>b</sup>. For after this Father had laid before us the Cyprianic notion, that heresy extinguished the sacerdotal character, insomuch that a Baptism administered by an heretical priest ought to be so esteemed, as if administered by a mere layman, although (as Mr. L. truly observes, Second Part of Lay-Baptism Inval. p. 178.) St. Basil himself espoused the same notion, (and perhaps the whole Catholic Church with him,) reckoning persons in such circumstances to be reduced to laymen ; yet he concludes, nevertheless, that a person so baptized may be received into the communion of the Church with confirmation alone, without being rebaptized, if such be the custom of that particular church where the case happens : and he justifies this concession with reasons drawn from ecclesiastical policy. All which sure he would not have done, had he thought Lay-baptism to be so far null and void, that it is not even in the power of the Church to receive or ratify it in any case. It is plain St. Basil thought this a point of discipline rather than of doctrine, and consequently subject to the rules and customs of particular churches, and to be governed as the interests of religion should require. And if what Dr. Brett suggests<sup>i</sup> be true, that “ when we cite a canonical “ epistle of St. Basil, we do not produce the authority of a “ single Father, but of the whole Greek Church ;” then we have the authority of “ the whole Greek Church” asserting, that the Church may, if she pleases, receive and ratify a Baptism administered by a mere layman. For in St. Basil’s judgment, (not

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἴδως ἰδοῦσι τισὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, οἰκονομίας ἕνεκα τῶν πολλῶν, δεχθῆναι αὐτῶν τὸ βάπτισμα, ἴστω δεκτόν. S. Basil. *ibid.* It is to be observed, that he makes the same concession also in favour of the Encratites, who by their irregular Baptisms defied, and particularly studied to prevent the Baptism of the Church. For speaking in the next words of

Baptisms administered by those heretics, he inclines in his own private opinion to have them repeated : but immediately adds, Ἐὰν μόντοι μέλλῃ τῇ καθόλου οἰκονομίᾳ ἐμπόδιον ἔσεσθαι τοῦτο, πάλιν τῷ ἥθει χρηστέρων, &c. and gives a reason for it grounded upon prudential considerations.

<sup>i</sup> Mr. B.’s Scholastical History Considered, part i. sect. 15. p. 59.

to mention now St. Cyprian and Firmilian,) an heretical priest is no more.

17. Mr. L. says, that the Baptisms here allowed of by St. Basil were only schismatical, not Lay-baptisms. It may be so. But our question concerning them is not what they really were, nor what opinion the Asiatic churches had of them, but what St. Basil's opinion of them was. And that both appears plainly from St. Basil's own words, and is also granted by Mr. L. viz. that the ministers of those Baptisms were by their schisms and heresies become mere laymen. I say, Mr. L. grants this to have been St. Basil's opinion. And yet even such Baptisms St. Basil consents to allow upon prudential motives, for the sake of peace, and a due regard to those Asiatic churches who did receive them, and particularly *οικονομίας ἕνεκα τῶν πολλῶν*, for the sake of those *great multitudes* who were concerned therein. I wish the same considerations might have an equal regard now.

18. I have been forced to join St. Cyprian and St. Basil together, though considerably distant in time. But the next evidence in order of time, after Tertullian and St. Cyprian, are the Fathers of the Spanish Council of Elvira, or Eliberis, held in the year 305; who in the thirty-eighth canon<sup>k</sup> do not so much assert, as suppose and take for granted the liberty of laymen to baptize in cases of necessity, nothing being more common in that age; but restrain the use of that liberty to such alone of the laity as had not unqualified themselves for holy orders. This we observed before, in examining the evidence from Tertullian.

19. I cannot imagine to what end we are here reminded by Mr. L. and Dr. Brett, that this Council was not general; seeing we inquire only into fact. And it is to be hoped, that the Bishops of so great a nation as Spain, being assembled together in council, may afford as considerable an evidence of the doctrine and discipline of the Western Church, as a letter from one single Bishop to another (St. Basil<sup>l</sup> to Amphilochius) can of the Eastern. It is not at all likely, that such an assembly of Catholic Bishops would decree any thing (especially in matters of such importance as are the Christian sacraments) contrary

<sup>k</sup> *Peregre navigantes, aut si Ecclesia in proximo non fuerit, posse fidelem, (qui lavacrum suum integrum habet, nec sit bigamus,) baptizare in necessitate infirmitatis positum catechumenum, ita ut si supervixerit ad*

*episcopum eum perducatur, ut per manus impositionem perfici posset. Concil. Illiberit. can. xxxviii. apud Barth. Carranzam.*

<sup>l</sup> Dr. Brett, part i. sect. 5. of Mr. B.'s Schol. Hist. Considered.

to the received doctrine and discipline of the Church; and less likely yet, that they could do such a thing without being censured for it, either by the writings of private Fathers, or by some public act of some other council. This, I say, is not at all likely; if we consider how great a flame had been raised in the Church upon the question of heretical Baptisms not many years before, which was a question not of greater importance than this.

20. Whether the story of St. Athanasius's baptizing his play-fellows, when a boy, be true or false, yet it ought to be observed, that Ruffinus and Sozomen, who relate, seem to applaud the decree made upon it, at least censure it not: which surely they must have done, or must have incurred censure themselves, had Lay-baptism been invalidated by the discipline of the Catholic Church in those times. Ruffinus would have been sure to have St. Jerome upon his back, who, living as he did in Palestine, so near Alexandria, where this thing is said to be done, could neither be ignorant of the discipline used in that part of the world, nor want opportunity of detecting the falsity of the story, and would have been forward (had there been room for it) to expose Ruffinus on that account, for whose reputation it is well known he had no extraordinary tenderness or regard.

21. The author (whether Hilary the Deacon, or whosoever he was) of the commentary upon St. Paul's Epistles, extant under the name of St. Ambrose<sup>m</sup>, wrote under the Pontificate of Damasus, that is, somewhat after the middle of the fourth century, in a learned age, and not very distant from the apostolical, when it is not easy to think, either that the nature and extent of the baptismal commission was not well understood, or that the practice of the apostolical age was entirely forgotten. He (contrary to the sense of Calvin and other moderns) supposes the offices of baptizing and preaching *separable*<sup>n</sup>, though they are both joined together in the commission. And elsewhere<sup>n</sup> he

<sup>m</sup> V. Pseud-Ambros. Comment. in 1 Tim. iii. 15.

<sup>n</sup> Non omnis qui baptizatur idoneus est et evangelizare. *Pseud-Ambros. in 1 Cor. i. 17.* idem in Gal. iv. Neque Petrus Diaconos habuit aut diem quaesivit, quando Cornelium cum omni domo ejus baptizavit, nec ipse, sed jussit fratribus qui cum illo ierant ad Cornelium ab Joppe. Adhuc enim praeter septem Diaconos nullus fuerat ordinatus. Ut ergo cresceret plebs et

multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare, et baptizare, et Scripturas in Ecclesia explanare. At ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est Ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et caetera officia in ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clero aunderet qui ordinatus non esset praesumere officium, quod sciret non sibi creditum vel concessum, et coepit alio ordine et providentia gubernari Ecclesia, quia si omnes

tells us, that at first, for the swifter propagation of the Gospel, leave was given to all promiscuously to teach, baptize, and explain the scriptures, nay, to do these things *in Ecclesia*, whereof he gives an instance in the circumstances of Cornelius's Baptism, Acts x. which, he says, St. Peter, having at that time no deacons with him, did not administer himself, but commanded it to be done by those that were present.

22. He does indeed, a little after, say, that this large commission was withdrawn, when the circumstances of the Church made it no longer necessary, "Hinc ergo est," says he, "unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant." Which words imply, not that the one or the other were under a total prohibition in all cases, as Mr. L. seems to understand it<sup>o</sup>, but only that they did not do these things *in populo*, in their public assemblies for religious worship, not in ordinary cases, or when there was no necessity for it. Much less do these words imply, that, if they did it, it was not valid. For that would have been a contradiction to what he had been saying but just before.

23. Optatus Milevitanus wrote about the same time, who, it is plain, never thought the minister was of the essence of Baptism. In his fifth book against the Donatists, (p. 135. of M. Casaubon's edition at London, 1631,) he says, that of the three things concurring in Baptism, viz. the name of the Trinity, the faith of the receiver, and the person who administers, the last is not of equal authority or importance with the two former. "Duæ priores permanent semper immutabiles et immotæ: Trinitas enim semper ipsa est: fides in singulis una est: vim suam semper retinent ambæ. Persona vero operantis intelligitur duabus prioribus speciebus par esse non posse, ideo quod sola esse videatur mutabilis:" And p. 145. speaking of our Lord's commission to his Apostles, he delivers his sentiments thus: "In quo baptizarentur gentes, a Salvatore mandatum est: per quem baptizentur, nulla exceptione decretum est. Non

eadem possent, irrationabile esset, et vulgaris res vilissima videretur. Hinc est unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant.

What he says of St. Peter in this place, he had affirmed before in 1 Cor. i. 17. viz. Apostolus Petrus cre-

dentem Cornelium cum suis *jussit baptizari*, nec dignatus est, ministris adstantibus, hoc opus facere. See *Dissenters' Baptism null and void*, sect. 17.

<sup>o</sup> Second Part of Lay-Baptism Invalid, chap. ii. sect. 2.

“dixit Apostolis, Vos facite, alii non faciant. Quisquis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizaverit, Apostolorum opus implevit.” He prosecutes this notion there for several pages together.

24. St. Gregory Nazianzen lived and wrote about the same time. I have only a Latin version of his works, where in Orat. xl. which is an exhortation to Baptism, I read these words: “*Omnes citra ullum discrimen vim perficiendæ animæ habere existima, qui modo eadem fide sint informati.*” A little before he had said, “*Tu vero neminem non satis dignum atque idoneum ad Baptistæ munus obeundum existima; qui modo inter pios censeatur, ac non aperte condemnatus sit, atque ab Ecclesia alienus.*” He gives such advice, as any of us would give to an adult in the like case, if any emergency should drive him to desire Baptism at the hands of a layman, to make application for it in the first place to a pious and good man, a professor of the same faith, and a member of the same communion. At worst, if, in case of extreme necessity, even such a layman cannot be had, and a schismatic or heretic be employed, as I conceive St. Gregory's limitation did not, so I presume Mr. W.'s principles will not condemn a Baptism, administered, with water, in the name of the Trinity, even by such a one, as utterly “null and void purely upon the account of his being a schismatic or heretic.”

25. And now we come to St. Jerome, who lived in the latter end of the same century. Sir, notwithstanding the great pains which Dr. Brett has been at, and the very plausible account which he gives us of St. Jerome's conference with the Luciferian, as if the principles maintained in it were altogether in favour of his hypothesis; yet I find by experience it is possible to read the piece of St. Jerome over without falling into the Doctor's opinion. Particularly as to his judgment of what Mr. Bingham has quoted<sup>p</sup> from thence in favour of Lay-baptism, viz. that it was a lapse of St. Jerome's pen or memory, and that through want of care he transcribed more from Tertullian than what was for his purpose, I must ask his pardon that I dissent from him. Whether

<sup>p</sup> S. Hieron. adv. Lucif. c. iv. Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet: cui si non exors quædam et ab hominibus eminens datur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata, quot sacerdotes. Inde venit, ut sine chrismate et Episcopi jussione, neque Presbyter neque Diaconus jus habeant baptizandi. Quod frequenter, si tamen necessitas cogit, scimus etiam licere laicis. Ut enim accipit quis, ita et dare potest.



he transcribed at all from Tertullian, neither he nor I know. But I find, upon reading the place, nothing but what is very much for St. Jerome's purpose, and extremely proper to support what the Catholic asserts in the former part of that chapter. And it is a fine art the Doctor has, to spirit away the testimony which stands against him, and which he cannot surmount, by making us believe St. Jerome did not mind what he was doing. It is like the other sovereign remedy used upon such occasions against a stubborn evidence, viz. "He speaks not the sense of the Church, but his own private opinion." But it has happened very luckily, that just now Mr. Bingham's Second Part of his Scholastical History is come to my hand, wherein he has sufficiently justified this part of the evidence. To whom therefore, and to St. Jerome himself, I shall refer you.

26. St. Austin, lib. vii. de Bapt. contra Donat. cap. 53. mentions cases which had been sometimes put concerning ludicrous and mimical Baptisms, Baptisms given by those that are unbaptized, or with a fallacious intent, or administered in jest to those who, being suddenly moved by the grace of God, have received it faithfully and devoutly. These are cases, which he owned no general or provincial council had determined: and therefore with very great caution and deference to the opinion of others, he gives us his own in these words; "Nequaquam dubitarem habere eos Baptismum, qui ubicunque et a quibuscunque illud verbis evangelicis consecratum, sine sua simulatione, et cum aliqua fide accepissent, quanquam eis ad salutem spiritalem non prodesset, si charitate caruissent, qua Catholice licet insererentur Ecclesie."

27. The same Father, lib. ii. contra Epist. Parmen. cap. 13. speaking of Baptism administered by lay hands, expresses himself thus; "Sed et si nulla necessitate usurpetur, et a quolibet cuiuslibet detur, quod datum fuerit, non potest dici non datum, quamvis recte dici possit illicite datum. Illicitam ergo usurpationem corrigit remanentis et penitentis affectus. Quod si non correxerit, manebit ad poenam usurpatoris quod datum est, vel ejus qui illicite dedit, vel ejus qui illicite accepit; non tamen pro non dato habebitur."

28. Give me leave to suppose it hardly possible St. Austin should be ignorant what was the practice of the Church in his time; nor at all likely, that he himself would go about (had it been in his power) to change the usages and traditions which

former ages had recommended, or innovate any thing in the rituals or discipline of the Church. I say, it is not likely that St. Austin should attempt this, whose deference for the authority of the Church was so great, that he said, he would not believe the Gospel itself without it. Had this Father then known, that the Church disowned the *validity* of Baptisms administered by *lay-Christians*, is it at all probable, in the first place, that he would *put* such cases as above mentioned; or so much as possible to imagine, he would *give his opinion* upon those cases *as he does*? that he could so much as hesitate, or give a doubtful uncertain answer upon the most *extravagant* of those cases? and *determine* the last of them in language so diametrically opposite to what he knew, could not but know, to be the practice of the Catholic Church? Believe it who can: it must be stronger evidence that can force my belief of it, than I ever expect to see.

29. And that Lay-baptism (in cases of necessity) was a thing frequently practised in his time, we have positive evidence from St. Austin himself, as I find him quoted from Gratian by Mr. Bingham, in the first part of the Scholastical History, chap. i. sect. 12. whose words concerning the custom in those cases are, "Etiam laicos *solere* dare sacramentum, quod acceperunt, *solemus* "audire." Dr. Brett does not give his reader a fair account of these words, (which he writes not,) when he tells him, "that "St. Austin had only heard so." I think the words will imply, that he had *often* heard so, had *frequently* been informed, that it was a *usual custom* among the laity so to do. What else can be the English of *solere* and *solemus*? In the following part of the same quotation, St. Austin adds, that the custom took its rise from apostolical tradition.

30. Sir, I promised to pursue this matter no further than St. Austin, and therefore shall rest here, only refer you for fuller satisfaction to Mr. Bingham. Else it were easy to shew, besides divers of the ancients already quoted, that Isidore Hispalensis also, and others in the following ages, confirm my foregoing notion of the sense and limits of the baptismal commission, and upon it so expounded ground the validity of Lay-baptism, and the power of the Church to judge of Baptisms administered in an irregular manner. If I be not mistaken, our adversaries agree, that, after St. Austin's time, the use of Lay-baptism in cases of necessity prevailed universally, not only in the Western

Church, but the Eastern too, where St. Austin's authority was nothing, his name scarce known, and the correspondence for some ages between the East and West not so good as to afford any ground of conjecture, that the East might (as if by infection) receive an irregular custom from the Latins. So that, were there no positive evidence of it, yet it seems most reasonable to believe they had the custom among them long before St. Austin. Dr. Smith, in the account he gives of the present state of the Greek churches, assures us the custom continues yet among them; *Epist. de Ecclesiæ Græcæ Hodierno Statu*, p. 74. "Hoc in casu, at solo quidem, (neque aliter omnino fas erit,) si ingens neutiquamque fictum moriendi periculum immineat, seculari personæ, qualiscunque sit sexûs, cui intervenire contigerit, moribundum infantem tingere permissum est."

31. That I am not deceived in these evidences from antiquity, which I have here produced, I am the more inclined to think, because I find the greatest men of our own holy Church concur in opinion, that the primitive Church did allow Lay-baptisms to be valid, viz. Dr. Cave<sup>p</sup>, Bishop Sparrow<sup>q</sup>, Mr. Thorndike<sup>r</sup>, Mr. Hooker<sup>s</sup>, Archbishop Whitgift<sup>t</sup>, and others<sup>u</sup>.

32. And now I have done with the ancients. Mr. W. in one part of his letter promises "to be thankful to me, if I will give him but one plain authority, except Tertullian, for the validity of Lay-baptism, as such, before St. Austin."

33. I know not what he means by his restriction [*as such*]. Else I would promise myself, that I have a just claim to his thanks, if the Fathers of the Illiberitan Council, if the commentator upon St. Paul's Epistles under the name of St. Ambrose, if St. Gregory Nazianzen, if St. Jerome, (not to mention Ruffinus, Optatus Milevitanus, &c.) lived and wrote before St. Austin.

34. And I reciprocally promise to be thankful to Mr. W. if he will produce within a thousand years after Christ, either one single canon of any council to confront that of the Eliberitan Fathers, or so much as a testimony of one single Father that speaks home on his side of the question. St. Basil bids the fairest: but I think he is fairly made at least to stand neuter, if

<sup>p</sup> Prim. Christ. P. i. c. 10.

<sup>q</sup> Ration. on Common Prayer, in Private Baptism.

<sup>r</sup> Epilogue to the Trag. of the Church of England, book ii. chap. 19.

<sup>s</sup> Eccl. Pol. book v. sect. 61, 62.

<sup>t</sup> Defence against T. C. tract ix. chap. 5. p. 518.

<sup>u</sup> Bishops Bancroft and Bilson, in the Conference at Hampton Court.

not to list on the other side. The Fourth Council of Carthage (about St. Austin's time) can. 100. (apud Carranzam,) does indeed forbid *women* to baptize, (*mulier baptizare non præsumat,*) but does not declare a Baptism even so administered to be utterly *null and void*. It is not improbable, that the Council might intend only to prohibit their baptizing in ordinary cases, or in public, and leave cases of necessity to be provided for according to custom. However, their forbidding *women* only, and not *laymen*, (at a time when laymen were known frequently to do it,) is a very plain, though tacit, allowance of the latter.

35. And I will be further thankful to him, if within that period he will produce so much as an instance of any one Christian rebaptized by or in an episcopal church, purely upon account of his having been before only baptized by *lay hands*. I would not have set him such *narrow bounds*, but for the Constantinopolitan Council of 1166, mentioned by Mr. Bingham, (first part of his Schol. Hist. p. 106.) except that Council, and I shall content myself with an instance of it so much as fifty years old, or even later, done by the authority of any Bishop, whom the Rubric directs us to consult upon such occasions.

36. On the contrary, we can produce instances of the Church's receiving the Baptisms of those whose ordinations she had before declared void. I shall not here concern myself with Mr. Bingham's argument, in the second part of his History, relating to Baptisms administered by degraded clergymen, further than asking, 1. Whether the same Lord and Head of the Church who gave, cannot withdraw a commission? 2. Supposing he can, how this can be done, otherwise, than by the Church's acting in his name and by his authority, as well in withdrawing as granting the said commission? 3. Whether the Church have not full authority to do this, considering the large and full promises her Lord has made to her, of ratifying and confirming all matters of discipline, which she shall think fit to transact in his name? And, 4. Whether the Church has not upon divers occasions expressed herself in such language towards heretics, schismatics, and delinquents, as if she thought she had such a power? particularly, whether she *can* express herself in higher language, supposing she has it? For answer to which last queries, I refer myself to those passages which Mr. Bingham has quoted, in the second part of his Scholastical History. from her general, her patriarchal, and provincial councils.

37. Only I must observe, that the Church has been troubled with *counterfeit priests* (I mean persons pretending to be priests who never had any ordination) in ancient times, as well as of late. Ischyras, in the time of St. Athanasius, is one instance of this. He, being never ordained, usurped the office of Presbyter. Being called to account for this by Athanasius, and thereupon flying to the Eusebian faction, he was by them made Bishop of Mareotis, a place in Egypt within the diocese of Alexandria, without being previously ordained either Priest or Deacon. This man, among other enemies of the Nicene faith and accusers of St. Athanasius, was condemned and excommunicated by the Sardican Council. But no decree was made for annulling the Baptisms administered by him either after or before his pretended consecration to the Bishopric which he had usurped. You have the story in Socrates Scholasticus, Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 27. and lib. ii. cap. 20.

38. The same Council declared all, whom Musæus and Euty-chianus had pretended to ordain, not to be Clergymen, because they themselves were usurpers and unordained, as we learn from M. Blastares's Syntagma Alfab. B. cap. iii. and Balsamon's Comment upon the eighteenth and nineteenth Canons of that Council. And yet the Council made no order for rebaptizing those who had been baptized by any of these usurpers. It is not unlikely, but more instances parallel to these may be found by those that are skilful in the antiquities of the Church. But these are sufficient to shew the sense of that bright age to which they belong.

#### SECT. IV.

1. The Church of England practises exactly by the same rule. She receives foreigners baptized by men not episcopally ordained, as well as natives baptized by schismatical laymen, into her communion without rebaptization; but none, whether natives or foreigners, to the exercise of the sacerdotal office without episcopal ordination: which shews, that *she* makes some difference between the case of *Lay-baptism* and *Lay-ordination*: and believes she may on good grounds allow the first to be valid, without being obliged by any consequence deducible thence to allow the validity of the latter.

2. Early in the infancy of the Reformation, and since, she hath so plainly declared her sense of this matter in her ancient Rubrics and present practice, that I cannot but wonder to see

it brought into question. In the first Liturgy of King Edward the Sixth, the Rubric, which prescribes the manner of private Baptism, is in these words: "First let *them that be present*" [here is no mention of a lawful minister] "call upon God for his grace, and saye the Lorde's Prayer, if the tyme will suffer. And then *one of them*" [i. e. of them that be present] "shall name the chylde and dyppe him in the water, or powre water upon hym, saying these woordes: N. I baptise thee in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Gost. Amen. And let them not doubt, but that the chylde so baptised, is lawfully and sufficiently baptised, and oughte not to be baptised agayne in the Church," &c. And the child being afterward brought to the Church, the Priest is directed, notwithstanding that the child was baptized by a *layman or woman*, if all other matters were right, to *certify that in this case they had done well, and according unto due order concerning the baptizing of the child.*

3. In that reign there were afterward considerable alterations made in the Liturgy, but none in this part of the Rubric about private Baptism, which continued unchanged during the remainder of that and all queen Elizabeth's reign, till the beginning of king James the First. That in that period *laymen and women* did baptize in cases of necessity, and justified themselves by the foregoing Rubric, and were allowed by the Church so to do, is a truth as plain as any thing in history. The *then enemies of Lay-baptism and the Church*, the Puritans, Cartwright and others, reproached her with it. The great Whitgift, Bancroft, Hooker, and other zealous champions vindicated her, not by denying the fact, but by justifying it and her, not doubting then but they did the Church good service, and little expecting to be traduced upon that account after their death, by zealous sons of the Church, and zealous proselytes, as latitudinarians.

4. Archbishop Whitgift reckons this among the dangerous points of doctrine avouched by T. Cartwright, viz. that "not only the dignity, but also the being of the sacrament of Baptism dependeth upon this, whether he be a minister or no, that doth minister it;" and says, that the consequence hereof is "plain Anabaptism." See his note of such dangerous Points of Doctrine, &c. prefixed to his Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, &c.

5. In the book itself, (Tract ix. chap. 5. p. 519.) he thus

addresses himself to his adversary T. C. "Whereas you say, that the minister is one of the chief parts, and as it were of the lyfe of the sacrament; in so weighty a cause, and great a matter, it had been well if you had used some authority of scripture, or testimonie of learned author: for so far as I can read, the opinion of all learned men is, that the essential form, and as it were the lyfe of Baptism, is to baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost; which form being observed, the sacrament remaineth in full force and strength by whomsoever it be ministered," &c. He goes on in the next paragraph; "And certainly, if the being of the sacrament depended upon man in any respect, we were but in a miserable case; for we should be always in doubt whether we were rightly baptized or no: but it is most true, that the force and strength of the sacrament is not in the man, *be he minister or not minister*, be he good or evil, but in God himself, &c. This I speak, not to bring confusion into the Church, (for, as I said before, let men take heed that they usurpe not an office, whereunto they be not called, for God will call them to an account for so doing,) but to teach a truth, to take a yoke of doubtfulness from men's consciences, and to resist an error not much differing from Donatism and Anabaptism."

6. Mr. Hooker is very large upon this subject. In the Fifth Book of Ecclesiastical Polity, sect. 62. he has these words: "If therefore at any time it come to pass, that in teaching publicly or privately, in delivering this blessed sacrament of regeneration, some unsanctified hand, contrary to Christ's supposed ordinance, do intrude itself to execute that, whereunto the laws of God and his Church have deputed others, which of these two opinions seemeth more agreeable with equity, ours that disallow what is done amiss, yet make not the force of the Word and sacraments, much less their nature and very substance, to depend on the minister's authority and calling, or else theirs which defeat, disannul, and annihilate both, in respect of that one only personal defect, there being not any law of God which saith, that if the minister be incompetent, his word shall be no word, his Baptism no Baptism? He which teacheth, and is not sent, loseth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a teacher: his usurped actions have in him the same nature which they have in others, although

“ they yield him not the same comfort. And if these two cases  
 “ be peers, the case of doctrine and the case of Baptism both  
 “ alike ; sith no defect in their vocation that teach the truth is  
 “ able to take away the benefit thereof from him which hearth,  
 “ wherefore should the want of a lawful calling in them that  
 “ baptize make Baptism to be vain ? ”

7. Bishop Bilson in the conference at Hampton Court declared, that “ to deny private persons to baptize in case of  
 “ necessity, were to cross all antiquity, and the common practice  
 “ of the Church, it being a rule agreed on among Divines, that  
 “ *the minister is not of the essence of the sacrament.* ”

8. Archbishop Bancroft in the same conference affirmed, that the compilers of the Liturgy did by the forecited Rubric  
 “ intend a permission of private persons to baptize in case of  
 “ necessity ; ” and to prove his assertion, produced some of their  
 letters. He said, it was “ agreeable to the practice of the  
 “ ancient Church, ” and alleged “ the three thousand baptized in  
 “ a day, ” Acts ii., as an instance of it.

9. King James himself, who blamed this practice, and at whose instance the Rubric was qualified as it now stands, declared at the same time his “ utter dislike of all rebaptization  
 “ of those whom women or laics have baptized. ” So that it is plain, he himself thought such Baptisms to be *valid*, howsoever, in respect of the administrator, *criminal and irregular*.

10. To this opinion of their validity, not one of the Church of England Divines then present offered the least contradiction. And whosoever at that time should have desired to hear it contradicted, must have fetched in one for that purpose from among the Puritans.

11. But now, how are we changed ! Some, who call themselves the most zealous assertors of the rights of the Church and Clergy, have embraced this Puritanical notion, cast dirt upon the memory of those excellent men, and will hardly allow any, who come not into their measures, throughly to understand, or to be thoroughly well affected to the rights and interests of the priesthood. And all this, without regarding the unanswerable objections, (unanswerable, I mean, upon their hypothesis,) which hereby they put into the mouths of the Papist and Dissenter, against the *validity* of all our ministrations, that is, (as we stated the case in the former part of this letter,) against the very *being* of our priesthood, our sacraments, and of the Church itself.



Believe me, Sir, if any thing has prejudiced me against this hypothesis, next to the novelty of it, and the authority of the Church both ancient and modern, which I verily think stands full against it, it is the horror I conceive at the sad and unsufferable consequences it is inevitably attended with.

12. But to proceed. It is plain from that conference, that the alteration of the Rubric thereby occasioned was not grounded upon the principle of the *invalidity*, but only the *inconvenience and indecency* of Lay-baptism. And from thenceforth, what had been *canonical* and *lawful* before, became in this Church *unlawful* and *uncanonical*: and what was thought *valid* before, was still thought *valid*. The Church altered her Rubric, but not her judgment of this matter. I know it is of late pretended otherwise. But I shall not be easily persuaded, but that those gentlemen, who were concerned in the conference and in the alteration which ensued upon it, knew best their own sentiments and intentions.

13. Mr. L., who with a very authoritative air takes upon him to instruct and admonish the Clergy of their duty, and to interpret the Canons, the Rubrics, and Articles of the Church, undertakes from all these, and especially from the last, (the Articles,) to prove, that the *invalidity of Lay-baptism* is a doctrine espoused by her. To attend him in what he offers to this purpose, would be to trifle as much as he; I am too much tired for that work, as I expect by this time you yourself are. I shall only therefore observe, that had he accomplished what he undertakes from the Articles, he had then proved the Church to be inconsistent with herself: (for those Articles are above forty years older than the conference at Hampton Court:) an undertaking not very suitable to the character of so zealous a proselyte, as it is said he is! In the mean time, he has effectually shewn the sense the Church then had of her own Articles, and his own sense of them, to be extremely different.

14. In his treatise called Dissenters' Baptism Null and Void, sect. 17. he does not disown that those great men concerned in that conference did countenance Lay-baptism in certain cases, but denies that they countenanced *unauthorized* Lay-baptism. In sect. 4. he is forced to the same refuge, viz. to shelter himself under the word *unauthorized*, not denying that *laymen* were permitted and even *commanded* by king Edward the Sixth's Book, to baptize in case of necessity, but denying that to be any

evidence of her believing that *unauthorized persons* could administer *valid* Baptism. Thus, when disputing against *Lay-baptism*, (not only in this, but in other writings of his,) he is pressed hard with authorities that he cannot get over, he puts his adversaries off with saying, their evidences reach not the case in hand, viz. the case of "Dissenters' Baptisms, Baptisms unauthorized, and administered against and in defiance of the Church's authority." And yet he hesitates up and down in his writings, he shuffles, is not free to grant that the Church or Bishops have power in any case to depute a lay-baptizer, and thinks himself not obliged to declare his opinion upon it. What can be the meaning of this? Why does he not give up what he finds he cannot maintain, and so reduce the controversy into narrower bounds? Let him either own that the Church has such a power, or else prove she has not. He does own (sect. 17.) that she once had it in the persons of the Apostles; and gives an instance, Acts x. 48. Let him shew, if he can, how she lost it. Or, if she has it still, let him find out a medium (if he can) to prove, that what is ever *regular* in the administration of Baptism, *with the leave of the Church*, is not only irregular, but so far *invalid* too *without* her leave, as to be incapable of being afterwards ratified by her authority. Every lay-baptist, since that alteration of the Rubric, hath acted *without her leave*. And yet she receives as *valid*, and hath never reiterated even such Baptisms, although administered without, and even against her authority. Further yet, she never made any canon or law for the punishment of a lay-baptist, who shall presume to do that office upon charitable inducements and in extreme necessity. The Rubric indeed was altered: but so far is that alteration from decreeing any punishment for such an usurper, that it scarce amounts to a prohibition of the fact. It says, a *lawful minister* shall be procured; it does not say, that in case he cannot, no other shall be admitted. I insist not now, that the alteration (as we observed before) was proposed and received upon such terms, as rather confirmed, than any way prejudiced, the then received opinion of the *validity* of lay-baptizations in cases of extremity.

15. Had the Church by that alteration intended to declare *Lay-baptism* to be *invalid*, it is strange, that for near a century of years not one of all her eminent and learned Divines should apprehend her meaning. Bishop Taylor, in his Ductor Dubitan-

tium, twice argues against permitting women to baptize; and in his Discourse of the Divine Institution of the Office Ministerial, sect. 4, he disputes against *Lay-baptism* in general; but he doth not any where pretend that the Church of England hath rejected such Baptisms as *invalid*. So far from that, that in the last mentioned discourse, "he owns, that the Church of England "hath not determined this particular:" (and what his own private opinions were, of which he had not a few singular, is not what we inquire for:) he professes, that "he cannot say the "Baptism of a layman is null:" he owns, that the Greek Church permits laics, whether men or women, to baptize in case of necessity, i. e. in the absence of a Priest, as it is there expounded; and observes, "that the Nicene Fathers ratifying the Baptism "made by heretics, (amongst whom they could not but know in "some cases there was *no true priesthood or legitimate ordination*,) "must by necessary consequence suppose Baptism to be dis- "pensed effectually by lay persons." Judge, Sir, whether his own concessions and testimonies (of which he has divers more besides these) for the validity of Lay-baptism be not of greater weight, than the objections which he brings against it; and whether he consulted well for his cause, who alleged such an advocate<sup>9</sup>.

16. Excepting this great man, I know not any Divines of the Church of England, that have disputed the validity of Baptism administered by lay hands, till the reviving of this controversy now of late.

17. Archbishop Abbott (as I find him quoted by Mr. Bingham) denies the minister to be of the essence of the sacrament, Præl. 2. de Bapt. p. 99. "Ministrantis personam non de *esse* sacramenti, sed de *bono esse* judicarunt.—Pie igitur fit, si minister "tangat solus; at fit etiam, si tangat alius." The same learned author mentions a book, which I have not had the happiness to meet with; it is the Answer of the University of Oxford to a Petition of some Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies, wherein he tells us, that "whole University" defended "the validity of Lay-baptism." It was published anno 1603. Bishop Sparrow, in his Rationale on the Office of Private Baptism, cites the Eliberitan Canon, and in the very next words declares, "He cannot see what can be

<sup>9</sup> Lay-Baptism Invalid, part i. p. 110.

“reasonably objected against this tender and motherly love of the Church to her children, who chooses rather to omit solemnities, than hazard souls: which indulgence of hers cannot be interpreted any irreverence or contempt of that venerable sacrament; but a yielding to just necessity, (which defends what it constrains,) and to God’s own rule, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice,*” Matt. xii. 7. Archbishop Bramhall, in his letter to Sir Henry de Vic, (p. 980. of his works,) speaking of the *essentials* of this sacrament, reckons as such only “the matter, which is water, and the form, *I baptize thee in the name,*” &c. In that paragraph of his discourse he argues, that martyrdom (although sometimes called Baptism, improperly and analogically, because it supplies the want of Baptism) is really no sacrament, no proper or true Baptism, because wanting the *essentials* of the sacrament, the matter and the form, as before expressed. Had he thought the *minister* also to be one of the *essentials*, no reason can be given, why he should not have added that defect also. For I presume martyrdom is (generally at least) administered by *lay hands*. And to conclude this point, Dr. Fuller is of opinion<sup>r</sup>, that “our Church judgeth nothing to be of the essence of this sacrament, but the invariable form of Baptism;” and a little after gives such an account of this affair, as plainly argues him to be of opinion, that the question we contend about is a matter of discipline, rather than of doctrine, subject to and determinable by ecclesiastical authority. It remains, that the gentlemen who espouse the opposite side of the question, produce (if they be able) at least one Divine of the Church of England of equal standing with these whom I have here quoted, giving it as his opinion, that our Church, by altering her Rubric, or by any other act of hers, hath declared Lay-baptism to be invalid. I think it cannot fairly be denied, that she once declared the contrary since the Reformation. If then it cannot be made appear that she ever retracted that declaration, we must look upon it as still in force, that is, that it is yet the declared sense of the Church of England, that a lay-administration of Baptism, howsoever *criminal* and *irregular*, is not altogether *null* and *invalid*.

18. To speak the truth, her constant and present practice is a sufficient declaration of this. In the time of the great rebellion,

<sup>r</sup> Moderation of the Church of England, chap. x. p. 278, 281.

the sacrilegious invaders of our offices and revenues were men that had no ordination : (for we are all agreed, that *antiepiscopal* ordination is *none* :) by these men *very great numbers* of children were baptized, who were born in those miserable days : which children nevertheless, after the restoration of religion and royalty, were admitted by our holy Church to confirmation, communion, and all the privileges of Church-members, many of them doubtless to holy orders too, without being rebaptized. This all the world knows. And whosoever will dispute it, ought to produce some act of hers decreeing their rebaptization ; ought to produce *some* instances (I shall be thankful, as I said before, to any that will shew me so much as one) of persons rebaptized by her authority, or with the approbation and consent of at least some one of her Bishops (as the Rubric directs) upon that account. I am fully persuaded no such instance can be produced in all the time from the Restoration till now. Mr. R. L. it is true, was rebaptized<sup>s</sup>, I presume, upon that very account. But it was a *clandestine irregular* action ; his second Baptism was *unauthorized* and *antiepiscopal* : for he waited not for the judgment of the Church upon his case, nor asked (as he, or some for him ought to have done) the opinion and consent of his Diocesan. How many more such late instances as these may be produced, I know not. But they are nothing to my purpose. They have not the concurring authority of the Church and of the Bishops. Without which necessary circumstances, instead of the judgment of the Church, such instances present us only with the sense of a few *uncanonical* members.

19. And unless some such instances as are here demanded can be produced, I do not see, but the gentlemen, who affirm the Baptism of those usurpers to be *invalid*, lie under a necessity, either of owning that they assert that for an important article of true doctrine which the Church of England denies, or of accusing their mother the Church of England of communicating and ordaining (for ends best known to herself) men, whom she knew at the same time to be unbaptized. I shall be heartily glad for the gentlemen's own sakes, many of whom are learned and eminent men, and some have done me the honour of a particular friendship, to see them get handsomely clear from this dilemma.

20. As the Church dealt with those who were baptized in the

▪ Preface to the First Part of Lay-Baptism Invalid.

days of rebellion by lay-usurpers, so she deals still with those whom their successors in their usurpation, our lay-preachers at this day, baptize clandestinely, without and against the authority of her Prelates. She reconciles and admits them to communion, without requiring them to be rebaptized. And even thus, and upon no other terms, does she receive the foreign Reformed, who were baptized in communions where episcopacy is not in being. Their ordinations she rejects, but receives them all as lay-Christians.

21. Sir, I have now finished this long epistle, and shall only beg your attention a very little longer, whilst I lay before you a summary account of the principles and grounds I have gone upon in the defence of my opinion.

I am firmly persuaded,

1. That the Christian priesthood is only episcopal.
2. That it is of Divine establishment.
3. Consequently unalterable by any power upon earth ;
4. And shall continue to the end of the world.
5. That whosoever among us shall act as a Priest, who is not consecrated by episcopal hands to that office, is a thief and a robber, a mere laic, and (what is much worse) a leader of schism, and a sacrilegious usurper, &c.
6. That whatsoever adult shall choose to receive Baptism from such an usurper, knowing that he is not episcopally ordained, receives only the outward sign, not the grace of the sacrament.
7. Because his choice of such a Baptism (preferably to one that is truly Catholic and regular) puts him into a state of schism.
8. Which state is an insuperable bar against the baptismal grace, till it be removed by repentance and reconciliation to the Church.
9. But such an irregular administration can be no prejudice to those who die in their infancy, because of the innocency of that age, and their not concurring in the irregularity.
10. Nevertheless, though in the case of an adult so baptized, the baptismal grace be wanting, the outward administration (if with due matter and form) is not altogether invalid.
11. Consequently I distinguish betwixt an *inefficacious* and *invalid* administration.
12. Inefficacious it is, when only the inward part, the grace

of the sacrament, is wanting. Invalid, when the outward administration (through some *essential* defect) is necessary to be repeated.

13. I justify my distinction from the case of an hypocrite baptized by a lawful minister. You must grant that his Baptism is *inefficacious*; you cannot say it is *invalid*.

14. Every invalid Baptism is inefficacious; but not every inefficacious Baptism invalid.

15. Baptism hath not been usually thought invalid, that is, the outward administration hath not been usually repeated, except when either the matter (water) or the form (in the name of the Trinity) hath been wanting.

16. Nevertheless, I am content that the validity thereof, when administered by *lay*-hands, should depend entirely upon the estimate which the Church (assembled in Council) shall set upon it;

17. Being persuaded, that the primitive Church was of that mind,

18. And that the Church of England is so:

19. For that the baptismal commission constitutes the Bishops, the spiritual heads and governors of the Church, supreme judges in all matters and disputes of that nature;

20. And this under no other limitation, than what the edification of the Church, their own piety and discretion, and the *essentials* of the sacrament prescribe:

21. And that the minister is not one of those *essentials*.

22. Consequently, the Church being, as hath been declared, supreme judge of this matter, if she shall think fit to order those, who have been baptized by laymen, to be baptized again, I am not the man that shall gainsay it:

23. Because it is pure matter of discipline, not of doctrine.

24. But this the primitive Church did not do.

25. Nor hath the Church of England as yet done it.

26. And till then, private men must not.

22. Thus, Sir, I have given you a short, and yet a full view at once of what I think at present concerning this controversy. The proof of such of these propositions, as are disputed among us members of the same communion, I hope you have already met with in some or other of the foregoing paragraphs. If I have any where erred, which is very probable; or if the whole

be an error, I am very willing to be convinced, and to retract what is amiss as soon as I am convinced; and shall most thankfully acknowledge the favour of Mr. W. or any else that shall do that good office for me, to set me right.

I pray God Almighty to set and keep us all right, and to avert those storms, which at this time threaten our holy Church, especially from our own intestine divisions.

Sir, I have no more to add, but to ask your pardon for having detained you so long from your books by this tedious letter; and to assure you, that I am, with the most sincere respect,

Reverend Sir,

Your most obliged humble Servant,

E. KELSALL.



# DR. WATERLAND'S

## SECOND LETTER

IN REPLY TO MR. KELSALL'S ANSWER.

---

REVEREND SIR,

YOU was pleased some time ago to favour me with a letter relating to Lay-baptism, and to desire some further insight into a controversy of so great importance. The subject had been very near exhausted; and therefore I thought the best I could do was to send you all the books I had, that had been written either pro or con about it. With them I sent a short summary of one side of the controversy, to invite you to look further into it, and to prevent your leaning too much the other way; which I was somewhat apprehensive of from what you had written to me. This was the design of my letter; which was much too short, and too hastily drawn up, to give you a sufficient light into the matter, but might serve pretty well as an introduction to lead you into better writers, who had considered the controversy at large: that letter you was pleased to communicate to your ingenious and learned friend, who has since done me the honour to write a very handsome and particular reply to it.

I cannot but think myself obliged to him for that mark of his respect: though at the same time I am justly sensible what disadvantage I lay under, first, in having a few running thoughts so nicely scanned; and next, in having nothing but a short letter set against an elaborate treatise, as if the merits of the cause

depended upon so unequal a comparison. When I came to read over your friend's papers, and saw what was in them, I soon perceived what I had brought myself into. Mr. K., to do him justice, is a powerful advocate for the side which he espouses; and I should not care to dispute with him on even terms, or where I did not think I had much the better of the argument against him. He has laboured the point with great dexterity; he has given it all the advantages one might expect from a person of his parts and reading; has embellished it with Scripture and Fathers, has laid the colours strong where they were most wanting, and has found out a plausible turn for every thing: in short, he seems to have omitted nothing, that his cause could furnish him with, either to convince or move. Yet I must beg leave to dissent from him; and while I acknowledge him the better fencer, I presume to imagine I have the longer weapon. But that the sequel must shew, and it must be left to you to judge of, if you think it worth while to give yourself the trouble of a careful perusal.

If you desire to have a distinct view of this controversy, (as I am sure you do,) I must beg the favour of you in the first place to consider well the state of the question. For that one foundation well laid will go more than half way toward solving the difficulties you will meet with in it. I never knew any controversy more entangled and confused than this has been, by wandering from the merits of the cause, and taking in many things which belong not to it. The question is,

Whether those that come to us from our Dissenters, having been pretendedly baptized by men that never had episcopal orders, ought to be baptized by us or no?

This is all that it concerns us to dispute or know; and nothing ought to be taken into the question, that has not either a necessary relation to it, or connection with it. You certainly take that one point to be the matter of the whole dispute; and accordingly, if you think Mr. K. in the right, you would not baptize a person who had been pretendedly baptized among the Dissenters; if you thought me right, you would.

This then is the point in question. Yet you will find most of his arguments and authorities to be very wide of this question, so that, though he had really proved some points, (which remains to be considered,) yet both he and you would mistake in the inference and application from them. This will appear in

due time and place. For the clearer and more distinct apprehension of what I mean, you may please to consider what is called *Lay-baptism* under different respects, and, as it were, distinguished into these several kinds.

I. *Authorized Lay-baptism* (taking both these words in a large and popular sense) is such as is permitted or enjoined by episcopal license or authority; or by the express rules, orders, or canons of any Church.

Such may be supposed those within the Romish Church, which allows laics, and even women, in some cases, to baptize. Of the same nature were Lay-baptisms in England, before the alterations of the Rubric in the time of king James the First.

II. *Unauthorized Lay-baptism*, not founded upon any episcopal authority; not permitted or enjoined by any express rules, or orders, or canons of the Church; of which there may be three cases:

1. When it is administered by a person in communion with the Church, and only in cases of supposed necessity.

2. When administered by a person in communion likewise, but not in a case of necessity.

3. When administered by a person not in communion, nor in case of necessity; but in contempt of authority, and in schism; being not only non-episcopal, but anti-episcopal, as in the case of pretended Baptisms by our Lay-dissenters, about which we are now disputing.

From these several sorts and degrees may arise as many distinct questions; and there may be something peculiar to each, that the validity of one shall not necessarily infer the validity of another; and so likewise for the invalidity. *Authorized Lay-baptism*, for instance, might perhaps be valid, and *unauthorized* not so; because there is authority and commission, in some sense, to be alleged for one more than for the other. *Unauthorized* of the first sort has a supposed necessity to plead for it, which the second wants; and even the second is more justifiable than the third, and has a fairer pretence for being valid, because not under the same circumstances of schism and contempt. This however is certain, that they differ in some peculiar respects one from another; and therefore the same arguments will not equally serve either for or against all. Indeed if the first (*authorized Lay-baptism*) be invalid, they are all so. And if the last be valid, they are all so; but not vice versa: i. e. if the best be bad,

they are all bad ; and if the worst be good, they are all good. The advocates therefore for Lay-baptism might fairly enough argue from the supposed validity of the lowest to that of the next above, and so on backwards ; but not so certainly the other way ; which yet has been their constant method, whereby they put a fallacy upon their readers. Indeed Mr. Laurence has for the most part mixed the three last together ; and so disputed against them all under one common name of *unauthorized Baptisms* ; which he has constantly distinguished from those of the first sort, having no mind to meddle with the point of authorized Lay-baptism, conceiving it very foreign to the case in hand ; because it is certain we have no canon or rubric to authorize any Layman, much less a Dissenter, to baptize. One thing further I must remark ; that although in the proof of his position he takes in the three last, using such arguments as affect them all ; yet in his answers to his opponents he often separates the second as well as the first from the last of all ; as it were retiring hither, and here keeping his hold. For he thinks the case of necessity likewise foreign to the point in hand ; because our Dissenters' Baptisms are utterly destitute of that plea, and must therefore be defended on some other principle, or not at all. It must be owned, that if the validity of *Lay-baptism* in cases of necessity could be proved, it would weaken the force of Mr. Laurence's main principle, whereby he would prove *Dissenters' Baptisms null and void* ; and would therefore be so far pertinent to the case in hand : but it would not be a sufficient proof that the contrary opinion is true ; and therefore is justly rejected by Mr. L. when used by his adversaries as an argument, that Dissenters' Baptisms are valid ; and in this respect only I presume it is, that he sometimes seems to set it aside, as not affecting the question. In short then, it may be pertinently alleged by the patrons of Dissenters' Baptisms by way of objection to weaken their adversaries' principles, but not by way of direct proof to establish their own tenet.

Thus far I thought proper in vindication of my author, that Mr. K. may not again mistake his manner and method of reasoning, which is very just and accurate ; nor call it shuffling and hesitating, only because he distinguishes very carefully, and will not suffer his adversaries to run off from the point in debate. As to myself, I shall endeavour to keep as close to the question as possible, or as the papers I am concerned to examine will

give me leave: and if I sometime happen to make excursions beyond the limits of the question in pursuit of your friend; that cannot so properly be thought my wandering, as my endeavour to correct and reduce his.

Now to come to the point, we are to inquire whether persons that have pretendedly been baptized by Dissenting Laymen are really and validly baptized or no. Mr. K. says they are, and I deny it. The cause must be tried by *scripture*, *antiquity*, and *reason*. He begins with reason: which, with submission, I take to be something wrong; because there is no reasoning to any good purpose in this question, till some foundation be laid either in scripture or antiquity, or both, to reason upon: and I believe Mr. K. was pretty sensible of this, being frequently forced to appeal to the Fathers under his first and second heads, before he came to them. But I suppose he thought he had something more than an equivalent for that inconvenience, by beginning with what he calls his unanswerable objection, (as indeed it is the most material one,) that so he might probably dazzle his reader at first view with its glaring show, and so prepare him to receive what followed with less scruple and difficulty. I shall however, notwithstanding, beg leave to take the fairer and more regular method; beginning with *scripture*, and under that head answering such exceptions as belong to it; then going on to the *Fathers*; and last of all managing the debate in point of *reason*; to which I shall subjoin something relating to the judgment and practice of our own Church, as Mr. K. has done before me.

## I.

I begin then with scripture: as to which I had observed formerly, that it confined the administration of Baptism to the Clergy only: which Mr. K. acknowledges as to the lawfulness and regularity of it in ordinary cases; but not with respect to its validity at all, nor even with respect to its lawfulness in cases extraordinary. That is, he imagines it may at all times be validly administered by a layman; and sometimes even lawfully too. And here he appeals to the ancients, Optatus, Gregory, &c. who shall be heard in their place. I shall only observe here, that if scripture has left this business to the Clergy in all ordinary cases, and made no provision for extraordinary, nor given any intimation that she meant any; then the consequence is plain, that there is no warrant from scripture for any such

exceptions to make it lawful for laymen in any case to baptize. And since there is no Divine law or rule to found its validity upon, it can no more be valid than it can be lawful. For nothing is plainer to me, than that what has no foundation for its validity, has no validity at all; or that nothing can be valid, which has no sufficient authority to make it so.

But Mr. K. observes, that even Calvin himself was not so strict in expounding the commission to baptize as this comes to; and from thence, together with what he had hinted of the ancients, infers that Mr. W. and Mr. L. &c. are the first, for ought he perceives, that have so rigidly expounded the commission, as to make the persons to whom it was delivered essential to every thing transacted in it. And then after this, he makes the novelty of our interpretation an objection against it.

I concern not myself with Calvin, because it signifies little: but I declare I am as much against novel interpretations of scripture as any man, and am so well assured that mine is not novel, but perfectly agreeable to the principles and practices of the first and purest ages of the Church, that I would readily venture the whole cause upon it. But this is not the place to speak to that point, and so I proceed.

Mr. K. objects, that "if the words of the commission, *Go ye, &c.* were spoken to Apostles only, and their successors, viz. the Bishops; and if the minister be essential, then none but such, none but Apostles and Bishops, neither Deacon nor Priest," (for why laic should come in here I do not see,) "must baptize." In answer to this I observe, 1. That if this argument prove any thing, it is that neither Priests nor Deacons have any right to officiate as Clergymen by the institution, any more than mere laymen; or that a Bishop may indifferently depute either, and their acts be equally valid. Here are two orders of the Clergy struck off at once, and the three reduced to one, which is pretty surprising. What led Mr. K. into it was, I suppose, his observation, that the "office of baptizing" (and the same may be observed of all the other sacred offices) "was so firmly tied to the episcopal chair, that no man could regularly baptize," (or otherwise officiate for the same reason,) "without leave from thence." Therefore any man might *with leave*, for that is his inference, or none at all; and so any layman might give the Eucharist &c. with the Bishop's leave. I hope this does not need confuting. He should have distinguished

between *sacerdotal* and *canonical* powers. A Deacon cannot *canonically* officiate amongst us without a license : therefore a Deacon has no more power of officiating than a layman by his instrument of orders. This is just his argument. But, 2. To clear the whole difficulty, the words of the commission do certainly imply more than they express ; for otherwise I do not see how the Apostles themselves were empowered to ordain by it. The subsequent practice of the Apostles is the best interpreter of it : and that will afford us a sufficient demonstration of the three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons ; and of the offices appropriate to them, distinct from the laity. And therefore I hope the two last may be allowed to have something more to shew for their pretended right of baptizing, than any layman can have, as such ; though they are not expressly named in the commission or institution. And if they, and they only with the Bishops, have any right to baptize by virtue of the New Testament, I must still insist upon it, that they only can do it *validly*. There is no need of an express depriving law to exclude all other persons from the sacred offices, (though if there was, we might find enough in the New Testament to that purpose,) because the very appointing of officers is a virtual exclusion of all others not so appointed, and would be very insignificant without it. If therefore any, who are thus excluded by God's law, take upon them to minister in sacred offices, let them shew by what authority they do it, or how an act can be valid without any sufficient authority to support it. To proceed.

M. K. takes the " commission to be a conveyance of power " to the Apostles, &c. to appoint the ministers of that rite, not " only Presbyters and Deacons, but (where these cannot be had) " even laics too." But to this it is easily answered, that there is nothing in the words of the commission, nor in the whole New Testament, to favour this notion ; no example, nor intimation of any such power ; and therefore by the rule of the Church of England, as well as St. Jerome, (as Mr. K. speaks in another place,) "*Quicquid de scripturis sacris auctoritatem non habet, eadem facilitate contemnitur, qua probatur.*" But further : there is one particular method or rule which the Apostles and primitive Bishops observed in granting their commissions, as is clear both from scripture and antiquity ; and that was by *imposition of hands*, or *ordination*. Now if any such commission as

this was given to laics, they certainly ceased to be laics from that moment. But if they had no such commission, I am afraid it will be hard to shew how they could have any at all. I will allow Mr. K. that Bishops only have the original right and power of baptizing, and that therefore none can be authorized to baptize, but by a delegated power from them. But then I must observe, that the manner and method of delegation is already fixed in scripture and apostolical practice; and it is not to be presumed that the Bishops of the Church have more power than the Apostles themselves had. It does not therefore appear that they can delegate a layman any other way than by ordaining him, i. e. by making him a Clergyman, which is the primitive way, and is sufficient; is a delegation *in perpetuum*, and impresses an *indelible* character. Any other pretended delegation *pro hac vice* is nothing else but a deviation from the apostolical rule, and a stretch of authority, which cannot be proved to belong to them. However, if this could be proved, I must observe, that it would not affect the question in debate; for it is certain that our Lay-dissenters have no manner of episcopal commission to baptize. I suppose Mr. K. might be sensible of this; and therefore he would fain persuade us, that there is something further implied in the commission; namely, that the Bishops, after the Apostles, are thereby "made the sole and supreme judges in case of any irregular disputed Baptism, to annul it, or receive it as valid. And all this under no other restraint or limitation, but what the analogy of faith, the needs of the Church, and their own discretion, shall impose upon them." In the next page, he makes it a question of discipline, whether Lay-baptism should be received; alleging, that "our superiors may admit a Baptism irregularly administered by a lay-usurper, as valid, or, if they think fit, they may refuse to ratify such Baptisms, and order readministrations." So that, upon that hypothesis, if our superiors receive Lay-baptisms, they are valid; if not, they are not so. Very surprising! What a power is here lodged in the Bishops, and a momentous question about a venerable sacrament dwindled into the case of an indifferent rite or ceremony, dispensable at the will of our superiors! Can it be a thing indifferent in a case of everlasting concern, whether any such Baptism was antecedently valid or no? Either it was valid before, or it was not: if it was, how can any Bishop or Bishops *refuse to ratify*



*it*, or by refusing it make it cease to be so? If it was not valid, how can any Bishop or Bishops admit of it, or, by so doing, make it to be what it is not? Take it as you will, you will find it hard to reconcile Mr. K.'s notion, that any Bishop or Bishops by admitting or rejecting can make or unmake at pleasure. Had this notion been thought of when Stephen and Cyprian had such warm debates about the validity of irregular Baptisms, or when the Catholics and Donatists differed upon the same question; had it been known that Bishops are the sole and supreme judges in case of any irregular or disputed Baptism, to annul it or to receive it at discretion; how easily might that have solved all difficulties, and have saved them the trouble of disputing! Both sides had done right upon that supposition, because either might have done as they pleased. But they were not so happy as to make this discovery: the point was then, whether the disputed Baptisms were Baptisms or no, antecedently to any judgment of theirs upon them; and the decision of the Church was not supposed effective or operative upon the disputed Baptisms, but declarative only of what they were before: if the disputed Baptisms were antecedently true and valid, they could not be reversed or annulled by any; and if they were not, not all the Bishops upon earth could make them such, or remedy the defect without baptizing. I allow Bishops under Christ to be the sole and supreme, but neither infallible nor arbitrary judges. Let them judge in such matters, but withal, let it be according to law, where there is a law in being to refer to, as the case is here. They cannot dispense with sacraments of Divine appointment, nor substitute what they please in the room of them. They cannot assume a power paramount to Christ's institutions, to make that to be Baptism which Christ has not made so, or to null what he has. I was in hopes that Mr. K. had not meant that the validity of Lay-baptism depended upon the Bishops' admitting or rejecting it; but only that their judgment should be a definitive rule to others, as the surest guide in doubtful cases. This would have looked plausible enough, and might have had some weight, could it have been shewn that any general council of primitive Bishops had determined against us in the present question: for to the primitive Bishops we should certainly appeal from any modern authorities. But Mr. K. means quite another thing: he founds his hypothesis upon the Power of the Keys, common to all

**Bishops ancient and modern.** He does not look upon them barely as judges of controversy, and giving in their authoritative decision, (which yet would not reach the point, unless they were infallible,) but as acting with a plenitude of power, admitting into, and excluding out of the kingdom of heaven, with something more than apostolical authority. For I am very persuaded, the Apostles themselves had no such latitude, or, however, I think it cannot be proved that they had. The Apostles and their successors have without doubt a power of binding and loosing, and "whatsoever they shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever they shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven:" but to interpret this in such a latitude as Mr. K. imagines, would justify the Romanists in maiming the other sacrament, and in many other their deviations from the scripture rule; and, in short, seems to be an hypothesis chiefly calculated for the infallible chair. Mr. K. refers us to Mr. Bingham<sup>a</sup> for a proof of this paradox; which was wisely done. I have carefully read over that part of Mr. B. He gives us a quotation from an uncertain author, supposed to be Hilary the Roman Deacon, in the fourth century, who shall be considered hereafter; and he adds several quotations from very ancient and good authors, to prove that Bishops had the supreme power over the Clergy, either to authorize and empower them, or else to limit and restrain them in the exercise of their function; which nobody denies: and it amounts to no more than that the Clergy in those times were under direction of Bishops and dependent of them, and were to pay a kind of canonical obedience to them. But how does this prove that the Bishops had any authority to declare Baptism valid which was not valid before, or to ratify and null at pleasure, which was the thing to be proved?

I shall add nothing here concerning the ancients, whom Mr. K. again appeals to, as if they were all of his side. They shall speak for themselves in their proper places. I have been hitherto vindicating the interpretation we put upon the words of the commission from Mr. K.'s exceptions to it, and should proceed to whatever else has relation to that point. But I must first step a little out of the way, to take notice of a remarkable apology, which Mr. K. is pleased to make for himself upon this

<sup>a</sup> See Scholast. Hist.

occasion; being sensible, I suppose, that this plenitude of power placed in the Bishops, of dispensing with sacred institutions and ratifying nullities, would sound something strange; and therefore he adds, "I do not yet see that I hereby carry the power of the Church or of her prelates higher in this" (sacrament of Baptism), "than it ever was in the dispensation of the other sacrament, which &c.—I mean no more than that the Eucharist was wont to be sent home to those who could not be present at the public service, by the hands of the Deacon, or, in cases of necessity, by any other person." And he gives an instance of a little boy, who was ordered by the Priest, being sick and unable to go himself, to carry the Eucharist to Serapion, a lapsed communicant, but penitent, and then at the point of death. And this he calls "as large a stretch of power, and as great a variation from the primitive institution, as the permission of Lay-baptism can well be imagined." I wonder how he could think this at all parallel or pertinent to the case in hand. I readily own that the *consecrated elements* were often reserved in the Church or the Bishop's house, and sometimes too even in common houses by the laity; and that Deacons or even laymen might sometimes carry them. But of what use the observation can be in the present controversy, I do not see. Had he shewn that laics could *consecrate* the bread and wine, which is giving the Eucharist, it had been to the purpose: to make the case of Baptism analogous to that of the Eucharist, he must suppose the water first *consecrated* by a *sacerdotal hand*, that the laics may baptize with it. And this would be a good argument for reserving consecrated waters for such purposes, as they anciently reserved the consecrated symbols for the other sacrament. And yet I am afraid this would not do; for in Baptism, not only the water, but the person himself to be baptized, is to be consecrated; and I cannot conceive how any laic can convey this consecration. Besides, if we suppose all this, yet what does it relate to *unauthorized Lay-baptism*, the matter in debate, which is neither performed with consecrated water, nor by sacred hands, nor has any sacerdotal benediction conveyed to it? Give me leave then to think, that the question of Lay-baptism is not a question only of discipline, but of doctrine. For I am still persuaded, that the point I am defending, being, as I conceive, founded upon the nature and tenor of Christ's institution, and confirmed in apostolical practice, "is one of those sullen

“ things, that admit of no alteration or abatement for the sake of any inconveniences, how great soever.”

And now to return to our argument about the words of the institution. I had said, “ that the commission leaves no more room for Lay-baptism than for Lay-ordination, Lay-absolution, Lay-consecration of the Eucharist, Lay-preaching and praying; and that if we go from the institution in one case, we may as reasonably do it in all, supposing the like necessity.” Against which Mr. K. is pleased to except as follows:

1. He denies *that admitting the baptism of a layman under the qualifications foregoing* (authorized, I suppose, by Bishops) as valid, is going from the institution. It seems then, admitting Lay-baptism not *under the qualifications foregoing*, not authorized by Bishops, as valid, *may be going from the institution*, notwithstanding; which is giving up the point in question; unless he means *authorized ex post facto*; which notion, I hope, I have sufficiently confuted in the foregoing pages, and shewn it to be going from the institution. If assuming a power which does not appear to have been given, but would be of dangerous consequence, and defeat in a great measure the end and design of the institution, be going from it; then I do not doubt but that is so. But

2. Supposing this were so, that admitting Lay-baptism be going from the institution, yet he denies my inference, “ that therefore in the like necessity we might as reasonably do it with respect to all the rest above mentioned;” because the like necessity cannot be supposed in the other instances. In answer to which I observe,

1. That there is one thing taken for granted in the objection, which can never be proved; viz. that Lay-baptism can be ever necessary to any one's salvation. For suppose that text of St. John<sup>b</sup> to be clear and decisive for the necessity of Baptism, (which it is not,) yet they must first prove that Lay-baptism is that true scriptural Baptism; or else citing this text in favour of it, is nothing but begging the question; or is as much as to say, it is necessary to be baptized, therefore it is necessary to be *washed* by a layman.

2. Abstracting from that consideration, why should it be denied, that there may upon the supposition be a like necessity for

<sup>b</sup> John iii. 5.

Lay-ordination, v. g. as for Lay-baptism? May not Clergymen happen to be wanting in some possible cases? and if so, will there not be the like necessity for appointing laymen to sacred offices, i. e. for Lay-ordination, as for Lay-baptism, when no Clergyman can be had? and is not the good of the whole Church as much concerned in one, as the salvation of a single person in the other? As to Lay-consecration of the Eucharist, why should it not be thought as necessary in some possible cases, as Lay-baptism? Both the sacraments are generally necessary to salvation; and therefore in want of Clergy, there may be as much reason for administering one by lay hands, as the other. The whole Church of Christ, I think, for six or eight hundred years downwards from the third century, gave the Eucharist to infants upon this principle: they thought that sacrament as universally and absolutely necessary as the other, founding it upon a text<sup>c</sup> as full and positive for the necessity of it, as John iii. 5. for the necessity of Baptism. But I do not put the matter upon that foot; but suppose only, that it is absolutely necessary to adult Christians in general, as Baptism to infants. And therefore, if a regular Clergy cannot be had, there is as great necessity for Lay-consecration, as can be supposed for Lay-baptism. The like may be said of the other instances mentioned. I do not say that this necessity so frequently occurs, nor is my argument founded on that supposition: it is enough for me to suppose it barely possible, in order to shew the patrons of Lay-baptism the tendency of their principles.

But still Mr. K. has a further evasion. He knows not what I mean by *lay-preaching* and *lay-praying*; and seems to wonder I should think either of them absurd in cases of necessity. I mean by *lay-preaching*, a layman's taking upon him to preach *authoritatively* in God's name, as God's ambassador and as sent by him, interpreting the supposed necessity to be an extraordinary call, and to supply the want of mission. And I mean by *lay-praying*, a layman's taking upon him to be a mediator and intercessor between God and his people in public prayer, or pretending to bless in God's name. Be not startled at the words mediator and intercessor: they are good words, when rightly understood, and properly applicable to Christian priests<sup>d</sup>. Now if Mr. K. will suppose that any necessity can justify a layman in

<sup>c</sup> John vi. 53.

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Const. C. ii. c. 25. cum not. Cotelerii.

taking so much upon him, he must prove that such a one does not come with a lie in his mouth, while he pretends an extraordinary mission; which nothing can be a certain proof of, but the power of working miracles, or a revelation from heaven. In such a case I would allow lay-preaching and lay-praying, and in none else, whatever or how great soever be the supposed necessity for them. And if our lay-baptizers had any such warrant for what they do, they might go on for all me. The two noted instances of Frumentius and the captive woman of Iberia make nothing for your friend's purpose: divulging the Gospel and preparing converts is quite different from preaching. Frumentius did not officiate in his new raised church till he was ordained a Bishop<sup>e</sup>; and as to the captive woman, though Mr. K. would insinuate that she was a lay-preacher; or else I know not why she is brought in here; yet, you may observe, he is very shy of saying she preached, for fear, I suppose, of confronting St. Paul; and therefore cautiously words it, her divulging the Gospel; in which he is very right: for she did indeed divulge the Gospel, but they were ordained ministers, sent from Constantine, that first preached to the Iberians<sup>f</sup>. If it be objected, that Frumentius with the Roman merchants (Christian laics) had Divine service performed after the Christian manner, and therefore prayed at least, though they did not properly preach to the people; I suppose they might use such prayers as were suitable to Christian laymen, without the more solemn forms of intercession or benediction peculiar to Priests<sup>g</sup>. However, this is certain, that in both the instances the necessity of a regular ordained Clergy was thought so great and apparent, that all possible haste was made both by Frumentius and the captive woman to obtain one. If this does not satisfy, let it be observed, that Mr. K. acknowledges that miracles were wrought in one of the cases, and it is not impossible there might be in the other also; which I have allowed to be warrant sufficient for what they did: and Mr. K. may infer as much as he pleases from these two instances, when our lay-baptizers bring miracles to attest their mission.

And let this suffice to have vindicated the commission for baptizing, and my reasonings upon it from Mr. K.'s exceptions.

<sup>e</sup> Ruff. Eccl. Hist. C. i. c. 9. Theod. Eccl. Hist. C. i. c. 24.

Eccl. Hist. C. i. c. 23.

<sup>g</sup> Dodwell de Jure Laico, c. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Ruff. Eccl. Hist. C. i. c. 10. Theod.

Now we proceed to another point. I had observed in my letter, that there were in scripture some very remarkable examples of God's vengeance towards lay-usurpers of ecclesiastical offices; and I instanced (as many have done before me) in Saul and Uzza. Mr. K. is of opinion that those instances are not to the purpose, and does indeed offer something considerable against them. The cause is but little concerned in it, and if he takes these instances from us, we can put other more unquestionable in their room, as Corah, Dathan and Abiram, and king Uzziah<sup>h</sup>. As to Saul, I find it a sort of a disputed case, a moot point among the learned, whether he sacrificed in person, or only ordered the Priests to do it. And as to Samuel, whether he sacrificed in person or no, by virtue of his *prophetic character*, that set him above the ordinary and common rules, is another disputable point among the learned. I incline to the affirmative; and if you please to see what may be said for it, you may consult Dr. Hicke's *Christian Priesthood*<sup>i</sup>, and Mr. Dodwell de *Jure Laico Sacerdotali*<sup>k</sup>, who has made excellent use of the observation in accounting for the difficulty, how it came to pass, that while there was standing ministry in the Jewish Church, yet our Saviour and his Apostles were admitted to teach in the synagogue: but that by the way only. As to Uzza, I do not see why he may not well enough pass for an instance pertinent to the case in hand. We do not say that he was led by any *ambition*, or aspiring thoughts, to touch the ark of God; but he rashly presumed to touch *an holy thing*, which none but the family of Aaron were allowed to do<sup>l</sup>; and for this he died. And what could be the reason or design of this law, or of that vengeance, but to secure the greater honour and reverence towards the Priests? And if a Levite, and of the most honourable branch of the tribe, (being a Kohathite, and so next in rank to the Priests,) suffered so remarkably, only for rashly and incogitantly touching an holy thing, against the commandment; of how much greater punishment shall they be thought worthy, who shall presume designedly to invade any part of the Priest's office? We see by this how inviolable the office of a Priest was among the Jews. And if God thus fenced about the sacerdotal office in the Jewish Church, to prevent any profanation of it;

<sup>h</sup> Num. xvi. 30. 2 Chron. xxvi. 16.<sup>i</sup> P. 185.<sup>k</sup> P. 178<sup>l</sup> Num. iv. 15.

what shall we think of the sacerdotal office in the Christian Church, of which the former was but a kind of type and shadow? Shall this be invaded and usurped at pleasure? No, that Mr. K. himself will not say, but "will willingly join with me in treating such acts of sacrilegious impiety and presumption with all the severity of language I can desire." But that is not enough: while you suppose them *valid*, the rest will pass for little more than empty harangue; for it will be obvious to argue, that if they be valid, they are valid by some law, and if by any law, then by God's law, and what God establishes by a law, he will not disapprove in the main: or however it will be easy to find out an excuse for a few circumstantial irregularities. Thus the priesthood will be invaded, and its fences laid waste. So that this doctrine of the *validity of lay-ministrations* does not only rest men's salvation upon a precarious uncertain bottom; but it also gives too great a countenance to usurpations and sacrilegious impieties; and opens a wide door to all imaginable confusion. Or if any one thinks all this may be prevented by supposing episcopal confirmation necessary to complete such acts, and to give them their validity; I refer him to Mr. Laurence's incomparable reasonings upon this very point<sup>m</sup>; which I despair of ever seeing answered.

We have not yet done with the institution or commission for Baptism laid down in scripture, till satisfaction be given to another exception, which may seem to weaken the force of it; and that is the noted rule, *quod fieri non debuit, factum valet*, though the scripture forbids it, it may yet be valid; which I endeavoured to obviate and explain in my letter. And because this is true of matrimony, though the minister be no more than a layman, some might be apt to conclude it was true of Baptism too. So that this must lead us a little off from our point to discourse of matrimony. I thought I made that matter so plain and clear in a few words, that it was next to impossible to mistake it: yet Mr. K. has so perplexed and entangled a very easy case, that it must cost me some pains to set it right.

I could hardly imagine at first reading what it was he designed to prove, till, considering a little further, to my great surprise I found that he was attempting to prove the minister as essential to marriage (*a civil institution*) as to Baptism, *a Christian*

<sup>m</sup> Suppl. Pref. p. 37, &c.



*sacrament.* I shall speak to that point presently; but there are two or three other little matters to be first taken notice of. In order to weaken the force of the objection drawn from that rule, *quod fieri, &c.* I had observed that it was true only of *errors in circumstantials*, not of *errors in essentials*; and he is pleased to allow the "distinction to be very good; but excepts against it, "that it will do me no service, till it be proved, that the minister is essential to Baptism." Yes sure, it may be of some service to shew, that that rule is of no force to prove the contrary to what we assert, till it can be proved that the minister is not essential, (and then it is needless;) and that was all I was concerned to do in order to answer the objection drawn from that maxim. And because some were willing to confound the case of marriage with this of Baptism, I thought it proper to shew that they are by no means parallel. Upon which Mr. K. attempts to prove that the minister is as essential to one as the other; which, if allowed, will not hurt my cause, because I think I can prove the minister essential to Baptism; only the consequence then will be, that there can be no valid matrimony among Jews, Turks, and Pagans; and that adultery is a sin peculiar to Christians. Would not such a consequence startle a man a little, and incline him to think that the minister is not essential to marriage, but a circumstance only of decency, proper among Christians? But he "cannot see, but that upon this "principle the pretended marriages among Quakers are as valid "as ours." Who doubts it? or that a Quaker's concubine may not be guilty of adultery before God, as well as any other? But the civil legislature, it seems, looks upon them as no more than "pretended marriages, and subjoins a proviso, that nothing" (in an act concerning matrimony) "shall be construed so as to "declare them good;" good, i. e. effectual in law, as the act itself referred to in the margin<sup>n</sup> expresses it, and it means no more: that is, such marriages shall not be received as good by the common or statute laws of England, nor plead any benefit of the law under that title. And this is a sufficient answer to his question, why the Quakers should be particularly careful not to die intestate. The same answer may serve in relation to the marriages in Cromwell's time before the justices. They were all afterwards confirmed by act of Parliament, and made legal<sup>o</sup>;

<sup>n</sup> 7 Will. III. c. 6.

<sup>o</sup> 12 Car. II. c. 33.

and had they not been so confirmed, they had been *illegal*, not *invalid*; and could have claimed no benefit of the law. Every one must observe that it depends entirely upon the civil power, what sort of marriage shall be deemed or reputed legal or not. But the validity of it is quite another thing, founded upon mutual contract; and therefore perhaps a precontract is thought a sufficient impediment to marriage with another person; since that precontract is a kind of prior marriage, and wants nothing but the ceremony to make it legal.

I had said that marriage is a covenant between the two parties; that its essence is their mutual contract; and the minister is but a circumstance; whereas in Baptism there is a covenant between God and man. God is one of the parties; and therefore his consent in person, or by his commissioned proxy or deputy, where there are any such, is essential to it. Against this Mr. K. objects, "that in every vow God is party " as well as we, being called not only as a witness, but as a judge " too." Therefore say I no *party*. For to be *judge* and *party* at the same time are inconsistent; and therefore his speaking of a *third party* here, is nothing but playing upon a word. God's being a party in the sense that Mr. K. takes it, is equally applicable to every covenant, contract, or bargain; and yet I hope they may be valid enough without the assistance of the sacred order. His argument from the Divine institution of matrimony comes far short of proof. I suppose government is as much of Divine institution as marriage, and yet I presume kings have been validly married to their people, and may again, without the assistance of a minister. This is certainly God's own act, as much as the other, and is notwithstanding purely of a civil nature, and nothing sacerdotal or ecclesiastical is essential to it. I know not what Mr. K. means by insisting so much on the office of matrimony peculiar to the Church of England; unless he would prove that our particular method and manner of solemnizing be essential to marriage; which would make it necessary to be observed all the world over. The truth is, the minister is essential to *legal* matrimony with us, and so perhaps are several other little circumstances. The marriage is complete in the contract between the two parties; and the law only determines what shall be looked upon with us as a sufficient declaration of such a contract. And if joining of hands only

was made as significant and effectual in law as the other, the marriage would be as complete and valid, though not so decent and Christian-like, as what we have now. Baron Puffendorf's observation relating to this point is worth reciting: "As the public laws of commonwealths are wont to invest other contracts with certain rites and solemnities, upon want of which they pass for invalid in *civil cognizance*; so in some states there are such ceremonies annexed to matrimony, as, if omitted, make it *illegal*, or at least deprive it of some effects, which would otherwise have sprung from it, according to the local customs and constitutions." This is exactly my sense of the matter. Laws and customs determine what marriage shall pass for legal or valid in civil cognizance. But the essence of matrimony is another thing, being the same in all places and ages; and is nothing else but a *mutual contract*; and is as binding in the nature of the thing before a Justice of peace as before an Archbishop. And indeed if it be performed only by a private engagement between the two parties, *remotis arbitris*, it is as valid *in foro conscientiæ* as any, if they understand one another.

But Mr. K. adds, that "the minister acts for God, and in God's name, which Mr. W. says none can do without commission from him: from which account he flatters himself that he has proved that the priest is at least as necessary in marriage as he is in Baptism." But I cannot flatter him so far as to believe it. That the *minister acts in God's name in both* I readily grant: and that he could not thus act without a commission from him I allow also: only the difference is this, which is very considerable; it is necessary there should be one to act in God's name in Baptism, because there is no covenant without the explicit consent of both parties, whereof God is one; and therefore the minister, God's appointed proxy, is essential to Baptism: but it is not necessary there should be one to act in God's name in marriage; because the covenant is not between God and man, but between man and woman: and God's representative the minister is not essential to it. In Baptism then there must be one to represent God, in marriage there need not. Yet if any one will take upon himself to represent God under any capacity, either as a witness, or judge, or avenger, he must act by commission, otherwise his act is irregular, sinful, and

null, and stands for nothing. Yet the acts of the two contracting parties are effectual and valid ; because a contract is nevertheless a contract for the want of a proper person to represent God as a witness, or judge, or avenger to it.

I do not dispute, but that the general commission given to the Apostles, &c. reaches to all acts of religion, and consequently to the solemnization of marriage. For whoever acts in God's name in any case, must have God's authority and warrant for it. But this does not prove that it is absolutely necessary that any one should act in God's name in marriage, but only that if he does act in God's name, he must act by his authority and by virtue of his commission. And therefore if any layman does pretend, in God's name, to join two persons together in *holy matrimony*, he is an usurper of the sacerdotal function, and his part in the solemnity stands for nothing. Yet since the two parties have thereupon solemnly *plighted their troth to each other*, no matter whether the person had any authority to represent God or no ; their act is valid, and God is witness to it in heaven. And now I hope I have sufficiently rescued the case from that confusion and perplexity which Mr. K. had left it in.

I shall beg leave here only to subjoin an observation relating to the point in hand. The celebrated Dr. Sherlock, supposed to be the author of the book noted in the margin, though he was in the main pleading for the same side of the question with Mr. K., yet he thought the argument drawn from the nature of a covenant to be so strong and forcible against the validity of Lay-baptism, that he could find no surer way of evading it than by denying Baptism to be a formal covenant ; in which I presume that great man was pretty singular, and only shewed that he was hard pressed. To consider that point at large would be too great a digression. There is indeed another much more plausible solution of the difficulty, which he also has recourse to, viz. that circumcision was as much a covenant as Baptism, and *yet any Israelite might circumcise, that knew how to do it*. But to this he himself furnishes us in the same place with a sufficient answer. For he says the administration of Baptism is confined ordinarily to the governors of the Church, whereas the administration of circumcision never was the peculiar office of the priest. Where God has given orders for a thing to be done, and left the administration at large, there any

<sup>a</sup> Vindication of Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet, p. 360, &c.

man is his authorized proxy that does it: but where he has appointed proper officers, these and these only can act validly, as acting by his authority. It is sufficient therefore to our purpose, that circumcision was not peculiar to the priest's office by the Jewish law, whereas the administration of Baptism is confessedly confined to the Clergy by the Christian law in *all ordinary cases*. And it can never be shewn, that it is not likewise so confined in the *extraordinary* too. And thus I have already in a great measure obviated what follows in Mr. K. relating to circumcision, the seal of the covenant to the Jews, as Baptism is to the Christians. The reason then why circumcision was not confined to the sacred order was, because God did not so confine it; there he allowed any person to covenant in his name; here he has appointed officers. I should make no further answer with relation to the case of Zipporah, but that Mr. K. has thence taken occasion to triumph over Mr. Laurence, as if he had given up all his principles at once; only because he happened to say, that Zipporah might circumcise in the right of her husband, his authority in his sickness, when he was not able to do any thing, devolving upon her. He supposes it might possibly be thus; yet he does not lay the stress of his argument upon it. For in the same place he observes, that Zipporah's act was in a case extraordinary, and he resolves it into immediate revelation, which makes the case very different. But admitting the most Mr. K. would make of it, it can amount to no more than this; that laics or women may exercise sacerdotal functions in extreme necessity, and by the authority of the Bishops. This Mr. L. never directly affirms nor denies; it is beside the question, and his principles may stand good independent of it. But this is an instance of Mr. K.'s blending two distinct questions together, as if they were one; and not considering the difference between authorized and unauthorized Baptisms, while the latter only is the subject of the present debate.

What Mr. K. adds in relation to Zipporah, and the female administration of circumcision, I pass over, the cause being little concerned in it. The other particulars which he takes notice of in the following page will more properly fall in with the other head, whither I think best to refer them, that I may not be too long detained from the judgment and practice of the primitive Church, which is of so great moment in the present controversy,

as well as in most others that concern the Church. Here Mr. K. seems to put the main stress of his cause, and here I am ready to join issue with him. I reject every thing novel in religion, and for that very reason reject Lay-baptism; because I am persuaded it is novel, and was no current doctrine or practice of the Church for the first six hundred years at least. Mr. K. speaks excellently well in the entrance of his letter: "I believe every position in Divinity which is new, to be false; and that in all questions relating to religion, discipline, or government, *reason* ought to submit to *scripture*, and scripture be interpreted by the sense and practice of *antiquity*; and consequently that *history* is the best and shortest decider of this and of every controversy in religion." Here I heartily close with him. To the Fathers we appeal, and to the Fathers let us go.

## II.

He begins with *astonishment* that I should venture to say, that "the ancients do with one voice, for above three hundred years, (Tertullian excepted,) condemn Lay-baptism, not so much as putting any exception for cases of necessity." This was not, I confess, worded distinctly enough in a short letter, designed rather for hints of things, than for clear and full explication. I did not mean that Lay-baptism was *clearly and in terms* condemned by the writers of the first ages; no more was transubstantiation or purgatory; and yet they are sufficiently condemned by them, inasmuch as they held principles inconsistent with them. In this sense I hope to make it appear that Lay-baptism also was condemned by the Church for more than three or four hundred years. It is enough for my purpose, if it was implicitly, virtually, or consequentially condemned; as negative prohibitions are implied in positive precepts, as drunkenness is forbid by commanding sobriety, and irregularity condemned by a precept to observe order. The ancients would be of little use to us in modern controversy, if we suppose them to condemn nothing but what they specify *in terms*. At this rate we might despair of confuting late inventions and modern corruptions from Fathers or Councils; for it is evident they could not so *in terms* condemn what they never thought of. But notwithstanding, their very silence in some cases is a sufficient condemnation; and very often, the general reason they went upon in cases disputed in their times may be applicable to others afterwards:

and so what they do by consequence or parity of reason condemn, they do as certainly condemn, though not so directly.

The use of the observation in respect to the point in hand will in part appear presently, and more in sequel. Mr. K. himself owns that it is easy to collect many passages of St. Ignatius and others of the ancientest writers, wherein the right of administering in religious matters is asserted to the priesthood, as proper only to them, and the people forbidden to meddle or do any thing in holy things, without the concurrence and approbation of the Bishops. And he supposes that to be what I mean. I do indeed mean that, and something more. I mean plainly that according to the prevailing doctrine of the ancients for above three hundred years, the original power of baptizing was lodged solely and entirely in the Bishops, and derivatively conveyed by them to others; who do not appear to have been any, besides the standing ministers of Baptism: from whence I infer, that according to their principles, none could have a power of baptizing without a commission; and therefore if any had pretendedly baptized, their act would have had no authority, no right, or rule, to found its validity upon; and consequently would have been invalid. Therefore upon the principles of the ancients, *Lay-baptism unauthorized*, as that of our Dissenters, is invalid. Again,

By the principles of the ancients, as is confessed on all hands, laymen were always debarred from baptizing in all ordinary cases: therefore, had any laymen pretended to baptize in ordinary cases, their acts had been not only without, but against law, and consequently, as argued before, invalid.

Therefore again, the Baptism of our Dissenters being done in ordinary cases, and not in any extreme necessity, are by the principles of the ancient Church for above three hundred years together invalid<sup>o</sup>. I observe further, that when laymen were debarred by the ancient Church from meddling with sacred offices, and particularly from baptizing; the prohibitions are general, no exceptions being put in for cases of necessity. Yet such cases might happen then as well as now; not only infants, but many adults might often be in the article of death, and no Clergyman near at hand to baptize them. And if the text of St. John was so rigidly understood, as Mr. K. supposes; strange

<sup>o</sup> Ign. ad Smyr. c. 8. Cl. Rom. Ep. i. c. 40. Apost. Constit.

that this so frequent a case should not have had as frequent provisos! Yet we find nothing of them, except a hint or two from Tertullian, which shall be considered by and by. There is no warrant therefore from the ancient Church for Lay-baptism even in cases of necessity; and yet if there was, our Dissenters' Baptisms might be invalid notwithstanding, because utterly destitute of that plea. Upon consideration of the premises therefore, I venture once more to say, that the ancient Church for above three hundred years condemned Lay-baptism, if not directly, if not in terms, yet implicitly, virtually, and consequentially.

As to Mr. K.'s excepting against this, that "no more is intended by it, but to set forth the dignity and preeminence of the priesthood, and that it relates only to ordinary cases;" and that they did not descend to speak of *extraordinary*, because it had been *highly improper*; all this is as easily denied as affirmed; and it may be observed of St. Chrysostom, (whom he supposes in the place cited to speak the sense of the ancients,) that when he does descend to *extraordinary cases* in another place, he allows not any layman to baptize, but Deacons only. "If there be a necessity, says he, and a child be found ready to die, and unbaptized, it is lawful for a Deacon to baptize it." Strange he should not have added, or *even a layman*, had he known any thing of such a power entrusted with laics. But to proceed from our general argument from the first writers to those of the following times, that speak more home to the point. We will begin with Tertullian.

A. D. 192.

Tertullian I had acknowledged to be for Lay-baptism in cases of necessity, but observed withal that it was only his *private opinion*; as indeed he had many strange ones. Upon this Mr. K. rallies me very pleasantly; he calls it a "modish sovereign charm," and soon after, "a nimble way of taking off an evidence we do not like:" and would have you imagine, that it portends something very dismal; and particularly, that "it makes all convictions from antiquity, except from general councils, impracticable and impossible." But, with submission, this sovereign charm is a very innocent thing; and is no enemy to any thing, but to error, mistake, and false reasoning. This nimble way of taking off an evidence is a way used by the best and gravest writers in any controversy depending on the sense



of antiquity. It is necessary in reading or quoting the Fathers to distinguish carefully what they give as their own *private judgment*, and what as their *testimony* of the doctrine of the Church. We admit their testimony, because we have all the reason in the world to believe they were honest men. But as to their own *private opinions*; they ought to weigh no more with us, than the reason on which they are founded. Thus the Fathers may always be of great use to us, as witnesses of the doctrine of the Church in their times; though not always as *private doctors*. And therefore I think your friend concluded a little too hastily, that we may hereby set aside all authorities of the ancients, except *general councils*. We set aside none; but we distinguish between what a Father tells us is the doctrine of the Church, and what he gives us as his own. Seeing therefore that the distinction is very good, I am next to shew that it was rightly and properly applied. I grant that Tertullian does plead for Lay-baptism in cases of extreme necessity. His arguments are weak enough, and very easily answered: but that is not the point now; for the question only is, whether he speaks the Church's practice, or only delivers his own private opinion. There are two passages commonly referred to in this controversy: the first is this, "P Dandi quidem jus habet summus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi, (non tamen sine Episcopi autoritate,) propter Ecclesie honorum, quo salva pax est. Alioquin etiam laicis jus est; quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari potest. Nisi Episcopi jam, aut Presbyteri, aut Diaconi, vocantur, Dicentes," &c. The chief Priest, who is the Bishop, has power to give (Baptism), and next to him the Presbyters and Deacons, (but not without the authority of the Bishop,) *because of their honourable post in the Church*, in preservation of which peace is preserved: otherwise even laymen have a right to give it, for what is received in common may be given in common. Except then that either Bishops or Presbyters or Deacons *intervene*, the ordinary Christians are called to it.

I have thrown in two or three words in the translation, to clear the sense of this passage; I have chiefly followed Mr. Bennet<sup>q</sup>, both as to the sense and to the pointing of them, and refer you to him for their vindication. What I am to observe

<sup>p</sup> De Baptismo, c. 17.

<sup>q</sup> Rights, &c. p. 118.

from them is, that while he asserts an inherent right in laymen to baptize, he acknowledges the custom and practice of the Church to have confined it to the Clergy only for the preservation of peace and order : and he elsewhere<sup>r</sup> acknowledges the settlement of the Clergy to be of Divine institution, and to have obtained from the beginning. So that his assertion runs thus : “ Were it not that Christ and his Apostles for wise ends and “ reasons had confined the administration of Baptism to the “ Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, even laymen might lawfully “ take upon them to baptize, having an inherent right to do it “ by virtue of their own Baptism ; which right they are only “ now to use in cases of extreme necessity.” Here is not the least intimation that the Church in his time either believed or practised thus. He appeals to no rule, order, or custom for the right of the laity, as he does for that of the Clergy ; but, for want of it, sets himself to invent reasons, and goes on in arguing and debating the point for a good while together ; which had been needless, had Lay-baptism been the current doctrine or practice of the Church. And beside, the same Tertullian<sup>s</sup> marks it as a singularity of the heretics in his own time, that they made laymen perform the offices of the Clergy : “ Nam et laicis “ sacerdotalia munera injungunt,” are his words. He should have added, upon Mr. K.’s scheme, *etiam extra casum necessitatis* ; or else what would it have signified to have made such a remark upon the heretics ; when, upon supposition that the Church allowed the same, it might easily have been retorted upon him ? But since he remarks it as a singularity in heretics to allow of it in any case, it is evident Lay-baptism could not be the practice of the Church in his time. To return to the words we were before speaking of ; Mr. K. observes from Mr. Bingham, that it “ would be strange, if Tertullian, describing just before the “ practice of the Church in permitting Presbyters and Deacons “ to baptize, should invert his discourse immediately in the very “ next words,” &c. But as Mr. Laurence in answer to Mr. B. more justly observes, “ The word *alioquin* is a plain transition “ from his former subject of what had reference to the Church’s “ law or custom ; and evidently shews that he is going to say “ something that is separate and distinct therefrom. As much “ as if he had said, By the law and custom of the Church the

<sup>r</sup> De Præscript. Hæret. c. 21.<sup>s</sup> De Præscript. Hæret. c. 4.

“ Bishop has power to give Baptism, and after him Presbyters  
 “ and Deacons, yet not without the authority of the Bishop, for  
 “ the honour of the Church. Otherwise, distinct and separate  
 “ from the consideration of this law or custom, *laymen* also have  
 “ a right to give it.”

Upon the whole then, it is so far from appearing that Tertul-  
 lian spoke the sense or practice of the Church in relation to  
 Lay-baptism in his time, in the words cited, that the direct con-  
 trary may be reasonably inferred from them; and therefore Mr.  
 K. will excuse me, if I repeat it again, that he spoke only *his*  
*own private opinion*. And though, for ought I know, Mr. Dod-  
 well might be *the first man that thought so*, and might own it to  
 be a *paradox*, being a very modest and ingenuous author, yet  
 his reasons are good, and will abide the test; or however, we  
 should have taken it kindly of Mr. B. and Mr. K., who join in  
 the censure, if they would have told us likewise who shall be the  
 first man that shall confute him. But I proceed now to the  
 other passage of Tertullian relating to this controversy, where  
 he is arguing against second marriages: “ Vani erimus, si  
 “ putaverimus, quod sacerdotibus non liceat laicis licere; Nonne  
 “ et laici Sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, regnum quoque nos  
 “ et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit<sup>u</sup>. Differentiam inter  
 “ ordinem et plebem constituit Ecclesiæ autoritas, et honor per  
 “ ordinis concessum sanctificatus, adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis  
 “ non est concessus, et offers, et tinguis, et sacerdos es tibi solus  
 “ —igitur si habes jus sacerdotis in temetipso ubi necesse est,  
 “ habeas oportet etiam disciplinam sacerdotis, ubi necesse sit  
 “ habere jus sacerdotis. Digamus tinguis? Digamus offers<sup>x</sup>,” &c.

Tertullian is here arguing against second marriages even in  
 the laity. It was a rule in the Church in his time, and long  
 after, almost universally held, and supposed to be founded in  
 scripture<sup>y</sup>, that no Clergyman should marry a second wife.  
 Tertullian being now a Montanist, and very austere in his  
 temper and principles, had a mind to carry the matter further,  
 and to bring even the laity under the same restrictions. It was  
 a difficult matter for him to prove his point: however, being  
 resolved to attempt something, he undertakes to prove that  
 laymen are priests, and therefore ought to be subject to the  
 same rules and the like restraints with them; and consequently

<sup>u</sup> Revel. i. 6.

<sup>x</sup> Exh. ad Castit. ed. Rig. c. 7. p. 522.

<sup>y</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 2—12. Tit. i. 6.

not to marry twice. He endeavours to prove laymen priests from a text in the Revelation cited in the margin, from which he might as easily have proved them kings. But would it not from thence follow upon Tertullian's principles, that the laity and Clergy are all one, and might therefore indifferently officiate in the sacred ministrations? No. He was aware of that; and therefore very probably to obviate such a surmise he adds, "Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit," &c. as much as to say, "Though laymen have an inherent right to officiate, yet the exercise of it is restrained so long as there is a particular order of men set apart for that purpose; upon whose rights and powers it would be an encroachment and usurpation for any layman to pretend to officiate, where there is any Clergyman to do it. But where there are no Clergy, there can be no encroachment upon their authority; and so the reason of the restraint ceasing, a layman may then freely exercise his inherent right, may baptize or give the Eucharist, and be his own priest." That this is the sense of Tertullian, and the substance of his reasoning upon the case, I make no doubt: but if you are not satisfied, I refer you to Mr. Bennet<sup>2</sup>, who has spent about thirty pages in interpreting this single passage. That Tertullian here asserts, that laymen may baptize in want of Clergy, I readily allow: but that he lays it down as the doctrine or practice of the Church in his time, I utterly deny. It is all nothing else but his private reasoning; and that very probably in answer to a tacit objection, which he could not otherwise get rid of. So natural is it for a man, that will maintain absurd paradoxes, to fall from one absurdity to another. Mr. K. upon this passage makes a strong misrepresentation of the sense of the author, and fancies he sees such principles as Tertullian never dreamt of. He says, "Certainly no man of common sense would pretend to persuade men against second marriages, upon the topic of supposing them to be thereby unqualified to baptize, &c. in cases of necessity, if Baptism by laymen had at that time been never practised." But this is all a mistake. Tertullian goes upon no such topic. The topic he went upon was, that laymen had an inherent priesthood in themselves, which he founds upon a mistaken text in the Revelation; and what he asserts afterwards, of their right to baptize

<sup>2</sup> Rights of Cl. cap. 9.

and give the Eucharist in case of necessity, is nothing but a forced inference, which his former premises necessarily drove him to, as has been before explained. However, that you may not suspect I assert any thing confidently without some grounds, I observe,

1. That there is hardly a shadow of an argument to prove that he here spoke the sense of the Church. The chief thing commonly urged is, that *offers* and *tingis* are in the present tense, seeming to imply something then really practised: to which the answer is easy, that they are not to be understood *indicatively*, but *potentially*, as Mr. Dodwell and Mr. Bennet have sufficiently shewn<sup>a</sup>. They do not signify, *you do act thus*, but, *you may act thus*, or *have power to act thus*, in consequence of the principle before laid down, that laymen have an inherent priesthood. And that the words cited by Mr. K., *Digamus offers?* *Digamus tinguis?* are used potentially and not indicatively, is very plain: for as Mr. Bennet well observes, his friend had lately buried his wife, and was not yet married again; and therefore the words can bear no other sense but this, Would you baptize and administer the Lord's Supper, when married a second time? More might be added, but for brevity's sake I refer you to the forementioned authors, and proceed to shew,

2. That there are good reasons to prove that Tertullian did not speak the sense or practice of the Church at that time. Observe the words, "Adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consensus, et offers, et tinguis, et sacerdos es tibi solus." The *adeo* shews it to be an inference drawn from his former position, and not an assertion of any matter of fact in that time. Or if this does not satisfy, I shall add another consideration, which certainly must. Tertullian here joins the administration of the Lord's Supper with that of Baptism; and therefore if he spoke the practice of the Church in one, he did so in both; which I presume Mr. K. himself will hardly say: that the ancient Church ever permitted laymen to consecrate the Eucharist, can never be supposed by any man that knows any thing of Church history. And yet Tertullian's words are as full and clear a proof of that, as of the practice of Lay-baptism. This is demonstration that he spoke not the sense of the Church, but his own. I know Mr. K. has here a sovereign charm, which he

<sup>a</sup> De Jure Laico, p. 53. Rights, p. 298.

had used before as well as now, and very unluckily in both places. He imagines that the word *offers* signifies no more than what Dr. Cave tells us, that laymen reserved consecrated elements in their houses, and so received at home: this is his sense, though not his words. But, with submission, I think it strange that Tertullian should mean no more than this: for not to mention that the word *offerre* absolutely put, answering to the Greek *προσφέρειν*, hardly ever signifies any thing else in Church writers but to consecrate the Lord's Supper; is constantly used so by St. Cyprian<sup>b</sup>, and Tertullian<sup>c</sup> himself in other places: I say, not to mention this, which is so well known to the learned, that Dr. H. B. Johnson, &c. take it for granted that *offers* in this place signifies administering the Eucharist: there is another consideration offered by Mr. Dodwell<sup>d</sup>, decisive in the case, viz. that the whole scope and tenor of Tertullian's reasoning makes it absurd to take it in any other sense. For how ridiculous would be his whole reasoning, if, undertaking to prove that laymen had a proper inherent priesthood, and consequently might minister in sacerdotal offices, he should give an instance of an act not sacerdotal; not requiring any sacred character? From the whole then I think it is evident that Tertullian did mean the giving the Eucharist in the strict sense, as a sacerdotal act. For it is plain, that Tertullian upon his own principles meant not to exclude the laity from any clerical functions, how high and sacred soever; provided only, that they should not assume them, but in extreme necessity in utter want of a proper Clergy. If then he spoke the doctrine or practice of the Church in relation to Baptism being administered by laymen, I must insist upon it, that he spoke the doctrine and practice of the Church in relation to the Eucharist too. But because Mr. K. will, I am sure, deny it of the latter, I must beg leave to deny it of the former also; and consequently must still be bold to say, that Tertullian in this passage, as well as in the former, spoke only his own private opinion. Seeing then that Tertullian is thus singled out and separated, and has now nothing left to support him but his own slender reasons, it would be too easy a conquest to set upon him and confute him; which has been done so often: and therefore I leave him, only making these following observations in relation to him.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. l. 5. 17. 63. 69.<sup>c</sup> De vet. c. 9. de exh. Cast. c. 11.<sup>d</sup> De Jure Laic. cap. i. 2, 10.

1. That he allows of Lay-baptism, but at the same time is forced to suppose laymen to be Priests in order to qualify them to baptize: so that, in the main, I take him to be of my side of the question; for if I could but prove that laymen are not proper Priests, (under this word we include Deacons,) which would be no hard matter; his own principles would lead him into my conclusion.

2. He founds his doctrine of Lay-baptism upon an inherent right of priesthood in every Christian. This can never agree with Mr. K.'s hypothesis; who founds it upon I know not what plenitude of power in the Bishops, inconsistent with Tertullian's principles: and therefore, with submission, while he rejects his principles, he ought not, I think, allege his authority for the conclusion; because, if you disarm Tertullian of his premises, you do at the same time in effect make him disown the conclusion built upon them.

3. Tertullian allowed of Lay-baptism only in case of necessity: therefore his authority is not pertinently alleged in favour of Dissenters' Baptisms, which have no such plea; consequently whatever force there may be in the argument drawn from his authority, it is wide of the question.

4. Tertullian acknowledges, that in all ordinary cases the administration of Baptism is appropriate to the Clergy, condemns all Lay-baptism in such cases, as irregular and sinful. Whether he would have pronounced them *invalid* does not certainly appear; though it might be probably enough argued that he would; because it was his principle, as Mr. K. himself owns, to annul heretical Baptisms<sup>e</sup>, and probably schismatical too, (the same general reasons affecting both,) and such Baptisms would be schismatical. It is therefore reasonable to believe, that he must have pronounced Dissenters' Baptisms (such as among us) null and void. And therefore perhaps in the main I was a little too complaisant to Mr. K. to give him up Tertullian; who, if he were to speak home to the point in debate, I am persuaded would be on our side. For the *inherent right of priesthood*, on which he founds the validity of Lay-baptism, has no place in ordinary cases, or however ceases in a schism; and then there is nothing left upon his principles to render the thing *valid*. And now from Tertullian let us come to

<sup>e</sup> De Bapt. c. 15.

## ST. CYPRIAN, 248.

From whom Mr. K. confesses he has no positive evidence. I should wonder much if he had; because there cannot, I think, be a more positive evidence against him. You remember, I hope, that we are disputing whether the pretended Baptisms of Dissenters (i. e. of schismatical laymen) are valid. Now can any man imagine that Cyprian, who rejected the Baptisms of schismatical clergymen, should admit the pretended Baptisms of schismatical laics? Nothing can be clearer than that St. Cyprian would have nullled and vacated all such pretended Baptisms.

But it may perhaps be replied, that though St. Cyprian does agree with us in the conclusion, yet he differs from us in the premises, and condemns schismatical Baptisms, because *schismatical*, and not because they were Lay-baptisms. To which I answer, that he rejected schismatical Baptisms, because they were in his opinion *unauthorized uncommissioned Baptisms*, which was in effect to call them Lay-baptisms, or however upon the same principle that schismatical Baptisms were rejected, all unauthorized Lay-baptisms must be rejected also. Mr. K. thinks that Cyprian's silence on this subject, when he had such an inviting occasion to speak of it, will afford a fair presumptive argument, that Baptism administered by a layman was not thought invalid. I am not of Mr. K.'s mind, and shall shew why, presently. Only first let me lay before you Mr. Bennet's reasoning from the like topic in this very case the other way: "Had any such thing (as Lay-baptism) been allowed before the controversy of rebaptizing heretics was managed by St. Cyprian, it is impossible (as every one may see) that it should never have been taken notice of by either of the contending parties, though the necessary inference from such a practice would have nearly affected that dispute—nor was any such practice ever heard of before the fourth century." Mr. Bennet is very right; for had Lay-baptism been admitted by the Church at that time, St. Cyprian's adversaries could not have failed to have taken advantage of it, in order to invalidate his reasonings against schismatical Clergy, (for as to heretical, they are of distinct consideration,) being founded mostly on this principle, that they had forfeited their orders, and had no sacerdotal powers left, being cut off from the Church: for if the Baptisms of laics in the Church, who never had sacerdotal powers given, be valid; why not the Baptisms of schismatical Clergy, who once had powers, but had lost them, according to Cyprian? The



silence therefore of St. Cyprian's adversaries upon this point is a demonstration that no such practice as that of Lay-baptism was known in the Church in his time. But as to St. Cyprian's silence on the other hand, nothing can be inferred to the prejudice of our cause.

It was not necessary for him to say that *Lay-baptism* is allowed to be *invalid*; therefore so is the Baptism of schismatics; because this would have been begging the question, and proving idem per idem. The point was only whether schismatics had forfeited their orders or no; and how impertinent would it have been for St. Cyprian to observe that laymen could not baptize, unless his adversaries had allowed the schismatical Clergy to be no more than laymen, which they never did allow, but still contended they were priests? I say then that St. Cyprian had no occasion to take notice of the invalidity of Lay-baptism; because that, if granted, was wide of the point; since it did not appear that the schismatical Clergy were no more than laymen. But he set himself to prove that they were not Priests, that they had lost their commissions, that they had no sacerdotal power or character left; and that therefore their Baptisms were invalid. What was this, but in effect to prove them no more than laymen, and to reject their Baptisms on that very account; because, as to commission, they had no more than laymen, having lost what they had? What does it signify whether he called them laics or no; so long as he said what was tantamount to it in other words, viz. that they were not Clergymen, and consequently, and therefore had no power to baptize? And that this was said over and over by St. Cyprian and his adherents, is too plain to need proof. I expect here to be told, that the main principle on which the Cyprianists grounded their severe doctrine was, that schismatics were cut off from the Church; and therefore all they did was invalid. This I readily own; and it is very consistent with what I said before. For they reasoned thus: schismatics are *foris, extra Ecclesiam*, cut off from the Church; therefore, being divided from the fountain, they can convey nothing spiritual; therefore they have no power left of baptizing, their orders being as it were extinct, void, and null. So that the immediate reason why they could not baptize was, because their sacerdotal power was supposed to be lost and extinct, their right ceasing. But doth not this reason equally affect laymen, who never had this sacerdotal power or right ven them? or does not the argument conclude as strongly

against those that never had it, as against those that once had, but are supposed to have lost it? St. Basil<sup>e</sup> therefore was much in the right in saying, that Cyprian and Firmilian, with their adherents, rejected the Baptisms of schismatics upon this principle, that being cut off from the Church, and become laics, λαϊκοὶ γερόμενοι, they had lost the power of baptizing. For how does this differ from Cyprian's and Firmilian's own account of the matter, but in this small punctilio: according to St. Basil, they rejected the Baptisms of schismatics, because they judged them to be mere *laics*; according to their own account, they rejected them, because they judged them to be *no Priests, no proper or true Clergy*. I know that other arguments were used in the dispute beside this; yet this was the main argument, and most frequently occurs, except it be that schismatics had lost the power of remitting sins and conferring the Spirit, which almost amounts to the same thing. What I have here asserted is abundantly confirmed from St. Austin's management of this controversy with the Donatists afterwards. The main point, which he there undertakes to prove, and in which he prevails and triumphs over his adversaries at every turn, is, that heresy and schism did not null or vacate orders. For when the Donatists objected to him, that schism deprived them of the right of baptizing, he denies it utterly, and pleads strongly for the *indelible character*<sup>f</sup>. And he proves it unanswerable upon a principle which both sides acknowledged, viz. that *heresy or schism did not vacate Baptism before received in the Church*. If a Layman by being a schismatic does not forfeit his Baptism, why should a Clergyman be thought to forfeit his orders? “Utrumque enim sacramentum est, et quadam consecratione utrumque homini datur, illud cum baptisatur, illud cum ordinatur, ideoque in Catholica utrumque non licet iterari.” And he proceeds to observe at large, that when Clergymen who had deserted the Church were allowed again to officiate, (as they were sometimes,) upon their return they were never reordained, having the priestly character still residing in them. He repeats this argument in another place<sup>g</sup>: “Nullus autem eorum negat habere Baptismum etiam apostatas, quibus utique redeuntibus et per pœnitentiam conversis, dum non redditur, amitti non posse judicant,——quod si haberi foris (Baptismus) potest, etiam

<sup>e</sup> Ad Amphiloichium, c. 19.

<sup>f</sup> Contra Ep. Parmen. l. ii. c. 13.

<sup>g</sup> De Bapt. l. i. c. 1.

“ dari cur non potest? Sacramentum enim Baptismi est, quod  
 “ habet, qui baptisatur, et sacramentum dandi Baptismi est,  
 “ quod habet, qui ordinatur. Sicut autem Baptisatus, si ab  
 “ unitate recesserit, sacramentum Baptismi non amittit; sic  
 “ etiam ordinatus, si ab unitate recesserit, sacramentum dandi  
 “ Baptismi non amittit.” And it is worth observing what he  
 elsewhere observes of St. Cyprian in these words<sup>h</sup>: “ Satis  
 “ ostendit (Cyprianus) facillime se correcturum fuisse sententiam  
 “ suam, si quis ei demonstraret Baptismum Christi dari posse ab  
 “ eis, qui foras exierunt, quemadmodum amitti non potuit, cum  
 “ foras exirent, unde multa jam diximus, nec nos ipsi tale  
 “ aliquod auderemus asserere, nisi universæ Ecclesiæ concordis-  
 “ sima autoritate firmati.”

It was St. Cyprian's own principle, as well as that of the universal Church at all times, that no schism, heresy, or even apostasy, could take away Baptism once validly given; and therefore Cyprian himself<sup>i</sup> admitted all that returned to the Church (having been before baptized in it) without rebaptizing, and indeed constantly condemns rebaptization properly so called.

St. Austin argues upon this principle; if Baptism once validly given is always valid, then orders once validly given are always valid; therefore can never be *deleted by any heresy, schism, or apostasy*; therefore schismatical Clergymen still retain their *sacerdotal character*, therefore their ministrations, and particularly Baptism, are still valid, inasmuch as they could not lose their right of baptizing given in their ordination. This is so clear all the way in St. Austin's dispute with the Donatists, that he that runs may read it. It is plain then, that he thought the strength of Cyprian's cause consisted in this one mistaken principle, that *schism and heresy nulled orders*: and that if St. Cyprian had been convinced of that mistake, he would have changed his *opinion*. What is this but asserting, or at least insinuating, the very same thing with St. Basil; that Cyprian rejected the baptism of schismatics, because he rejected their *orders*, and looked upon them, as to any sacerdotal power or right, as being no more than laymen? Upon the whole then, I venture to say again, and shall give further proof of it before I have done, “ That the question in those times was not whether

<sup>h</sup> De Bapt. l. ii. c. 4.

<sup>i</sup> Ep. lxxi. p. 194.

“ Lay-baptisms were null, both sides supposing that as an undoubted principle, (meaning by Lay-baptisms unauthorized Lay-baptisms,) but whether heresy and schism nulled orders.”

I have mentioned St. Austin only as a witness of St. Cyprian's sense and meaning, whom he thoroughly studied, and as thoroughly confuted, with respect to that point on which Cyprian grounded his opinion, viz. that *heresy or schism nulled orders*; which being removed, there was nothing considerable left to support the doctrine of the *invalidity of heretical or schismatical Baptisms*, if administered in due form with water and in the name of the blessed Trinity.

For the clearer apprehension of Cyprian's principles, I shall just observe to you, wherein he and the other churches with him differed from the more ancient and universal Church with relation to schismatics. He thought they were entirely cut off from the Church, and therefore had nothing common with it, and consequently their Clergy were not Clergy. The other churches thought they were not so entirely cut off, but were parts still, though unsound parts, and retained many things common with the Church; and so were still Christians in a large sense, as much as a baptized drunkard, idolater, atheist, or apostate, is such, or as much as a Judas or a Simon Magus.

Cyprian<sup>k</sup>, in consequence of his principle, thought that all the powers of the schismatical Clergy were extinct and dead, as rays separated from the sun, branches broken off from the body of the tree, streams divided from the fountain. But the Catholic Church, if we may allow St. Austin to be her interpreter<sup>l</sup>, thought the *waters of Paradise*, the spiritual powers of the Church, might flow in continued streams *beyond Paradise* itself, (by which is meant the Church,) and so spiritual powers might be conveyed and exercised *validly*, though not *savingly*; so as the sacraments should not need to be repeated upon their return to the Church, but only to be made effectual to salvation by unity, repentance, and charity. You may observe then, that both of them supposed a necessity of a conveyance of spiritual powers to the administrators to make Baptism valid. And the only question was, whether in heresy or schism theirs was such a conveyance or no. St. Cyprian would not acknowledge any, St. Austin both

<sup>k</sup> De Unit. Eccl. p. 108. ed. Oxon. Ep. 69, 73. Firm. Ep. 20. 202.

<sup>l</sup> Aug. de Bapt. l. iv. c. 1. passim.

asserted and proved it. And so the doctrine of the indelible character, which St. Austin and the whole Catholic Church received at that time, was the main, if not the only principle, whereby they confuted St. Cyprian's tenets; whose authority the Donatists made great use of in that controversy against the Catholics. From whence, by the way, I cannot but wonder at Mr. Bingham's strange attempt, strange in a man of his learning and sagacity, to overthrow this so well grounded notion of the indelible character of orders, by which, whatever he pretends, he runs cross to all antiquity, (except the African Church in the time of St. Cyprian, and a few years before and after,) and not only so, but upon that principle leaves the arguments of the Cyprianists and Donatists incapable of a sufficient answer.

But to proceed. I hope I have said enough to shew how much Mr. K. is mistaken in his judgment about St. Cyprian; and so might pass fairly to the next authority cited in this controversy: yet, that I may not seem to overlook any thing that he has been pleased to urge on the other side, I shall just take some short notice of what he has excepted, before I go any further.

He thinks it highly probable that Cyprian was in the same sentiments with his master Tertullian. This argument is so inconclusive in itself, and so easily confuted by more than twenty instances, wherein Cyprian was wiser than his master, that I need not enlarge further upon it: beside that Tertullian himself, as I have observed above, was no great friend to Mr. K.'s hypothesis. He observes further, that probably among the heretics or schismatics some must be baptized by laics, and therefore wonders why St. Cyprian did not make that an argument against their Baptisms, if he disowned Lay-baptism; since that would have been the most plausible argument of all. But in answer to this, I am far from thinking that that argument would have been plausible, or so much as pertinent or proper to support St. Cyprian's cause; because it would not have affected the heretics in general, but only some part of them, viz. those that allowed women or laics to baptize. Besides, amongst those, all were not baptized by women or laics, but only some few, very probably an inconsiderable number in comparison. Consider then how Mr. K. would make Cyprian argue: "Among some heretics it may sometimes happen, that persons may have no other Baptisms but from the hands of women or laics; there-

“fore I would have all that come from heretics (though most of them have been baptized by heretical clergymen) baptized in “the Church.” Would this have been a conclusion worthy of St. Cyprian? Would this have been the most plausible argument of all, which is so manifestly inconclusive, and would only have exposed the cause? In a word, St. Cyprian’s drift and design was to prove all heretical and schismatical Baptisms null; and so there is a plain reason to be given why he would not use Mr. K.’s argument, which is vastly short of the point. I may observe here, by the way, that when the Church came to distinguish between heretics, allowing the Baptisms of some and not of others, they rejected the Baptisms of the Montanists, (among which you may reckon the Pepuzians and Quintilians,) while they allowed of Arians and Macedonians, as great heretics as the other. See Gen. Conc. Constant. can. 7. Yet it was not given as a reason for rejecting their Baptisms, that women and laics among them baptized, because there were other general reasons that were sufficient, which affected them all. But from hence I remark, that it does not appear that the Church ever received the Baptisms of any of these heretics, who allowed laymen or women to baptize; so that nothing can be thence inferred in favour of Lay-baptism. To what has been said I may add this, that there might be another such argument, every whit as plausible as this now mentioned; that some heretics, particularly the Montanists<sup>m</sup>, did not baptize children, but delayed Baptisms a long time; from whence it might be that several heretics returning might happen to be unbaptized: yet neither did St. Cyprian use that argument; probably because it did not affect all, and such a particular case might be remedied as well as the other, only by demanding certificates of their Baptism before their admission into the Church.

Mr. K. next, in order to weaken the testimony of St. Basil, observes, that he does not give us the words either of Cyprian or Firmilian. But I have already proved that he gives us their sense, which is enough. And sure, if we could not prove it from Cyprian’s or Firmilian’s own works, so considerable a writer as Basil, who lived about a century after them, and was successor to one of them in his see, might be credited upon his bare word in a matter of testimony, as this is. As to the next

<sup>m</sup> Hist. of Mont. p. 147.

exception, that Basil might mean, not Cyprian and Firmilian, but their adherents; I am persuaded upon second thoughts he will be inclined to believe that he meant both; especially if he considers that the tenet there laid down was the principle of the party, as I have observed above, was received by the Donatists, and does not appear to have been completely and solidly answered, before St. Austin undertook it. And then he did not pretend to confute the principle itself, (unless a few diffident conjectures brought in by the by may be called a confutation,) but in the main he confirmed the principle, and denied the inference drawn from it. And this is a sufficient answer to the other subterfuge, that St. Cyprian might perhaps "speak only his private opinion;" for though I readily own that the Church in a few years after determined against his principle of *heresy or schism's nulling orders*: yet they never so determined against his other, that *unauthorized Baptism is null*. And even as to the former principle, though in comparison it was novel, (since Cyprian himself could have it no higher than Agrippinus,) and never was general; yet the world was nearly divided into halves upon it in the time of St. Cyprian, and perhaps afterwards, till the Councils of Arles<sup>n</sup> and Nice<sup>o</sup> decided the question. What follows in Mr. K. has been answered already. And so I pass on to the Elvira, leaving St. Basil to come in again in due time and place.

#### COUNCIL OF ELVIRA, A. D. 305. 19 Bishops.

The thirty-eighth canon is what concerns our present dispute. The words you have in Mr. K. His reflection upon them is this. That the Fathers of that Council "do not so much assert, as *suppose and take for granted* the liberty of laymen to baptize in "cases of necessity, (*nothing being more common in that age*.) but "restrain the use of that liberty to such alone of the laity as "had not unqualified themselves for holy orders." A strange account this of that Spanish Council, and in those few words no less than three either manifest mistakes, or at least groundless suggestions.

1. That "they supposed or took for granted" the liberty of laymen to baptize, how does this appear? Because they gave them such a liberty, therefore they supposed they had it before. The words of the canon are, "*posse baptizare*," i. e. such a

<sup>n</sup> A. D. 314. c. 8.

<sup>o</sup> A. D. 325. c. 19.

person as is there described may baptize: he is empowered or authorized by this present canon to do it; therefore say I, he could not do it before, or else, what need of the canon?

2. "Nothing being more common in that age." Whence could Mr. K. learn this? We have seen what Tertullian's and St. Cyprian's authorities amount to; and shall inquire into the rest in order, who will be found to say no such thing: or does he ground it wholly on this canon? That is what I imagine; and then it is an inference from what he said before; because the Council took it for granted, therefore it must be "common in that age." But the first is so far from being true, as I have observed, that the very words and intent of the canon rather prove the quite contrary. But he supposes the intent of the canon was,

3. "To restrain the use of some liberty" which they had before. This is very wonderful, that men upon a voyage and under great necessities, which might entitle them to the most favour and indulgence of any, should have a canon made on purpose to abridge them of a liberty, that any man might take at home. But waving the unreasonableness of such a supposition, which seems as absurd as to say, *because you have more occasion for liberty, therefore you shall have less*; I say, waving that, yet how is it reconcilable with the very frame and tenor of the canon, which upon Mr. K.'s scheme should have had a quite different turn, in the form of a prohibition, as thus: "Though it has been a custom for laymen to baptize in cases of necessity; yet in this particular case upon a voyage we strictly forbid it, unless with these provisoes, &c." and so it should have been worded *negatively*, "*Non posse* quenkquam, qui sit bigamus, &c." which would, in my humble opinion, have suited much better with the wisdom and accuracy of the *Spanish Fathers*. But not to insist further in so clear a case; the truth is, here is a plain *permission* of Lay-baptism, though under several *restrictions*; and I wonder any man who is concerned for the credit of his cause should endeavour to make any thing more of it, because it betrays a bias, and makes the argument look less considerable than it really is. But to come to the point, we may observe as to this canon,

1. It must be in a case of *extreme necessity*. This gives no umbrage to the baptisms of Dissenting laymen with us, who can plead no such necessity. The administrator *must be one of the*



*faithful, who has his one Baptism entire*, i. e. probably confirmed, and one that is in communion with the Bishop. Therefore necessity alone is no sufficient plea, nor the *inherent right* mentioned by Tertullian; because if they were, there would have been no need of further restrictions. And yet besides the former, he was not to be a bigamist.

2. The most that can be made of this Council is, that the Spanish Fathers thought authorized Lay-baptisms valid; which does not affect our present question, as it has been observed.

3. It does not appear that this was the current doctrine of the Catholic Church at that time, but rather the contrary; because if it had been so, there had been no need of a particular canon to allow it.

4. It is not a testimony of fact, but the judgment only of a private council. However, I am willing to allow that a national council may afford as considerable an evidence of the doctrine and discipline of the Western Church, as St. Basil's single letter can of the Eastern and something more, provided it be meant only of the times when St. Basil wrote, and this Council was held. But then it is to be noted, that it does not appear that the Western Church ever received this canon of the Spanish Council<sup>9</sup>, nor was its authority ever urged, as Dr. Brett well observes, by any of the Fathers, who pleaded for the validity of Lay-baptism; whereas the epistle of St. Basil is a canonical epistle, and received by the Greek Church, and as such is put into the canonical code of that Church, as early as the sixth century at least. This so important and material a difference between these two is of great force in the present argument, and should not, I think, have been concealed from the reader. When we quote the epistle of St. Basil, we give the authority of the whole Greek Church, who received it; but when we quote this canon, it is no more than the private opinion of one national church; and yet, to make the best of it, it comes not up to the matter in debate, but is wide of the question, since it allows no Baptism by laymen, but what is *authorized by Bishops*, done in *extreme necessity*, done by one in *communion* with the Church, and qualified for *orders*. Here are no less than four qualifying circumstances; none of which are applicable to the pretended Baptisms of our Dissenters, about which we are disputing; and

<sup>9</sup> Bingham, Schol. Hist. Works, vol. ix. p. 30. Oxford ed.

therefore little use can be made of this canon in the present controversy.

COUNCIL OF ARLES, A. D. 314. 33 Bishops.

Having before mentioned this Council, it may be proper to observe, that the eighth canon determines the famous question about rebaptization of heretics; ordaining, "that if any one leaves a heresy, and return to the Church, he shall be asked concerning the Creed; and if it be known that he was baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, imposition of hands only shall be given him, that he may receive the Holy Spirit; but if he does not acknowledge the Trinity, he shall be rebaptized." I shall only observe here, that the question in those days was not about Lay-baptisms, but about the Baptisms of heretical and schismatical Clergy; and the Church still looking upon their *orders* as good and valid, and therefore operative and effective, even in heresy and schism, (contrary to what the *Cyprianic churches* before, and the *Donatists* then taught,) did of consequence receive their Baptisms, if administered in the name of the Trinity. For if the orders of those who first left the Church were really valid and indelible, why should not all their acts be valid too, and consequently their Ordinations and Baptisms?

COUNCIL OF NICE, A. D. 325. 300 Bishops.

"The eighth canon declares, that the Novatian Clergy, who return to the Church, may continue in the Clergy after having received imposition of hands. This was determining the famous controverted point about the validity of the Orders of schismatical Clergy. The Novatian Clergy were allowed to be Clergy, that is, their Orders were pronounced "valid"."

This is what I presume St. Austin might have in his eye, when he so often appeals to the Catholic decision of the Church on his side in his disputes with the Donatists; from whence I cannot but again observe, that this was the principal point in debate, and that the other question about heretical and schismatical Baptisms depended entirely upon it. They were looked upon to be either valid or invalid, according as should be judged

† Brev. Not. ad Can. p. 61. Brett's Furth. Enq. p. 20. Laur. Suppl. p. 61.

of the orders of those heretics or schismatics ; so that both sides supposed Lay-baptism to be null and void.

The nineteenth canon ordains, that the Paulianists should be rebaptized, and their pretended Clergy not received as Clergy, till rebaptized and ordained in the Church. By Paulianists are meant the followers of Paul of Samosata, who denied Christ's Divinity, and consequently did not baptize in the name of the Trinity : so that this canon agrees exactly with the eighth canon of the Council of Arles cited above ; only in both it were more proper to say *baptize*, than *rebaptize* ; because no more is meant than that such should be baptized in the Church as had not received true Baptism before, wanting the due form. Rebaptization strictly so called was never admitted in the Catholic Church. About this time comes in the fable of Athanasius's baptizing his playfellows, and the pretended determination of Bishop Alexander upon it. Mr. K. is too conscious to vouch for the truth of it, but he observes, after Mr. Bingham<sup>t</sup>, that " Ruffinus and Sozomen do not censure the decree supposed to be made upon it," nay, he adds of his own, that they seem to applaud it. This is largely and solidly answered by Mr. Laurence<sup>u</sup>. I shall observe from him in short, that Ruffinus, the first relater of Alexander's supposed determination, relates it with such diffidence, as if he did not firmly believe it. Socrates Scholasticus, who comes after him, leaves out the latter part of the story ; probably because he thought it not worthy of credit. Sozomen copies the story from Ruffinus, and leaves it as he found it ; nothing can be concluded from their passing no censure upon it, but that either they thought it too improbable a story to make any serious censure upon ; or that they looked upon it, if true, as done by a Divine instinct, and carrying something supernatural in it, upon which Alexander's determination might be founded ; or, lastly, that in a very particular and extraordinary case they chose to suspend their judgment, and so leave it to the reader to think as he pleased of it. Any of these is as probable as what Mr. K. would insinuate ; or however are enough to shew, that the argument is very weak and inconclusive ; or if you are not satisfied, be pleased to consult Mr. L. in the places cited in the margin.

As to Mr. K.'s further remark in relation to St. Jerome, I

<sup>t</sup> Schol. Hist. Works, vol. ix. p. 31, 32. Oxford ed.    <sup>u</sup> Part ii. p. 85, 88.

suppose it will weigh little. Ruffinus's History might not perhaps be published, when St. Jerome wrote his answer to the other's *invectives*; and it was hardly worth the while to renew the quarrel afterwards, especially when he had been bitter enough before. Besides that Ruffinus's History is faulty enough in many other things, which yet were never taken notice of by St. Jerome. You may please to observe Dr. Cave's censure upon it, Hist. Litter. vol. i. p. 218. "In historia isthac concinnanda temporisque ratione digerenda credulum admodum fuisse Ruffinum constat, in fabulas et incertos plebeculæ rumorum res nimis propensum, quos e triviis et tonstrina petitos literis mandare temere solebat."

I need not have troubled you with so much about this, but that out of respect to your friend, I thought it good manners not to pass any thing over without notice, which he had thought worth his remarking. The next writer in order of time may be

#### HILARY THE ROMAN DEACON, A. D. about 355.

Probably the author of the commentary passing under the name of St. Ambrose. By the way, this Hilary was a stiff and rigid Luciferian; not only rejected the Arian Ordinations, but their Baptisms too, and would receive none without *rebaptizing*, nor so much as communicate with those that received them; which was a step beyond the rigour of the Cyprianists. I suppose a person of this character and principle could be no great favourer of schismatical Lay-baptisms; or if he were, neither his authority nor judgment should weigh much with us. But let us hear what advantage Mr. K. can make of him. He observes, that Hilary "supposes the office of baptizing and preaching separable," though they are both joined together in the commission. I see no such supposition in Hilary's words; "Non omnis qui baptizat, idoneus est et Evangelizare." A man may be invested in both these offices together by ordination, and may be fitter to perform one than the other, without supposing them *separable*. The occasion of the observation was what St. Paul had said, that he "was not sent to baptize, but to preach the Gospel<sup>x</sup>;" i. e. not so much for the one as the other; preaching being his principal business. For he was

<sup>x</sup> 1 Cor. i. 7.

certainly *sent* to baptize as well as to preach, was ordained and empowered equally to both, and so the offices were *inseparable*; but because he could do more good by one than the other, and was peculiarly adapted for it, he might leave the ministration of Baptism, more easily executed, to persons of inferior abilities, and who had less upon their hands than he had. How is this pertinent to our present case? or what would Mr. K. insinuate from it? That Baptism is not a clerical office, nor to be reckoned among the sacerdotal powers? That is what I believe he would almost find in his heart to intimate to us; but it was wiser not to speak out. To proceed. This Pseudo-Ambrose, or Hilary, it seems, tells us, that at first, for the swifter propagation of the Gospel, leave was given to all promiscuously to teach, baptize, and explain the scriptures; and that too *in Ecclesia*. To all whom? Not to women, I presume. By whom was this leave given? By God, I suppose, or by his representatives the Apostles; which, if true, (as it is not,) is little to the purpose. Shew any such leave for modern Lay-baptisms, and we need not dispute. Well, but what does this counterfeit Ambrose ground his observation upon? Nothing but the instance of Cornelius and his company, whom St. Peter “commanded to be baptized.” Here was therefore something more than bare leave. Here was express order from an inspired Apostle. Therefore the persons, whoever they were, that baptized Cornelius and his company, were authorized to do it. Shew this of our Dissenting laics. Further, it is not yet proved, nor ever, I believe, will, that those baptizers of Cornelius were laymen. Mr. Bennet thinks he has sufficiently proved them to be of the Clergy: if so, the whole argument drawn from hence falls to the ground. But had we no certain proof of that matter, yet I should very much suspect the truth of the observations made by this author, “that at first “leave was given to all promiscuously to teach.” St. Paul does as good as tell us<sup>z</sup>, that all men were not teachers in his time; and why may not the author be as much mistaken in his other point in making all baptizers? St. Clement of Rome, a much more competent witness in the case than an author of the fourth century, takes no notice of this promiscuous company of Laics and Clergy empowered to teach and baptize; but expressly tells us<sup>a</sup>, that the Apostles, as they went forth to preach the Gospel,

<sup>y</sup> Rights of the Clergy, p. 236.

<sup>z</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 29.

<sup>a</sup> Clem. 1. Ep. ad Cor. sect. 42.

constituted a Clergy, "appointed the firstfruits of their conversions to be Bishops and Ministers over such as should afterwards believe:" and that the distinction between Clergy and Laity was early settled in the Apostles' days, is so clear from the Acts and the Epistles, that I need not prove it.

This author himself however is pleased to allow, that when the Church was spread "*ubi omnia loca complexa est Ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et cætera officia in Ecclesia sunt ordinata*." Very inaccurately expressed, if he means it of the times of the Apostles, a few years after our Lord's ascension; but perhaps he thought it later. He proceeds, "*Ut nullus de Clericis auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, præsumere officium non sibi creditum vel concessum: et cœpit alio ordine et providentia gubernari Ecclesia.*" Though this author is something mistaken in his chronology, (not fixing the distinction of Clergy and Laity early enough,) yet he reasons very right; that after proper officers were once appointed, none should dare to usurp upon the sacred inclosure. And it is worth observing what he adds; "*Hinc ergo est, unde nunc neque Diaconi in populo prædicant, neque Clerici vel laici baptizant.*" He may be a good witness of what was done in his own time, though a bad reasoner about the practice of the Apostles: so that at last this author, where he talks of matters he knew little of, is of Mr. K.'s side; but when he speaks of matters within his own knowledge, he is of mine. But Mr. K. observes, that the words above cited do not imply that laics were under a *total prohibition* from baptizing in all cases, but that they do not baptize *in populo*. This is his sense, and a pretty strained construction it is, to fetch *in populo* from its proper place, and put it in another not very proper, and which, I am sure, he can never certainly prove to belong to it. But his hypothesis required it, and that solves all. I cannot however but with some pleasure observe, that this anonymous author, who at first setting out seemed to threaten us terribly, appears at length so gentle and favourable to us, that he can hardly without violence be kept from declaring on our side of the question. But Mr. K. observes, that "much less do his words imply that Lay-baptism is not valid." I am content that the words should not of themselves imply so much: but they

<sup>b</sup> Com. 1. in Ephes.

certainly do imply, that the practice of the Church was against Lay-baptism, as irregular and sinful at that time; and this is a better argument to prove it invalid, than any the author has furnished us with for the contrary opinion; and is sufficient to shew, that what Mr. K. thinks the Council of Eliberis took for granted, and what he takes to have been very common in that age, was not the general sense and practice of the Church fifty years after, nor then neither, since this testimony of Hilary looks backward to the time when he supposed the distinction of the Clergy and Laity first fixed. But enough of this: the next in order may be

PACIAN, A. D. 360<sup>c</sup>.

The most remarkable words in him are these: "Generat Christus in Ecclesia per suos sacerdotes—atque ita Christi semen, i.e. Dei Spiritus novum hominem alvo matris agitatum, et partu fontis exceptum *manibus sacerdotis* effundit.—Hæc autem compleri alias nequeunt, nisi lavacri et Chrismatis et Antistitis sacramento.—Lavacro peccata purgantur, Chrismate Sanctus Spiritus superfunditur, utraque vero ista *manu et ore Antistitis* impetramus." To these we may add what he says in another place, speaking of the power of baptizing and remitting sins<sup>d</sup>. "Totum hoc non aliis quam Apostolis imperatum est;" but at the same time observes, that it must extend to their successors. From the whole we may remark,

1. That the right of baptizing belongs only to persons of sacerdotal character; this right or power being committed to the Apostles only, and therein to those who derive it from them, viz. the Episcopal Clergy. This wholly destroys any pretended inherent right of laymen.

2. That the efficacy and validity of the sacrament depends upon the commission of the administrator, "Hæc compleri alias nequeunt." This leaves no room for any plea of pretended necessity without episcopal authority; and so utterly invalidates all unauthorized Lay-baptisms.

3. It is highly probable that laymen in St. Pacian's time had no episcopal power or license to baptize in any case; because no mention is here made of any such power; the administration is confined to the Sacerdotes.

<sup>c</sup> De Bapt. Biblioth. Patrum, tom. iv. Lugd. p. 318.

<sup>d</sup> Ad Sempr. Ep. i. Ibid. p. 307.

4. The least that can be supposed from it is, that it was so confined in all ordinary cases : so that whether you consider Dissenters' Baptisms as destitute of the plea of necessity, or as *unauthorized*, not to say *antiepiscopal*, they are by the principles of that age, so far as St. Pacian may be allowed to have understood them, null and void. If you desire to see more about Pacian, and what may be collected from him, I refer you to the second part of Lay-Baptism Inv. p. 99, and shall pass on to

## OPTATUS OF MILEVIS, A. D. 368.

What Mr. K. has observed of this author is very just and right. For though I once was of opinion, that Optatus meant no more than our twenty-sixth Article teaches, that "the holiness of the Minister is not of the essence of the sacrament," (which was all that he needed to have said, or should have said,) yet, upon second thoughts, and a more careful perusal of him, I do find that he carries the point further. The words which Mr. K. cites from him, "Non dixit (Salvator) Apostolis, Vos facite, alii non faciant. Quisquis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizaverit, Apostolorum opus implevit;" I say, these words, besides others in that discourse, are too plain to admit of any other construction : and yet, what you will wonder at perhaps, Optatus's reasoning would necessarily imply, not only that Lay-baptism, even by women, by Jews, Turks, and Pagans *in the name of the Trinity* is valid, but that it is lawful too ; since he supposes that by the institution of Baptism any man has an equal right to administer it, as being not excluded by Christ from doing of it. This is contrary to scripture, to antiquity, to reason, to Mr. K.'s scheme as well as to mine, and is too weak and groundless a notion to deserve any serious confutation. All that can be said is, that the good Father overshot himself, and in order to keep from one extreme in the heat of his dispute, as is very usual, run into another. He had not so clear and distinguishing a head as St. Austin, who engaged in the same cause, but came off much better ; and knew how to prove the Baptisms of Catholics valid upon juster principles, viz. the *undoubted validity of their ordinations*. Though he likewise sometimes run into the same topics with Optatus, but as it were *ex abundanti*, not being willing to lay the stress of his cause upon them. For he first secured his point from the other topic, and would never lay himself so far open as to rest his cause upon



such principles as would in their consequences overthrow all distinction between Clergy and Laity. Those who are for judging most candidly of Optatus are willing to think he designed no more. It was enough for him to prove that the personal faults of God's ministers did not null their orders, or hinder the effects of their ministrations. If he used an argument to prove this, which proved too much, he is blamable for it, and only shews that he reasoned ill, though he meant well.

However, be that as it will, I am not concerned to shew, that he or any other always reasoned right. He has honestly given his reasons, and any man that understands them has a right to judge of them. In a word, he spoke the judgment of the Church in his conclusion, that the "Donatists did ill to rebaptize the Catholics," but not in his premises from whence he inferred it, defending her on such principles as she had never owned. Upon the whole, I allow Mr. K. to have one beside Tertullian before St. Austin favouring his cause, not plainly and in terms, but implicitly and consequently; not as a witness of the doctrine or practice of the Church in his time, which was contrary; but as an author pressed in dispute, and delivering very unwarily "his own private opinion," his unaccurate determination about the "baptism of heretics, and the faith of the recipient" in that sacrament<sup>e</sup>: points which were handled in a quite different manner, and differently determined by the acute St. Austin<sup>f</sup>, sufficiently shew that he came unprepared to his subject, before he had well considered of it, and engaged in an argument that he was not master of. And now we come to

ST. BASIL, A. D. 370.

He was called in before only as an evidence for Cyprian and the Cyprianic age; now let him speak for himself, and the sense of the Greek Church in his time upon the present case. Mr. K. is of opinion, that if we wrest St. Cyprian from him, "we must give him Basil in exchange." I am far from thinking there is any such necessity for it, hoping to make it appear that Basil is a very clear uncontestable evidence, as any can be, on our side. Mr. K., in order to draw him from us, observes,

1. That Basil took heretical and schismatical priests to be no more than laymen.

<sup>e</sup> C. i. cont. Parmen. p. 37, 38. ed. Par.

<sup>f</sup> C. v. p. 91.

2. That notwithstanding he was willing to comply with the custom of the Church in receiving their Baptisms. Here he has so blended and confounded St. Basil's true meaning, that it will take some pains to set it in a true light. The truth is, St. Basil in his own opinion looked upon heretical and schismatical priests as laymen; but yet was willing to submit his judgment in that matter to the judgment and practice of the Church, which did not look upon them generally as laymen, but owned the validity of their Orders, and sometimes received them again, permitting them to officiate by virtue of the Orders they had during their heresy or schism; and upon this foot it was that St. Basil was willing to allow their Baptisms; not that he thought Lay-baptism valid, as Mr. K. mistakes the case, but because their Orders were looked upon by the Church as valid, he concluded their Baptisms were so too. To make the whole clearer, let it be observed, that St. Basil, going to declare what Baptisms should be valid, and what not, makes in the first place a distinction between heretics and schismatics; the pretended Baptisms of the former he rejects utterly, and observes, "that Cyprian and Firmilian and their adherents went further, rejecting the Baptisms of the Cathari, or Novatians, who were only schismatics, upon this principle, that they being no longer members of the Church, they had forfeited their Orders, and had no more power to baptize, &c. than mere laymen: yet since the Asiatic churches had received the Baptisms of such schismatics, he was willing to submit his judgment." I suppose he might have the determination of the Nicene Council in his eye, cited above, that declared the Ordinations of the Novatian Clergy valid, and consequently their Baptisms; and so the Church received both. He proceeds next to consider the Baptisms of the Encratitæ, another sort of schismatics, and seems inclined to reject them, but thinks there may be some reasons in some cases why they should be received. At length he concludes, with this remarkable observation: "But I know that we have received our brethren Zois and Saturninus, who were of that sect, into the episcopal chair: wherefore we can no longer separate those from the Church who were joined to them, having already made a kind of rule for their communion with us by receiving their Bishops."

You see from hence the rule and standard which St. Basil goes upon as to receiving of schismatical Baptisms: if their

Orders were received, he would receive their Baptisms, and makes the latter depend upon the former. He still adheres to his principle, that Lay-baptism is null; only, because he was willing to think that the Orders of schismatics were good, and that therefore their Baptisms were not Lay-baptisms, he is content to receive them. Can any thing be a clearer evidence for the invalidity of Lay-baptism than this is?

GREGORY NAZIANZEN, A. D. 370.

Mr. K. having only a Latin version of the author, therein, it seems, reads these words: "Tu vero neminem non satis dignum et idoneum ad Baptistæ munus obeundum existima: qui modo inter pios censeatur, ac non aperte condemnatus sit, atque ab Ecclesia alienus—omnes citra ullum discrimen vim perficiendæ animæ habere existima, qui modo eadem fide sint informati." And these he would interpret in favour of Lay-baptism, though it be clear to a demonstration, from what goes before and after, and from the whole scope, drift, and design of the place, that Gregory meant nothing like it. Read the whole passage, (but in English, because of its length,) and tell me if a man must not wink very hard to mistake it. Gregory is advising his catechumens not to be fanciful or curious in the choice of a minister to baptize them. "Say not thou, a Bishop shall baptize me, and he a Metropolitan, or one of Jerusalem. For grace is not the gift of the place, but of the Spirit. Say not, I will be baptized by one of noble birth, and that it will be a reproach to my quality to be baptized by any other. Say not, if a Presbyter is to baptize thee, that he shall be one that is unmarried, and one of the continent and angelic order; as if thy Baptism were defiled, when administered by another. Make not thyself a judge of the fitness or qualification of the preacher or baptizer; for there is another that judges of these things. Σοὶ δὲ πᾶς ἀξίωπιστος εἰς τὴν κάθαρσιν, μόνον ἔστω τις τῶν ἐγκρίτων καὶ μὴ τῶν προδήλων κατεγνωσμένων, μηδὲ ἐκκλησίας ἀλλότριος. μὴ κρῖνε τοὺς κριτάς. Every one is qualified to thee for thy purgation, provided only he be one approved, and not under public censure, nor cast off from the Church; judge not thy judges, thou that hast need of healing. Tell me not of the dignity of thy purgators, make

“ no difference between one spiritual father and another ; one  
 “ may be of more or less dignity than another, *but any of*  
 “ *them is superior to thee* : if there be two seals, the one of brass,  
 “ the other of iron, but both bearing the same royal image  
 “ upon them, and so making the same impression upon the  
 “ wax, what difference can you find between one impression  
 “ and another? None at all. Οὕτως ἔστω σοι πᾶς Βαπτιστῆς, κἂν  
 “ τῇ πολιτείᾳ προέχῃ, ἀλλ’ ἦγε τοῦ Βαπτίσματος δύναμις ἴση, καὶ  
 “ τηλειοποιῶς σοι πᾶς ὁμοίως ὁ τῇ αὐτῇ πίστει μεμορφωμένος. So as  
 “ to the ministers of Baptism, though one be a better man than  
 “ another, yet the power and efficacy of the Baptism is the  
 “ same ; and any of them indifferently may give you Baptism,  
 “ *that is of the same faith with you.*” By which I suppose he  
 means one that is not an heretic. That all this relates only to  
 the Clergy, as the proper administrators of Baptism, is, I think,  
 evident beyond dispute ;

1. From the comparison made between Bishop and Bishop,  
 and between a Presbyter and Presbyter, not between Priest and  
 Laic, or one Laic and another ; intimating that men should not  
 be too curious in the choice of their ministers, since all had the  
 same authority.

2. From that it must be a person approved by the Church.  
 Now I hope that Mr. K. will not say, that laymen were approved  
 by the Church as the ministers of Baptism in ordinary cases, to  
 which these words plainly refer.

3. From the administrators being here called the judges,  
 implying some authority over them, which cannot be said of  
 Lay-administrators ; but it may truly and rationally be said,  
 that catechumens should not pretend to judge of the qualification  
 of those whom God had appointed to the office. And St. Gre-  
 gory would argue very weakly and inconclusively on the other  
 supposition.

4. Gregory mentions no administrator lower than a Priest.  
 He begins with Bishops, bidding them not be curious whether  
 this or that Bishop, and then proceeds to Priests, giving the  
 like direction about them. Why did not he go on to Deacons,  
 and so at last to laymen, or even women, upon Mr. K.’s  
 hypothesis? In short, from Gregory’s words we may sooner  
 prove that even Deacons did not administer Baptism in his days,  
 than that laymen did. And indeed that I take to have been  
 the standing rule in the Greek Church especially, that none but

Priests should ordinarily administer Baptism, nor any lower than Deacons in the greatest necessity; which seems to have been the rule of the Church also in the time of St. Chrysostom <sup>h</sup>. Believe me, Sir, these good Fathers were men of true Church principles, and would have sooner laid down their lives than have betrayed the rights of their order. To proceed.

Mr. K. imagines that Nazianzen "gives such advice as any of us would give to an adult in the like case." I hope so too: and sure any of us in the like case would advise an adult to go to the minister of his own parish for Baptism, and not to ramble I know not whither for a gifted man to do it; much less should any of us advise him to take up with the first layman he could find, and to ask Baptism of him. But Mr. K. adds, "if any emergency should drive him to desire Baptism at the hands of a layman, then, &c." but not a tittle is there of any such supposed *emergency* in St. Gregory. He is putting the case, that some may be scrupulous, nice, and humoursome, that any Priest would not satisfy them, unless it were an unmarried Priest, nor that neither, unless he were a Bishop, or even an Archbishop, or a Bishop of such a particular place as Jerusalem, or so and so qualified. Do not you see plainly by this time what an imaginary construction Mr. K. had been making from plain words, that bear quite another meaning, and are as far from countenancing Lay-baptism, as preaching or praying in a schismatical conventicle? For the purpose: might not you or I advise any person not to have *itching ears*, not to be nice and curious about their ministers, but to be content to edify under any, and submit to such as God has appointed them, without making themselves judges of things and persons beyond their proper sphere: I say, might we not fairly offer such advice without being suspected of any design to commend Lay-preaching? And yet I am confident there would be as much ground for such a supposition, as there is for what Mr. K. would insinuate from St. Gregory about Lay-baptism.

#### APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

I shall here insert a few passages relating to our subject from the Apostolical Constitutions; not laying any great stress upon them, because of the uncertain authority of that work. "i As

<sup>h</sup> De Sacerd. lib. iii. Hom. 61. tom. vii. ed. Savil. 423.

<sup>i</sup> Ap. Constit. lib. ii. c. 27.

“ it was not lawful for a stranger that was not of the tribe of  
 “ Levi to offer any thing, or approach the altar without a  
 “ Priest; so do ye nothing without the Bishop. For if a man  
 “ does any thing without the Bishop, *εἰς μάτην ποιεῖ αὐτὸ*, he does  
 “ it in vain. It shall not be imputed to him as any service.  
 “ As Saul, when he had offered sacrifice without Samuel, was  
 “ told, *μεματαιώται σοι*, that it was of no effect: so whatever  
 “ layman does any thing without the Priest, (or Bishop,) *μάταια*  
 “ *ποιεῖ*, he does it in vain.” See Second Part of Lay-Baptism  
 Invalid, p. 117.

“ <sup>k</sup> We suffer not laics to usurp any of the sacerdotal offices,  
 “ as the Eucharist, Baptism, imposition of hands, &c. for no  
 “ man taketh upon him this honour, but he that is called of  
 “ God<sup>l</sup>. For this dignity is given by the imposition of hands  
 “ of the Bishop. But whosoever hath it not by commission but  
 “ seizes it to himself, shall bear the punishment of Ozias.”

All I shall observe from hence is, that no exception or proviso  
 is made for cases of necessity. The prohibition is general and  
 full. The first quotation seems directly to make Lay-Baptism  
 invalid; the other is clear for the unlawfulness of it: both  
 suppose Baptism a sacerdotal act, and found it upon sacerdotal  
 powers, conveyed by episcopal ordination; so interpreting the  
 commission to baptize, as to preclude the laity.

ST. JEROME, A. D. 384.

Great dispute has been about the sense and meaning of St.  
 Jerome in relation to the present controversy; both sides con-  
 tending that he is expressly for them, and both having some-  
 thing very plausible to urge for their respective opinions. I have  
 considered this matter very carefully, and shall state it very  
 fairly and impartially, as far as I am able to judge of it; and  
 perhaps in conclusion Mr. K. himself will have no reason to  
 complain of me. His Dialogue against the Luciferians is what  
 we are to examine. The Luciferians, as is well known, so called  
 from Lucifer Bishop of Caralis, (now Cagliari in Sardinia,) the  
 head of the schism, separated from the Catholic Church, because  
 they had received the Arian Bishops; yet they scrupled not to  
 receive the Arian Laymen to communion. St. Jerome undertakes  
 to confute them upon their own principles, by shewing them how

<sup>k</sup> Ap. Constit. lib. iii. c. 10.

<sup>l</sup> Heb. v. 4.

inconsistent they were in rejecting the Bishops, and yet receiving the laics, and how they must upon their own principles either be obliged to receive or reject both. The Luciferians pretended that the Arian Bishops were by their heresy and crimes utterly disabled from acting *in sacris* to any purpose, that their ministrations were ineffectual, their light extinguished, their powers deleted, in a word, they unbishoped them. St. Jerome confutes their pretences by this single argument; that since they allowed their Baptisms, they must of consequence admit of their other sacerdotal ministrations as effectual and valid, and therefore own their character not to be extinct, nor their sacerdotal powers deleted. The most remarkable words of the Dialogue to this purpose are the following :

“ <sup>m</sup>Quamobrem, oro te, aut sacrificandi ei licentiam tribuas, “cujus baptisma probas, aut reprobas ejus baptisma, quem non existimas sacerdotem.”

“ <sup>n</sup>Arianus baptizat, ergo Episcopus est : non baptizat : tu refuta laicum, et ego non recipio sacerdotem.”

“ <sup>o</sup>Tu eum Episcopum probas, quia ab eo recipis baptizatum “—Christianus non est, si non habuerit sacerdotem, qui eum faceret Christianum.”

From these words, and from the whole scope and drift of St. Jerome's argument, Dr. Forbes and Mr. Reeves, and after them Dr. Brett and Mr. Laurence, thought it reasonable to assert, that the invalidity of Lay-baptism was the undoubted principle upon which the *orthodox* confuted the Luciferians in St. Jerome's times. For it is very plain, that the validity of the Arian Baptisms is here made an argument of the *sacred character* still residing in the Arian Bishops; from whence it may seem reasonable to infer, that according to the principles of that age the validity of Baptism depends upon the *sacred character*, and consequently *Lay-baptism is invalid*. St. Jerome seems plainly to suppose a reciprocal connection between the validity of Baptism, and the validity of the Orders of the baptizer; and it is very certain, that the Donatists afterwards laid a great stress upon this principle in their disputes against the Catholics, which made St. Austin labour hard to prove the validity of Orders once given<sup>p</sup>, and that they could never be extinct or deleted after-

<sup>m</sup> Dial. adv. Lucif. i. c. 2.    <sup>n</sup> Cap. 5.    <sup>o</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>p</sup> Cont. Ep. Parm. lib. ii. c. 13.

wards, in order to establish the validity of the Baptisms of the Catholics. And it is worth remarking what he says relating to Fælicianus and those baptized by him, whom the Donatists received inconsistently with their usual stiffness and severity.

“In honore quippe suo sicut exierat, ita receptus est cum  
“his omnibus quos ipse foris positus baptizavit, nullo eorum  
“rebaptizato: quia si aliquem eorum, quos foris baptizaverat,  
“rebaptizandum esse censerent, judicarent eum amisisse jus  
“dandi, cum foris esset; et propterea consequens erat, ut ipsum  
“quoque iterum ordinarent, si illos iterum baptizarent.”

You may please to observe from hence, that the Donatists in St. Austin's time founded the validity of Baptism upon the right of the administrator. If the baptizer had not *jus dandi*, a right to give Baptism, it was looked upon as null. By the *jus dandi*, they meant the power received in ordination; for so St. Austin understands and explains it in the place cited, and in the other parts of the chapter. Therefore they founded the validity of Baptism on the validity of the baptizer's Orders; and therefore Lay-baptism in ordinary cases at least, upon their principles, was null and void. Now if you please to compare thus far the principle of the Donatists with what we have seen from Cyprian and Basil before, and now again from Jerome; you can hardly believe otherwise, than that that had been a standing rule of the Church at least in ordinary cases; and that the Donatists were so far Catholic in their principles, though they drew wrong conclusions from them. I know St. Austin endeavoured to resolve the validity of Baptism in another principle, as being Christ's Baptism if done in due form by any administrator. But this was *ex abundantia*, more than he needed to have done, having before sufficiently vindicated the validity of heretical or schismatical Orders, which was the main point. And what he adds further is a new notion of his own, unless Optatus may be said to have broached it before him. St. Jerome indeed in this very Dialogue has these words in relation to Baptism: “Quod frequenter, si  
“tamen necessitas cogit, scimus etiam licere laicis, ut enim accipit  
“quis ita et dare potest.” A very wise reason! I hope the Church had a better, if that were her practice. However, I will not say, with Dr. Brett and Mr. Laurence, that this was a slip of his pen, and inconsistent with the rest of the Dialogue. I will suppose that the practice of Lay-baptism in cases of necessity had got some footing in the Latin Church about his time. But



then I say it was by the permission of the Bishops, whenever it was, and was not *unauthorized Lay-baptism*, nor was any such permitted in ordinary cases, or allowed to be valid : and so to make St. Jerome coherent and consistent, he might perhaps think Lay-baptism unauthorized, and in ordinary cases invalid ; and yet allow of the validity of authorized Lay-baptism in cases extraordinary ; or else, he might think that the *sacerdotium laici*, which he speaks of, might take place in such circumstances, and consistently enough allow laymen, when necessity makes them Priests, as he seems to imagine, to execute the priestly function : or, in short, he might suppose Lay-baptism *lawful*, and therefore *valid*, when permitted by the Church in case of necessity ; and yet think it *unlawful*, and therefore *invalid*, in other cases. And indeed I take it for a certain truth, which I shall explain and prove in the sequel, that wherever Baptism is unlawful in the *whole act*, not circumstantially, but essentially unlawful, it is also invalid.

Thus I think the good Father is clear enough from contradiction ; and yet nothing can be drawn from him in favour of our Dissenters' Baptisms, which have no permission from the Church, nor any plea of necessity : and therefore we are still as much at a loss as ever to find any principle of the ancient Catholic Church whereon to found their validity. And now let us take leave of St. Jerome, and come to

ST. AUSTIN, A. D. 400.

I have mentioned this Father more than once already. I shall now lay before you so much out of him, as may give you a sufficient idea of the principle he went upon. It was objected to him by the Donatists, that heretics or schismatics had forfeited their Orders, and therefore could not validly baptize. Now observe how he answers this objection.

1. He absolutely denies the very supposition on which the objection was founded<sup>q</sup>, proving that heresy and schism did not vacate Orders for these reasons, because neither heresy nor schism could vacate Baptism once truly given ; and he thought there was a plain analogy between the *sacrament*, as he calls it, of Orders, and that of Baptism<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>q</sup> Contr. Ep. Parm. lib. ii. c. 13.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. De Bapt. lib. i. c. 12. et alibi passim.

Because the Catholic Church always thought that Orders once truly given could never be deleted by any heresy or schism, or indeed by any thing. And here he observes, that if any of the heretical or schismatical Clergy upon their return to the Church were allowed to officiate again as Clergy, they were admitted without any new ordination; a plain argument that heresy or schism had not deleted their Orders: nay, he observes further, that though they were often not allowed to officiate, but only admitted to Lay-communion; yet even then they were not looked upon as laymen, and therefore did not submit to penance and receive imposition of hands, which was the usual discipline for returning laics. “Non eis ipsa ordinationis sacramenta detrahuntur, sed manent super eos; ideoque non eis in populo manus imponitur, ne non homini sed ipsi sacramento fiat injuria.” To this answer, though full, plain and unexceptionable, and agreeable to the known rules and practice of the Catholic Church, he subjoins another of his own with great diffidence and modesty.

2. He denies the consequence, that Baptism must necessarily be null upon supposition that heresy or schism did vacate orders; and he brings it in as it were by the by, and *ex abundanti*.

“Quantumvis etsi laicus aliquis pereunti dederit (Baptismum) necessitate compulsus, quod cum ipse acciperet, quomodo dum esset addidit, nescio an pie quisquam dixerit esse repetendum?”

Does this look as if Lay-baptism even in cases of necessity was a customary practice in the Church in his time? Would he have spoke with such diffidence, “nescio an pie?” would not he rather have urged the authority and custom of the Church, as in the case before mentioned, and have said, instead of *nescio an pie, certe impie* or *temere*? But he is here offering his own private conjecture in a case that had not been expressly determined in any council, though the reason of the thing, and the custom of the Church, were sufficiently against him. He has neither rule nor instance to plead in his behalf, and therefore endeavours to supply that want by his own private reason; and so he goes on to give his opinion that Lay-baptism may be valid even in ordinary cases, though irregular and sinful, upon this principle, “quod datum fuerit, non potest dici non datum:” which is either begging the question, or arguing thus; A person is washed in the name of the Trinity, therefore he is baptized. After he had

wandered a while in the dark about this question, indulging too far his own private conjectures, he returns at length to his first answer, as being more just and solid, and abides by it; insisting again upon it, that heretical or schismatical Clergy had not lost their Orders; and he appeals to the decision of the whole Christian world in proof of his assertion, and so goes on triumphantly on that point to the end of the chapter. By the way, it is very apparent, that St. Austin never imagined that the Baptisms of the schismatical or heretical Clergy were Lay-baptisms, nor that the Council of Arles, or Nice, or any other, meant any such thing. That was what none but the Donatists pretended in that time, or since, till Mr. B. was pleased to oblige the world with the second part of his Scholastical History, which I heartily wish, for his own sake, and for the sake of his other excellent works, he had never published, so much to the discredit of himself and them. But to proceed.

It may be observed of St. Austin, that though at first in his disputes with the Donatists he was very modest and diffident in proposing any of his own private conjectures, keeping close for the most part to the known rules and principles of the Church; yet afterwards in the progress of the dispute, as men are apt especially when flushed with victory to grow both warmer and bolder, he ventured to proceed further, and to lay it down for a maxim, that any Baptism was good by whomsoever administered in the form of words, in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This was a short and easy solution for any difficulty; and were it as solid too, would justify all the lengths of Popery in the matter of Baptism, would not only prove that heretics or schismatics, whether of the Clergy or Laity, may validly baptize, but that women and children, and even Jews, Turks, and Pagans, either seriously or in sport and mockery, may administer true Baptism. But as that maxim of his was novel, and only founded on this weak pretence, that it is Christ's Baptism whenever it is administered in his form, (which is nothing but a *petitio principii*, or taking for granted the thing to be proved.) I shall not think it worth the while to say any thing further to it: only observing this, that St. Austin, in his management of the controversy with the Donatists, says enough to silence and confound his adversaries without it. He proves unanswerably, that the validity of the sacraments does not depend upon any thing uncertain and precarious, as the personal qualifications of the

minister, either known or secret, and neither the intention of the minister, nor his orthodoxy, nor his life and manners, can come into the question. But to infer further, that the validity of the sacraments depends entirely upon God, and not at all upon the administrator, is carrying the point too far; is dissolving all rule and order in the Church; is frustrating Christ's commission to his Apostles, and melting down all distinction between Clergy and Laity. He might safely enough have said, and consistent with his other principles, that God had tied down the efficacy and validity of his sacraments to regular and authorized ministry, acting in his name and by his commission. This hypothesis is not uncertain and precarious, but clear, certain, and evident, by a perpetual succession from the times of the Apostle; which can never fail, while the Church stands, or the world lasts. This secures all that St. Austin was contending for, and at the same time keeps up the honour and respect due to God's holy ordinances and institutions. In short, it is a middle way between the two extremes; ascertaining to us the validity of the sacraments without any diminution of the priesthood, or any breach of rules and orders. And here I might dismiss St. Austin, but perhaps Mr. K. may expect I should take notice of what he has said in relation to him, which I shall do in short.

He can hardly believe it possible "that St. Austin should be ignorant what was the practice of the Church in his time:" nor do I think it possible, or however not likely; and his proposing his opinion so modestly and with so much diffidence is to me a plain argument of it. But Mr. K. adds, that he would not "go about to innovate any thing in the rituals or discipline of "the Church." Truly I believe not, upon his own authority. But he might nevertheless humbly offer his own private opinion; and it is no strange thing for great men to have some particular fancies to themselves, or to think out of the common road; and there is no harm in it generally, if they be but modest and humble withal, and be willing to submit to lawful authority and decisions of the Church. However, it is fact, that St. Austin had his *nostrums* and particular opinions. He often left the notions of his predecessors to follow a path wholly new, as Dupin has judiciously observed of him, applying to him the character that Cicero gives of himself, that he was *magnus opinator*. After all, suppose it could not be proved, that the

invalidity of Lay-baptism was the doctrine of the Church in St. Austin's time, must it therefore follow that they held the contrary opinion? Might not they be silent as to either side of the question, or think little of it, having no occasion to dispute it? It is as plain and clear as possible from St. Austin, that he knew of no determination of the Church in favour of Lay-baptism. He would never have hesitated, as he does upon the case, had he known of any such decision, but would have appealed to the declared judgment and practice of the Church, as he does in many other cases, had there been the least ground or pretence for it. It is enough then for us to say, that in St. Austin's time there was no rule of the Church, no warrant for the validity of Lay-baptism. They that say there was ought to prove it, and not to put it upon us to prove that the Church had determined expressly against it. We have enough from scripture and from the reason of the thing for our side of the question, though antiquity had said nothing of it: and therefore they who make their boast of the ancients should shew plainly that the ancients are for them; otherwise their cause drops, and has nothing left to support it. And yet when they come to speak of the ancients, the most that is commonly attempted is, to shew that they have not spoken expressly on our side; which yet they can never shew; but if they could, this would be only an artful way of turning the tables upon us, and, instead of proving their pretences good, is presuming groundlessly they are so without proof, unless we demonstrate them to be false. So that the greatest pretences to antiquity, when they come to be examined, amount only to this; that the Church has not in every age determined expressly against them in this point; when they ought to have shewn that it always determined for them; or that it did so at least some time or other within the first six hundred years, which I am persuaded they can never prove.

But I must not forget to take notice of what Mr. K. subjoins, that he has *positive evidence* from St. Austin, that Lay-baptism in cases of necessity was a thing frequently practised. Let us see what this *positive evidence* is; for I much suspect it: the words are, "Etiam laicos solere dare sacramentum quod acciperunt solemus audire." It seems some reports were spread abroad, and came to St. Austin's ear, (whether true or false is not said,) that laymen (in cases of necessity) were somewhere used to baptize. Suppose I deny the truth of the reports, how

will any man prove it? And what becomes of the *positive evidence*? Suppose I grant it; what does it signify with regard to the general sense and practice of the Church, when it is not told, either how many laics were concerned in the practice, nor by what authority? Yet Mr. K. immediately advances this hearsay story into a *custom*, (of the Church, I suppose, he means,) and tells us that St. Austin adds, that the custom took its rise from apostolical tradition. This, I confess, amazed and confounded me. What, St. Austin say it! *Believe it who can* that knows St. Austin. Pray let him speak for himself, if the words be really St. Austin's; "Sanctum est Baptisma per seipsum, quod datum est in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ita ut in eodem sacramento sit etiam autoritas traditionis per Dominum nostrum ad Apostolos; per illos autem ad Episcopos et alios sacerdotes, vel etiam laicos Christianos ab eadem stirpe et origine venientes." You see the word *traditionis*, which there signifies Christ's commission; and all that can possibly be drawn from the words is, that Bishops act by virtue of that commission, and may communicate the like power to laymen; which is an assertion precarious enough. But where does Mr. K. find that the custom of Lay-baptism took its rise from apostolical tradition? Where is there a word of *custom* or *tradition* in his sense in the whole quotation? To do Mr. K. justice, I believe Mr. Bingham led him into his mistake, who has these words relating to this passage of St. Austin. "†This custom he founds upon authority descended by Bishops from the Apostles," which being a little crudely and obscurely expressed, might lead a man to say what Mr. K. does; though their assertions are very different from one another, and are both wide of the sense of the author, who has not a syllable about any thing of *custom* in the passage quoted; which notwithstanding is the most material word of all, upon which the argument depends. Having now done with St. Austin, we may take our leave of the ancients, after we have summed up their evidence.

1. As to authorized Lay-baptism in cases of necessity, you may observe, there is some plea for it in antiquity, from Tertulian, the council of Eliberis, St. Jerome, and St. Austin; but all together make no proof of the *general sense and practice of the*

\* Apud Grat. de Consecrat. dist. iv. c. 36.

† First Part of Schol. Hist., Works, vol. ix. p. 35. Oxf. edit.

*Church* in favour of it, but rather the contrary implicitly; as Cyprian, Basil, Pacian, and the Apostolic Constitutions do more plainly. And yet had all these authorities been for Lay-baptism in cases of necessity authorized by Bishops, it would make little for Mr. K.'s purpose, being wide of the question.

2. As to unauthorized Lay-baptism in ordinary cases, which is the point in dispute, there are Cyprian, Basil, Pacian, directly and expressly against its being valid; and the rest implicitly and consequentially; not one directly or implicitly for it, except Optatus and St. Austin; and that not as witnesses of the Church's general sense or practice, but as disputants in a nice and difficult controversy; or as private Doctors. However, I am willing to admit, though not easy to be proved, that the doctrine of Lay-baptism's being valid in some cases crept gradually into the Western Church from the time of St. Austin, and, like other corruptions of Popery, came to its height in the following dark centuries; though it does not appear that it ever prevailed in the Greek Church so early as the twelfth century. However, I do not think it material to make any nice inquiry into the notions or practices of later ages, which must stand or fall by the ancients, and are of small authority without them.

To what has been said upon particular Fathers, I shall here subjoin two probable presumptive proofs to confirm the foregoing observations.

I. The first assertion I lay down is this; that there was no universal standing principle among the ancients, whereon to found the validity of Lay-baptism.

II. There were some general standing principles universally held, which do by consequence overthrow it.

I. As to the first point; in proof of it I shall examine the chief principles that can be supposed to have any weight in the case, and shew why I think none of them were universally held.

1. *The plea of necessity* could not be a principle universally held as sufficient to warrant Lay-baptism, or to make it valid; for we find no mention of it in the earliest writers, and but little afterwards. Besides that the Baptism of women was always absolutely disallowed by all, as well as that of Jews and Pagans; which shews that necessity alone was not thought sufficient; and Tertullian, who is the first that mentions it, yet does not found the validity of Lay-baptism upon that only, but upon the inherent right, or baptismal priesthood of laymen.

2. That principle of inherent right of priesthood seems to bid as fair as any, several of the early writers having mentioned it besides Tertullian and Jerome. But there lies this presumption against the ancients giving universally into that notion, that they never allowed the Eucharist to be consecrated by laics in any case of necessity; which they certainly would have done, as well as Tertullian, had they been of the same principle with him as to the inherent right of priesthood. For indeed it would have been a plain necessary consequence resulting from it.

3. The third principle upon which St. Austin founds the validity of Lay-Baptism after Optatus, viz. *its being Christ's Baptism*, entirely God's and not man's, and therefore not depending at all on the administrator, is no principle of the primitive Church. We find no author mentioning it, before the two just named. We find as many against it as confine the administration to the Clergy only. Most of the ancients held principles that were inconsistent with it; such as utterly disallowed of women's or Pagans' Baptism; such as held Lay-ordination invalid, which indeed were all to a man; and yet St. Austin's principle would make that as valid as the other. The like may be said of Lay-consecration of the Eucharist; which all the ancients with one voice reject. And yet the same reasons that St. Austin gives for Lay-baptism upon that principle would nearly affect the other too.

4. Another principle, mentioned by St. Austin, is, *quod datum datum*; and therefore Lay-baptism is Baptism, and must be valid. This would equally prove that orders given by laics are nevertheless Orders; and consecration of the Eucharist by laics is nevertheless consecration; which is contrary to all antiquity, as was before observed.

5. Another principle, which Tertullian, Jerome, and Austin advance, is, that every one may give what he himself has received; and therefore every baptized person may baptize. This we never meet with in many of the earliest; nor could they hold it consistently with their other principles, that a Deacon could not make a Deacon, nor a Priest a Priest, nor a layman give the Eucharist, though he may receive it.

6. Another principle, whereon some would found the validity of Lay-baptism, is, the permission or authority of the Church, or of the Bishops, as in the Council of Eliberis. There is the most to be said for this of any. Yet there is no proof that the



general sense or practice of the ancient Church ever countenanced it. St. Austin seems to have known nothing of it. It has never been shewn, nor, I believe, ever will be, that this principle was general or universal, or if it could, it does not affect our present question, as has been often observed.

7. The last principle which seems to prevail must now, and is contended for by Mr. K., is, that a subsequent act or ratification of the Church supplies all deficiencies, and renders any pretended Baptism valid. This I do not meet with in any of the ancients, I mean Catholic ancients. I know the Luciferians had a notion very like it, and were confuted by St. Jerome. None ever that I know of among the orthodox pretended that any subsequent act of the Church could make that valid which was not so. It might make Baptism before valid, effectual, and saving; that is the most the ancients ever thought of it. Confirmation was a distinct thing from Baptism, and not an essential of it; and it was always supposed that baptism was complete and entire as to essentials without it. Confirmation helped to improve and advance what was begun in Baptism; and the same may be said of the Eucharist. And so either, or both, might contribute to make Baptism more effectual to the purposes of salvation, but not to supply any thing wanting in the essentials of it. Having seen then, that there was no general universal principle whereon to found the validity of Lay-baptism in the ancient Church, I beg leave to infer from hence, that the ancients never universally held any such doctrine, or gave into such practice; unless you would imagine they might come into it by apostolical tradition, without any other reason; which it will be time enough to consider, as soon as any one of the ancients can be brought to vouch for any such tradition. I proceed now to shew,

II. That there were some general standing principles almost, or entirely universally held by the ancients, which seem by consequence, or virtually or implicitly, to overthrow the pretended validity of Lay-baptism.

1. I observe that laymen were absolutely forbid to intermeddle in sacred offices, as we learn from the earliest Christian writers, *no proviso* being inserted for cases of necessity. Lay-baptism therefore was certainly upon these principles sinful and criminal, and therefore probably null. And it is very observable, that not one writer before St. Austin ever thought Lay-baptism valid, but what thought it lawful too, and so pro-

bably founded its validity upon the supposed legality of it. This were easy to shew of Tertullian, the Council of Elvira, Optatus, Jerome, or any other. If it be objected, that the Church admitted the Baptisms of degraded clerks, heretics, and schismatics, and yet did not think it lawful for them to baptize, having forbid them the exercise of the sacred function; I must distinguish between what is essentially and what is circumstantially unlawful; and between an absolute prohibition to act at all, or only to act in such and such circumstances. It is well and judiciously said by St. Austin, with respect to the Baptisms of such persons, "Non eis dicimus, Nolite dare, sed Nolite in schismate dare." The Church thought such Baptisms to be legal, authorized, and warrantable in the main; and only illegal, unauthorized, and criminal in some particular circumstances. That is, in short, they were what the persons had a right to do, and were so far lawful, and therefore valid; but at the same time they should not have been done in that manner. Or to be yet plainer, the fault lay not in the exercise of the sacerdotal function abstractedly considered, for they were priests; but in the heresy, schism, &c. It was therefore a rule of the Church, as far as appears, till St. Austin, that no Baptism was valid, but what was for the main lawful, or what the baptizer had a right to execute in the general, though forbid to do it in some peculiar circumstances. Seeing therefore that laymen were entirely and absolutely forbidden to intermeddle with the sacred offices by the earliest Christian writers, as persons who had no right at all to do it, no title or claim to such offices, either in whole or in part; I must conclude from thence, that the Church upon these principles looked upon all pretended Lay-administrations as null and void.

2. Another avowed standing principle of the primitive Catholic Church was, that the Christian Clergy were proper priests, or that their priesthood was as well mystical as mediatory, as truly and properly as the Levitical priesthood, though not of the same kind or order. For proof of this I refer you to Mr. Dodwell *Of one Altar, &c.* and *De Jure Laico Sacerd.* p. 30. Dr. Hicks's *Christian Priesthood Asserted*, chap. ii. sect. 4. p. 315. Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*. From this principle I infer, that no ministration can be valid that is not sacerdotal, or is not performed by God's designation, commission, or appointment. The sacrament loses all its virtue and efficacy, or rather is no sacrament, if administered by profane unauthorized hands. This argument

against the validity of Lay-baptism appeared so strong and forcible to a learned writer<sup>u</sup>, who was in the main of Mr. K.'s opinion, that he could find no other way of getting clear of it, but by denying the Christian Clergy to be proper Priests, against all antiquity. And indeed it seems to me very plain, that if the Clergy act *in sacris*, as God's peculiar priests, proxies, or representatives; the validity of the sacraments must depend upon God's commission, which laymen are supposed to want. If therefore the primitive Church took Baptism to be a sacerdotal act, and the Clergy to be proper Priests, both which are very certain, they did by consequence disallow and invalidate all pretended Baptisms by laymen.

3. Another general prevailing principle of the primitive Church was, that the consecration of the Eucharist was so entirely a clerical act, that there could be no such thing as Lay-consecration. If you want to see this proved, I refer you to the fore-mentioned authors, Dodwell, Hicks, and Johnson. Now the inference drawn from it is, that Lay-consecration of water, or of the person baptized in it, (i. e. Lay-baptism,) must upon that principle be null too; since the reason is much the same in both. If the Eucharist be a sacrament, so is Baptism; if the virtue and efficacy of the Eucharist depend upon Christ's commission given to the administrator, why should not the virtue and efficacy (by which I mean the same with the validity) of Baptism depend upon the commission also? or if the latter be supposed valid without commission, why should not the former also\*? Further, that there is a mysterious change wrought upon the bread and wine in the Eucharist upon the prayer of invocation, is the unanimous doctrine of the ancients<sup>v</sup>; and the like mysterious change in Baptism upon the water by the prayer of invocation is taught by the ancients also. Seeing then there is so plain resemblance and analogy between the two sacraments, both being of a very sublime and mysterious nature, and therefore proper to be administered only by sacred hands; it would be very strange, that the ancients should think one appropriate to the Clergy, and not the other. It seems to have been a disputed point among the ancients, whether Deacons could baptize; and that they did not do it ordinarily is plain enough from many authorities cited by Mr. Bingham<sup>z</sup>; which I do not so much

<sup>u</sup> Vind. of Def. of Dr. Stillingfleet, p. 350.

<sup>\*</sup> See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice.

<sup>v</sup> See Bing. Orig. vol. v. part xv.

<sup>z</sup> Schol. Hist. part i. Works, vol. ix. p. 14. Oxf. edit. Hieron. Ep.

wonder at, as that they ever were allowed to do it at all. But I suppose the scripture instances of Philip and Ananias, and the ancients looking upon Deacons <sup>a</sup>as *priests of the third order*, might reconcile them to it. But then this makes nothing for the Baptisms of laics. There are no scripture instances of these, nor are they in any strict sense Priests.

4. Another general principle of the ancients was, that Lay-ordination was null and void. This need not be proved directly. It is very certain, that no pretended ordination less than episcopal was ever admitted as valid in the Christian Church; and therefore certainly there could be no such thing as Lay-ordination. And does not this principle equally affect Lay-baptism? Why cannot laics ordain, but because they have no commission or authority to do so? And there is the very same objection lies against their baptizing. It were easy to shew, that most of the arguments brought in vindication of Lay-baptism would be equally forcible in favour of Lay-ordination. For the purpose; if it be so, that Baptism is God's act, so is ordination; if necessity be pleaded in the former, so it may happen also in the latter; if *quod datum datum* be a rule, it is as good for one as for the other; if a subsequent ratification of the Church would do in pretended Baptism, it might as well in pretended Ordination; and so the ancients need not have ordained any that had been pretendedly ordained before, but only have received them. Since therefore there appears the same or the like reasons for nulling Lay-baptisms as for Lay-ordinations; and since the latter was the undoubted practice of the Church, it may reasonably be inferred, that the general practice and judgment of the Church was alike in both.

These may serve as probable arguments, or indirect proofs of what I am contending for; and are, I think, far more considerable than any thing that I have yet seen urged from the ancients in favour of the contrary opinion. However, I lay not the stress of the cause upon them, because it does not want them. Two inferences I draw from the whole.

1. That it is very certain that the *general sense and practice of the primitive Church* did not countenance or establish the validity of Lay-baptism.

2. It is more than probable, that they did both in judgment

<sup>a</sup> Optatus, lib. i.

and practice favour the direct contrary to it. And the chief, if not only reason why we have not fuller and more repeated proofs of it is, because the matter came not into dispute; no laics ever attempting to baptize, except among heretics; nor then without the countenance and approbation of the Bishops. For any company of laics to pretend to be a church, or to act independently upon their Bishops, would have been thought as absurd and strange among the ancients, as if so many women only had pretended to be successors to the Apostles, and to ordain, baptize, and teach, &c.—Pretty remarkable are the words of St. Jerome, in relation to Hilary the Roman *Deacon*<sup>b</sup>, who was therefore a degree above a laic.

“ Hilarius, cum Diaconus ab Ecclesia recesserit, solusque, ut putat, turba sit mundi, neque Eucharistiam conficere potest, “ Episcopus et Presbyteros non habens, neque Baptisma sine “ Eucharistia tradere; et cum jam homo mortuus sit, cum “ homine pariter interiit et secta, quia post se nullum Clericum “ Diaconus potuit ordinare. *Ecclesia autem non est, quæ non “ habet sacerdotes.*”

But it is time now to return to Mr. K. I had said in my letter, that I should be thankful for one *plain* authority (except Tertullian) for the validity of Lay-baptism, *as such*, before St. Austin. Upon this Mr. K. thinks he has a just claim to my thanks, if he knew but what “I meant by the restriction (as “such).” That is easily known: I meant *unauthorized* Lay-baptism. If any be authorized by Bishops, and thereupon be valid, it must be on this account, that it is an act of the Bishops by lay hands, and so a *clerical* act interpretatively, and not properly a lay act. Whether such acts may justly claim the benefit of such an interpretation, and whether that would make them valid, I dispute not here; it being foreign to our debate about Lay-baptism as such, i. e. unauthorized Lay-baptism, such as that of our Dissenters undoubtedly is: and Mr. K. has not yet brought any one plain authority before St. Austin for such Baptism. Pseud-Ambrose's notion has been shewn to be a gross mistake of that author. Gregory Nazianzen has not a word to the purpose, but means a quite different thing. Rufinus only gives you a hearsay story of a very improbable fact. The Eliberitan Council, and perhaps Jerome, are to be understood

<sup>b</sup> Dial. adv. Lucif.

of authorized Baptism. Optatus is no *plain* authority ; it being highly improbable that he meant the words in that gross sense (attended with all its consequences) in which Mr. K. takes him. It is plain, however, that he supposes no Baptism valid, but what he supposes lawful. St. Austin is the first that ever presumed to think that illegal unauthorized Lay-baptisms are valid ; the first that ever spoke home to the purpose on Mr. K.'s side of the question ; and his reasons on which he built it have been shewn to be weak enough.

Mr. K. has been pleased to promise me his thanks, " if within " a thousand years after Christ I produce either one single " canon of any council to confront that of the Eliberitan Fathers, or so much as a testimony of one single Father, that " speaks home to his side of the question." By the way, it is their business to produce Councils and Fathers for the validity of unauthorized Lay-baptism, who assert it. *Affirmanti incumbit probatio*. It would be but small satisfaction in a case of everlasting concern to a considerate man to be told that Fathers and Councils had not expressly declared against it, while there appears little or no ground any where for it. However, Sir, I think, besides scripture and the reason of the thing, the Apostolical Constitutions, the Cyprianists, and St. Basil, have *expressly* declared against it ; and the main stream of Christian writers before St. Austin, *implicitly*. This is enough, especially against a thing which because of the great moment of it ought not to be admitted without clear and certain proof on that side. Let us see how they can answer it, who would rest men's salvation upon such weak and precarious foundations ; especially when the remedy, the certain remedy, is near at hand, and may be easily applied. I have often observed that the Eliberitan Council is not pertinent to the case of unauthorized Lay-baptisms ; or if it was, such a particular case as that was not of weight sufficient to rest a cause of such importance upon. Mr. K. says further, that he will be thankful " for so much as an instance within that " period, (a thousand years,) of any one Christian rebaptized by " or in an episcopal church, merely upon account of his having " been before only baptized by lay hands." But we should first have an instance, I do not say within that period, but within five or six hundred years after Christ, of any being so baptized and received into the Church without another baptism. (I take Baptism here in the large sense.) Strictly speaking, neither

Catholics nor heretics (except the Marcionites) ever allowed a second Baptism ; but when they gave a second, they understood the first to be none.

Mr. K. says, "Instances may be produced of the Church's receiving the Baptisms of those whose Ordinations she had before declared void." That we deny utterly, and challenge any man to give but one instance in all antiquity. I know what Mr. K. means, viz. that degraded Clergy became Laymen, and yet their Baptisms were received. I deny not that their Baptisms were received in most churches, especially after the determinations of the Councils of Arles and Nice : but then these churches did not think the degraded Clergy, or heretical and schismatical Clergy, were Laymen. For a confutation of Mr. Bingham's notion, that the censures of the Church null orders, I refer you to St. Austin<sup>c</sup> particularly among the ancients, who is very full and positive against it ; and to Dr. Potter amongst the moderns, and to Mr. Bingham himself, who is an ingenious and a learned man, but cannot reconcile contradictions. As to Mr. K.'s queries,

1. The first is, "Whether the same Lord and Head of the Church, which gave, cannot withdraw his commission?" I answer, Yes, he may.

2. "How can this be done otherwise than by the Church's acting in his name, &c." I answer, By express order from Christ, revealed from heaven. The Bishops have a delegated power to give orders, but none that I know of to take them quite away : it is no strange thing for a man to be able to do what he cannot undo.

3. "Whether the Church has not full authority to do this," &c. I answer, No ; at least it does not appear that she has.

4. "Whether she has not expressed herself in such language, as if she thought she had such a power?" I answer, None but the Cyprianic churches, and those who comply with them in nulling the heretical and schismatical Baptisms. The main body of the Church, both before and after, were of another judgment, as is plain from St. Austin.

In short, it is as clear as the sun, that whatever churches looked upon degraded Clergy as Clergy, received their Baptisms ; and whatever looked upon them not as Clergy, rejected their

<sup>c</sup> Cont. Ep. Parm. lib. ii. c. 13. De Bapt. lib. i. c. 1, 2.

**Baptisms.** This latter was the case of the Cyprianists, who acted consistently enough, but went upon false premises; and it is pleasant to observe how some would now lay down the same premises, and yet reject the conclusion; blame Cyprian for what was right, and admire him for what was wrong. He was right in his conclusion, and wrong in his premises; but these will be wrong in both, as if resolved to be inconsistent, and confute themselves to save others the trouble of a confutation. All Mr. Bingham's quotations prove no more, than that the degraded Clergy were reduced to Lay-communion, were suspended *ab officio*, either for a time, or deprived for life; and if they were excommunicated too, they still retained their orders, as much as they did their Baptisms, and could not in any strict sense forfeit either.

Mr. K.'s next attempt is to prove by instances that the primitive Church sometimes received the Baptisms of those whose Orders she rejected as invalid. And his first instance is of Ischyras, once a pretended Presbyter, afterwards a Bishop. To make this matter serve his purpose, he has first strangely misrepresented the case, mingled very foreign and distinct things together, supposed some things without any certain ground, drawn wrong inferences from them; and yet if you grant him all he would have, his whole argument is inconclusive<sup>f</sup>. Ischyras, he observes, was made a "Bishop, without being previously "ordained either Priest or Deacon." This certainly made his consecration uncanonical; but he might be a Bishop notwithstanding, and undoubtedly was so. Next, he observes, "that "this man among other enemies of the Nicene faith and accusers of St. Athanasius was condemned and excommunicated:" right, for being an enemy to the Nicene faith and a false accuser of St. Athanasius: and many other Bishops, as Theodorus<sup>g</sup>, Narcissus, Ursacius, Valens, &c. were condemned by name: Ischyras himself is not named among the persons anathematized, though I grant it reasonable enough to conclude him among the rest. But Mr. K. adds, "No decree was made for annulling the "Baptisms administered by him." No, it would have been strange if there had; for it is not at all necessary that, as often as Bishops are deposed or excommunicated for crimes or heresy,

<sup>f</sup> See Bingham's Orig. Eccl. book Oxf. edit. 1855.  
ii. ch. x. sect. 6. vol. i. p. 129, &c.      <sup>g</sup> Theod. Ec. Hist. l. ii. c. 8.



as the case was here, that their ministrations, which were not affected by it, should be nulled. It would have been more to Mr. K.'s purpose to have alleged that the Council of Alexandria eight years before declared this *Ischyras*<sup>h</sup> to be no more than a pretended Presbyter, a mere laic, without making any decree to annul his Baptisms. But these negative arguments prove very little generally: besides, if it was a rule of the Church before, there was no need of a special decree to annul those Baptisms, which were void of course; and after all, it does not appear how long, or in what instances *Ischyras* officiated as a Presbyter, or whether he baptized any at all. The like answer may serve for the two other instances of *Museus* and *Eutychianus*, whom the same Council declared not to be Bishops, and those pretendedly ordained by them not to be Clergymen, without adding any decree to annul their Baptisms. And it were to be wished that when Mr. K. cited *Balsamon* in favour of his interpretation of the Canon, in order to prove from thence Lay-baptism invalid according to the principles of *that bright age*, he had observed withal, that the very same *Balsamon* does from the same nineteenth canon infer the quite contrary, arguing by parity of reason from the invalidity of Lay-ordination, or non-episcopal, to the invalidity of Lay-baptism<sup>i</sup>. So easy is it for ingenious men to draw contrary conclusions from the same premises.

And now let us take our leave of antiquity; the tracing of which, though it be something tedious, is of great satisfaction, and carries its reward along with it. I promise your friend to abide by it, and to throw up all my reasonings as uncertain conjectures, rather than run cross to it. I hope he will be so kind as to do so too, and after this view of the ancients not lay so great a stress upon some very uncertain reasonings in the present case, which he has advanced with pomp and triumph, as if they had never been considered, nor were capable of any just and solid answer. These I have had in my eye, and reserved them for this place under a third general head, after what related to Scripture and Fathers.

### III.

We are now then to manage the debate in point of reason. We have, we imagine, many and great reasons for our side of

<sup>h</sup> Athan. Ap. 2. cont. Arian. p. 784. ed. Par.

<sup>i</sup> See Bevereg. not. ad Can. 19. Conc. Sardic. p. 201.

the question. We think it very absurd that any thing should be valid without some certain principle to found its validity upon; especially a thing of this moment, wherein the everlasting salvation of thousands is concerned. We think it very unreasonable to rest a matter of such importance upon weak and precarious foundations; and should expect, if it were true, to find it writ in legible characters in sacred scripture, or at least in the judgment and practice of the ancients. On the contrary, we find nothing but obscure hints, and dark and remote inferences that look that way. Nay, so confident are some among us, Mr. Laurence in particular, that he thinks our side of the question demonstrable; and has laid down five or six reasons in the way of *mathematical demonstration* to prove his opinion. We think it a little strange, that, among so many adversaries as that gentleman has met with, no one has yet given himself the trouble to unravel those reasons; to shew where they are fallacious; where he has laid down false premises, or drawn false conclusions. It is a little surprising that the advocates of Lay-baptism should raise so many scruples and difficulties on one side, and yet pass over in silence those many and great difficulties which are urged on the other; as if it concerned them not to answer objections sometimes, as well as to make others. Yet it is usual with them after this partial management of the cause to cry victory and to triumph; whereas at best they ought only to suspend and to leave the matter undecided. For suppose their objections were really such as we could not answer, yet as long as they do not answer the difficulties on the other side, which seem equally forcible, at least must be thought so till we see them answered; the utmost that they ought to conclude from it is, that we are upon a par, and that the cause is doubtful. I speak this of the advocates for Lay-baptism in general, not including therein Mr. K. I must do him the justice to say, he has managed the debate fairly, so far as he undertook in answer to my letter; and has not only given his own reasons, but has also considered mine. I shall first endeavour to vindicate the reasons hinted at in my letter from his exceptions, and then let you know what I have to say further in answer to his.

I argued from the nullity of subjects acting in a civil government without a competent authority, viz. levying soldiers, naturalizing strangers, &c. in the name of the sovereign without orders or warrant. To which Mr. K. answers, that "he knows

“not in what sense levying of soldiers without authority can be said to be null and void.” To which I reply, I know not how he can mistake or want to understand so plain a thing. May not a man pretend a commission from his majesty, call himself an officer, beat a drum, and list men in the usual form into the king’s service? But as soon as the cheat is discovered, the whole engagement is dissolved, the listed men are set at liberty, and *the imaginary contract null and void*. Apply this to the case of listing men into Christ’s service by an imaginary Baptism without a competent authority, and you will find it parallel and to the purpose, or I am very much mistaken. But, says Mr. K., “does the consequence hold from things civil to sacred? Are the reasons the same in both?” Yes, I humbly conceive it does hold, and the reasons are the same in both, because drawn from one and the same general principle, that no man can act under another and in his name without his leave or order. But Mr. K. excepts “that all grants, commissions, &c. from earthly princes ought to appear genuine and voluntary, and must therefore pass under forms of law to ascertain the rights of the parties concerned, and to prevent mischiefs which may accrue through fraud and forgery.” And so likewise all grants from God ought to have his seal and stamp, and pass under such forms as he has appointed to ascertain the rights, &c. Are not our Christian rights as dear to us and as valuable as any; and as much want to be ascertained in a regular and uniform method to prevent tricks and frauds and counterfeits from such as would beguile the simple, and take the honour upon them of being ambassadors from heaven without being sent? “But may we not trust God without such securities?” No: because it is presumption to slight such securities as he has appointed, or to expect his favours without them. Mr. K. adds, “God is not under the like necessity with earthly princes to annul what is done, much less to do it to the prejudice of an innocent person.” True, God is under no absolute necessity; and he might have contrived many other methods in his infinite wisdom. But he is a God of order and not of confusion, and, in a moral sense, is under a necessity of acting wisely; and therefore will not leave the weighty business of the priesthood in common to all, but is pleased to confine it to a select body of men that shall act by his authority. But will he annul any usurped acts “to the prejudice of innocent persons?” I presume he will annul

the acts, i. e. the acts shall stand for nothing; but he may possibly receive the innocent persons, not upon the account of these acts, but of his own free mercy. And is it not better to trust God without doing an unwarranted thing, than to run the risk of offending him to no purpose, but what may better and more safely, for ought we know, be had without<sup>k</sup>? Cannot God be merciful to the innocent without our presumption? Is he less concerned for them than we? Or does he stand in need of our sins? What does all this mean? May we not trust God without such wretched securities? What Mr. K. adds about an adult's receiving Baptism of a schismatical usurper, if he means of a schismatical Clergyman, it is true, but not to the purpose; if he means it of a schismatical Layman, or any Layman, we want proof. His next observation about an infant "being as sure of the grace attending (Christian Baptism), as all the promises of the New Testament can make him," though washed by a layman only, is only so many words put together; unless it can be shewn that there is any one promise in the whole Old or New Testament annexed to such pretended Baptisms. True, there are many promises annexed to Baptism; but the question is, whether what we are speaking of be Baptism or no; and it should not be taken for granted that it is, when a disputant is concerned to prove it. He says "he can by no means think it all one to the future condition (of an infant), whether he be baptized or not, as some notions lately advanced would incline us to believe." I do not say or think it is all one whether an infant be baptized or not. But a pretended Baptism and no Baptism are so much alike, that upon either supposition, as I take it, the infant dies unbaptized. I see not therefore to what purpose all this is, till it be proved that Lay-washing is Christian Baptism. As to the doctrine of the absolute necessity of Baptism, whether it be true or false, it concerns not the cause. Let Baptism be ever so necessary, yet till you prove Lay-washing to be Baptism, or a counterfeit seal to be a true seal, we are just where we began. However, if Baptism be so absolutely necessary as some suppose, great care should be taken that every man may be certain that he is baptized; and then I am sure Lay-baptism must be out of doors, which at best has but a chance whether it be Baptism or no. Not that I think Baptism, truly such, so absolutely necessary to salvation as some have pre-

<sup>k</sup> See Bennet, p. 342.

tended; and if you please to consult Forbes's *Instruct. Hist. Theolog.*<sup>1</sup> upon this question, or only observe from Mr. Bingham<sup>m</sup> what allowances the ancients used to make in some cases for persons dying unbaptized, you may possibly incline to be of my mind. It would be needless and tedious in me to enter into that dispute here; and so I choose to wave it, and to come to another point.

I had argued in my letter against the validity of Lay-baptism from the unlawfulness of it; thinking that if it was sinful *in the whole act*, i. e. such as could never in any case be done by a layman without sin, it must be void. Here Mr. K. is pleased to mistake me for near a page together, till at last he comes to understand me, and to put the case right, and then he is of my mind; that supposing Lay-baptism to be valid, which is the same in effect with what he says, ("supposing the principle they act upon to be no mistake,") there is neither sin nor danger in a layman's administering in extreme necessity. Which was the same thing I had asserted, only I inferred further from it, arguing backwards; that if there were sin and danger in a layman's administering in such a case, then Lay-baptism could not be valid. And I am now fully satisfied, though I spoke of it before with some diffidence, that the argument is just and right. If the validity of Lay-baptism in a case of extreme necessity necessarily implies it to be lawful; then its unlawfulness in the same case necessarily implies its invalidity. It is an established rule in logic to argue as *a positionem antecedentis ad positionem consequentis*, so *a remotionem consequentis ad remotionem antecedentis*. And the reason of it is plain; for if the antecedent cannot be without the consequent, it is evident by taking away the consequent you take away the antecedent also. So that now the first question between Mr. K. and me is, whether the validity of Lay-baptism in a case of extreme necessity does not necessarily imply that it is lawful in that case: but this I think he has given up. And next, whether its being sinful even in this case does not imply that it is invalid, cannot be a question between us, since it evidently follows from the former. The only question then is, whether in such a case it be a sin or no. I think it is, because it seems to be an unwarrantable usurpation of the priestly office, a breach of rules and orders, a bold presumption without any leave, command, or commission for

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. l. 10. c. 6.<sup>m</sup> Vol. iv. p. 25, &c. Oxf. edit. 1855.

doing it, or in Mr. Bennet's words<sup>n</sup>, "a downright lying and "forgery, a cheat upon one's neighbour, and an affront to God." Seeing therefore that it is a sin for a layman to pretend to baptize, even in cases of necessity, as they are called, though improperly, it follows by what has been said, that it is null and void. Not that every sinful act is always void; for "we were "in an evil case," as Mr. K. justly observes, "if every sinful "circumstance in the administration should make the adminis- "tration itself null and void." But I had guarded against this by calling it *sinful in the whole act*; not accidentally, nor circumstantially, but entirely and essentially, as having no manner of plea, pretence, or warrant, to justify it either in whole or in part. A Clergyman may baptize a person against the order of the Bishop. He sins in doing so; not as to the act of baptizing, for that he has authority to do as a Clergyman; but in that circumstance of disobedience to his Diocesan. So the schismatical and heretical Clergy formerly were guilty of a sin in baptizing, in such manner, and in such circumstances. But separate these circumstances from them, and it was no sin for Clergymen to baptize. But as to a layman's baptizing, the flaw is in the act itself, not in the circumstances; as having no power or authority to do it in any circumstances whatever. The fault is not only in doing it at a wrong time, or in a wrong manner, but in doing it at all. And I am persuaded it will be difficult to shew how any act can be valid, where a man has no power, right, or authority to act at all: which is certainly the case of *unauthorized Lay-baptisms*, about which we are disputing.

Having thus endeavoured to vindicate and clear up the reasons hinted at in my letter against the validity of Lay-baptism, I now come to consider Mr. K.'s reasons for it. His reasoning part chiefly consists of one argument drawn *ex absurdo*, and may thus be represented in his own words:

"To suppose (Lay-baptism) altogether null and void, must "needs have a terrible influence upon the state, not of the "Church of England alone, but of all the churches in Europe: "for if the Baptism of such Clergymen as we now speak of " (Clergymen baptized by lay-hands) was invalid, so was their "Ordination too. They could not have the keys of the Church "delivered to them before they were members of it; the effect "whereof must be an endless propagation of nullities, &c."

<sup>n</sup> P. 336.

This is the terrible objection against us, so often boasted to be unanswerable; wherefore I shall not attack it all at once, but try if I can weaken it, and break the force of it by degrees.

1. I observe, that every difficulty urged against an opinion that is supported by great and solid reasons, ought not presently to make us conclude that that opinion is false. A man may prove his position, and not be able always to answer the objections on the other side.

2. However certain and terrible this consequence may seem against us, there are others as certain and terrible against those who hold the contrary opinion. Hear Mr. Laurence urging consequences against them<sup>o</sup>: "If baptism performed by persons who were never really and truly commissioned to baptize, and who act herein rebelliously against and in opposition to the Divine right of Episcopacy, be good and valid; then authoritative preaching, administering the other sacrament, the power of binding and loosing, of retaining and absolving men's sins, and all the spiritual functions of the Clergy are good and valid also, when attempted by unauthorized, never commissioned lay-persons; the consequence of which is the utter dissolution and taking away the necessity of the *Christian* priesthood, therefore of *Christ's authority here on earth*, and so of all *revealed religion* too, which is a dreadful consideration." Thus far Mr. Laurence. And being called upon by Mr. Bingham to prove it<sup>p</sup>, he does it most admirably in one continued chain of close reasoning, too long to be here inserted. Here then I set consequence against consequence, equally dreadful and terrible, and not less certain; and had I nothing more to say, yet I think we should be pretty even, and it would be but a kind of drawn battle betwixt us; but this is not all, for,

3. I do not think the objection in that latitude which Mr. K. gives it comes up to the point of *unauthorized* Lay-baptism, about which we are debating. All that Mr. K. himself pretends is, that the Church, from the time of St. Austin, has generally permitted Lay-baptism in cases of necessity, which might perhaps be denied; but however, if it has been so for five hundred years, it is enough for his purpose, and that I will readily allow. But then what is done by permission of the Church, and stands upon canons and episcopal license, is not wholly unauthorized,

<sup>o</sup> Pref. Second Part of Lay-Baptism Inv. p. 20.

<sup>p</sup> Pref. to Suppl. p. 59.

and so does not affect the question. We are disputing about pretended Baptisms, unauthorized, uncommissioned by Bishops. Will Mr. K. shew that such ever obtained in the Church, I do not say from St. Austin's time, either in East or West, but that they were any where received, except in this island, scarce an hundred years upwards? Lay-baptisms in England had some authority from the Church, till the Rubric was altered in the reign of king James the First: from that time they have been wholly unauthorized; and all such we pronounce invalid, neither affirming or denying any thing of the other, till it can be shewn that the case is the same in both. So that if Mr. K.'s charge should chance to fall heavy on those who reject all Lay-baptism, authorized or unauthorized, without distinction; yet it does not affect us who confine our dispute to *unauthorized* only, such as those of our Dissenters have certainly been ever since the Rubric was altered; and what the consequence of disallowing them only would be, I hinted in my letter, and am satisfied that the objection so stated as it ought to be with regard to the point in question, *neither deserves nor requires a better answer*. We condemn none absolutely by this doctrine but those who are culpable, those who want true Baptism, or at least may suspect they want it, and yet will not have it, though it be easy to be had.

4. Suppose the objection to be ever so much to the purpose; yet the whole force of it depends upon one uncertain proposition, viz. that one not validly baptized cannot have valid orders, or cannot validly baptize others. As to which give me leave to observe, that the advocates for Lay-baptism have not yet offered any thing that amounts to a proof of that proposition; which it is their business to do who press the objection. Mr. K. asks, can any one that is no Christian be a Christian Priest? One that is not of Christ's family be a steward of it? One that has no right to partake of the body of our Lord be a sufficient dispenser thereof? One that is not a member of the Church be a *governor of it*? for so it should be put, and not a *governing member of it*. We ask, why not, and demand a reason; but all that we find alleged amounts to this only, that an unbaptized person is utterly incapable, because he is so: and that he cannot administer, no, that he cannot. The very same questions which Mr. K. asks may be applied to heretical, or wicked, or excommunicate Priests, who are Priests notwithstanding, as



appears from St. Austin, as cited above<sup>q</sup>. Besides that I hope such Clergy as we are speaking of may have as good a right to the title of Christians as catechumens had formerly; who, though unbaptized, were reckoned Christians in a large sense. This might be enough to shew the supposition not to be so very absurd as he thought; which is all we are concerned to shew in point of reason; and there is no need of scripture proof, which Mr. K. calls for, to ward off an objection of little weight, unless it appear to involve us in a contradiction. Yet I shall say something from scripture by and by. That there is no contradiction or absurdity in the supposition appears further from hence, that it is not a man's Baptism, but his commission, that empowers him to act as God's minister. They are things of a very distinct nature, and given for different ends; and it cannot be shewn that they are essential parts, or at all parts of each other. A personal qualification may be often wanting, where the authoritative one stands good. A man may be a Heretic, a Deist, an Apostate, an Atheist, and yet be a Christian Priest; and it will be hard to prove that the validity of his ministrations depends any more upon his Baptism than it does upon his faith or manners<sup>r</sup>. A man may be an instrument of conveying that to another which he does not enjoy himself; and nothing more usual than for proxies and representatives to confer rights, privileges, and powers, to others, which they have not of their own. A person need not be married to be capable of marrying others, nor be free himself to enable him to make others so: provided he has but a commission (ordinary or extraordinary it matters not) to empower him to do it. And why may not the case be the same with regard to Baptism, that any person commissioned to baptize may do it, whether he himself be baptized or no? Besides, it seems not only the safest, but the only certain rule we have in such cases, to look to the visible commission and authority, and to inquire no further. Whatever becomes of this point of Lay-baptism, if secret nullities affect the succession of the priesthood, and render all their ministrations afterwards invalid; there is no being secure of any such thing as a visible uninterrupted succession at seventeen hundred years' distance from the time of the Apostles. Who can assure us that there have not been several in pretended Orders, who have acted as

<sup>q</sup> Bingham's Orig. Eccl. vol. iv. p. 27. Oxf. edit. 1855.

<sup>r</sup> See App. to Lay-Bapt. Invalid, p. 130.

Priests or Bishops, who really had no Orders; or several that have had no Baptism of any kind, who had done the same? From a few such instances might ensue an endless propagation of nullities in Mr. K.'s scheme; and we should now be to seek for a succession in the Church. But such nullities I take to signify little, when either past discovery or past remedy. If we know of any such instances, we must pronounce such ministrations null; if not, there is no remedy for invincible ignorance; God will mercifully ratify and make good all such secret nullities, nor are they such to us till they appear such. Dr. Hicks<sup>a</sup> gives a very good resolution of this in the case of "an unbaptized Clergyman believing himself to have had valid Baptism through invincible ignorance. I make no scruple to tell you, that a Priest in this case is in the eyes of God a valid Priest; and that all his priestly administrations by his merciful allowance are also valid and effectual, and as acceptable as those of other Priests to him, who can make allowances where men cannot, and ratify what men, if it came to their knowledge, could not ratify, but must pronounce null. The priesthood was hereditary among the Jews; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that one priest or other in such a long tract of time might without any suspicion have an adulterous son; upon which supposition I believe you will not doubt, that when he was at age to administer, God would reckon him among the Priests, and accept of all his ministrations at the altar; or if such an one happened to be high priest, even in the very holy of holies, though, if his incapacity had been known, he must have been deposed."

This is a very clear and sufficient answer to Mr. K.'s grand objection, and it ought the rather to satisfy him, because it puts the succession of the Clergy upon a right foot, and secures all that is worth contending for: whereas his way of reasoning would leave it liable to a thousand doubts and scruples, and not only strike at the doctrine we assert, but at the succession *itself abstracted from the consideration of the present subject*. Supposing then, but not granting, that their ministrations are not good and valid in themselves, yet they may by an all-merciful God be reckoned to us as such; and that serves the purpose as well. If we know of the defect, we should be obliged to do our best to

<sup>a</sup> Letter to Mr. L. p. 38.

remedy it; but upon supposition that we are invincibly ignorant of it, it may be construed to us as no defect at all, while we are supposed to have done our best.

The like sort of reasoning may be applied to the case of such as have received no valid Baptism, yet have believed they had; and lived and died in invincible ignorance: it would be hard to call them heathens, or no Christians, and harder to suspect that they should suffer eternally for no fault of theirs. I should be willing to think with St. Cyprian in a case of this nature: “<sup>s</sup> Potens est Dominus misericordia sua indulgentiam dare, et eos, qui ad Ecclesiam simpliciter admissi in Ecclesia dormierunt, ab Ecclesiæ suæ muneribus non separare; non tamen quia aliquando erratum est, ideo semper errandum est.”

Upon the matter then, our doctrine of the invalidity of Lay-baptism need not appear so terrible and shocking as some would represent it. I have shewn that it does not necessarily affect the succession of the Clergy, even though want of Baptism might incapacitate a man for Orders; much less can it affect it on the other supposition, that a visible commission is all that is required to make orders good and valid. I have hinted further, that our doctrine does not necessarily condemn all that have lived and died without any other Baptism but what they had received from lay-hands. Indeed it condemns none but those who are either culpably ignorant of their duty in that respect, or wilfully neglect it. Those that will not examine what sort of Baptism they have had, or content themselves knowingly with a pretended Baptism, when they may have a true one; I have nothing to say for such persons, and I leave it to Mr. K.'s coolest thoughts to consider whether he shall think it reasonable, prudent, or pious, to plead for them. All that we desire is, that persons in that case be baptized by a lawful Minister. There is no comparison to be made between the hazard of one and that of the other. A man in these circumstances may be only *hypothetically* baptized, as one that doubts whether he has been baptized or no. There is a rule laid down for Baptisms in doubtful cases by canon 72. of Conc. 5. of Carthage, held A. D. 401: and the Church of England in her Rubric to the Office of Baptism has in a manner adopted it for her own, by ordering in doubtful cases a conditional form, “If thou be not already baptized, I baptize thee, &c.”

<sup>s</sup> Ep. ad Jubaianum.

There is no danger at all in this, if done with a religious and pious intent. But as to the danger of leaving persons in so uncertain and doubtful a condition, as every man must be in that has no other Baptism but Lay-baptism, which it is impossible for any man to demonstrate to be true, and which has hardly any probable ground for its being so, I tremble to think on it. Judge then, Sir, with yourself, whether it be more advisable to take Mr. K.'s scheme or mine. If it is not probable, if it is not certain that Lay-baptisms are good, it is of the last moment not to trust to them: but if it be barely probable, or even possible that they should be null, what wise man would not choose the only certain and secure method, to be conditionally baptized by a proper Minister, which is all I am pleading for!

And here I might take leave of the great unanswerable objection so much insisted on, having, I hope, sufficiently disarmed it. But the regard I have for two very worthy gentlemen, Dr. Brett and Mr. Laurence, obliges me in this place to do justice to them, and to wipe off the suspicion of mistake and fallacy which your friend has been pleased to fix upon them. They give two scripture instances to shew that a man may be capable of valid Orders that is not baptized. Dr. Brett's instance is St. Paul<sup>t</sup>, whom he shews to have been ordained before he was baptized. Mr. K. denies the fact, not conceiving how a miraculous call from Heaven (the design of which was to make St. Paul *a minister* and *a witness*<sup>u</sup>, and upon which he was immediately declared a <sup>x</sup>“chosen vessel to bear God's name before “the Gentiles”) should amount to an ordination: though for that very reason most probably St. Paul calls himself <sup>y</sup>“an Apostle, “not of men, neither by man.” But he thinks his “solemn consecration to the apostolical function came afterwards, and is “recorded Acts xiii. 2, 3.” That is, after he had been preaching and making disciples about ten years, according to the best chronologers, at Damascus, Tarsus, Cilicia, Antioch, Jerusalem, &c. he came, it seems, to Antioch, and was there first ordained by his own converts. I hope this does not need confuting. Dr. Brett's instance therefore may stand good yet for any thing that appears to the contrary; and may still “be a demonstrative argument, “that the want of Baptism does not render an ordination null “and void.” St. Paul indeed did not execute his commission

<sup>t</sup> Acts ix.    <sup>u</sup> Acts xxvi. 16.    <sup>x</sup> Acts ix. 15.    <sup>y</sup> Gal. i. 1.

before he was baptized; but when he did officiate, he did it by virtue of that commission which he had before Baptism; and therefore want of Baptism did not void it; which is all that Dr. Brett meant to prove.

So much for him. I come next to Mr. Laurence; who according to Mr. K. urges "the similitude of circumstances betwixt a person uncircumcised and one unbaptized, and *pretends* that as the want of circumcision during the forty years' abode of the Jewish Church in the wilderness did not vacate the ministry of those Priests and Levites who were born in that time; so neither can the want of Baptism now vacate the ministration of one that is consecrated to the Christian priesthood<sup>a</sup>." Under favour he does not pretend quite so much. He does not bring the instance to prove the want of Baptism *cannot* vacate Orders, but that it *need not*, or always *does not*, i. e. they may be consistent; which was all that Mr. L. was concerned to prove. Against which Mr. K. objects thus:

1. "Admitting the fact to be true, it was an extraordinary case, and proves only this, that God may dispense with his own institutions, though we must not, and so ratify things transacted in his name by persons unbaptized. But that he does so, it is presumption in us to imagine, without Divine warrant, signifying his will and pleasure." By the way, could Mr. K. write this, and at the same time remember that he was pleading for the validity of Lay-baptism? Is it not as great *presumption* to imagine that God will ratify what is transacted in his name by persons *unordained*, as by persons *unbaptized*? Is not the reason equal, nay stronger in one case than in the other? and does not the argument recoil strangely? But to let that pass. With submission, he mistakes Mr. Laurence: his argument proves something more. It proves that want of circumcision (or Baptism) is not in the nature of the thing inconsistent with valid Orders; as it certainly is not, if God allowed both; whether ordinarily or extraordinarily is not the point. But,

2. Mr. K., to make all sure, denies the fact. Why? because the Priests and Levites born in that time *needed not* to exercise their function, there being enough besides to do it without them; therefore they *did not*. Is this any consequence? Does this make Mr. L.'s supposition *evidently false*? I do not find that he ever went upon a supposition that the whole number of Priests

<sup>a</sup> Append. to the First Part of Lay-Bapt. Inv. p. 137.

and Levites must necessarily officiate, or that otherwise there would be wanting men for the service. All that he supposes is, that in forty years' time many born in the wilderness might grow up to the age for service, and be admitted to serve, having an hereditary right to it; and there is all the reason in the world to believe they did so, notwithstanding their want of circumcision. And scripture says nothing to the contrary, which makes me wonder at Mr. K.'s attempt to prove what it is impossible for him to know, upon nothing but very uncertain and precarious conjectures against the highest probability imaginable. How shall we know precisely how many or how few Priests or Levites might be needful for the service? What probability is there that such a number as this supposes should be excluded from their birthright, and discarded only for not being circumcised, when it does not appear that God required it? Or how is it possible that so remarkable a matter of fact, and so instructive, if true, should be passed by in silence, and no notice taken of it by the sacred writers? Is it reasonable to call Mr. Laurence's stating the case "altogether fictitious and imaginary," upon no better grounds than this, that possibly there might be circumcised Priests and Levites enough to do the business all the forty years, without any of those who were born in the wilderness? But let us hear how he attempts to prove it. First, he observes that Aaron lived almost to the end of that period, which is very true, and that "he had to assist him Eleazar, Ithamar, Phinehas, &c." I put Phinehas last, because he was the youngest, and, for ought that appears, born in the wilderness; and if so, he should be struck out of the account. But what do we do with that *et cætera* at the end? Can Mr. K. or any man else name ever another Priest born in Egypt besides these? Yes, he adds, "such in general of the tribe of Levi as came out of Egypt, and were afterwards consecrated to the priesthood." But how could he imagine that the Levites *in general* could be consecrated to the priesthood; which every body knows was confined to the family of Aaron only, which family was no more than a branch of the Kohathites<sup>b</sup>, who were a branch of the tribe of Levi? All Priests were indeed Levites, but yet no Levites could be Priests, but those of the race of Aaron. So here is a fine argument spoiled at once by an unlucky mistake at first setting out, which

<sup>b</sup> Numb. iii.

renders all the rest a mere airy speculation. We have found then but three Priests that could have been born and circumcised in Egypt, or at most four, Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar his sons, and Phinehas his grandson. Nadab and Abihu perished soon after they came into the wilderness; and these are all we read of: yet it is reasonable to believe that Eleazar and Ithamar, not to mention Nadab and Abihu, might have sons born to them in the wilderness, who officiated as Priests, as soon as they came to be twenty, or however thirty years old.

This, I believe, is what Mr. Laurence supposed; and he might very reasonably do so: or however I am sure Mr. K. has not disproved it. Mr. L.'s observation takes in the Levites as well as the Priests, and either is sufficient for his purpose. Mr. K. seems to think that there must have been Levites enough without dispute, and is therefore chiefly concerned for Priests. But I must ask his pardon, and beg leave a while to try if I cannot shew, that there would have been wanting Levites for the ordinary service upon Mr. K.'s supposition.

The number required for the ordinary service may best be known from the number first appointed by God himself, viz.<sup>c</sup> eight thousand five hundred and eighty, all that were between thirty and fifty years old. (This is to be understood of the most laborious and burdensome part of the Levites' service, to reconcile it with Num. viii. 24.) The whole number of Levites from a month old was twenty-two thousand, out of which take eight thousand five hundred and eighty, between thirty and fifty years old, and there remains thirteen thousand four hundred and twenty, of which we may fairly suppose there might be about a thousand fifty years old, and consequently superannuated, and as many as had been born within a year before were born in the wilderness<sup>d</sup>, and therefore should not come into this account. We will suppose then that about twelve thousand might remain for future service upon Mr. K.'s hypothesis. In twenty years' time the whole eight thousand five hundred and eighty would be superannuated one after another, going off from the service yearly, one year with another, four hundred and twenty-nine in number, and new ones coming in to supply their places. Allow then out of the first remainder eight thousand five hundred and eighty more, and there remains three thousand four hundred and

<sup>c</sup> Numb. iv.

<sup>d</sup> See Exod. xvi. 1. Numb. i. 1.

twenty. Now in ten years' time further, about half the former number would be gone off, as superannuated, besides accidents and casualties, and the whole last remainder would hardly be enough to supply the deficiency; and so after all were come in, there would be a strange blank in the succession for the nine following years, about four hundred at least going off yearly, and none coming in to supply their places; which to me seems a very unfortunate business, and to bear hard upon the Levites that came last. There might, it is true, be some left notwithstanding at the forty years' end, if not perishing by casualties, or worn out with labours, but not near the number of eight thousand five hundred and eighty, which God chose at first as requisite for the service: and I know not how we can otherwise make any probable guess what number might be needful, but from God's own appointment of such a certain number at the first. Upon the whole, I think, Mr. Laurence's observation is highly just and reasonable with respect to the Levites; and as to the Priests, a probable conjecture, which as it is hard to prove, so it is harder to disprove: and so I leave it. I shall take no notice of Mr. K.'s observation from scripture relating to this point, and importing that the first Clergy of the Church were Christians, because nobody, I believe, doubts of it; and as to the inference he would draw from it, it has been obviated above. A word or two must come in here about the Reformed Church abroad, and then we have done with this head.

I had said in my letter with relation to them, that we need not be very solicitous for them in the present dispute; because to defend them upon principles which themselves many of them disown, was what they would not *thank us for*. This I thought answer sufficient to an objection, which has not much weight in it, but that it seems to tax with severity and want of charity. And what could be more to the purpose than to observe, that we are as kind to them in that respect as themselves desire; and that they cannot and will not complain of it? To defend them upon principles which they will not own, but reject in disdain, is only bantering them, and exposing ourselves. Besides that allowing their Baptisms and disallowing their Orders seems only to be playing fast and loose, and giving in one hand to take away with the other. The Church of England, he says, does so: if she does, I am sorry for it, and wish either to see practice changed or defended. I am sorry that what was con-



demned as an inconsistency in the Luciferians of old should be thought the current doctrine of our Church now. As to rejecting the pretended ordinations of mere Presbyters, the practice is consistent with the doctrine of our Church, and conformable to our twenty-third canon<sup>e</sup>. But I yet want to know how receiving the pretended Baptisms of laics is either conformable to canons or consistent with them. But that shall be considered in another place. Mr. K. in behalf of the Reformed proceeds thus: "All my request is, that seeing by command of our ecclesiastical superiors we have often prayed for them by the title of Reformed Churches, we would allow them as good a right to that appellation as, in defect of other ministrations, a valid Christian Baptism can confer upon them;" that is as good as none. For if we allow them to be Christians by virtue of their Baptism, yet according to the unanimous doctrine of the ancients, *ecclesia non est, quæ non habet sacerdotes*; they will have no band of unity no cement to unite them as a church, but will be a disjointed number of independent Christians; no Church in a strict sense, though we may allow them that title in a large and popular sense, which I suppose is sufficient, whatever our opinion be, for giving them that appellation in our prayers; especially when commanded by public authority, which ought to be submitted to, though it were meant in the strict sense, (as it certainly is not,) unless we have full conviction that the appellation is false, which few perhaps have in so disputed a case. But it is now time to subjoin something with relation to the judgment and practice of the Church of England in our present debate.

#### IV.

I shall be brief upon this last, concluding that by this time you are heartily tired. Upon a careful view of what has been said on both sides relating to the judgment and practice of our Church, I take the case to be thus.

1. The Church of England has no where expressly and *in terms* determined the controversy either way.
2. Her practice as well as the stream of her Divines has all along been against us.
3. Yet she has laid down such principles and positions in her public acts, as will, if pursued in all their consequences, bring us to the conclusion we are proving.

<sup>e</sup> See Stat. 13 Eliz. c. xii. Act of Uniform. Car. II.

And this is all, I presume, that Mr. Laurence means in reckoning the Church of England on his side of the question : not that our first Reformers, or other great Divines since, actually thought as he does ; but that in pursuance of the principles laid down in the Articles, Canons, and Rubrics, they must have thought so, had they attended to all the consequences deducible from them. And indeed if the case be thus ; if the doctrine of the invalidity of Lay-baptism can be shewn by necessary consequence to be implied in what the public voice of our Church has asserted, and we subscribe to ; it must be said that the Church of England is for us ; and every subscriber that attends to such consequences, and believes them certain, does implicitly or virtually subscribe them also. And this is what I am persuaded Mr. Laurence has proved sufficiently in the pamphlet entitled, *Dissenters' Baptisms Null and Void by the Articles, &c.* It must therefore be observed, that those gentlemen take a wrong method of answering Mr. L. who object to him the judgment of many of our eminent Divines since the Reformation : all that is wide of the point. He may think that many of our Divines, and even some compilers of our public forms, had not sufficiently traced all the consequences of their own assertions, or might have drawn conclusions inconsistent with them. And therefore the ready and the only way to confute him is, to shew that the consequences which he draws from the premises laid down in our public forms are ill drawn, or are no just consequences from them. Till this be done, the public voice of the Church, as it stands in our Articles, Rubrics, and Canons, will be thought to be on his side of the question ; and he that consents to them must consent to him too ; because there is no rejecting a necessary consequence once seen, without rejecting the principle itself from whence it flows. We need not therefore talk of the Whitgifts, the Hookers, the Bilsons, the Bancrofts, or others. The Church's public acts are open and common, and he is the truest Church of England-man that best understands the principles there laid down, and argues the closest from them : all the rest are but assertions, fancies, or practices of particular men, and are not binding rules to us. And this is all that need be said to the present point ; and I shall here only subjoin some few remarks on some passages of Mr. K. under this head. " He seems very angry, that some  
" who call themselves the most zealous assertors of the rights of

“ the Church, should embrace this Puritanical notion, (of Lay-baptism being null,) and cast dirt upon the memory of those “ excellent men, (Whitgift, Hooker, &c.) and hardly allow any “ who come not in their measures, &c.” It were easy to retort in that way, and to run out into satire and declamation. But to speak to the point ; it is no reflection upon the memory of any men to suppose them fallible ; nor any fault in us to set aside their authority, when we can confute their reasons. The gentlemen whom Mr. K. so unkindly censures are, if I know any thing of men, persons of as great simplicity, candour, and integrity as any men living ; true lovers of religion in its primitive beauty and purity, and sincere promoters of it in their writings, and what is more, in their lives. If it be their misfortune to mistake in the point before us, which does not appear, yet their pious intentions and well meant zeal for the honour of God and the souls of their brethren plead strongly in their excuse ; and it must be owned that their reasons, if not absolutely convincing, are yet weighty and considerable enough to sway honest and wise men. Their love as well for the order as for the persons of the Clergy is in a manner their distinguishing character ; and it is therefore pity that the least spark of indignation from any Clergyman especially should fall upon them, particularly at a time when there is occasion enough to spend our zeal another way ; when we are running into Deism with a precipitate course, and Arianism by shaking the prime fundamentals is paving the way to it. But to return.

Mr. L., it seems, “ with a very authoritative air takes upon him “ to instruct and admonish the Clergy, and to interpret the “ Articles, Canons, &c.” To which I shall only say, that innocence makes a man sometimes bold, and a religious zeal will break out into tender and pathetic expostulations. As to his interpreting the Articles, Canons, &c., I find nothing objected to it by Mr. K. but that it makes “ the Church inconsistent with “ herself,” an undertaking, he thinks, “ not very suitable to the “ character of so zealous a proselyte, &c.” But what does Mr. K. call the Church ? Has Mr. L. any where pretended to shew that the Church contradicts herself in her public forms ? No, but practice has run contrary, and some Churchmen, or most Churchmen, have done so too. It may be so : yet the Church is consistent with herself ; for the public voice of the Church is the Church, and while she lays down premises, consequences make

themselves. However, all such kind of arguments signify little. Is the practice defensible, or is it not? If it be, shew it upon principles, and argue not from practice only, the weakest reason in the world. If it be not, the obvious conclusion is, that it ought to be changed. I cannot but think it a wrong way to plead practice and custom for the validity of Lay-baptism, when we want a law to found it upon. What law of God, nay, what law of our own Church, authorizes any laic to baptize, that we may have some shadow of authority to pronounce it valid? But the Church, you will say, that is, Churchmen, have so practised, therefore the Church approves it. I deny the consequence. Churchmen have sprinkled in Baptism now a hundred years, or it may be more, without ever inquiring whether the child be weak, and the Rubric in that case is grown obsolete: does it follow from thence that sprinkling without necessity is according to the sense and judgment of the Church of England? The like may be said of the Clerk's placing bread and wine on the communion table, and perhaps of reading the Communion Service in the desk; all practised by public allowance, and yet no where warranted by the public acts or voice of the Church. Mr. K. observes, that the Church of England "never made any canon or law for the punishment of a Lay-baptist, who shall presume to do that office in extreme necessity." But what think you of these words in the preface to the Ordination Book? "None shall be suffered to execute any of the functions (of a Bishop Priest, or Deacon), except he hath had formerly episcopal consecration or ordination." Is not this part of her laws, and Baptism one of her functions? And whence is it that none of our midwives, or any beside Clergymen, pretend to baptize in cases of extreme necessity, but that they think it against law? I deny not however that Lay-baptisms have been constantly received as valid among us. Were it not for that, there would be less occasion for this dispute, designed, if possible, to put a stop to an inveterate practice that has so little to be said for it. Mr. K., I think, is a little too severe upon Mr. Laurence, when he calls his Baptism "a second Baptism, irregular, clandestine, unauthorized, antiepiscopal." It is impossible it should be a *second Baptism*, because he was baptized hypothetically only; and therefore if the first Baptism was good, the last was none. It was not *irregular*, because, as he tells us himself, the minister that baptized him had his proper Diocesan's general license to

baptize adult persons, without giving any particular notice first to the Bishop. It was not *clandestine*, being in the public face of a great congregation on a holyday in the time of evening prayer. Lastly, it could not be *antiepiscopal*, being by an episcopal minister, and with the Bishop's license. I hope Mr. K. will think more kindly, and express himself more tenderly of an innocent well-deserving gentleman another time.

Mr. K. having before mentioned the custom of our Church in confirming all without distinction, whether episcopally baptized, or only by lay hands, ends with this dilemma, that we must (upon our principles) either assert that for an important article of doctrine, which the Church of England denies, or accuse her of communicating and ordaining men, whom she knew to be unbaptized. As to the first part of the dilemma, we do not assert any thing for an important truth, but what the Church, that is, the public voice of the Church, asserts likewise, though not directly, yet consequentially. As to the second part: it does not follow, that because Bishops confirm all without distinction, that therefore they know any of them to be unbaptized, but only that they do not know to the contrary. I grant, however, that the practice argues so far, that they have in general looked upon it as an indifferent thing, as to the validity of Baptism, whether it be by a Priest or a Laic. And how far their judgment ought to weigh with us has been considered above; “*non quia aliquando do erratum est, ideo semper errandum est.*”

Thus, I hope, we have got fairly off from the dilemma; or if not, let me propose another, and leave it with Mr. K. to shew that we are pretty even. It is very certain that the Church of England forbids Baptism Lay, in all ordinary cases, directly, and in extraordinary, implicitly; having made no provision for cases of necessity; which yet she ought to have done, and very probably would have done, had she thought Lay-baptism valid, since the salvation of many infants may be nearly concerned in it.

“I do not therefore see but that those gentlemen who affirm Lay-baptism to be valid lie under a necessity either of owning that they assert that for an important article of true doctrine, which the Church of England denies, or of accusing their Mother the Church of England” of a very culpable omission

<sup>f</sup> Cypr. ad Jub.

in making no provision for a case that may often happen, and is of everlasting moment. "I shall be heartily glad to see these gentlemen get handsomely clear from this dilemma:" and in the interim, I presume, we shall have time enough to consider how to deal with the other.

From what has been said, it appears pretty plainly, that there is no law either of God or man, either of the primitive Church or our own, whereon to found the validity of Dissenters' Baptism. As to making any thing valid *ex post facto* by a subsequent confirmation, which was not valid before; it is too romantic a notion to need confuting, having no countenance from scripture, antiquity, or reason, or the principles of our Church, or our Office of Confirmation, which supposes persons baptized, validly baptized before. Seeing therefore the thing looks so suspicious and doubtful, and withal very dangerous, it concerns us to take the safest way, and to act as all wise casuists would advise us in doubtful cases. Mr. Bennet, who had well considered this subject, speaks like a wise and good man. "At present," says he, "I am not able to prove the validity of sacraments administered by lay persons in any case whatsoever; nor on the other hand am I willing to pronounce them utterly invalid. But this I own, that if it had been my misfortune to have been baptized by such a person as was not authorized by God to perform that office; I would be conditionally rebaptized, after the same manner which our Church prescribes in dubious cases. For I do not think that it would otherwise be possible for me to enjoy peace of conscience for one single moment."

And now to use Mr. K.'s own words; "He is desired (if it be possible) to find out some way to cure the just suspicions, and remove the endless scruples, which his hypothesis will naturally suggest to the minds of thinking men concerning the validity of their Baptism, and the reality of their being within the covenant of grace, and in a state of salvation."

In the close he subjoins a summary view of the principles which he espouses, relating to the present subject, in twenty-six particulars. The first five are very good; the rest are mostly, in my opinion, either not true, or not accurately expressed. I shall take notice of but one or two.

His twenty-first is, "that the minister is not of the essence"

(of Baptism). His twenty-second, "Consequently the Church " being, as has been declared, the "supreme judge of this " matter, if she shall think fit to order those who have been " baptized by laymen to be baptized again, I am not the man " that shall gainsay it." He must certainly have been under some confusion of thought when he wrote this; for I verily believe he does not mean it. Would any man else argue thus? The minister is not essential, therefore Baptism is valid whether by a Priest or Laic; "therefore the Church may choose whether " she will receive it or no," when the irresistible consequence from these premises is, that the Church cannot choose but must receive it, since it is valid on either supposition. I suppose he means, that since it does not certainly appear, either that the Minister is essential or not essential, in so doubtful a case, let the Church determine whether the disputed Baptisms shall be valid or not. If the Minister be supposed not essential, there is no room left for the Church to order a rebaptization. What Churchmen, nay what heretics, (except the Marcionists,) ever allowed rebaptization in the strict and proper sense, or did not utterly disclaim it? However, if your friend will be so generous as to admit of two Baptisms in some cases, I hope we may be excused hereafter if we contend for one. Could Lay-baptism be shewn to be truly Baptism, I should be the last man that should plead for rebaptization; nay, if all the churches in Europe should order it, I should *gainsay* it, and protest against it as an innovation.

But since it does not appear that such pretended Baptisms are truly Baptisms, but that there is all the reason in the world to think they are not, I must beg leave still to insist upon it, that all such as have been so pretendedly baptized ought to have the true and only Baptism, episcopal Baptism, and so become not pretended but true and real members of the Church of Christ.

Thus, Sir, you have my thoughts at length upon a subject difficult enough for wise and good men to differ upon, and yet perhaps clear enough to a careful and diligent inquirer. You had had this long ago, had not my other business and many avocations hindered; and I might no doubt have been more exact in many things, had I more leisure, or could I bear the trouble of transcribing. But since these papers are designed only for private use, I am content to let them pass. You may please

to communicate them at leisure to your learned friend, whom I have a great respect and value for. He has shewn in espousing the cause of Lay-baptism, that he is very able both to defend and adorn a better; and if he has failed in it, it may be considered that the great Mr. Bingham, not to mention others, has sunk in the attempt before, and neither his fine parts nor voluminous reading could support him against an adversary, who in learning certainly, not to say in abilities, is far inferior to him. I have endeavoured every where to treat Mr. K. with that civility and respect due to his character and personal merit. But if any thing has dropt from me unawares that seems different from it, I desire you to blot it out with your pen, it being what I should certainly do myself, as soon as apprized of it.

While I differ from him in this, I shall be ever, I hope, ready to join with him in a fervent zeal for God and religion, and vigorously opposing the growing heterodoxies and prevailing corruptions of the present times.

May the Giver of all truth direct us in our searches after it, and both incline us to embrace it, and enable us to pursue it.

I am, dear Sir,

your most affectionate

humble Servant.





12

**DR. WATERLAND'S LETTERS**

**TO**

**THE REV. MR. LEWIS,**

**MERGATE, KENT.**

THE following Letters were transcribed from a folio volume in Rawlinson's Collection of MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The Letters not having been copied in chronological order, and some of them having *no date*, considerable difficulty was found in properly arranging them. But this difficulty, it is hoped, has been so far surmounted, as to remove any perplexity that might otherwise occur, in referring from one Letter to another, for the elucidation of any particular subject. To facilitate also the reader's researches, a short Table of the Contents of each Letter is prefixed to this Volume.

The twelve first Letters were written in the years 1724 and 1725, and relate chiefly to the life and writings of Bishop Pecock. The remaining Letters relate almost entirely to a history of the English translations of the Bible, and were written in the years 1728 and 1729.

The Notes inclosed between brackets are in the original manuscripts. The other references are by the Editor.

# LETTERS

TO

THE REV. MR. LEWIS,

MERGATE, KENT.

---

Nº. I.

REVEREND SIR,

I HEARTILY thank you for the favour of your papers, containing *Cursory Remarks on my Critical History*<sup>a</sup>. I am very desirous of any hints that may contribute to the correcting or improving any part of that work: and some of yours will be serviceable; while the rest shew your kind and friendly endeavours towards me.

Sir Francis Kynaston's observation relates to the division of the day into four equal parts, where *prime* has a particular sense; how justly I do not say. My sense of *prime* is founded upon another division of the day, into twelve equal parts, or hours, and is certainly right with respect to the subject I am upon.

As to Beleth, I am not sensible of any *slip*. He is an evidence of the Creed's being *commonly* ascribed to Anastasius in his time, which he judges to be *wrongfully* done, (*falso*,) ascribing it himself to Athanasius. The word *licet* is indeed dropped

<sup>a</sup> Waterland's *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*; the first edition of which was published in 1723, the second in 1728.

in my quotation, by some accident<sup>b</sup>; or if I designedly left it out, there should have been a full stop at *est*, to make two sentences instead of one, the two parts being produced to prove two distinct things.

Dr. Clarke is obliged to your kind endeavours for him. But no man whose thoughts were not absent would have expressed, *about* 429, by *near* 400, or *above* 300; either of which implies a number short of 400. I must own however that such a slip might have been passed over in silence, had not the Dr. had seven years' time to correct it in, and had not he been a man that values himself upon his accuracy, and is pretty severe upon others on as slight occasions.

I have not your *Life of Wicklif* by me. But I shall consult it the first opportunity in the pages referred to.

I thank you for your hint about *Trevisa*<sup>c</sup>: and shall correct the mistake about Berkeley. I forget now whose authority it was that I then followed implicitly, without inquiring further.

What I say of the Gallican Psalter<sup>d</sup> being retained in our Common Prayer Book, I took from Dr. Hody, who was, generally, a very careful and accurate writer; though, as I now conceive, mistaken in this particular. I thank you for your valuable hints on this head, and shall, as I have leisure, make more strict inquiries into that matter. I have for the present only compared two or three Psalms of our old version with the Gallican Psalter; and I find that even these few do not answer. Which confirms me in it, that your observation is very right and just. Further inquiries may give me still more abundant satisfaction.

<sup>e</sup>As to what I say of the Latin versions used by the Popes at different times, my authorities are certainly very good; Cardinal Bona, Mabillon, and Martianey the late editor of Jerome. What I hint about the Council of Trent, particularly, is taken from the last. My account, I conceive, is very consistent with your remarks. The edition of 1532 is above thirty years before Pius V. who introduced the Gallican Psalter into common use. And as to what you observe of the Council of Trent, (though I have not their *Acta* at hand,) I suppose it may be meant not of the Psalter in particular, but of the Latin Bible in general.

<sup>b</sup> It is inserted in the second edition, p. 45.

<sup>c</sup> See Crit. Hist. vol. iii. p. 144, 145.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 164.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. pp. 162—166.

I am undoubtedly right in setting Bryling's Greek edition<sup>f</sup> before the rest, and in calling it *first*, as first in order of time. Fabricius's naming it *tertia* has reference only to Montfaucon's order of placing the copies in his edition of Athanasius's works; this copy being the *third* in his way of placing them, though first printed. There have been in reality six several copies of that Creed, though three of the six are so like one another that they have been thrown into one, as I observed vol. iii. p. 176.

I am obliged to you for intimating how long the mistake of *holy* for *whole* continued. I was not furnished with a sufficient number of Prayer Books of several editions, to trace that matter far enough down. I made a small slip in the same page, (which you have not observed,) for want of King Edward's Prayer Book of 1552. Instead of saying, *under Queen Elizabeth*, I should have said, *in the year 1552, under King Edward*.

You seem not satisfied with my conjecture about the occasion of the mistake; though it be very easy to change *hole* into *holi*, and so into *holy*. Could I [have] thought of any other more probable account, I should have preferred it before this. You may imagine that I had consulted all the Greek editions first, and particularly that copy from which our version was made. I was certain that none of the copies gave any ground or umbrage for the word *holy*. In Bryling's copy, from which our version was taken, the word is *σῶαν*; in the Dionysian copy the same; in the Constantinopolitan, *ἀκεραίαν*; in the Commeline it is *ὑγιή*; in Usher's, *ἀμόλυτρον*; in Labbe's, *σῶαν*. But it is sufficient to have mentioned the first; because our translators had seen no other. If you have met with any copy that has *ἀγίαν*, it will be found, I believe, to have been none other than a Greek translation from the English, together with the rest of the Prayer Book in Greek, I have been told of *ἀγίαν* appearing in a Greek copy; but have not had an opportunity of looking into one of those Greek Prayer Books, to see how the matter stands.

You will easily apprehend whence I took my Latin copy of the Creed, when you consider the manuscripts which I refer to, and their various lections noted at the bottom. I followed no one particular copy, but chose out of all what appeared to be, upon critical reasons, the true and ancient reading.

As to Dr. Tarentinuss, he was (very probably) Pater of Ta-

<sup>f</sup> Crit. Hist. vol. iii. pp. 174, 176.

<sup>g</sup> Lewis's Life of Pecoek, p. 225.

rentum, a noted scholastic Divine; made Archbishop of Lions in 1271, and Pope under the name of Innocent V. in 1276. He has a Compendium of Theology, which was printed at Paris in 1551, where probably may be found what you cite. But I have never yet seen the book. I am obliged to you however for the hint: I shall search after him. If his opinion be such as is represented in the quotation, it may deserve some notice, though there was no just ground for any such opinion. All the Latin copies I have hitherto seen, ancient or modern, have the article of Christ's descent into hell. Possibly, some use may be made of the observation for settling the age of Usher's form, which also omits that article.

Some Latin copies have *firmeque* instead of *firmiterque*, but they are modern and few: and it concerned me not to take notice of that slight variation, where I was noting only the difference between Bryling's copy and the rest, as a further argument of our translators' following that copy.

I beg leave in the close to repeat my thanks to you for your kind remarks. I shall make some corrections from them where just. And I thought it a piece of civility to you to intimate my judgment of the rest.

If any other hints occasionally come in your way, I shall think myself much obliged to you for communicating them to me. And if any thing brings you to Town while I am here, your calling upon me at my house will be an additional favour to,

Good Sir,

Your obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Watling Street, by St. Austin's Church,  
March 31, 1724.

*To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

## No. II.

The Trettiis that is clepid <sup>a</sup> *The pore Caitif*.

- Publ. Acad. Cant. N. 466. - A.  
 Publ. Acad. Cant. N. 467. - B. } These two the oldest.  
 Coll. Trin. Cant. B. 8. 37. - C. }  
 Coll. Joh. G. 28. - - - - D.

## THE CREDE.

- St. Petir.* 1. I bileve into<sup>a</sup> God Fadir Almyghty, Maker of hevene and of erthe.  
*St. Andrew.* 2. I bileve \* into <sup>a</sup> Ihū Crist, his oonli Sone oure Lord.  
*St. Jams. Zeb.* 3. I bileve that he is conseved of the Holi Goost, born<sup>b</sup> of the Virgine<sup>c</sup> Marie.  
*St. John.* 4. I bileve that he suffride passioun<sup>d</sup> undir Pilat of Pounce †, doon upon the cross, deed, and biried.

## VARIOUS LECTIONS.

[<sup>a</sup> into] so B. C. And the comment seems to require it. But the rest read in. <sup>b</sup> and born A. D. <sup>c</sup> maide D. <sup>d</sup> peyne A. D.]

<sup>a</sup> [Note, that the *pore Caitif*, contains, besides the prologue, fifteen pieces, ending with the Myrror of Chastite, which has five chapters. Those fifteen pieces are the same that are numbered up in Wiclif's Life, p. 170. A. C. and D. are three entire copies of the *pore Caitif*. C. ends in these words, (after the Mirror of Chastite,) *here endith the trettiis that is clepid the pore Caitif*. B. contains but a part, namely the three first pieces, Creed, Commandments, and Pater Noster: to which are added five other pieces, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, in Wiclif's Life, p. 357.

Trin. Coll. MS. formerly I. Laughton's, is much the fairest and best of the four.

N. B. The MSS. A. D. particularly name the several Apostles before every article. But B. and C. name them not, but in the entrance to the Creed they read thus: *Muse we not what*

*Apostil made which part, either article, of this holi Crede, but bileve we stidfastly, &c.* From hence I suspect, that though B. and C. appear the older MSS. yet A. and D. were copied from one older than both. But I am doubtful in the case.]

\* [The repetition of *I bileve* is owing only to this, that the Creed is here extracted out of a comment, where the parts are broken, and so every article so taken separately wanted it.]

† [Theophylact deduces the name of Pontius, fancifully, from *Pontus*, as Eutychius of Alexandria from *Ponta*, an island. It does not appear from the comment, which of these our author followed, but probably the former. The Saxon version reads *Pontiscean Pilate*, and, after the Norman Conquest, *Ponce-Pilate*: as in Wanley's Catalogue, p. 228.]



- St. Thomas.* 5. I bileve that he wente doun to hellis<sup>e</sup>: the thridde day he roos fro deeth to lyf.
- St. Jame. Alf.* 6. I bileve that he stied to hevenes, there<sup>f</sup> he sitteth on the right side of God thes Fadir Almighty.
- St. Philip.* 7. I bileve that he is to come to deme quike and deede.
- St. Bartilmew.* 8. I bileve into<sup>h</sup> the Holi Goost.
- St. Matheu.* 9. I bileve holi<sup>i</sup> Chirche, \* feithful<sup>k</sup>; comunyngel<sup>l</sup> of seyntis.
- St. Symount.* 10. I bileve forgevenes of synnes.
- St. Jude.* 11. I bileve agenrisynge of fleisch<sup>m</sup>.
- St. Mathi.* 12. And<sup>n</sup> I bileve an everlastynge lyf.

## THE TEN HEESTES.

1. I am the Lord thi God that ledde thee out of the lond of<sup>o</sup> Egypt, out of the hous of thraldom<sup>p</sup>.

Thou schalt not have aliene<sup>q</sup> Goddis before me: thou schalt not make to thee a graven ymage, ne ony liknes that is in hevене above, and that is in erthe binethe, ne of tho thingis that ben in watris undir the erthe: thou schalt not<sup>r</sup> worscipe hem ne loute hem<sup>r</sup>; I am thi Lord God, a strong, gelous lovier, visitinge the wickidnessis of fadris into sones<sup>s</sup> into the thirddē and the<sup>t</sup> fourthe generatioun of hem that hatiden me, and doinge merci into thousands of kinredes<sup>u</sup> of hem that loven me and kepen myne heestis.

2. Thou schalt not take the name of thi Lord God in veyn; <sup>x</sup>forsothe the Lord<sup>x</sup> schal not have him innocent<sup>y</sup>, or unponished, that takith the name of the Lord his God<sup>z</sup> idilly<sup>a</sup>.

3. Have mynde that thou halewe the haliday (that is, Goddis<sup>b</sup>)

## VARIOUS LECTIIONS.

[<sup>e</sup> *hells* A. C. D.    <sup>f</sup> *and there* A. D.    <sup>g</sup> *the deest* A. D.    <sup>h</sup> *in* A. C. D.    <sup>i</sup> *in holy* A. D.    <sup>k</sup> *feithful deest* A. D.    <sup>l</sup> *and comynge* A. D.    <sup>m</sup> *risinge of body* A. D.    <sup>n</sup> *and deest* C.    <sup>o</sup> *the lond of desunt* A. D.    <sup>p</sup> *add, eithir bondage* A. D.    <sup>q</sup> *straunge* A. D.    <sup>r</sup> *not prie to hem, neithir worscipe* A. D. *in soule* A.    <sup>s</sup> *in the children* A. D.    <sup>t</sup> *the deest* A. D.    <sup>u</sup> *a thousand of them that* A. D.    <sup>x</sup> *for,* God A. D.    <sup>y</sup> *withouten guilt that* A. D.    <sup>z</sup> *his Lord God* B.    <sup>a</sup> *his name in ydil, eithir without cause* A. D.    <sup>b</sup> The words of the parenthesis are only in B. and there in the margin.]

\* [*Feithful*, for *Catholick*; following the popular rather than strict grammatical sense. The like may be observed in the Saxon version of the

Nicene Creed, in Whelock's edition of Bede's History. So *πρωτοι*, and *fideles*, were equivalent to *Catholicks*.]

sabath). <sup>c</sup>Sexe daies thou schalt worche<sup>d</sup>, and schalt do alle thi werkis: <sup>e</sup>in the seventhe day forsothe<sup>e</sup> is the haliday<sup>f</sup> of thi Lord God: thou schalt not do in that day ony servile werkis, <sup>g</sup>thou and thi sone and thi doughtir, thi servaunt, and thin hondmaiden, thi workbeest, and thi straunger that is withinne thi gatis<sup>h</sup>. In sexe daies <sup>i</sup>God made hevене and erthe and the see<sup>k</sup>, and alle thingis what ben in hem, and restidde in the seventhe day, <sup>l</sup>therefore the Lord<sup>l</sup> bleside to the haliday, and halewide it.

4. Honoure<sup>m</sup> thou thi fadir and thi modir, that thou be of long lyf<sup>n</sup> upon erthe, the whiche the Lord God schal geve to thee.

5. Thou schalt not slee.

6. Thou schalt do no letcherie.

7. Thou schalt do no theft<sup>e</sup>.

8. Thou schalt not seie<sup>p</sup> fals witnessynge<sup>q</sup> agens thi neighbore.

9. Thou schalt not coveite thi neighboris hous.

10. Thou schalt not desire the wyf of thi neighbore<sup>r</sup>, not servaunt, not hondmaide, not oxe, not asse, ne oni thing that is his.

*Magd. Coll. Cant. June 9, 1724.*

SIR,

I HAVE here at length sent you a transcript of what you desired, gathered from four MSS. which I denote by the four first letters of the alphabet. The MS. B. I took for my text, with which commonly agrees C., as A. and D. do likewise tally with each other. I have hinted that A. C. D. are three entire copies of the *pore Caitif*. I understand there is another at Lambeth, and a fifth in the College of Dublin, Cod. 672. Whether the whole collection, or any part be really Wiclif's, I cannot say, not being sufficiently versed in his writings. The authors quoted, as I remember, in this collection are chiefly Austin, Jerom, Chrysostom, Gregory, Bede, Anselm, Grostead, and Odo, and none later. You may know whether it be his custom to quote authors, and those authors. The discourses

#### VARIOUS LECTIONS.

[<sup>c</sup> in sixe D. A. <sup>d</sup> worche thi owne werkis A. D. <sup>e</sup> the seventhe day is the A. D. <sup>f</sup> reste A. C. D. <sup>g</sup> neithir thou, ne thi sone, ne thi servaunt, ne thi werkbeeste, ne thi str. A. D. <sup>h</sup> dwelleth in thi hous A. D. <sup>i</sup> for in sixe daies A. D. daies forsothe C. <sup>k</sup> and the see desunt A. D. <sup>l</sup> and therefore he bleside the A. D. haliday. This paragraph wanting in MS. C. <sup>m</sup> worchipe A. D. <sup>n</sup> longlyved D. <sup>o</sup> thou— not do theft<sup>e</sup> A. D. <sup>p</sup> speke C. <sup>q</sup> witnes C. <sup>r</sup> ne his servaunt, ne his maide ne his oxe, ne his asse, ne no thing. A. D.]

are wholly practical, calculated for common readers, and breathing a spirit of piety all the way through, with great simplicity.

I have not yet met with any thing considerable relating to Bishop Pecock. We have one of his MS. pieces here in our public library: but Wharton has given a very full account of it in print. Pepys's library is packed up in boxes for the present: I am making all the haste I can to provide chasses, (sic) and to set the books up in order. The catalogue, which I have looked over, promises me nothing of that kind. I can find nothing yet of Dr. Tarentinus. I looked for him in many libraries both at London and Oxford, and in some here at Cambridge; but he is not to be found. I met with a Prayer Book at Oxford of the year 1627, where the reading is *whole*, and this is as far backwards as I have found that reading. I believe you are very right in fixing the alteration to that very year. I have a suspicion that though *holy* was the old reading, *wholly* was understood; and the rather because queen Elizabeth's of 1561 reads *wholy*, and the metrical version joins to it *undefiledly*: if so, there was nothing more in it than an antique spelling. I have seen *holi* and *hooli* in Old English books for *wholly*, and the very same spelling for *holy*, in the same books.

I formerly made mention of the Shepherd's Almanack, or Calendar; I have seen it in Pepys's library, and find Mr. Johnson's remark from it to be just. It was first in French, composed about the year 1596. It was twice translated into English. The last edition or translation (which is what I have seen) was in the year 1618. I have nothing further to add at present, but to assure you, that if I can meet with any thing here that may be serviceable to your work, I shall give you notice of it. And if you think of any thing else that may be of use to you, do but intimate your requests, and they shall be readily answered, as far as may be, by,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,  
of Mergate in Kent.

a N<sup>o</sup>. III.

REVEREND SIR,

OUR librarian happening to be out of the way, I could not get the MS. soon enough to return you an answer by the first post. Before I come to what you desire, it will be proper to give you, as it is short, the author's division, or method, in his own words as follows :

“ b Y schal justifie xi gouernauncis of the Clergie whiche  
 “ sume of the comoun peple, unwüisly & untreuli jugen, & con-  
 “ dempnen to be yuele: of whiche xi gouernauncis oon is the  
 “ having & using of ymagis in chirchis. And an othir is pil-  
 “ grimage in going to the memorialis, or the mynde-placis, of  
 “ seintis, & that pilgrimagis & offringis mowe be doon weel, not  
 “ oonly priuely, but also openli; & not oonli so of laymen but  
 “ rather of Prestis and of Bischopis. And this schal y do bi  
 “ writing of this present book in the comoun pepelis langage  
 “ pleinli, & openli, & schortli: and to be clepid *The repressing*  
 “ *of ouer miche witting* (sic) *the Clergie*. And he schal haue v  
 “ principal parties. In the firste of whiche parties schal be  
 “ maad in general maner the seid repressing, and in general  
 “ maner proof to the xi seid gouernauncis. And in the ii. iii.  
 “ iiiii. & v. parties schal be maad in special maner the seid re-  
 “ pressing, and in special maner the proof to the same xi gouer-  
 “ nauncis.”

Thus far the author's words concerning the partition of his work. I have imitated the way of writing, and followed the spelling; excepting that I have given some words at length instead of the abbreviations.

I now come to the place you inquire after. It is in the very last page, and makes but a small part of it.

“ c The X. principal gouernaunce, agens which sume of the  
 “ comoun peple erren, is this: that the Clergie in certein causes  
 “ and maters swerith & makith othere persoones for to swere;  
 “ & allowith weel that princis & her officers, being undir hem,  
 “ bothe swere & make othere men of the layte for to swere.

<sup>a</sup> This letter is without a date; but, from what is said respecting *Pilate of Pounce*, and other internal evidence, it seems to have followed not long

after the letter of June 9, 1724.

<sup>b</sup> See Lewis's *Life of Pecoock*, p. 163.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* p. 147.

“ Certis sume of the lay peple holden this gouernaunce to be unleeeful, & agens the comaundement of God ; and that it is uttirli unleeeful eny man for to swere. Neuertheles for as muche as this unwiis holding is sufficientli proved to be untrew in the book, *filling the iiiii tablis*, in the secunde partie bi manye chapitris ; therefore nothing therof here.”

This is all the author here says to that article. As to the book about the *four tables*, I suppose it is lost. But you may probably spell out his meaning from the hints here given. I shall transcribe the conclusion, because of the author's there intituling his book something differently from what he had done in the entrance.

“ And thus y eende this present book, clepid *The Reprasser of ouer myche blamyng the Clergie*. For which book to thee, Lord God, be preising & thanking : and to alle the seid ouermyche undirnemers and blamers ful amendement. Amen.”

*Undirnemers*, or *undirnymers*, is a very common word with him. He ushers in his discourse with part of 2 Tim. iv. 2, which he thus renders ; *undirnyne thou, biseche thou, & blame thou in al pacience & doctrine*. It is, as it were, the text or motto to his book : Wiclif renders the same place thus, in his first edition, as I take it : *argu, or proue, byseche, blame in all pacience and doctrine*. But in the other it is, *repreue thou, biseche thou, blame thou, &c.*

Having spare paper enough, permit me now to run out into other matters. Wiclif's Wicket, however small a piece, I have never read, but design to do shortly, having it now in our new library which was Mr. Pepys's. The title of Masse Crede is of some antiquity, appearing in the Saxon versions as early as 950, or higher ; *mærje cræba*. One good use may be made of the observation, for the proving that we received the Nicene Creed into our Communion Office before the Roman Church did ; following therein the Gallican Churches, (as in many other customs,) rather than Roman.

Since my last to you, I had the curiosity to search a little further into the reason of the title of *Pilate of Pounce*<sup>d</sup>, in Wiclif's version of the Roman Creed. I thought it not likely that it should be borrowed from either of the Greek writers by me mentioned, or indeed from any Greek writer, our countrymen

<sup>d</sup> See Letter II. The Crede. Article 4.

formerly having had very little acquaintance with Greek. Besides that the Saxon versions are some of them undoubtedly more ancient than either Theophylact or Euty chius; and yet they in the word Pontyre seem plainly to go upon the same notion, understanding *Pontius* as denoting some place where Pilate was either born, or lived, or governed. To be short, I met with several Latin writers, upon search, that adopted the same notion; as Bruno in his Comment on that Creed, A. D. 1030, and the author of the tract de Divinis Officiis, falsely ascribed to Alcuin, in his Comment on the same: he lived probably about A. D. 1000. But there is an older still, Amalarius Trevirensis, who wrote A. D. 813, and says the very same thing in his comment on the same Creed, in the Treatise, or Epistle, de Ceremoniis Baptismi among Alcuin's works. Having traced it thus high, I was then very well satisfied; not doubting but our Saxon ancestors had from thence borrowed the notion on which they formed their language in that article.

However, among many copies of the Apostles' Creed, which I have searched down from the ninth century, I have met with none but Wiclif's that has *Pilate of Pounce*; the same expression which he uses in his version of the New Testament, in both editions, (so I call them, and have both by me,) in Matt. xxvii. 2. Whether this may be an additional argument for ascribing *the pore Catif* to Wiclif, I leave to be considered. I have met with an English author who talks sillily enough upon this matter; but he is valuable for his antiquity, and as discovering the current language in his time. The book was printed A. D. 1500, written perhaps several years sooner. It is called *Liber Festivalis*, containing plain simple Homilies, (drawn chiefly out of the *Legenda Aurea*,) upon the principal feasts in the year. He tells his tale thus:

“ Themperoure by counceyll of the Romayns sente Pylate  
 “ into a contree that was called *Pounce*: where the people of  
 “ that contrey where so cursed that they slewe ony that come  
 “ to bee thyr mayster ouer hem. Soo whan this Pylate come  
 “ thyder, he applied hym to her maners: soo what wyth whyles  
 “ and sotyltye he ouercome hem, and had the maystrye, and  
 “ gate his name, and was called *Pylate of Pounce*, and had grete  
 “ domynacion and power.”

Yet this very author in his copy of the Creed does not read *Pylate of Pounce*, but *Pounce Pylate*, according to the usual

style (excepting *Pounce* for *Ponce*) in that article from the twelfth century down to Wiclif, and after Wiclif, in all other copies I have met with, down to the year 1535, when the English Primmer put *Pontius* instead of *Ponce*. And yet the Bishop of Rochester's Primmer in 1539, and Henry the Eighth's in 1545, still retained *Ponce*; but our Reformers, being better learned, rightly preferred *Pontius*, as it stands at this day, having no mystery in it more than its being a Roman name, which Bishop Pearson has sufficiently shewn.

As to the false notion or hypothesis which Wiclif, with many others, went upon, no one expresses it more briefly or clearly than the author of the tract de Divinis Officiis in Alcuin, in these words: "Pontius dictus est, vel a Ponto regione, vel a Ponto insula in qua natus est, vel a familia, ut quibusdam placet." Alcuin. Op. p. 1125.

Whether what I have been talking about may be of any use to you, I know not. But I have the pleasure of shewing you how ready I should be to serve you in things more material, (were it in my power,) by these pains spent upon a trifle. I have dipped in several books in hopes to furnish you with something about Bishop Pecock, but have not been so happy as to meet with any thing. I design (God willing) to continue here about a month longer, before I return to London. If you think of any thing further that I may serve you in, while I stay, fail not to acquaint,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

P. S. I know not whether you have seen Oudin's last edition of his *Commentarius de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, A. D. 1722. He takes Pecock in at the year 1450. He has done little more than the transcribing Wharton; excepting that by diligent searching into the Oxford Catalogue of MSS. he has found out the names of some pieces ascribed to Pecock, which Wharton had omitted, and offers his conjectures about another piece which nobody before himself ever suspected to be Pecock's. He takes notice of a MS. in the Bodleian, (B. 1. 18.) intituled, \**Johannis Bury Theologi Oxoniensis Responsio ad Conclusiones*

\* Lewis's Life of Pecock, pp. 274—284. The manuscript is there stated to be, B. 1. 1960. 18, and containing sixteen sheets of vellum in quarto.

Reginaldi Peacocke; and observes that the book must be of good use for setting Pecock's case in its full light. I doubt not but you have consulted your friends at Oxford about that matter, and so I need not say more.

I suppose you design an exact account of the Author's works along with his life. I have now in my keeping his two principal pieces extant: his Reprasser, out of the public library; and his book of the Rule of Christian Faith, out of Trin. Coll. Library. I shall have these pieces with me some time longer. If you desire any hint about any particular relating to them, you may please to give me speedy notice, and I shall consult them for you. I shall probably run them both over superficially before I part with them. One thing I intend for my own satisfaction as I go along; which is to take down the names of such books as the author wrote, and referred to himself. Mr. Wharton's account appears to me somewhat confused, that I scarce know from thence what the true titles of some pieces were, or whether English or Latin.

If you once have the English titles in the author's own style, it would certainly be proper to recount all his English pieces under the English titles, as the Latin ones under Latin titles. If you approve of this hint, please to give me a line, and I will send you up as many as I can find, in the reading those two pieces.

To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,  
of Merygate in Kent.

---

Nº. IV.

† Bishop Pecock's English Books, or Tracts.

1. *The Forcrier*; alias, *The bifore Crier*.
2. *The Donet into Cristen Religioun*. Among the Collectanea Richardi Jamesii this book is mentioned, and so perhaps may still be extant. See Oxon. Catal. of MSS. p. 260.
3. *The folewer to the Donet*. This book is also mentioned in the Oxon Catalogue, numb. 6627. p. 202. MSS. Codd. Caro. Theyeri, where it is misnamed, The Follower of the *Devout*. I

† See Lewis's Life of Pecock, chap. vii. p. 315. et seq.



may note that *Donet* is mentioned by Chaucer as the name of some book, which I learn from the Glossary at the end, but have not had leisure to look out the place. This tract is also called, *The Key of Cristen Religioun.*

4. <sup>ε</sup> *The Book of Cristen Religioun.*

5. *The Book of Matrimonie.*

6. *The filling of the iiii Tablis.* The third part of which book, as the author informs us, (Repress. part i. c. 3.) is chiefly upon *usure.*

7. *The just apprising of holi Scripture in iii parties.*

8. *The Provoker of Cristen Men.*

9. *The Book of Counceilis.*

10. *The prouyng of Cristen Faith.*

11. <sup>h</sup> *The Spreding the iiii Tablis.*

12. *The Book of Signis in the Chirche: alias, The Boke of worschiping.* The subject whereof he expresses a little more fully, (Repress. part ii. c. 12.) *uce of worschiping doon bi seable rememoratiif signes.*

A. D. 1449.

13. *The Reprasser of ouer myche blamyng the Clergie.* Ext. Bibl. Cant. num. 190. folio. Mr. Wharton has fixed the date to the year in the margin.

14. *The Boke of Leernyng.*

15. *The Boke of Presthode.*

16. *The Book of Baptȳ.*

17. *The Book of Eukarist.* N. B. Put this below, among the *promised.*

A. D. 1455.

18. *The Book of Faith,* in two parts, written in the way of dialogue between a father and a son. Ext. Trin. Coll. Cant. N. R. 11. 2. 8vo. The date of this book is certain, if that of the *Reprasser* be so. For the author himself, in the entrance, reckons six years from the time of his writing the *Reprasser*: and afterwards, speaking of the same war between England and France, he sets it at forty years in this book, as he had in the former at thirty-four. Mr. Wharton is mistaken in his report of this MS. of Trinity College as being *perfect.* It certainly wants a considerable part at the latter end. How much I cannot say, because I have never seen the entire second part

<sup>ε</sup> No. 2. in Lewis's List. <sup>h</sup> Lewis considers this to be the same with No. 6.

published (as Mr. Wharton says) Lond. 1688. This book in the close begins the subject of the article of the Creed, (Christ's descent into hell,) as having been anciently wanting, and there breaks off abruptly.

<sup>i</sup> *English Tracts promised only, so far as appears.*

1. *A schort Compendiose Logik*: of which he says, (after expressing the great need of such a thing, *in her modires language*, and the excellent use it might be of,) as follows: "into whos making, if God wole graunte leue and leyser, y purpose sum-tyme after my othere bisynessis for to assaie." Repress. part i. c. 2.

2. *A Book of Legendis*. Of this design he says, "in legendis ben founde manie ful untrewre fablis, as in a book therof to be maad schal appeere." Repress. part iii. c. 12<sup>k</sup>.

I conjecture that this book was to be in *English*, because the author says nothing of its being intended in *Latin*; as he commonly does whenever he refers to his Latin treatises.

After this list of his English works, I shall transcribe you two passages, wherein the author himself numbers up most of them, and shews some fondness for them.

"<sup>l</sup>Ful weel oughten alle persooones of the lay parti, not leern-ed oughtwhere ellis—for to make miche of bokis maad to hem in her modiris langage; whiche ben clepid thus. *The Donet into Cristen Religioun. The Folwer to the Donet. The Book of Cristen Religioun*; namelich the first parti fro the bigynnyng of the iii. treti<sup>l</sup> forthward: *The Book filling the iiii Tablis. The Book of worschipping*: the book clepid *The just apprising of holi Scripture*: the book clepid *The Prouoker of Cristen Men. The Book of Counceilis*: and other mo pertenyng to the now seid book of Cristen Religioun.—Miche oughten lay persooones for to make and apprise & loue the now spoken bokis. And ferthermore ouer this now seid, the now spoken bokis techen ful clereli & bihouefulli the treuthis & gouernauncis of Goddis lawe whiche ben groundid in holi Scripture, and also other treuthis of feith whiche ben not lawis & ben groundid in holi Scripture. And also thei treten ful nobili the positiif lawis of Criste aboute the newe Sacramentis.—Of this same mater it

<sup>l</sup> Lewis, p. 323.

third, the Book of Eukarist.

<sup>k</sup> To these two tracts Lewis adds a

<sup>l</sup> Lewis, p. 319, 320.

“ is quikli & smertli spoken in a litil book, therto and therefore  
 “ maad, whiche y clepe *The Provoker of Cristen Peple*, & ther-  
 “ fore no more therof here.” Repress. part i. cap. 10.

“ If ye asken, who y am which makith him so bisi here agens  
 “ you; forsothe he is the man which hath more labourid & doon  
 “ into youre goostli availe, as of trewe kunnyng to be had of you,  
 “ & errour to be remoued fro you, than ye you silf ben of kun-  
 “ nyng and of power for to so do to you silf. In more special  
 “ for to seie, He is the man which for you and for alle lay men  
 “ hath write in lay mennys langage these bokis. *The Forcrier :*  
 “ *The Donet into the book of Cristen Religioun : The Follower to*  
 “ *the same Donet : The Boke of Cristen Religioun : The Provoker :*  
 “ *The Represser : The Book of Signis in the Chirche, which y clepe*  
 “ *the Boke of Worschipping : The Boke of Leernyng : The Booke of*  
 “ *filling the iiii Tablis :* this present *Book of Feith : The Book of*  
 “ *Presthode :* with summe other mo. Whiche bokis, if ye  
 “ wolen rede diligentli, and attende therto studioseli, & be wel  
 “ acqueyntid with hem, and not for to take an hasti smel or  
 “ smatche in hem, and soone leie hem aside; ye schullen fynde  
 “ in hem so great witt and learning of Cristen religioun, that ye  
 “ schullen holde you bigilid in the trust which ye had bifore in  
 “ youre othere studies and laboris for leernyng. And ye schulen  
 “ se that so fer the wittis & kunnyng of clerkis passen youre  
 “ wittis & youre leernyng in maters of Cristen religioun, that ye  
 “ schulen not truste so moche to youre kunnyng as ye now doon.  
 “ And ye schulen truste more to the kunnyng of clerkis & seche  
 “ bisili to have her helpe & counseiling in tho maters, than ye  
 “ have bifore this doon. And ye schulen chastise you silf ful wel  
 “ and ful vertuoseli fro pride and<sup>m</sup> presūpcioun bifore had in  
 “ setting and in apprising youre leernyng & kunnyng in maters  
 “ of Cristen religioun bifore the leernyng and kunnyng of Clerkis  
 “ & of the Chirche as ye bifore this han doon.—Forsothe  
 “ summe of the kunnyngist men of youre soorte aftir that thei  
 “ han red of summe of these spokun bokis, & han take bi not-  
 “ able tyme assaie and acqueyntaunce in hem; han hungrid and  
 “ thirstid for to have hadde the copie & the contynual uce of tho  
 “ bokis to hem, as moche as euer thei hungriden & thirstiden  
 “ after mete and drinke.” *Book of Faith*, part. i.

<sup>m</sup> In the next letter Dr. W. requests *presupcioun*: and it is so written in Mr. Lewis to write *presumpcioun* for Mr. L.'s quotation.

° I shall subjoin another passage, not far from this now cited, to give a little further light into the author's temper and manner, in regard especially to the Lollardis, Wickliffis, (so he calls them, and their leader Wiclif,) and his contests with them.

“ I haue spoke oft tyme and bi long leiser with the wittiest  
 “ and kunnyngist men of thilk seid soort contrarie to the  
 “ Chirche, and which han be holde as dukis amonge hem, and  
 “ whiche han loued me for that y wolde pacientli heere her  
 “ euydencis & her motyues, without exprobracioun. And verili  
 “ noon of hem couthe make eny motiue for her parti so stronge  
 “ as y my silf couthe haue made therto. And noon of hem  
 “ couthe make eny motiue which schulde meue a thrifti sad  
 “ Clerk nedis into concent: but ech thrifti sad Clerk in logik,  
 “ philosophie, & divinite, schulde soone schewe her motiue to  
 “ be ouer feble to be a cleer & undoutable prof. And if y  
 “ may not herynne be bileeved of hem, write thei her euy-  
 “ dencis & motyues in which thei trusten, and thei schulden  
 “ se, bi writyng agen, that thei kunne right litil maistrie do  
 “ for her party: yhe, moche lasse than good Clerkis kunnen  
 “ for her party do. Ceese thei therfore & leue thei werk:  
 “ for y wote weel, thei hewen (sic) aboute her heedis, &  
 “ weenen that thei han more and clerer sight in kunnyng  
 “ than nethei han, or mowe haue without Clergie or greet helpe  
 “ of Clerkis.”

° Here and in other parts of his pieces may be seen the good Bishop's excellencies, and at the same time his foibles. He had great parts, learning, and abilities; and was too confident in them, and trusted too much to them: while he hoped to be able at pure reason and argument to defend a very corrupt Church, in all, or its main, doctrines and practices against all assailants. Yet he is to be commended in preferring the rational way of dealing with adversaries before fire and fagot. The good man was forced to sweat and labour hard in so difficult an undertaking; and here and there to drop many a concession, such as the warm men of the Church could by no means brook or consent so. He hoped, since he was writing on the Church's side, and since his concessions were such only as plain force of reason, or as plain fact extorted, that he might be safe enough from censure; judging too kindly of other men's moderation and candour by his own. But enough of this.

° Lewis, p. 333. note.

° Ibid. pp. 333—335.

¶ *His Latin works, finished and published.*

1. *Liber de Fide et Sacramentis.* This he mentions as being in *Latyn*. Repress. part i. p. 8.
2. *Liber de Baptismo.* } Repress. part iv. c. 2.
3. *Liber de Pœnitentia.* }
4. *Iusta Doctorum Æstimatio.*

*Latin works, promised only, so far as appears.*

1. *Lectiones e Cathedra Academica.* Repress. part v. c. 6.
2. *Demonstratio Christianæ Fidei.* Of this he says, (Book of Faith, fol. 15. col. 2.) "Y hope to make in *Latyn*, and to be "clepid, *The Prof of Cristen Faith.*" He refers to the same again, c. 10.
3. *Liber de Ecclesia.* De predicatione, promised in the same treatise, to be maad in *Latyn*, part i. c. 10.

These are all that I have observed any mention made of, in the two treatises cursorily read over. Please to correct a misspelling in my last, *layte*. The word is *layfe*, as I have since found by clear and certain instances. But being then new to me, I put *t*, by conjecture, for what now appears to be *f*.

As to the note at the end of the Represser, it is but a blind one, and in a hand quite different from that of the book itself. What you write *hunlith*, the Oxon Catalogue (n. 2370.) makes *humbich*. He must have better eyes or judgment than I pretend to, that can be positive in either. My opinion is at present, (but report it not from me till I have consulted more experienced men,) that the word is *Lambyth*; and that this was entered by a Notary, after the copy had been taken, or perhaps read in Lambeth Chapel, in the year that Bishop Pecock was called to account, namely, 1457. I read it thus:—*Explicit coram Domino, in Capella sua apud Lambyth: xi Novemb. Anno Domini 1457.* The Oxon Catalogue erroneously claps in *Rege* after *Domino*: otherwise they might the more easily have thought of *Lambeth*. *Coram Domino*, as I apprehend, means the *Archbishop*.

As to Mr. Wharton's account, it is pretty right in the main, but rather too general, and not distinct enough, nor every where accurate. I am not aware that Pecock ever allowed or admitted

¶ Lewis, pp. 323, 324.

¶ The Archbishop's mandate to appear on the 11th of Nov. 1457, at *Lamhith*, is given at length in Lewis's

Life of Pecock, p. 215, 216, and the Notary's entry of his appearance on that day is mentioned, p. 217.

that the Church had *actually erred in matter of faith*, as Mr. Wharton represents. In his Book of Faith, two principal faults he finds with the Lollardis; 1. "Ouer myche leenyng to scripture, and in such maner and wise as it longith not to holi scripture for to receyue." 2. "Setting not bi for to folowe the deternyngs & the holdingis of the Chirche in mater of faith." The first of these, he observes he had sufficiently removed in his two former pieces: Just Apprising of Holy Scripture, and Represser. The second he reserved for the present treatise<sup>r</sup>. And here, though he admits that possibly the Church *may err*, yet he constantly insists upon it that the Church has not *actually* erred: I mean in matter of faith. And that it *may err*, is rather by way of *supposition* for argument sake, than formal admitting it. Having observed, that a true conclusion in *reason* is of that strength, that though angels of heaven should contradict it, we must yet trust more to such plain proof, than to all the angels together: and having at the same time admitted, that though the Church were to determine against *plain proof* of reason, yet reason must be heard even against the Church: I say after this, he still guards in this manner, and in these words: "Neuertheless, Some of this that y now haue grauntid to thee folowith not, that the Chirche in erthe errith or may erre in mater of feith, no more than folowith, of my graunt, that the Chirche now in heuene errith or may erre in feith." His standing doctrine in this article is, that a man is bound under pain of damnation to believe whatever the Church holdeth as faith, or has determined to be an article of faith, (even though the Church determined falsely or amiss,) unless such men can evidently, and openly, and indubitably prove that the Church has determined wrong. He further holds, that it is not proved, nor can be proved, that the Church has determined wrong, by this pleasant argument; that if it could be so clearly and indubitably proved, then the Church must of course have submitted to such clear and strong proof; which being contrary to fact, it must follow that there is no such clear and strong proof producible in this case. I shall give you the summing up of the argument in his own words: "If thou canst not proue cleerli & undoutabli the Chirche erre agens thi parti, thou art in dampnacioun for to holde agens the Chirche: and agenward, if thou canst prove it

<sup>r</sup> Lewis, p. 265.

“ cleerli and undoutabli, thou art in dampnacioun for that thou  
 “ conquerist not other men and the Chirche ; sithen it is proued  
 “ that thou maist so do, if it be trewe that thou canst prove  
 “ cleerli and undoutabli what thou pretendist & knowlechist  
 “ thee kunne so proue.” As to what Mr. Wharton says, of the  
 bishop’s disapproving, as well as confessing the use of too many  
*rites* and *ceremonies*, it may be proper to give the Author’s words,  
*Repress.* part iv. cap. 9.

“ Y hold this, that ouer greet multitude of mennys posityue  
 “ lawis oughten not to be maad ; but Prelatis and Princis  
 “ oughten be weel waar that ouer mayne posityue lawis be not  
 “ gouen to her peplis. For sotheli therof cometh causeli nedis  
 “ ful myche yuel more than y se men considere so to come. Of  
 “ whiche yvelis y desire in my herte for to haue leiser & space  
 “ to write my conseite ; whiche God graunte to be done. But  
 “ certis for to holde that it is unleeiful, or unexpedient eny suche  
 “ posityue lawis be maad & be gououn to the peple, is fer fro my  
 “ witt and my resoun.”

You may please to consider whether to add one book more to  
 the *promised* tracts. Mr. Wharton did not reckon this in the  
 Catalogue, nor have I.

Possibly, upon a little further view into these matters, I may  
 have a few more things to observe to you. If I think of any  
 thing material, it may make the subject of another letter. This  
 is crowded sufficiently already by,

Sir,

Your assured humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Oct. 17, 1724.

*To the Reverend Mr Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

Nº. V.

SIR,

I SEND you this by way of supplement to my last, to fill up  
 defects, or to correct mistakes. Please to correct the word  
*presupcioun*, and make it *presumpcioun*. I followed the MS. in  
 that place too closely : for I find that elsewhere there is a stroke  
 over the second syllable thus ; *presüpcioun*.

As to the note at the end of the Reprasser, having now narrowly viewed it, along with a judicious friend, I find the word to be *Lambith*. We were both agreed in this reading from a careful view of the letters: but afterwards, looking into Bishop Gibson's explication of places at the end of his Chronicon Saxonicum, and there finding that *Lamhithe* has been the ancient and common way of writing *Lambeth*; we were then sufficiently confirmed in it. If you have occasion to publish that note, you may give it thus, with full assurance. *Explicit coram Domino in Capella sua apud Lambith xi. Novembr. Anno Domini MCCOCLVII<sup>mo</sup>.*

I shall now proceed to give you a little deeper insight into Pæcock's principles, and the turn of his thoughts in relation to the disputes then on foot between the Church and the Lollards.

In the entrance to his Book of Faith<sup>a</sup>, he observes how fruitlessly many have endeavoured to reduce the Lollards by this principle: "that the Clergie or the Chirche of the Clergie may not erre in matere of feith." He disapproves of any further attempt of compassing the thing in that method, or by those means. His reasons, in brief, are these: 1. Because that principle has too much the appearance of improbability to be taken for granted. 2. Because many laymen of strong parts and high reputation will never tamely submit to any such principle. 3. Because a colourable opposition may be made against that principle from the writings of many celebrated Doctors. 4. Because this presupposing the infallibility of the Church appears extremely partial on the side of the Clergy, and sets the laity against them as being biassed, and not indifferent, judges in their own cause: and therefore to allegge the seid meene into erris of the seid lay-men, is not expedient into her conuersioun. After these preliminaries, he proceeds to open his own purpose and design, in these words:

"Wherefore y unworthiest, & yongist, & loughest of Prelatis  
 "—entende & purpos in this present book for to mete agens  
 "suche unobediencers bi an othere wey & in another maner, &  
 "bi meene which the lay personys wole admit & graunte;  
 "which meene is this: that we owen to bileeve & stond to sum  
 "seier or techer which may faile, while it is not knowe that thilk  
 "seier or techer therynne failith."

<sup>†</sup> Hence it appears that though the author never formally

<sup>a</sup> Lewis, pp. 200, 201.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid. pp. 294, 295.



asserts that the *Church may err* (much less that *it has erred*) in matter of faith; yet for argument sake, and in hopes to reduce the Lollards, he was willing to go upon that supposition that *the Church may err*, in his dispute with them; being confident that notwithstanding he should be able to cope with them, and to beat them at their own weapons. And this because they never had, never could prove, that the Church had actually erred in matter of faith.

“ Y dare wel this seie and avowe; and this reuerence y geue  
 “ to the Chirche in erthe, that whanne euer the Chirche of God  
 “ in erthe holdith eny article as feith, or hath determyned thilk  
 “ article to be feith, euery singular persooone of the same Chirche  
 “ (hou wise euer he be, and hou digne & worthi euer he be) is  
 “ bounden undir peyne of dampnacioun for to bileeue thilk same  
 “ article as feith, and so therynne for to obeie the Chirche, (yhe  
 “ though the Chirche therynne bileeued or determyned falseli or  
 “ amys,) but if he can euydentli, and openli, without eny doute,  
 “ schewe teche and declare that the Chirche bileeueth, or hath  
 “ determyned thilk article wrongli & untreuli; or ellis that the  
 “ Chirche hath no sufficient ground for to so bileeue or deter-  
 “ myne.” C. 7.

He insists however upon it over and over that it has not, and cannot be proved that the Church has erred in matter of faith; insomuch that supposing the Church really to err, yet she is excusable in so erring, and others inexcusable for disobeying her, because the Church has done all that was possible to guard herself against error; and if she at length be found to err, it must be resolved into invincible ignorance and incapacity.

“ If it so be that the Chirche errith in the maters into whiche  
 “ he is so bisi for to knowe aright, and that bi manye yeeris &  
 “ bi manye helpis of persoonys, and bi meenys leding into kun-  
 “ nyng aboue al that laymen mowe streeche to, the Chirche  
 “ muste nedis be excused of God: for whi the Chirche dooth al  
 “ that he can do therynne, and al that he may do therynne. For  
 “ whi he seeth not, *neither can se* where & hou he schulde seeke  
 “ ferther or better for to come into the trew kunnyng than he  
 “ now seeth. And wittingli & willingli he taketh not to him eny  
 “ lette, which he knoweth, to forbarre the wey into sufficientli to  
 “ be hadde trewe kunnyng.” Ch. 8.

The author therefore condemns all the ancient heretics, as well as the then modern Wiclivites, upon this principle, that

they could not *prove* their doctrines against the Church. “Noon  
“ of hem couthe proue that his opinioun, for whiche he agenstode  
“ his prelatiſ was trewe: as y wote wel undir greet perel of my  
“ ſoul for to ſeie.” Ch. 7.

I ſhall give you one paſſage more, which will diſcover the ſecrets of his heart or judgment as to the deference due to ſcripture, or to papal authority. In the *ſecond* part of his Dialogue, or Book of Faith, there is this objection put into the mouth of the *Sone* for the *Father* to answer.

“ The Pope geueth leue to a *bigam*, that is to a man that  
“ hath be twies weddid, for to be a *Dekens* & a *Preſt*, notwith-  
“ ſtanding that holi ſcripture forbedith it. 1 Tim. iii. Wherefore  
“ the *Clergie* of holi Chirche is worthier, myghtier, & of gretter  
“ auctorite than is *holi ſcripture*.” Chap. i. part 2.

The answer is, chap. iii. thus.

“ Summe parties of the ſeid ſcripture techen to us poſitiue  
“ ordinauncis of Criſt; as ben the Sacramentis: and ſumme  
“ parties therof techen to us ordinauncis of ſum Apoſtle; as the  
“ lawe of *bigamie*, &c.—The Pope that now is may diſpenſe with  
“ it that ſcripture techith as the ordinaunce of an Apoſtle, and  
“ may *revoke* it—bicauſe that the Pope is of liik auctorite &  
“ of jureſdiction with ech, or *with the grettist of the Apoſtliſ*.  
“ Yitt herof ſolewith not that the Clergie now livyng or the  
“ Pope now livyng may diſpenſe with this that ſcripture techith  
“ as the poſitiue ordinaunce of Criſt, or that he may reuoke eny  
“ of tho ordinauncis: forwhi, ſo reuoke or diſpenſe myghte noon  
“ of the Apoſtles.”

\*This is plain enough: and ſo we may obſerve that it was with ſome diſtinction and qualification, that this author allowed *ſcripture* to be the *primary* or *only* rule of faith and manners. And to me it ſeems that Mr. Wharton has written rather too favourably of this author, as being more of a Protestant than he really was: though all things conſidered, the ſteps he made towards it are worthy of much commendation.

Mr. Wharton’s translation of a paſſage from the Repreſſer, part iii. c. 15. wants ſome correction, for which reaſon I will tranſcribe part of the original, ſcoring the words underneath where I think the translation faulty.

“ What euer deede eny Apoſtle, or his writing *allowith* to be

<sup>u</sup> Lewis, p. 286, 287.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. p. 287.

“ in a prestis moral conuersacioun, thilke same deede is not  
 “ agens resoun to be in the same prestis moral conuersacioun :  
 “ for ellis the Apostle and his writing schulde *reule* agens resoun,  
 “ which is not to be grauntid. But so it is that this deede a  
 “ preste & ech other Cristen man, for to frely receyue, take, &  
 “ uce, alle maners of metis, and all maners of drinkis, into his  
 “ suffiience, with thankngis to God, holi Writt weel allowith,  
 “ as it is open 1 Tim. iv. 4.—Also this deede, a prest for to  
 “ freli take and chese of alle maidens to him a wiif, (so that he  
 “ wedde not of the newe *eftsoone*, if his first wiif die him lyuyng,)  
 “ & for to bigete children, and for to have *meyne*, and *holde*  
 “ *house*, and for to nurische and bringe up hise children, and for  
 “ to reule his wiif, *meyne*, and children, and for to purveie for hem  
 “ was allowed of Poul, and bi liik skile of the other Apostlis ;  
 “ as is open of Poul bi what is writtū.” 1 Cor. vii.

I shall take no notice here of Mr. Wharton's misunderstanding the word *meyne* twice, as if it signified the same with the English *means*, or possessions ; nor of one or two more slight inaccuracies : but his rendering *eftsoone* in that place by *statim* is wrong, and suggests a meaning very different from what the author intended. For Pecok never meant to say, that St. Paul allowed *second* marriages of the Clergy, as that rendering intimates, where nothing is guarded against but a Clergyman's marrying *statim*, or *soon*, after the decease of his first wife. The author's meaning undoubtedly was to this effect ; *so that he marry not again afterwards* ; and that is there the meaning of *eftsoone*. All the author's examples or authorities, afterwards cited, reach no further than *single* marriages of the Clergy : and you may see, in the quotation above, that according to Pecock, St. Paul had forbidden *second* marriages in the Clergy, but that the Pope might *revoke* the prohibition, as having *equal* authority.

I shall be very glad to see such a history as you design by way of introduction. It will be very proper, and very seasonable. I am sorry you have not some friend at Oxford to give you some brief general account of Bury's Treatise against Pecock, which would be highly serviceable, and give light to his life and story. Are you acquainted with Dr. Felton, Principal of Edmund Hall ? He is a man of great humanity, and a lover of letters. I am persuaded he would readily do such a service, if application were made in a proper manner. But this I leave you to consider of. I could never get any further intelligence about

Dr. Tarentinus : only that I have reason to believe that he is the same man with Petrus de Tarentasia, otherwise called Innocent the Fifth.

The sense of *undernyme* in our author is clear, though we had no other voucher. But what you cite from Chaucer confirms it. Mr. Hearne's Glossary gives another meaning to the word : I wish he had referred oftener to the places in the book itself, that the reader might judge for himself. His Glossary however is a very useful one, and one of the best I have seen.

But it would have been still better, had he had the good fortune to meet with a MS. here in Trinity College, which he was in quest of ; and which by diligent search I have at length found, and intimated as much to his friends, that he may let the world have the benefit of it in a second edition. The copy that Mr. Hearne printed from is a very faulty one, and taken by some ignorant scribe, that had no ear for metre, having (besides other faults) disturbed and blundered the measures all the way through. Robert of Gloucester was not such a hobbling rhymist as that copy makes him, but a strict observer of measure.

By the way, now I am mentioning this author, I wonder how the Editor, so conversant in the language, came to stumble at a very easy place in p. 118. In his Notes, and in his Glossary, he raises strange speculations upon the word (for one word it is) *fairhede* ; that is, *fairness*, beauty ; and the very Latin word, *decorem*, which he cites, might have hinted the thing to him. Most of our abstract words, which we now terminate in *ness*, at that time had the termination of *hede* : *yonghede*, for youthfulness or youth ; *lutherhede*, for lutherness ; *wrechede* for wretchedness : and I have seen in old MSS. *derkhede* for darkness, with numberless other words of like kind. But enough of this. I design, God willing, to take up my winter quarters in London some time next month. If any thing calls you thither during my stay there, forget not to call at St. Austin's, where you will be gladly received by,

Sir,

Your assured humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Oct. 22, 1724.

To the Reverend Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.

N<sup>o</sup>. VI.*St. Austin's, Nov. 26, 1724.*

REVEREND SIR,

THOUGH I have not had time so much as to read a page of either of your kind presents, yet I cannot any longer defer my acknowledgments for them. I shall read them, I am sure, with a great deal of satisfaction, as soon as my leisure permits, and before I may have occasion to write again. What relates to Oxford, will take time to consider of here, or to execute there. I must inform you, that before the receipt of yours, Mr. Wheatly (who is a good-natured man, and means very well) had been conferring with me about it. I know what you have written to him since, (for he shewed me both your letters to him,) but I thought it prudent to conceal from him what you had written to me; nor indeed did I think it proper to take the least notice that I had heard from you at this time.

I am endeavouring therefore to bring things back to the state they were before in. I told him, I verily believed that the person meant in your letter was myself, and that it proceeded from my mentioning Dr. Felton in a letter to you: so that notwithstanding, Mr. Wheatly and I might go on in consulting upon the case as before.

We were thinking of Dr. Haywood, (a person whom I have been extremely obliged to in that kind,) of St. John's College. No man more fit to undertake such a business, if we can handsomely engage him in it. I gave Mr. Wheatly leave to use my name in it, and to break the matter to him with as much address as he could. This is the course we have almost concluded upon, but have not yet executed. I can make trial, if the first fails, by Dr. Felton. But my acquaintance with him is very young; and I am somewhat scrupulous about it, not knowing how he stands inclined to such kind of business, though a very kind and good man, and a man of learning. Please to leave this matter a while in suspense with me. I will take the best care I can about it. I suspect that Bury's *Responsio* is a large book: and therefore I shall not directly ask to have it copied, but rather to have some general account of it first. I remember Oudin's calling it *opus grande*, though I forget at present from whence he had his information.

As to the Earl of Clarendon's MSS. there are no such in the

Library of the Royal Society that I can find : I was there this day to make search. Did not Arundel run in your mind, and the similitude of the sound occasion your thought about Clarendon ? What you are pleased to hint about the publishing Wickliff's Testament, I will consider of, and give you my thoughts of it another time. If you make any glossary to Pecock, (which perhaps is needless,) I can furnish you with authors enough for the sense of *undernyme*, the same with his. By the way, Mr. Hearne widely mistook it in his Glossary, where he explains it by *ex-communicated*, see his book, p. 368. in the prose part. I have company with me, and write in haste. I am heartily sorry for your illness, and am,

Good Sir,

Your obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

*To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

N<sup>o</sup>. VII.

REVEREND SIR,

I AM very sorry to hear of your so frequent returns of illness. I am afraid you have too much fatigue in your large cure, or else sit too close to your private studies. Give me leave to hint a caution to you (such as I have dearly wanted myself formerly) against night study, and against studying soon after your great meal. Possibly you may want no such caution : but excuse my over officious concern for you.

I am willing to acquaint you what I have been doing, though nothing is yet brought to perfection. Mr. Wheatly, poor man, has been so fully taken up with attending his sick wife, that I could not have his company for more than a minute or two at a time, and could do no business with him. She is since dead, very lately : and he is now in his mourning retirement, shut up from all but particular acquaintance and relations. I wrote to Dr. Felton, who received my letter in Hampshire, and upon his return to College sent me a very kind and good answer, containing a promise to look into the MSS. the first opportunity, and

to send me such an account as I desired. I modestly asked no more than a short general account of them, thinking it might suffice, at least for the present : and I could not handsomely ask more of a person with whom my acquaintance is yet but slender. When I receive his account, you shall hear again from me ; and we may then consider what to do further.

I have entered some references about the word *undernyme*, in the margin of my Robert of Gloucester. The books from whence I took them are all in Pepys's library at Magdalen College. I can procure you extracts of them at large in due time, if you desire it. In the mean while please to take this brief account. The old sense of the word in Robert of Gloucester's times is as Mr. Hearne represents in the word *undernom*. I will give you one instance out of Robert of Gloucester himself, according to the reading of the MS. in Trin. College. Please to turn to p. 239 of the print, the third and fourth lines read thus :

And be ifolled in holy water and to Cristendom eu gime  
ge mowe sauflyche that holy thing, as he dude, undernyme.

Such probably was the constant sense of *undernyme* in that age. But afterwards it came to signify the same as the Latin *corripere*, to reprove, blame, rebuke, &c. One instance whereof you found in Chaucer. Another you may find in Piers Plowman, f. 61. It is several times so used in a printed book, entitled The Chastising of God's Children, published, I think, soon after printing here. I observed it twice in a MS. Chronicle a little older, I conceive, than Bp. Peacock. But the oldest instance I have met with, is of the year 1388, in Wimbledon's Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, manuscript. But the sermon is in print too, though scarce to be met with. Wimbledon translates the text in the second of Timothy as Peacock does, and there uses the word *undernyme* more than once in his comment upon it. I observed also in Wiclif's MS. Gospels, the word *withnyme* for *corripere*, as well as the other. These authorities I can send you, when I return to College : or if you shall want them sooner, I can direct a friend where to find them at Magdalen College, and desire him to send them up to me.

I am sorry you have met with ill treatment for deserving very highly of the public, in your Life of Wiclif. But there is no

accounting for the madness of parties. That spirit is however daily wearing off, with the hopes of a Popish successor. And your labours against Popish counsels and measures will, I doubt not, grow in repute, as fast as those airy schemes sink and dwindle.

I do not forget what you hinted in your last but one, about the printing of Wiclif's Testament. I could heartily wish for such a thing: and could I find a proper person to undertake the laborious part of transcribing, would readily join in promoting so good a work. We have in our College, in Pepys's library, two very fair and old copies of that which commonly goes under the name of Wiclif, and is annexed to his Bible in Emanuel College copy. This I call the second edition, because, upon comparing, I am fully satisfied that it is later than the other copy of the New Testament, which we have in our old library in the same College: and yet the two copies are much alike, and so nearly the same, that it is plain enough that the one was taken from the other. I shall consider further of this matter at leisure. As to the letter, should such a thing be resolved on, I think the black letter, such as Mr. Hearne has chosen, and retaining two of the Saxon letters, as the MSS. do, would appear best. But I should herein be determined by advice of friends.

Mr. Hearne's Robert of Gloucester is a book I have taken some pains with, having collated it all the way through (so far as they go on together, that is to King Stephen) with the Trin. Coll. MS. and noted all the considerable variations. Indeed, the differences are very considerable every where, as to the metre, and spelling, and often as to the sense. This he could not help; it was the fault of his copy. Had he had the better copy, he would have found *i* instead of *e*, at the end of verbs especially, which would have fixed the pronunciation. As p. 239, verse the eighth, for *grante* the MS. has *graunti*: p. 334, ult. for *skere* read *skeri*, and so in a multitude of other places. I have noted some mistakes in Mr. H.'s Glossary, owing to his bad copy, and his taking upon him to guess at the sense of a word (a fictitious word sometimes) from the context only, without further authority. To give a few instances, *abowes* (p. 475,) he construes *abbats*. Whatever the word be, it is plain from all the Latin historians, as well as from the reason of the thing,



that it there stands for *sanctis patronis*, and should be rather *avows*, that is, patrons; as *avowson* is patronage. I have a MS. legend which has the same verses in it, and reads *voves* in that place. *Antuo*, a corrupt fictitious word, p. 431, 432. read *one to-name*, with the MS. *To-name*, a very proper expression of *agnomen*, or *sur-name*. *Anye*, p. 168. Mr. H. guesses well, *nine*: yet that is not exact. The MS. reads *O nyse*, one nine.

*Bryde*, p. 207. a corruption for *buzde*; but he guessed the sense.

*Croune of*, a corruption for *corue of*, p. 208.

*Dorre* or *durre*, he explains by *durst*; where he mistakes the sense, see p. 457, 458. It signifies the same with *tharf*, that is, *need*, or *needs*: as the Dutch *dorven* answers to the Saxon *beappan*. The Trin. MS. accordingly has *tharf* in the first page, verse the fourth, instead of *durre*.

*Ekyn*, p. 165. nothing but a corruption of *ek eny*.

*Fairhede* I mentioned formerly. Besides the MS. of Trin. Coll. I have since seen the word *fairhede*, or *fayrhede*, for beauty, in other MSS.

*Lyste*, p. 279. a fictitious word for *lyfte*, the firmament. Trin. MS. reads in that place *lofte*, and another which I have seen reads *left*.

*Ney*, or *a ney*, an egg, well guessed. But *ey*, not *ney*, is the word for an egg. The MS. reads *on ey*, p. 404.

*Matresche*, p. 344. corrupt for *in a treche*.

*Roters*, *eradicatores*, p. 297. there, I believe, he is mistaken. *Rutur* is the Islandic word for a *ram*: and my countrymen in Lincolnshire have the word *rutting* to this day; and *rutting time* is a phrase well understood there. Hence *rotors* (as the MS. reads it) is used to signify any that run madly and wildly about. This I speak by conjecture: but such as is confirmed by the use of the word in *Piers Plowman*, fol. 26, 58, and some MSS. which I have dipped into.

*Vazt*, p. 253. a fictitious word for *nagt*.

These are the principal slips that I have yet observed in Mr. Hearne's Glossary. Nevertheless he has deserved well of the public in his performance, and ought to have his due commendation, provided he be but reasonably candid towards others. You will hear from me again as soon as I have any news from Oxford. I still hope you will be well enough to see the town

before I leave it. It is no compliment to assure you, that I shall be extremely glad to see you at St. Austin's whenever your affairs may permit.

I am, Sir,

Your affectionate humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

St. Austin's, Dec. 19, 1724.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

N<sup>o</sup>. VIII.

*• Caxton's Chron. 1480 printed.*

AN. M.CCCCLVII. In this yere Raynold Pecok Bishop of Chichestre was founden an heretike, and the iii day of Decembre was abjured at Lambhyte in the presence of the Erchebishopp of Caunterbury and many Bishoppes and Douctours, and Lordes temporall, and his bookes brent at Poulis Crosse.

*Fabian's Chron. written about 1500, printed An. 1559.*

Note, that he begins the year at Michaelmas.

M.CCCCLVIII. In this yeare, and the iii day of December, Reynolde Pecok then being Bishop of Chichester, at Lambith by y<sup>e</sup> Archbishop and by a Cot of Divines was abjured for an heretike, and his bokes after brent at Paules Crosse, and himself kept in mewe ever while he lyved after, p. 463.

*MS. History of England from Will. Rufus to H. 8. 1540.*

He begins the year as Fabian does.

M.CCCCLVIII. 36. H. VI.

In the xxxvi yeare, and the third day of Decembre One Reynolde Peacoke beinge the Bishoppe of Chechester, At Lambeth, by y<sup>e</sup> Archebishoppe and a Coote of Diuines, Was abjured for ane heretike, and frome Gods worde repines : His bookes brent at Paulis Cross, he in Newgate kept All hys liffe after, for the heresyes he had hept.

\* This letter has no date, unless it be July 8, 1725. It seems, however, properly to follow that of Dec. 19, 1724, and to be immediately introductory to that of July 18, 1725, which resumes the subject adverted to at the close of this letter.

N. B. Here is a material difference between Fabian's *Mewe*, and this author's *Newgate*. I suppose the last is a blunder. Hall, in his Chronicle, says, the Bishop was confined in his *awne house*, as says Grafton also, who transcribes Hall.

As to the old grammar, it has this naked title, *Donatus pro pueris*<sup>f</sup>, in the first page: and in the last page, *Richard Pynson*, without any date. Then follows an *accedence*, which word is the running title. At the end this note, in the same letter or character, *Prynted at Westmynstre in Caxtons hous by Wynkyn de Worde*. The next piece bound up with the former is, *Libellulus, que informatio puerorum appellatur*. It is a Grammar, and in English. At the end, *Emprented by Richard Pynson*, without date. Then follows another tract entitled *Introductoriiu Lingue Latine*. The date of this is fixed by these words in the second page, *Nos sumus in Anno Salutis M.CCCCXCV*. But I am not certain who the printer was. Perhaps it might be Caxton. The mark at the end is  $\mathfrak{W}^fC$  or something like it. Upon this stricter revisal, I can only say, that the *Donatus* was printed by *Pynson*: I was too hasty in fixing the date to 1495, which occurs only in this smaller tract bound up with it.

I have now found out the reason of the title *Donatus pro pueris*, affixed to the first piece. That piece is an abridgment of a treatise ascribed to Bede, which stands first in his printed works, and has this title; *Cunabula Grammaticæ Artis Donati*, as also *Artium Donati Liber*. In short, it is Donatus's own grammar, put out by Bede, according to the best copies he could get: and this other *Donatus* is an abridgment of it, or extract from it. One particular grammar having thus got the name of *Donatus* from its author, the name at length became a general name for a grammar, and from thence has been further extended to signify any enchiridion, or introductory manual to any art, science, or profession. I do not doubt but the *Donati pro puerulis*, of which you make mention, were so many copies of *Donatus's* Grammar, or of *Donatus* abridged in like manner as in the piece I spoke of. And they were called *Donatus's* much in the same way as we should speak of so many *Terences*, or *Virgils*, meaning so many

<sup>f</sup> This inquiry into the work so entitled appears to be intended to illustrate the meaning of the title to one of Pecoock's tracts, called "The *Donet* " into Christen Religioun;" denoting

it to be an *introductory* treatise, similar to the *Accedence*, or *Grammar*, by *Donatus*, for the instruction of children, *Donatus pro pueris*.

copies of their works. But I have said more than enough upon a plain case, though not plain to me till now lately upon examining into it. I find a remark in Bayle's Dictionary, p. 53, under the name *Accursius*, that *Donatus's* Grammar on vellum, with another book entitled *Confessionalia*, were the first books printed by *John Faust* of Mentz, 1450. The truth of the fact seems to stand on the credit of *Accursius*, who entered the remark upon the first leaf of one of the Grammars. Other accounts differ from this, as I find in *Oudin's Commentarius*, &c. vol. iii. p. 2743. And because probably you have not the book, I will transcribe some periods.

Cornelius a Beughem Embricensis, de incunabulis Tygographiæ p. 54. his verbis &c. "Donatus, non autoris sed libri cujusdam titulus: estque institutio Grammatices, *Harlemi* ligno foliatim incisa, ibidemque circa Annum Xti 1440 edita, et sic conglutinata, Teste *Scriverio* Tractatu de Arte Typographica, quæ vulgo Artis Typographicæ, primum specimen habetur."

Verum istud incertum est, nam præfatæ Grammaticæ, seu *Donati* istius, nec Annus, nec Locus Editionis designatur.

Angelus Roccha, in *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, tradit, *Aldum junio-rem* monstrasse sibi *Donatum quendam*, primo fere impressum, in cujus prima pagina *Mariangelus Accursius* sequentia scripsit: *impressus est autem hic Donatus et Confessionale* primo omnium, an. 1450. Idem habet Cornelius a Beughem &c.—Verum sive *Donatus* ille, seu Grammatica *Alexandri Dolensis*, vel, de villa *Dei*, anno 1442 impressa sit, ut scribit *Adrianus junius*, sive anno 1450, ut habent *Angelus Roccha* et *Cornelius a Beughem* locis allatis &c.—Longe autem probabilius est nullam aliam hujus Grammaticæ *Alexandri de villa Dei* impressionem *Mogunticæ* factam esse, quam, anno 1462. ut tradit *Cornelius a Beughem*—verbo *Alexander Dolensis*, p. 9.

I cannot but take notice of the words *Donatus, non autoris, sed libri cujusdam titulus*. Why might not *Donatus* be the title of the book and the name of the author too? I think, it is not doubted but that the Grammar in Bede, and put out by Putscius, among other old Grammarians, belongs to *Ælius Donatus*, the famous Grammarian, who was St. Jerome's preceptor in that art. Unless perhaps some may suspect that the Grammar got the title of *Donatus* from the use of the name *Donatus* frequently in it. For this I observe in the reading of it, that the name *Donatus* is the example given of a *proper name*. And there it is

asked, whether *Donatus* be a *comparative* or otherwise, of what *gender* and *number*, and the like. I doubt whether *Donatus* himself would thus have made use of his own name for the *example* all along. But possibly he might, among his scholars, and without breach of modesty. Once more let me take leave of this subject.

Having cited some MS. verses above, I have a mind to offer you a conjecture about the unknown author. Bishop Nicolson in his *English Historical Library*, (p. 69. second edit.) after speaking of Fabian, says, "Cardinal Woolsey's menial servant" (John Skuish, Squisius, or Squisus) is reported to have "compiled a notable epitome of our Chronicles about the year 1530. But I am not able to direct the reader where to meet "with it."

He refers to Bale and Pitts. I have consulted Bale, but have not Pitts by me. Had the Chronicler spoken of been mentioned as a poet or rhymer, I should have readily concluded that this is the man, and this the chronicle. He has an epilogue at the end, which he entitles, *Ane Lenvoy to his iiii Volumes*. The last stanza runs thus.

O noble princes, with hole harte and enteaere,  
 Lyfte up youre curragies; and holde y<sup>s</sup> no fable:  
 Though ye sitt hye, conceyve with good chere  
 No worldely lordeshippe in eearthe is perdurable:  
 And sithe ye be of nature and witte reasonable,  
 Amonge thinges remembre, as thyng most necessary,  
 The high falle of the Archebishoppe Cardynall Wolsy.

Who so likely to have the Cardinal so fresh and strong upon his mind, as one that had been among his retainers? But this is a conjecture, and may be further looked into at leisure.

I shall be very glad to see your *History of our Liturgy*, and to examine it with all the care and exactness I can, while I have

‡ This subject is resumed in the next letter. It appears from Mr. Masters's *Hist. of C.C.C.* that this work was written in 1723, in 394 pages, with a large Appendix, and was sold by Thomas Pain to Mr. Calamy, for 1*l.* 1*s.* No reason is assigned why it has not been printed.

How well qualified Dr. Waterland was to assist in such a design, is evident from the *Notes upon Wheatly's* book, which will be found in this edition of his works; and also from the judicious observations which occur in the letter that follows this.

leisure and proper books about me. I am confident you have no intent but to speak the truth; nor shall I have any other intent, while searching into the same thing. Mistakes may, and will sometimes happen to all: and it is a pleasure among friends, when any slip is discovered, to undeceive one another. For my own part, when I undertake any work, my main ambition is, that it may be as complete, accurate, and perfect as the nature of the thing will admit. And if after it has gone through my hands, it receives any additional improvement or correction from friends, I look upon the gains as mine; as much as if any one had built upon my ground, or enriched my estate, or added to my furniture, and I receive it with the like pleasure. For what do we in reading books, but gather from the *dead* as much as we can, to furnish out a stock of our own? and if by the help of the *living* and *dead* too, we may chance to improve it the more, our industry either way appears equally useful, and equally commendable.

I am, good Sir,  
Your obliged Friend and faithful Servant,  
DAN. WATERLAND.

Magd. Coll. July 8, 1725.

*To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

N<sup>o</sup>. IX.

SIR,

I OUGHT to acknowledge the receipt of your History, and to thank you for it, though I have not had time to look far into it. It is a large book, as I now perceive: and perhaps my time here will scarce allow me to give it all the examination which may be due to it, much less to write observations corrective for it, or supplemental to it. I have gone a little way into your introduction, and have skimmed over some parts of the History itself, in order to get a general view of your design. When I have leisure, I shall peruse the whole with some care, and doubt not but to meet with a great deal of useful instruction. But whether I shall have time to make any observations upon the several parts, and to commit them to writing, I know not. So far as I can judge from a transient view, your History is more exact than your introduction:

perhaps you made the History your more especial care, and threw in the introduction as a by-work of less concern, and not deserving to have much time spent upon it. I will frankly tell you what thoughts I have of it. You seem to me to date the beginning of the gradual corruptions too high, and to lay the primitive churches under a disadvantageous character which they do not deserve. You do them an injury in straining things too far to make them as like Popery as you can: and it is complementing the Papists too far to allow them so much of primitive precedents, which they really want. I will shew you what I mean by a detail of particulars.

P. 2. "In the fourth century, or fifth, when Christians grew "wanton." Here your charge is general upon the Christian churches of those centuries: and you charge them with *wantonness*, nay and *forgery* too, in respect to their Liturgies. For my part, I know of no *written* Liturgies so early, except Basil's, or Chrysostom's (to be collected out of his works), and I am satisfied that the composers of Liturgies in those ages were the wisest and best men of those times, and were under a necessity of doing what they did, to correct the growing *wantonness*, either of the populace, or of indiscreet Clergy that were not fit to be trusted with so weighty an affair. And this was the reason of what you mention from St. Austin, of the orders made that no prayers should be used in the Church but with the common advice of the Bishops. A wise and wholesome order, such as was highly necessary upon the increase of the Church. And the Bishops that laboured in modelling and settling proper Liturgies should be commended for it. As to the Pseudonymous Liturgies you speak of, they were none of them of such early date: besides that the compilers of them (whoever they were) could certainly have no design to recommend them as the works or compositions of those Apostles, &c. whose names they bear. All they meant was, to remind the people, by the names of their Liturgies, of the Founders of their respective Churches: as the Church of Jerusalem, by St. James, of Antioch by St. Peter, of Æthiopia by St. Matthew, of Alexandria by St. Mark, of Ephesus by St. John. It is plain from the whole tenor of those Liturgies, that the compilers could have no design to make them pass for the works of those whose names they bear: they could not be so stupid, when every page almost discovers that the Liturgy is later, even to the meanest capacity. There is no

*forgery* in the case ; but those Liturgies were the Liturgies of the Oriental churches, in the middle or later ages.

The oldest of them cannot be proved to reach higher up than the seventh century : most of them appear to be as late as the ninth or tenth ; or cannot, by any certain evidence, be proved to be more ancient.

Under correction therefore, I think you introduce them too soon, and make an argument from them which will not bear. I need not mention that your hints of their novelty is not full enough : Fabricius, in his edition of them, (Codex Apocryp. N. T. pars Tertia,) is much more complete. You might have named the Ephesine Council, as well as Constantinople : but the latter you place in A. D. 336, instead of A. D. 381, meaning, I suppose, another Council, which is better placed in 325.

Give me leave to say, that I should have liked your introduction better, if, instead of pointing your satire entirely against one extreme, you had stated the due and proper medium between foppery on one hand, and slovenliness on the other. I am persuaded that a just apology may be made for the fourth or fifth age, upon the foot of decency, comeliness, and a proper solemnity due to sacred and high things. And though philosophers might be content with the most naked simplicity, the generality of the populace must have something of outward pomp and solemn form, to raise in them a proper awe, veneration, and reverence. The Romanists have carried it to an excess with a witness, and have made their offices ridiculous, rather than grave or solemn. But I think the churches of the fourth or fifth age are far from that character, as far as our own is, or any of the Reformed Churches. As to some things indeed which were of primitive use, and left off by the Reformers, they were proper enough, all circumstances considered, at the time they were used. But change of times and circumstances make them not proper now. I would not have them absolutely condemned, nor those primitive Churches ridiculed on account of them. Nor was the *Disciplina Arcani*, all things considered, either superstitious or without its use, while the world was mostly Pagan, and the generality of Christians not able to cope with Pagan wit and drollery. But to speak at large of this matter would carry me too far.

You will give me leave to say, that you seem to represent the primitive churches in their worst light, and not to take in such



considerations as would quite alter the face of the representation. You take advantage of the weak author of the Apostolical Constitutions, and say, "They had no better a reason," meaning the primitive Christians, instead of saying *he*. And yet you do not do him justice; for Deut. xxvii. 9. is quoted only in favour of a reverential *silence*: and the text. as it lies in the LXX. is full to his purpose. And as to chap. v. 31. if represented entire, it would appear tolerable.

What you have, p. 7, about the reason given for *fasting before Baptism*, is not strictly fair, nor is the author quite so ridiculous as your representation makes him. However it be, it is but just to distinguish between the churches in general, and one trifling nameless author, and a manifest impostor. Wiser men upon the same ceremonies would have said, and have said, wiser things. Upon the whole, my opinion is that the practice and usages of the fourth and fifth centuries will bear a better colour, and deserve a more candid treatment. I would have all corruptions of Popery exposed, as much as you please: and the lower you date them (when there is no necessity of dating them higher) the more you expose them. If your first eight or nine pages were altered, or struck out, I should have nothing to except against the rest. Corruption came on fast enough in the eighth century, and crept into the Liturgies daily more and more till the time of the Reformation. And so it was high time to castigate the Liturgies, and to reduce them nearly to the standard of the fourth and fifth and sixth ages; the properest model for us, because our circumstances are most like theirs, and their Liturgies were formed upon their then present circumstances, as well as human wisdom could form them.

Enough has been said of the first part of your introduction. The remainder, I doubt not, will please me much better. But as I have only dipped cursorily into it, I shall say no more now, but reserve it for another time. You will take in good part the frankness I use with you; or perhaps you expect it of me.

If you are of another judgment, or disapprove these remarks, you are at full liberty to reject them, without the least offence to me, and to abide by your own first sentiments. I aim at nothing but to serve truth and you.

I believe I have at length found out Dr. Tarentinus, but cannot be positive for want of further searches. You will find in

Cave, Johannes Tarentinus, a famous man of the fifteenth century, who flourished A. D. 1432. He, very probably, is your man. The disputes in the Councils of Basil and Ferrara might occasion his speaking of the Creeds. But I have not yet consulted the *Councils* to see what occurs there. And I have almost forgot what it was that you told me of him. In your next you may please to refresh my memory on that head.

I am, Sir,

Your most assured and faithful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Magd. Coll. July 18, 1725.

*To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

N<sup>o</sup>. X.

<sup>h</sup> PECOK takes notice of a false position of some that bore too hard upon the Clergy : which position, in his words, is as follows, part i. c. 1.

“ That no gouernaunce is to be holde, of Cristen men, the  
“ seruice, or the lawe of God, saue it which is groundid in holi  
“ Scripture of the Newe Testament, (as summe of the bifore-seid  
“ men holden,) or namelich save it which is groundid in the  
“ Newe Testament or in the Oold, and is not bi the Newe Tes-  
“ tament reouked, as summe othere of hem holden.”

*Pecok's opposite positions, c. 2.*

“ <sup>1</sup>It longith not to holi Scripture, neither it is his office, into  
“ which God hath him ordeyned, neither it is his part for to  
“ gronde eny gouernaunce, or decde, or seruice of God, or eny  
“ lawe of God, or eny trouthe which mannis resoun bi nature may  
“ fynde, learne, and knowe.”

*Pecok's Reasons in brief.*

1. Scripture does not contain all that is necessary for the clearing or supporting of moral virtues, and therefore is not properly the foundation on which they stand :—“ there mai no thing be  
“ fundament and ground of a wal, or of a tree, or of an hous,

<sup>h</sup> Lewis, p. 64.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. pp. 67—71.

“ save it upon which the al hool substaunce of the wal, or of the  
 “ tree, or of the hous stondith, and out of which oonly the wal,  
 “ tree, or hous cometh.” c. 2.

2. That is properly the foundation, which is alone sufficient  
 for the purpose, as natural reason in this case is. “ Al the leern-  
 “ yng and knowing, which holi Scripture geueth upon eny  
 “ bifore-seid gouernaunce, deede, or trouthe of Goddis moral  
 “ lawe, mai be had bi doom of natural resoun, ghe though holi  
 “ Writt had not spoke therof,” &c. c. 3.

2. The law of reason obtained from the time of Adam, and  
 long before any positive laws were given, or any scriptures writ-  
 ten. “ This lawe was whanne neither of the Newe neither of  
 “ the Oold Testament the writing was, and that fro the tyme of  
 “ Adam,” &c. c. 4.

4. The most that scripture does, is only to remind, exhort,  
 stir up, command, or counsel to the practice of moral virtue :  
 which supposes the thing to have been before known. “ For he  
 “ biddith a man to be meke, and he techith not bifore what  
 “ mekenes is : he biddith a man be pacient, and yit he not  
 “ bifore techith what paciencie is : and so forth of eech vertu of  
 “ Goddis lawe, wharfore no such seid gouernaunce, or uertu, or  
 “ trouthe, is to be seid groundid in holi scripture, no more than  
 “ it oughte be seid if a Bischop woulde sende a pistle or a lettre  
 “ to peple of his dioicise, and theryn wolde remembre hem,  
 “ exorte hem, and stire hem, and bidde hem, or counseile hem  
 “ for to kepe certeyn moral vertues,” &c. c. 5.

He has a fifth and sixth argument, much to the same purpose  
 with the fourth. Enough has been given in order to take his  
 true and full meaning. In the conclusion he has a coarse com-  
 parison, which however sets forth his notion in a lively way, and  
 is worth the transcribing for the testimony it bears to an old  
 custom on Midsummer-eve.

“ Seie to me, good Sire, and answeere herto : whanne men of  
 “ the cuntree uplond bringen into Londoun in Mydsommer-eue  
 “ braunches of trees fro Bischopis wode, and flouris fro the feeld,  
 “ and bitaken tho to citeseins of Londoun forto therwith araie her  
 “ housis, schulen men of Londoun receyuyng and taking tho braun-  
 “ chis and flouris, seie and holde that tho braunchis grewen out  
 “ of the cartis whiche broughten hem to Londoun, and that tho  
 “ cartis, or the hondis of the bringers weren groundis and fun-  
 “ damentis of tho braunchis and flouris ? Goddis forbode so litel

“ witt be in her hedis. Certis though Crist and his Apostlis  
 “ weren now lyuyng at Londoun, and wolde bringe, so as is now  
 “ seid, braunchis fro Bischopis wode, and flouris fro the feeld  
 “ into Londoun, and wolden delyuere to men, that thei make  
 “ therewith her housis gay, into remembraunce of Seint Johnn  
 “ Baptist, and of this that it was prophecied of him, that manye  
 “ schulden joie in his burthe; yet tho men of Londoun, receyuyng  
 “ so tho braunchis and flouris, oughten not seie and feele that  
 “ tho braunchis and flouris grewen out of Cristis hondis, and  
 “ out of the Apostlis hondis—the braunchis grewen out of the  
 “ bowis upon whiche thei in Biscopis wode stoden, and tho bowis  
 “ grewen out of stockis or tronchons, and the tronchons or schaf-  
 “ tis grewen out of the roote, and the roote out of the next  
 “ erthe thereto, upon whiche and in whiche the roote is buried.  
 “ So that neither the cart, neither the hondis of the bringers,  
 “ neither tho bringers ben the groundis or fundamentis of tho  
 “ braunchis.” c. 6.

He has some other as low comparisons, and some blunt ex-  
 pressions, which might perhaps give offence: but his meaning  
 appears to be sound and good all the way, being no more than  
 this, that the law of nature is prior to all scripture, and there-  
 fore not grounded thereupon: though its rules and precepts  
 may, in part, be conveyed to us thereby, and not so fully as by  
 rational searches, and deep study.

\* The secunde principal Conclusioun and trouthe is this:

Though it perteyne not to holi scripture for to grounde eny  
 natural or moral gouernaunce or trouthe, into whos fyndyng,  
 leernyng, and knowing mannis resoun may bi him silf and bi  
 natural help com, as it is open now bifore—yit it mai perteyne  
 weel ynough to holi scripture, that he reherce such now-seid  
 gouernauncis and treuthis, and that he wisse hem, as grounded  
 sumwhere ellis in the lawe of kinde or doom of mannis resoun:  
 and so he dooth, as to ech reder thereyn it mai be opene, that  
 bi thilk rehercing, and witnessyng so doon bi holi scripture to  
 men, tho men schulden be bothe remembrid, stirid, prouokid,  
 and exortid forto the rather performe and fulfille tho same so  
 rehercid and witnessid gouernauncis and trouthis. part i. c. 7.

The iii principal Conclusioun is this:

The hool office and werk into which God ordeyned holy scrip-

\* Lewis, pp. 71—73.

ture, is forto<sup>1</sup> grounde artielis of feith, and forto reherce and witnessse moral trouthis of lawe of kind grounded in moral philosophie; that is to seie, in doom of resoun, that the reders be remembrid, stirid, and exortid bi so miche the better, and the more, and the sooner forto fulfill hem. Of whiche artielis of feith summe ben not lawis, as these: that God made heuen and erthe in the bigynnyng of tyme; and that Adam was the firste man, and Eue was the firste womman; and that Moises ladde the peple of Israel out of Egypt; and that Zacharie was fadir and Elizabeth was modir of Johnn Baptist; and that Crist fastid xl daies, and so forth of many like. And summe othere ben lawis: as that ech man oughte be baptisid in water if he may come thereto; and that ech man oughte be hosilid if he mai come therto. c. 7.

I wolde se that our Bible-men, which holden hem so wise bi the Bible aloone, yhe bi the Newe Testament aloon, couthen bi her Bible aloon knowe which feith is a lawe to man, and which feith is not a lawe to man; and thane he dide a maistrie passing his power—tho Bible-men mowe take good marke that myche nede schullen alle tho haue to the help of weel-learned Clerkis.— This what y haue now seid of and to Bible-men, y haue not seid undir this entent and meenyng, as that y schulde feele to be unleeft lay-men forto reede in the Bible and forto studie and learne therynn, with help and counseil of wise and weel-learned Clerkis, and with licence of her gouernour the Bischop, but forto rebuke and adaunte the presumpcioun of tho lay-persoones whiche weenen bi her reding in the Bible forto come into more kunnyng than thei or alle the men in erthe, Clerkis and other, mowe come to bi the Bible oonli, withoute moral philosophie, and lawe of kinde, &c. c. 7.

<sup>1</sup> The iiiii principall Conclusioun.

It is not the office longing to moral lawe of kinde forto grounde eny article of feith groundid bi holi scripture. Forwi, all that the now seid moral lawe of kinde, or moral philosophie, groundith, is groundid bi doom of mannis resoun; and therefore is such a treuthe and a conclusioun that into his fynding, leernyng, and knowing, mannis witt mai bi it silf aloone, or bi natural helpis, withoute reuelacioun fro God, rise and suffice. But so it is, that noon article of feith mai be groundid in doom of resoun suffici-

<sup>1</sup> Lewis, pp. 73—75.

entli, neither into his finding, learning, and knowing, mannis resoun, bi it silf, and bi natural help, may rise and suffice, without therto maad revelacioun, or affirmyng fro God. For whi thane feith were no feith. c. 8.

The vth principal Conclusion.

Though neither the seide moral lawe of kinde, neither outward bokis thereof writen, mowe grounde eny trouthe or conclusioun of verry feith; yit tho outward bokis, as Cristene men hem maken, mowe weel ynow reherce and witnessse treuthis and conclusiouns of feith groundid bifore in holi scripture. Forwhi, it is no more repugnant that bokis of moral philsofie reherce trouthis and conclusiouns propre to the grounding of holy scripture, than that bokis of holi scripture reherce trouthis and conclusiouns propre to the grounding of moral philosophie. c. 8.

The vi principal Conclusioun.

The hool office and werk into which ben ordeyned the bokis of moral philsofie, writen and maad bi Cristen men in the maner now bifore spoken, is to expresse outwardli, bi writing of pene and ynke, the treuthis and conclusiouns which the inward book of lawe of kind, biried in mannis soule and herte, groundith; and forto reherce summe treuthis and conclusiouns of feith longyng to the grounding of holi scripture, that the reders be the more and the oftir remembrid, and stirid, and exortid by this rehercing &c. —c. 8.

The vii principal Conclusioun. c. 8.

The more deel and party of Goddis hool lawe to man in erthe, and that bi an huge gret quantite over the remanent parti of the same lawe, is groundid sufficientli, out of holi scripture, in the inward book of lawe of kind and of moral philsofie, and not in the book of holi scripture.

The viii principal Conclusioun. c. 9.

No man mai learne and kunne the hool lawe of God, to which Cristen men ben bounde, but if he can of moral philsofie: and the more that he can in moral philsofie, bi so muche the more he can of Goddis lawe and service. This conclusioun folewith out of the viiith conclusioun openly ynough.

The ix Conclusioun. c. 9.

No man schullen perfitli, sureli, and sufficientli understonde holi scripture in alle tho plais wherynn he rehercith moral virtues—but if he be bifore weel, and perfetli, suerli, and sufficientli

learned in moral philsofie.—This conclusioun folewith out of the viith and the viiith conclusiouns.

The x Conclusioun. c. 9.

The leernyng and kunnyng of the seid lawe of kinde, and of the seide moral philsofie, is so necessarie to Christen men, that it mai not be lackid of them if thei schulen perfiltli serve to God and kepe his lawe bitake to hem in erthe.

N. B. The meaning is no more than this: that it is necessary to know *natural religion*, and the *grounds*, and *reasons*, and *measures* of the duties laid down in scripture, in order to a right, and discreet, and steady practice of the same.

<sup>m</sup> The xi Conclusioun. ch. 9.

Ful weel oughten alle persooones of the lay-parti, not miche learned in moral philsofie and lawe of kinde, forto make miche of clerkis weel-learned in moral philsofie, that tho clerkis schulden helpe tho lay persooones forto aright undirstonde holi scripture in alle tho placis in whiche holi scripture rehercith the bifore-spoken conclusiouns and treuthis of moral philsofie, that is to seie, of lawe of kinde. Forwhi, withoute tho clerkis so learned in moral philsofie, and withoute her direccioun the now seid lay persooones schulen not esili, lightli and anoon haue the dew undirstonding of holi scripture in the now seid placis.

The xii Conclusioun. c. 9.

Ful weel oughten alle persooones of the lay-parti, not learned oughwhere ellis bi the now seid clerkis, or bi othere bokis of moral philsofie, forto make miche of bokis maad to hem in her modires langage, whiche be clepid thus—[*Note, here he recites his own books, as I formerly sent account*—]wolde God, men wolden not be bi so miche the frowarder and the more presumptuose that goodness is to hem thus profrid. Wolde God that thei wolden assaie perfiltli what tho now-seid bokis ben, and wolden weel kunne hem: and thane if thei schulden have eny cause for to blame or commende tho bokis, that thanne firste thei wolden blame, or commende.

The xiii Conclusioun. ch. 10.

Thei that wolen aske and seie thus, *where fyndist thou it grounded in holi scripture*, as though ellis it is not worthi to be take for trewe, whanne-euer eny gouernaunce or treuthe suffici-entli groundid in lawe of kinde and in moral philsofie is

<sup>m</sup> Lewis, pp. 75—77.

affirmed and mynystred to hem (as ben many of tho xi gouernauncis and treuthis whiche schullen be treated aftir in this present book : which ben *setting up of ymagis in highe placis of the bodili churche, pilgrimages doon priueli and pilgrimages doon openli bi Lay-men and bi Prestis, and bi Bischopis unto the memorialis, or mynde-placis of Seintis, and the endowing of Prestis bi rentis and bi unmoueable possessiouns, and such othere*) asken tho whilis in liik maner unresonabilis and liik unskillfulli, and liik reprouabili, as if thei wolden aske and sei thus : where findest thou it groundid in holi scripture whanne a treuthe and a conclusioun of Grammer is affirmed and seid to hem, &c.

Sir,

I believe what I here send will be sufficient to unfold the author's meaning in the thirteen particulars. If there be any thing else that you desire further, I shall keep the book some weeks by me. I had the book but three days ago, otherwise you had heard sooner from me. Dr. Bentley has finished his Terence at the press, but his adding Phædrus to it makes him delay the publication. His N. T. is despaired of : most of the subscription money is returned. If I can serve you here in any thing, you may command,

Sir,

Your assured humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

August 19, 1725.

*To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. XI.

*" Images, Part ii. c. 2.*

THE firste gouernaunce for which the lay peple ouer myche and untreuly wiiten the Clergie, is the havyng and using of ymagis, upon which gouernaunce y sette forth this firste conclusion.

<sup>n</sup> This letter is without a date. But as the preceding letter contains only a brief general outline of Pecock's tract, and this and the following letter (which is also without a date) give a more detailed account of it, it is probable that they were written soon

after: and this supposition is confirmed by what Dr. Waterland says in the close of the preceding letter, that he had then had the book by him only three days, and intended to keep it for some weeks longer.



1. °The having and the setting up of ymagis in chirchis, and the using of hem as rememoratiif, or mynding, signes, is not reprovèd bi eny ground of feith, that is to seie, not bi holi scripture, neither bi long use of the chirchis bileevyng, neither bi eny myraculose therto of God wirching.

If to the peple of Israel it was leeful forto make and rere up an highe, a brasen ymage of a serpent for to biholde it : wonder it were but that it were leeful to Cristen men for to make and rere up an highe an ymage of Crist crucified, forto biholde into it. And if it was leeful to the seid oold peple forto have xii ymagis of oxen bering up the brasen see forto biholde hem ; wondir it were whi it schulde be unleeful to Cristen peple forto have xii ymagis of the xii Apostiles and forto biholde hem in remembring that the Apostilis were bide go and baptise al the world in water. And therefore the agenseiers herof ben to be related and rebukid as nyce, fonned, waful, wantoun scismesowers and disturbbers of the peple in maters which thei mowe neuer her entent bringe about.—Al the rebuk which is govun (in scripture) to men making and using graved ymagis is govun to hem whiche token and helden tho ymagis to be her goddis : and therefore noon of these alleggid placis in holi scripture letteth alle graved ymagis to be had and usid in the Churche, so that tho ymagis ben not bileeved to be goddis—Salomon—was so mich fonned, masid, and dotid, that he worschupid tho ydolis as goddis ; for so seith holi scripture there : but so no persoon dooth in these daies, aboute the ymagis had and usid in the Chirche.—ymagis mowe leefulli be broke whanne thei bin usid in ydolatrie irremediabli, for so it was in the caas of the brasen serpent in the tyme of Ezechie,—or at the leeste, ymagis mowe leefulli be brokun whanne more harme irremediabli cometh bi the havyng and using of hem, than is al the good which cometh bi the havyng and the using of hem : more than this cometh not forth bi this proces of Ezechie iiiii. Reg. xviii. and therefore this proces is over feble forto weerne ymagis to be had and usid whanne thei ben had and usid withoute ydolatrie, or with ydolatrie remediable, or with other harm remediable, namelich lasse than is the good comyng bi the uce of tho ymagis.

C. 3.—2. The secunde principal conclusioun is this : Doom of naturali weel disposid resoun weerneth not, and reproveth not ymagis to be had and to be usid, as rememoratiif and mynding

° Lewis, pp. 88—90.

signes. If eny doom of resoun schulde weerne and reprove ymagis to be thus had and usid ; this doom of resoun schulde be oon of these iii doomys. 1. That the peple doon ydolatrie bi and with tho ymagis. 2. That the peple trowen or bileeven summe wrong and untrewen opiniouns bi occasioun of ymagis : as that sum godli vertu is in tho ymagis, or that tho ymagis doon myraclis, or that thei ben quyk, and seen, heeren, or speken at sum while, or that thei sweten at sum while. 3. That ymagis ben occasiouns of sume moral vicis in the peple, as of over myche worschiping doon to hem, or of pride, or of coveitise, or of such othere. But so it is, that noon of these iii doomys suffieth forto reprove and weerne the seid havying and using of ymagis. Wherefore, &c.—ydolatrie is never doon save whanne a man takith a creature for his God, and worscipith thilk creature as for his God : but so doith no man with eny ymage now in Christendoom, aftir that the man is come into yeeris of discrecioun, and is passid childhode, and which is not a natural fool.

¶ *Pilgrimages*, Part ii. c. 7, 8.

The secunde principal gouernaunce—of which manye of the layte overmyche wiiten the Clergie, is this : that pilgrimagis to dyverse bodies and bonys of seintis be maad, and also been maad to ymagis of Crist crucified, and of Marie, and of othere seintis ; and namelich for that pilgrimagis ben maad into summe placis more in which ben the ymagis of the crucifix and of Marie and of the seintis, than into summe othere placis in whiche ben like ymagis of the crucifix and of Marie and of the same othere seintis. Into justifying of this, y procede bi certein conclusiouns.

¶ 1. Holi scripture werneth not neither reproveth suche now seid pilgrymagis to be don.

2. Doom of kindeli weel disposid resoun weerneth not and lettith not bodili pilgrymagis to be don in the maner now bifore seid.

3. It is not unleeful pilgrymagis be don.

4. It is leeful, that pilgrymagis be doon.

5. Holi scripture allowith that pilgrimage be doon. Holi devoute women wenten in pilgrimage to Cristis sepulcre, and to his deed bodi forto be the more remembrid of him.

6. Doom of weel disposid resoun allowith and approvith that

¶ Lewis, p. 92.

¶ Ibid. pp. 100, 102.

pilgrimagis be doon.—For whi, withoute rememoratiif signes of a thing, or of thingis, the rememoracioun or the remembrance of thilk thing or thingis muste needis be the febler. And therefore sithen the bodi, or the bonis, or the relikis of eny person is a full nygh rememoratiif signe of the same person ; it is ful resonable and ful worthi, that where the bodi, or bonis, or eny releef or relik of a seint mai be had, that it be sett up in a comoun place to whiche peple may have her devout neighing and accesse, forto have her devout biholding therupon forto make the seid therbi remembrance. And ferther, sithen it is not resonable and convenient that suche bodies or bonis or relikis be left withoute in the bair feeld, and that bothe for it were agens the eese of the peple whiche should come thereto in reyny and wyndi wedris, and for that thei myghten thanne be take away bi wickid men not dreding God ; therefore it is ful resonable and worthi forto bilde over tho bodies and bonis and othere relikis, chappellis, or chirehis ; yhe and forto bilde bisidis hem auter, and queris, that the office of praising God and of praiyng to God and to seintis be in the better forme doon.—Resoun wole, and allowith and approvith nedis that men visite and haunte, for the seid eende of solempne remembrauncing, tho placis and tho ymagis whiche it is sure God to chese into the seid eende and bi the seid evydencis of myraculis doing.—But so it is that suche seid visiting and haunting into the seid eende is not ellis than pilgrimage : wherfore resoun wole, jugith, allowith, and approvith pilgrimagis to be doon.

The next twelve chapters are taken up in reciting and answering the common objections, or arguments, (fifteen in number,) made to what the author advanced upon the two heads above written. A summary hereof is as follows :

† *Obj.* 1. There is no occasion for either images or pilgrimages to awaken remembrance, so long as scripture, and saints' lives, and other devout treatises may sufficiently answer that purpose. *Ans.* Hearing and reading are good means, but not sufficient without the other, which is more lively, strong, and affecting, and does that at once and with less labour or pain which the reading of whole volumes can scarce effect : besides that many cannot read at all, and at the best, reading and hearing alone leave but faint, and dull, and transient impressions, and convey

† Lewis, pp. 105, 106.

a great deal less to the mind than a visible representation, and reading both together. Christ added visible sacraments to supply the defect of mere reading or hearing; so necessary was it to have something *visible* added to the other.

° *Obj.* 2. If Bishops and Priests be but more constant and diligent in preaching and otherwise instructing and exhorting the people, there will be no need of images or pilgrimages to stir up their remembrance. *Ans.* The Clergy are not bound, neither can they be always intent upon the office of instructing the people. They have their health, and their studies, and their maintenance, and several other private affairs to look after. Besides that when they have done their utmost, it will not amount to so much as that and the other means both together.

† *Obj.* 3. Every *living* man is a better representation of Christ or of the saints than *dead* images. *Ans.* A living man does not represent Christ as hanging on a cross, stripped, wounded, scourged, or the like, and therefore is not a competent representation.

‡ *Obj.* 4. God is present every where, and every where ready to shed his gifts and graces: “Wherfore it is vein waast, and idil, “forto trotte to Wasingam rather than to ech other place in “which an ymage of Marie is; and to the rode of the north- “dore at London, rather than to ech other rood in whatever “place it be.” *Ans.* It is not true that all places are alike in God’s sight; but God often chooses to dispense his favours in one place rather than another, and in this manner of his own approving, rather than in another of man’s devising: and he has pointed out the places, or the images, which he most accepts, by his miracles wrought in them.

¶ *Obj.* 5. The devil hath sometimes deceived the worshippers of images, as is plain from the Legend of Bartholomew, where it is said, that “the feend which was in a famos ymage in a temple, “made the peple siik in her bodies, that thei schulden come “bifore him in pilgrimage, and prie, and thanne he wolde make “hem hool: and herbi he drowe the peple into mysbileeve, and “myslyvyng.” *Ans.* It does not appear that the devil has any thing to do with the images of the Church. The case is very different: for the people of whom the Legend speaks took the image for their God, and were justly deceived by the devil:

° Lewis, p. 107. † Ibid. ut supra. ‡ Ibid. p. 113. ¶ Ibid. pp. 103, 107.

but Christian people use the images as signs only, or tokens of God.

<sup>x</sup> *Obj.* 6. Images and pilgrimages are occasions of much sin. *Ans.* So are many other good things, which are not therefore to be laid aside, but the abuses are to be corrected, or prevented.

<sup>y</sup> *Obj.* 7. The time, and pains, and costs laid out upon images and pilgrimages might be more usefully spent in much better services, relieving the poor, instructing the ignorant, reading, hearing, &c. *Ans.* This way of reasoning may fill a man with endless scruples: if he is never to do any *good* work till he is sure that he might not in the same time do *better*, he may possibly sit still and do no good work at all. Let it suffice that the thing be *good*, though in a *lower* way, and let him employ himself either in the higher or lower exercises as occasions offer, and do good of all kinds.

<sup>z</sup> *Obj.* 8. Adhere only to what scripture prescribes: St. Paul cautions us against vain philosophy and human wisdom. *Ans.* Whatever right reason approveth, though not prescribed in scripture, God approveth. Nevertheless, scripture is not entirely silent, but has scattered some hints here and there, which favour the practice of image-using and pilgrimages: and it is not *vain philosophy* that introduced them, but true wisdom.

<sup>a</sup> *Obj.* 9. Christ's discourse with the woman of Samaria witnesseth that God is to be worshipped in "spirit and in truth," not by images; and his worship is not to be confined to this or that place; which is against any pilgrimages. *Ans.* The Samaritans worshipped God as a *bodily thing*, and so not in *spirit*, or *not as a pure Spirit*: and they worshipped him by *idolatry*, and so *not in truth*. Wherefore his caution affects not the use of images under the rules before taught. And as to Christ's saying that neither upon this mountain, Gerizim, nor in Jerusalem, &c. it was no more than a prophecy of the destruction of that city and country by the Romans.

<sup>b</sup> *Obj.* 10. If a man must go in pilgrimage, why must it be done *openly*, except for *vain-glory*? "Also what skile is therto " that he bere openli, bis tretis, an ymage of wex, or of tre, for- " to offre it up at the place of pilgrimage, and forto lete it abide " there contynuely after him &c." *Ans.* This is the best way

<sup>x</sup> Lewis, ut supra. <sup>y</sup> Ibid. pp. 103, 108. <sup>z</sup> Ibid. p. 108. <sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 113. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. pp. 103, 108.

of exciting others to follow his example, and to preserve the memory of what he does to future generations for their instruction and benefit.

<sup>c</sup> *Obj.* 11. Joshua commanded the people to put away all strange gods. *Ans.* It does not follow that images must be put away, which are not strange gods.

<sup>d</sup> *Obj.* 12. The Jews had much more sense than Christian children of ten years old, and so also had the Heathens a great deal of excellent sense: yet both these fell into gross idolatry in the use of images. How then shall Christian people, the ignorant especially, avoid the like snare, while they use images? *Ans.* Neither Jews nor Heathens worshipped mere images, but devils as it were incorporate in the images. “The hethen men helden her God to be bodili and bodied in a maner whiche thei cou- then not at fulle undirstonde; even as we Cristen men holden now our God to be bodili and bodied in a man. And as it is trewe that Cristen men worschipe a man for her God, but thei worschipe not so the pure manhode in himself, withoute more therto sett: so the hethen men worschipeden an ymage and a bodili graved thing for her God, but not the pure bodili graved ymage in him silf withoute more for her God. And so these ii thingis whiche scripture seith of ydolatrers stonde togedere and be trewe: that alle goddis of hethen men ben feendis, and also, that the goddis of hethen men ben gold and silver the werkis of mennis hondis.—The hethen men camen into thilk great synne of ydolatrie because thei neuer receyveden the feith whiche othere men, not being ydolatrers, in the same daies receyveden.—Manye also of the Jewis whiche weren bfore sufficientli instructid in the feith of oon God, and of veri God, and in the evidencis longing therto, fellen by her negligence fro the attendaunce whiche schulde have be govum bi a continuaunce to the evidencis.—But now sumwhat bfore the birthe of Crist alle Jewis camen into so grete attendaunce to the evydencis of veri feith, teching oon God to be, and also aftir the passioun of Crist hiderto in this present day, so greet doom of resoun hath be founde bothe of hethen men and of Jewis, and of Cristen men.—that a this side the passioun of Crist was not into this present day eny ydolatrie among Jewis, neither among hethen men, whiche lyven in eny notable famose sect: or if among hethen men be eny ydolatrie, it is in ful fewe placis,

<sup>c</sup> Lewis, p. 103.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. pp. 103, 109.

“ among wreechid persoons, not sett bi of othere hethen men. “ Hereof it muste nedis folewe that now adaies it is not perel to “ Cristen men, neither to the Jewis, neither to hethen men, for- “ to have and entermete with ymages of God, as it was in the “ daies fer bifore going the incarnatioun of Crist.”

<sup>d</sup> *Obj.* 13. To pray to any creature for such favours and blessings as can come from God only, is plainly idolatry; yet such prayers are offered up to the cross both by Clergy and people; as is manifest from the church offices: particularly, the hymn, *Vexilla Regis*, &c. in Passion Week; the response at the first evening song, *O crux, viride lignum*, &c. in the feast of the Invention of the Cross: and the anthem, *O crux splendidior*, &c. at the same feast; the anthem *Crux fidelis*, at the second evening song of the Exaltation of the Cross; the *sequence* sung at the same, *O Christe*, &c. *Answ.* These and the like expressions are to be taken for figures of rhetoric, and to be soberly interpreted, understanding them not strictly of the cross, but of Christ himself upon the cross, and saving men in and by the cross. “ O crosse of Crist, y prie thee helpe me and defende “ me, and justifie me: the dew understanding herof mai be this; “ O Crist, y prie thee helpe me and justifie me bi thi crosse, as “ therto the helping instrument.”

<sup>e</sup> *Obj.* 14. To use such ceremonies, salutations, prostrations, &c. towards a creature, as are proper to God alone, is making a god of the creature: but such are those that have been customarily used towards the cross. “ In eelder daies whāne pro- “ cession was maad in the Palme-Sundai bifore masse, the “ Eukarist was not brought forth that the processioun of the “ Clerkis and of the lay peple schulde meet with him, but a baar “ uncovered crosse was brought forth agens the processioun, “ that the processioun schulde meete agens it, as y have red in “ dyverse oolde ordinalis of cathedrale chirchis and of monaste- “ ries in Ynglond; though in latir daies, and namelich in summe “ chirchis, the Eukarist is born forth, and the processioun “ meetith with the Eukarist born in a chest among relikis, and “ in manie placis he is born in a coupe ordayned therto. In “ tho daies and in tho placis whanne and where the processioun “ mette in Palme Sunday with the nakid crosse, or with the “ chest of relikis, withoute the Eukarist, summe of the Clerkis

<sup>d</sup> Lewis, pp. 104, 110.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* p. 104.

“ were ordeyned forto stonde bifore the seid crosse, and forto  
 “ turne hem toward the processioun and seie in singing to al the  
 “ Clergie and peple thus : *Lo the king mylde and meke, &c.* And  
 “ thanne thus seid and sungum fro the Clerkis, in the crossis  
 “ bihalve, to the Prestis and lay peple in processioun, the  
 “ Prestis and peple fellen down, kneling with alle the knees to  
 “ the grounde, seying, or singing, or in bothe maners, toward  
 “ the seid discouered crosse thus : *Heil thou whom the peple of*  
 “ *Hebrees meeting witnessith to be Jhē, &c.*” (Then follow more  
 instances of like kind.) *Answer*.—See below.

† *Obj.* 15. “ To whatever thing men offren, in loughist wise  
 “ comyng toward it bi creping, and whos feet thei kissen in  
 “ devoutist maner thei kunnen, thilk thing thei taken for her  
 “ souereynest and highest Lord.—But so it is, that to the crosse  
 “ in Good Fridai men comen in loughest wise creping on alle her  
 “ knees, and to this crosse in so lowghe and devout maner thei  
 “ offren, and the feet of thilk crosse thei in devoutist maner  
 “ kissen, &c.”

*Answer to 14th and 15th.*

“ § Alle what in suche processions was seid and sungum to  
 “ the crosse in eelde daies of the Chirche ; in Palme Sundai, was  
 “ seid of Crist ymaged to be bodili present with and in the  
 “ crucifix, or crosse, which the peple in processioun bihelden.  
 “ And herbi yit into ferther encrecing of devocioun and good  
 “ affecciou to be gendrid upon Crist, thei crepiden toward and  
 “ to such an ymage of the crucifix in Good Fridai—and yit  
 “ ferther, into more love and good affecciou to be gendrid, thei  
 “ kiseden the feet of the ymage.—And this devout practik,  
 “ namelich in his outward deede, abidith yit in al the West-  
 “ Chirche a this side Greek-lond, however it be of the inward  
 “ ymaginatiif deed, whiche, as y trowe, abidith ful lital or  
 “ nought ; the more harne is. And so it mai be seid, that  
 “ nothing is seid and sungum to the nakid and bare crosse in  
 “ processiou of Palme Sundai : neither eny creping, or offring,  
 “ or kissing, is maad to the crosse in Good Fridai ; but al this  
 “ is doon to Cristis persoon, in his manhede, which is ymaged  
 “ there to be in and with the ymage crucified, and streight  
 “ thorough the ymage crucified, heed to heed, hond to hond, foot  
 “ to foot, though it be not trowid so to be, but though the

† Lewis, p. 105.

§ Ibid. pp. 111, 112.



“ contrarie is trowid to be. And herbi is sufficient answer  
 “ govun to the xiiii<sup>h</sup> and xv<sup>h</sup> argumentis togidere. Whoever  
 “ schal cleerli and perfectli undirstonde the answere whiche is  
 “ now bifore maad to the xiiii<sup>h</sup> and xv<sup>h</sup> argumentis, he schal  
 “ therbi take sufficient ground forto excuse fro blame, and fro  
 “ unfruytful and lewid governaunce, alle tho whiche wolen touch  
 “ with her hondis the feet and other parties, and the clothis of  
 “ ymagis, and wolen thanne aftir sette to her visage, and to her  
 “ iyen, and to her mouthis, tho her hondis with whiche, in the  
 “ now seid maner, thei toucheden the ymagis, or the clothingis  
 “ of the ymagis.—And sithen what a man mai not have and do  
 “ at the next and immediatli, he wole be well paied and weel  
 “ plesid for to have it mediatli, that is to seie, for to have it  
 “ arombe, and bi a meene; it folewith that it is coveitable to a  
 “ man—for to gete to him and to have unto his visage, or iyen,  
 “ or mouth, the touche of Cristis feet, or of his mouth, or of his  
 “ hond, or breste, bi meene of the touche which the hond getith  
 “ fro hem, and upon hem immediatli.”

[Nota obiter, the word *arombe*, (signifying the same with *afar off*, or *at a distance*,) for the explaining *arowme* and *romir* in Chaucer; which the Glossary has mistaken, and misconstrued. The word comes from *removeo*, or Saxon *pýman*, and signifies *remotus*, or *remote*; as *rombe* also is *remotus*. So Pecoock, in the very next page, has this expression; *more or lasse, nygher or romber*. To *remble* in Lincolnshire is to *remove*, Saxon *pýman*, *pumian*.]

<sup>h</sup> The author concludes with some wise and excellent cautions: viz. that though he had said, as he thought, sufficient to justify the use of images and pilgrimages, and especially to such as cannot read, or hear the word of God, yet he would not advise any,

1. “ To haunte, as it were, alway the exercise in suche visible  
 “ signes, whanne thei coveten to be maad spiritual, sweet, and  
 “ devoute with God, and stronge for to do and suffre for him.”

2. “ Neither that thei haunte so miche, or so ofte, the uce of  
 “ suche visible signes, that thilk haunte and uce lette hem from  
 “ uce of a better exercise: and speciali, that thei not drenche al  
 “ the leiser which tho men mighten and schulden have forto  
 “ reede or heere the word of God.—For certis, how the sunne

<sup>h</sup> Lewis, pp. 113, 114.

“ passith in cleernes, cheerte, and counfort the moone ; and as  
 “ a greet torche passith a litil candel : so in these seid pointis,  
 “ reding and heering in Goddis word, whiche is an exercise in  
 “ hereable signes govum to us fro God, passith in cleernes of  
 “ teching, and in cheerte of deliit, and in counfort of strengthe-  
 “ geving forto do and suffre for God in his lawe keping, al tho  
 “ exercise had, or whiche can be had, in suche now bifore-seid  
 “ visible signes devisid bi man.”

SIR,

Upon the other heads expect hereafter. Less than I have here sent would not have given you a clear and full notion of the author's principles on these two.

I rest yours,

DAN. WATERLAND.

*Addenda* to what is said in answer to Object. 1. for the clearer reconciling it with the last quotation.

“ i Forto soone and ofte come into remembraunce of a long  
 “ mater, bi ech oon persoon, and also as forto make that the mo  
 “ persoones come into remembraunce of a mater, ymagis and  
 “ pictures serven in a specialer maner than bokis doon : though  
 “ in another maner ful substanciali bokis serven bettir into re-  
 “ membrauncing of the same materis than ymagis and picturis  
 “ doon.—marke who so wole in his mynde, alle the bokis  
 “ whiche been in London writun upon Seint Kateryns liif and  
 “ passiouns, and y dare weel seie that though ther were x thou-  
 “ sind mo bokis writun in Londoun, in thilk day, of the same  
 “ seintis liif and passioun, thei schulden not so moche turne the  
 “ citee into mynde of the holi famosse liif of Seint Kateryn, and  
 “ of her dignitee in whiche sche now is, as dooth in eech yeer  
 “ the going of peple in pilgrimage to the college of Seint Kateryn  
 “ bisidis London : As y dare putte this into judgement of whom  
 “ ever hath seen the pilgrimage doon in the vigil of Seint Ka-  
 “ teryn bi persoones of Londoun to the seid college. Wherefore  
 “ right greet special commoditees and profitis into remem-  
 “ braunce-making, ymagis and pilgrimagis han, and doon, whiche  
 “ writingis not so han, and doon.”

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

<sup>1</sup> Lewis, pp. 106, 107.

## No. XII.

## k Part iii. c. 13.

*The Donation of Constantine.*

“<sup>l</sup>Constantyn endewid not the Pope Silvester, neither eny  
 “chirche in Rome with eny greet habundaunt immovable pos-  
 “sessiouns, but oonli with possessiouns competentli and mesura-  
 “bily, with suffieience, servyng for the fynding of the prestis and  
 “mynystris of the chirchis whiche he endewid: except oon chirche  
 “clepid Constantynyana, into whiche chirche he gaf a certain of  
 “possessioun for fynding of lightis and for fynding of bawme into  
 “brennyng of laumpis, over the competent unmovable endewing  
 “which he made into the same chirche for fynding of prestis and  
 “mynystris servyng in the same chirche. But al the habundaunt  
 “and riche endewing of the Pope and his see-chirche in Rome,  
 “came bi other persoones long aftir Constantyn: As bi Pipyn king  
 “of Fraunce, and bi Charles king of Fraunce and emperour,  
 “and bi Lodowic king of Fraunce and emperour, and bi Matilde  
 “a greet ladi which gaf the greet and riche and rial marchionat  
 “of Auchon [Avignon] to the Pope togidere at oonis, and became  
 “therbi to be the doughtir of Saint Peter, as in cronicles and  
 “stories it is open for to se.”

<sup>m</sup> *Reasons to confute the Fiction of Constantine's Donation.*

1. Damasus makes no mention of it in his Epistle to Jerom.
2. Damasus was not in possession of any such endowment, when he wrote to Jerom.
3. No authentic and credible records or chronicles take notice of it. Nothing but “the Legende or Storie of Silvestris Gestis and oon Epistle putt and ascryved unlikeli to Constantyn, and tho stories and cronicles which taken of it and folewen it.”
4. “The thre departid storie, maad of thre moost famose and credible storiars in Greek lond,” relates that Constantine divided his whole empire into three parts among his three sons, and particularly, he “biquathe the lordscip of the west-parti which was Rome, with al the cuntrey aboute to his eeldist sone Con-

<sup>k</sup> This letter also has no date; but it is evidently a continuation of the preceding one.

<sup>l</sup> Lewis's Life of Pecock, pp. 115, 116.

<sup>m</sup> Lewis, pp. 116—118.

“ stantyn : which sone rejoiced the same parti to him devysid,  
 “ and that thorough al his liif; and his brother Constans next  
 “ affir him rejoiced the same west-parti—and his brother Con-  
 “ stancius, after the death of hem bothe, al the hool empire of  
 “ eest and west.”

5. Boniface IV. above 250 years after Silvester's death, begged of the emperor Phocas to give him the Pantheon in Rome, in order to convert it into a Christian church : which the Pope need not have begged of another, had Rome been all his own.

6. Histories plainly evidence that Charles the Great, and Lewis, were the first that invested the Popes with such large territories and dominions.

7. “ Manye hundrid yeeris after the death of Pope Silvester,  
 “ the eleccioun of the Pope, maad at Rome, was sende into  
 “ Greke-land—for to be confermed or admittid of the emperour ;  
 “ as can be proved bi sufficient credible cronicles and stories.  
 “ —This y seie not for this that it so doon was weel doon ;  
 “ but herfore y seie it, that it hadde not be so doon if the em-  
 “ perour of Greke-land hadde not be thanne in tho doies as ful  
 “ lord and emperour of Rome, &c.”

8. The eighth argument chargeth a falso fact upon the letter ascribed to Constantine, which fact is confuted by the more authentic evidence of the *Historia Tripartita*. He observes that the Greek writers, who were with the emperor at Constantinople, or near him, are more to be credited than “ other men dwelling ferther fro thens in rombe.” Which last words I note only for the sake of the word *rombe*, signifying *distance*, as hinted before in a former letter.

N. B. As to the unusual sense of the word *rejoice* twice occurring in this part, though I have no where else met with it, it is common in Pecok : and it seems very conformable to analogy of speech, as *uce*, *oice*, *oyse*, stood for *use* ; and *rejoice* is nothing more than *uti*, or *re-uti*. I am persuaded that was the primitive and proper sense of the word, and that the present is a corruption : *rejoie*, as in Chaucer, was the proper word for what we now express by *rejoice*. But enough.

Part iv. c. 1, &c.

<sup>n</sup> *Divers orders or degrees of Clergy.*

“ In the Clergie ben dyverse statis and degrees of overtie and

<sup>n</sup> Lewis, pp. 118, 119.

" nethertie, as that above manye prestis soortid togidere into  
 " oon cuntree or diocise is oon Bischop forto overse and attende,  
 " that alle tho prestis lyve and do as it longith to hem bi her  
 " presthode, and forto juge querelis, and pleintis, and causis,  
 " and strives, if eny such rise among summe of tho prestis, and  
 " forto redresse the wrongis whiche prestis doon to her paris-  
 " chenys or ministris, if thei eny such doon. And above manie  
 " Biscopis of a large cuntree, or a provynce is oon Archibiscop,  
 " forto in liik maner overse and attende that tho Bischopis lyve  
 " and do as it longith to her bischophode, and forto juge querelis  
 " and pleintis and debatis if eny such arise among tho Bischopis,  
 " and forto redresse the wrongis which tho Bischopis doon to her  
 " Prestis if thei eny such doon. And in liik maner above many  
 " Archibiscopis is oon Patriark forto overse and reule and  
 " amende the governauncis of tho Archibiscopis. And above  
 " manie and alle Patriarkis is oon Pope, forto overse and reule  
 " and amende the governauncis of tho Patriarkis, and forto re-  
 " dresse wrongis, &c.—Al this now rehercid governaunce and  
 " policie in the Clergie, summe of the lay-peple deemen and seien  
 " to be naught, and that it is brought in bi the devel and anti-  
 " crist: so that thei wolen alle Prestis to be in oon degree, and  
 " non of hem be above other of hem; and thei wolen that undir  
 " Prestis be Dekenys, and no mo ordris, statis, or degrees in the  
 " Clergie at all. And bicause that suche bifore rehercid statis  
 " and degrees above Prestis ben in the Clergie; thei bacbiten  
 " and detracten the Clergie, cleping the highe Pope anticrist,  
 " and cleping all the othere lougher rehercid statis, above Prestis,  
 " the anticristis lymes, or membris."

° In answer to this charge, the Author lays down five positions  
 or conclusions.

1. " Holi scripture werneth not, and letteth not the now  
 " rehercid governaunce.

2. " Doom of cleerli disposid resoun in kinde weerneth not  
 " and lettith not the seid governaunce.

3. " The seid governaunce is leeful.

4. " Holi scripture bothe in the Oold Testament and in the  
 " Newe allowith the seid governaunce. For,

1. " In the Oold Testament God ordeynid oon Bischop to be  
 " above in reule and jurisdiccoun to alle the Prestis and De-

° Lewis, pp. 136, 137.

“ kenys, and so to alle the Clergie in Goddis Chirche being  
 “ thanne; even as the Pope is now oon persoon above in reule  
 “ and in jurisdiccioyn to alle Prestis and Dekonys, and to alle  
 “ the Clergie in the Chirche of God being now.

2. “ Holi writ of the Newe Testament makith mensiou that  
 “ Crist seid to Symount Peter thus: *Thou art Symount the sone*  
 “ *of Johanna, thou schalt be clepid Cephas*, or heed—Peter was  
 “ heed in the maner in which noon of the other Apostlis was  
 “ heed. And sithen ech Apostle was heed of oon certeyn parcel  
 “ of peple, or ellis of alle the lay-peple of the world jointli with  
 “ hise felawis, it folewith nedis that Petir was heed of al the  
 “ Clergie, and so of alle Prestis, and of alle the lay partie: for  
 “ in noon other wise can it be govun that he was heed in a  
 “ dyverse and different maner from ech other Apostle.”—The  
 author goes on with the usual texts cited for the primacy, and  
 seems in the whole of this argument to have been a thorough  
*Papist.*

5. “ Doom of Cleerli in disposid resoun jugith, allowith, and  
 “ approvith the seid governaunce.”—

Part v. c. I, &c.

*Of the Religious.*

*P Objected*—“ That bothe of Prestis and lay persoones ben  
 “ sectis clepid religions maad to men and also to wommen  
 “ forto be streighter to hem in eting and drinking, in speking,  
 “ in wering, in going, in sleping, and in aboute-walking, and in  
 “ othere deedis of worldlihode and fleischlihode than is the free-  
 “ dom of lawe of kinde with the settings-to of Cristis sacramentis.  
 “ Al this summe of the lay-peple blamen bothe for the dyversite  
 “ and novelte so takun to be in, otherwise than is the comoun  
 “ maner of othere men and wommen. And also thei beren an  
 “ honde, that the religiouns whiche now ben had and usid, han  
 “ summe statutis and ordynauncis being agens charite, and  
 “ therefore agens the lawe of God. And ferthermore these  
 “ blamers—ascriven and geven the fynding and the mente-  
 “ naunce of all suche sectis or religiouns to the feend, and to  
 “ anticrist.”

[The author answers in five particulars, as under former  
 heads, and in the same method as in the last. I shall transcribe

such passages as may suffice to shew his general sense of the thing.]

*Answer. C. vi.*

“<sup>9</sup>Take me alle the religiose men of Englund whiche ben  
 “now and han ben in religioun in Englund this thritti yeeris  
 “and mo now endid, in whiche xxx yeeris hath be contynual  
 “great werre bitwix Englund and Fraunce, and lete se what  
 “schulde have worthe of the men in these yeeris, if thei hadde  
 “not be maad religiose. Lete se how thei schulden have lyved,  
 “and what maner men thei schulden have be. Whether not  
 “thei schulden have be as weelnygh alle othere men ben and  
 “han be in this xxxiiii wynters in Englund: and therfore thei  
 “schulden be or gileful artificers, or unpitiful questmongers, and  
 “forsworen jurors, or souldiers wagid into Fraunce forto make  
 “miche morthor of blood, yhe and of soulis, bothe in her owne  
 “side and in the Frensche side.—No man fynde agenward  
 “that theo persoones, whiles thei han lyved in religioun, han be  
 “gilti of so miche synne how miche synne is now rehercid, and  
 “of which thei schulden have be gilti if thei hadden not be  
 “religiose. Thanne folewith needis that the religions in  
 “Englund han ben ful noble and profitable heggis and wardis  
 “thorughout these xxxiiii yeeris for to close and kepe and hegge  
 “yn and werne so manye persoones fro so miche grettor synnes  
 “into whiche ellis, if theo religions hadden not be, theo persoones  
 “schulden have falle and have be gilti.—God purveied manye  
 “dyverse religions to be in the Chirche, for that bi so greet  
 “a dyversito had in so manye religions, what for dyversite  
 “of outward habit, and of inward wering, and of diet, and of  
 “waking, and of officiyng, and of sitis or of placing, and of  
 “bilding, and of othere suche manie, the mo of the peple schulde  
 “be provokid and stirid therbi into religioun.—And though  
 “summe harme and yvel comith thorugh the hauyng of such  
 “now seid multitude, yit not so greet harme and yuel as is  
 “excluded bi the hauyng of so greet a multitude. After that  
 “eny man hath professid eny of theo religions, and is receyvid  
 “into it, if it can be openli provid and schewid that he is  
 “bounden bi commaundement of Goddis lawe for to do eny  
 “certein deede out of thilk religioun, for eny certein while, or  
 “for al his lyvys tyme, sotheli thilk religioun is noon harder

<sup>9</sup> Lewis, pp. 141—144.

“neither streiter holding, but that thilk man schal have good  
 “leue and licence forto wirche and do the so proved deede out  
 “of the religioun for the same while.—For weel provid causis  
 “religiouse persoones ben licencid forto leue perpetuali her pro-  
 “fessed religiouns. Nunnys han be takun out of her cloistris  
 “and han be weddid to princis : and monkis han be take out of  
 “her cloistris and han be weddid and maad kings—And  
 “claustral monkis han be licencid forto be summe heremytis,  
 “and summe reclusis, and manye monkis han be take out of  
 “cloistir liif to be Bischopis.—In ech religioun now usid, the  
 “occupatiouns foundid and devised bi the religioun, bisidis the  
 “thre principal vowis, that is to seie, of chastite, of wilful and  
 “expropriat pouerte, and of obedience to the Prelat whē he  
 “comaundith comaundementis of the religioun, myghte be myche  
 “amendid, bothe the occupaciouns of her priyng and officiyng  
 “and of her contemplacioun, and also the occupaciouns of her  
 “studiyng, and lerning—but yit this argueth not neither  
 “proueth tho occupaciouns to be naught neither to be unfruyt-  
 “ful.”

<sup>r</sup> *Objected*—“that no good skile is whi tho religiouse per-  
 “soones schulden were so straunge and dyverse formes of habitis  
 “fro her other Cristen bretheren—that religiouse monasteries,  
 “nameliche of the begging religiouns, han withinne her gatis and  
 “cloocis grete large wiide highe and stateli mansiouns, for lordis  
 “and ladies therein to reste abide and dwelle—that thei han  
 “large and wiide churchis like sumwhat to cathedral or modir  
 “chirchis of diocisis.—That bi the religioun of seint Fraunces  
 “the religiouse persoones of thilk religioun schullen not handle  
 “and touche with her honde, neither bere aboute hem eny  
 “money, that is to seie, eny gold or silver or other metal  
 “koyned; and yit thei ben not weerned bi the same religioun  
 “forto telle such money with a stik holdun in her hond, neither  
 “forto kepe it in her coffris, neither bē thei weerned forto  
 “holde, bere, touche and handle cuppis and dischis, knyfis and  
 “jewelis of siluer and of gold, however preciose and delectable  
 “to the sight tho jewelis ben.”—

<sup>s</sup> *A Summary of the Author's Replies.*

1. As to *habits*: he vindicates the use of such variety, for

<sup>r</sup> Lewis, pp. 138, 139.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. pp. 144, 146.



*distinction* sake, and for the *reminding* the Religious of what they are, and what they have bound themselves to.

2. As to the *stately buildings* for lords and ladies; he pleads the great convenience of such mansions for persons of quality, and how useful it is to the monasteries for great persons to repair thither, and to abide there. He thinks the lords and ladies are thereby the more shut out from the world to attend to their religious concerns: and that the monks can thus attend them the more constantly, and at the same time be supported and protected by them, and have less need to go a begging among poorer persons, who might otherwise be put to charge by them.

3. As to the *stateliness* of their churches, he defends it easily, as being most for the honour of God's service, and as containing more people.

4. As to the objection made against the *Franciscans*, the Bishop is forced to rack his wits to the utmost, to make at length but a very lame defence. He owns the facts in every circumstance, and repeats the objection, allowing it as fair and full play as possible. As thus—"If freris of Frauncessis religioun forbering handling and bering of money, for that this handeling and bering ben neighingis and homeli entermetingis with money, and for that thilk forbering schal make in hem a remembraunce that thei oughten not love money over myche, whi forberen not thei telling of money with a stikkis eende, sithen this telling is a nygh and a ful homely entermeting with the same money, and the forbering of such telling myghte make in hem liik remembraunce, as the forbering of handling schulde make? Also sithen jewelis of gold and of silver and of preciose stoonys, and knyfis, and girdelis harneisid with gold and silver and such othere araies, oughten not beloved of hem overmyche; whi forberen not thei to touche in handling, and the bering upon hem of such now seid jewelis and knyfis harneisid with silver and gold?"

*Answer.*

1. "For to handle or bere money is a more homely entermeting with the same money than is forto telle it with a stik: and therefore the more homelynes is forborn, and the lasse homelynes is suffrid.

2. "To the secund objectioun and chalenge y mai answere thus: jewelis ben not in so manie kindis so redy and so nighe

“ to the uce in whiche the haver mai delite him synfulli, as is  
 “ money—and therefore the more perel is forborn, whilis the  
 “ lasse is suffrid to abide. And though it were so, that the  
 “ telling of money with a stik were as greet a neighing in home-  
 “ lynes to money as is bare handling; and though the handling  
 “ of jewelis were as perilose as is the handling of money; yit  
 “ therof not folewith that if eny man for devocioun wolde for-  
 “ bere the oon, that he oughte forbere the other.—For whi,  
 “ it is fair, good, and priseable to forbere the oon whilis he is  
 “ not constreyned to forbere of hem bothe eny oon.—Whanne  
 “ a man is fre to leve bothe, it is priseable, and fair, and honest,  
 “ if he take the oon, and not bothe: and nameliche, sithen fewe  
 “ othere taken eny of hem bothe.”

‘To what is said of the war in France, I may add another passage out of part the first, c. 15. For possibly, Pecoock’s so free speaking of the king, might offend the court, and contribute towards his ruin. He says thus:—“ Wolde God that the king  
 “ of Yngland wolde sette so myche bisynes forto conquere and  
 “ reforme his lond of Ynglond from this seid wicked scole,  
 “ [*Wiclevites he means,*] and fro othere defautis, as miche as he  
 “ dooth about the conquest of his lond of Normandi and of  
 “ Fraunce, and peraventure he schulde thanne have more thanke  
 “ and reward at his laste comyng hoom to the King of blisse,  
 “ and more noble flavour of digne fame among alle the princis of  
 “ the world, and the worthi peeris of heuen, than he schal have  
 “ bi miche of his labour and cost doon aboute the worldli con-  
 “ quest of Fraunce.”

“ For explication of *questmongers*, I shall add another passage, parallel to one above.

“ Take thou into mynde alle tho men whiche han be in reli-  
 “ gioun sithen religioun biganne, and marke thou weel thanne  
 “ how these men schulden have lyved if thei hadden not lyved  
 “ in religioun; and certis thou schalt not fynde, as weel nygh  
 “ for hem alle, that thei schulden have lyved otherwise than  
 “ lyven, or lyveden gilful craftimen, or jurouris and quest-  
 “ mongers, or pleders for mony though the causis of plee be  
 “ wrong, or as souldiers forto fighte and slee for spoile and  
 “ money, &c.” N. B. I understand by *unpiteful*, in the first  
 quotation, *ungodly, impious*: for *pite* in Pecoock, as in several

<sup>t</sup> Lewis, pp. 211, 212.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. p. 142. note.

others, commonly signifies not *pity*, but *piety*, or godliness. I have not before met with *unpiteful*: but *unpyte* for *ungodliness*, and *unpytevous* for *ungodly*, are very common in Wicliff's Testament, where one may be certain what they stand for.

I rest, Sir, yours,

DAN. WATERLAND.

If you have any doubts about any thing here contained, or any thing in my former letter, let me know before I part with the book, and I shall readily satisfy you.

*To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

Nº. XIII.

*St. Austin's, Jan. 20, 1727—8.*

DEAR SIR,

I INTENDED to defer writing till I might be able to give you a satisfactory answer to some things. But considering again that it might be long before I could do it, I choose rather, as thinking it more respectful, to acquaint you with what I know, or believe, at present, than to make longer delays: and when any thing further offers, it will be easy to supply it by another letter. I am of opinion, that there was an English translation of the thirteenth century, part of which is extant in three libraries, Lambeth, Christ Church, and Corpus Christi, Oxon. In this persuasion, I rely entirely upon the report and judgment of Mr. John Russel, as appearing in his *proposals* for publishing Wickliff's Bible, and in his Letters sent to Joh. Bapt. Ottius in 1720, an extract of which is published by Le Long in his *Bibliothèque*, A. D. 1723. He is confident that the language is much older than Wickliff's or even than Hampole's, who died in the year 1349. I am endeavouring to borrow the Lambeth-copy, that I may judge of this matter myself, which I apprehend myself now to be very capable of doing from the acquaintance I have had with our old English of several centuries upwards.

It is undubitable, that there is a translation of the Psalms made by Hampole. I have seen it, and read part of it, and find the language to be plainly more antique than Wickliff's. I refer to several copies of it which I have seen, (as in Sidney

College, Trinity, and Bennet,) in my Critical History, (vol. iii. p. 145.)

As to the MS. Testament you saw in my hands, I judge it to be Wickliff's, because of its agreement with the *Norfolk copy* mentioned by Wharton in his *Auctarium Hist. Dogmat.* p. 426, and referred to by me. Crit. Hist. (vol. iii. p. 144.) But I shall be able to judge more certainly, when I can see the *Norfolk copy* in the library of the Royal Society, which I intend, (God willing,) as my leisure serves. However, the MS. Testament I now speak of is certainly different from, and somewhat older than the common one which passes under the name of Wickliff. And now you will ask, What I think of the common one? I take it to be Wickliff's also, corrected and improved probably by himself, the language a little polished, and the synonymous needless words (double versions of the same things) thrown out. My reasons for the present are;

1. The unanimous consent of the *inscriptions* to the MSS. besides the concurrent verdict of several writers very near Wickliff's time.

2. It is to me very plain, that whoever drew up the common copy, had that older of Wickliff's before him, and for the most part followed it: and I cannot think of any man that could have authority enough to juggle out Wickliff's, and to substitute this so generally in its stead, except Wickliff himself.

3. There is no one here to be thought on, unless it be Trevisa: but I am abundantly satisfied, after long deliberation, that it is not his. I have been at the pains to read over two large folios of Trevisa's: one, his version of *Higden's Polychronicon*; and the other, his translation of Bartholomew Glanvil's book *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. I have observed his phrases and his diction; and I persuade myself that in several instances they do not agree with the phrases and diction of Wickliff's Testament commonly so called. Besides this, I have half a sheet, or nearly, of texts which I have collected out of Trevisa's Bartholomew: and these texts in his version are widely different from the common one. I am unwilling to be at the trouble, or else I could fill my paper with texts, in two columns, collated. When you come to London, I will shew you them, for your satisfaction.

▼ See Lewis's Hist. of English Translations of the Bible, pp. 66, 67. 2d edit. 8vo.

Now I am mentioning this later book of Trevisa's, and having it still in my hands, I will give you a transcript of the conclusion of it.

" This translation was ended at Berkeley, the vi<sup>th</sup> daye of " Feverer, the yere of our Lorde M.CCCLXXXVII. the " yere of the reyne of King Rycharde the Seconde after the " conqueste of Englande, xxii. The yere of my Lordes age, " Syre Thomas Lorde of Berkeley, that made me to make this " translation, xlviij.

" And printed by me Thomas Berthelet, the xxvij yere of the " most victorious reine of our mooste gracious soveraynge Lord " Kyng Henry the VIII."

I suppose the year 1397 is a mistake for 1399, which alone can agree to the 22nd of Richard II. and 47th of Lord Berkley. So this work was finished about twelve years after the translation of the *Polychronicon*, the date of which you may see in my *Critical History*, (vol. iii. p. 144.)

What is become of Trevisa's *Version of the Bible* (if there really was one, as Caxton and Bale both say) I know not. It had a prologue to it, according to Bale, carrying Trevisa's name in the front; but the common version called Wickliff's has no such prologue, which is a further argument that it is not Trevisa's.

Mr. Russel, in his proposals, promised the world a previous dissertation, wherein, among other things, he was to examine and to confute Trevisa's *pretensions*. I am sorry he did not find encouragement to go on with his design. He may be a proper man to consult upon this question, if you know where he is: I do not.

I have here told you all I know, and all that I think at present upon this article. Whenever I get more light, you shall presently have it from me.

As to the Donett, or Donate, it appears to me probable, that Donatus's *Elementa Grammatices de Octo Partibus Orationis*, printed Cracov. 1559, was a short thing, and previous to the *Accidence*, as the *Accidentia Nomini*, or *Verbo*, naturally follow *nomen* and *verbum*. But of this I can only guess, not having the book to consult, nor any other books here that can give me certain light. The want of books must also oblige me to defer my intended inquiries into the custom of extreme unction. I want many helps here, which I can readily have recourse to when at Cambridge.

\* I have been skimming over some parts of your *Antiquities of Favresham*, and some I have dwelt longer upon, according as the matters most suited my taste. When I came to p. 66, where you speak of Erasmus, I demurred to your conjecture about his being but a new saint. The *Legenda Aurea* is no rule: many old saints, I believe, are there omitted, besides Erasmus. I take Erasmus's saintship to be at least as old as the ninth century. He appears in the MS. Psalter of Bennet College, which I place in 850. See my Crit. Hist. (vol. iii. p. 156.) And he appears also in the Vatican copy of Bede's Martyrology, and in *Usuardus* and *Ado*; one of the eighth, the other of the ninth century. I am beholding to Dr. Smith's Notes upon Bede, p. 377, for what I say of those two authors: I have them not by me.

I hope Mr. Wilkins will not be afraid of printing a book of three hundred and seventy-one pages. I wish to see you here, and to discourse that matter over. Do not be discouraged, if some silly men throw out silly reflections. Such persons have not credit enough to damn a book. The true reason rather why such pieces hang, is the want of taste for dry instructions and antiquated English; or else a book has not been well advertised, or has been published at a wrong time. I have heard Dr. Davies complain that he could not sell off three hundred of his *Epitome of Lactantius*, though a book of two shillings and sixpence price only. God grant you your health to go on in your useful labours.

I am

Your affectionate Friend and faithful  
humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,  
of Mergate in Kent.

\* This manuscript of Mr. Lewis's, with many notes by the author, was left by him to Mr. Ames, and afterwards became the property of Mr. Gough, who bequeathed it to the

Bodleian Library. See Nichols's Lit. Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 263. Of St. Erasmus, here mentioned, notice is taken in Lewis's Life of Pecock, p. 148.

*St. Austin's, May 2, 1728.*

DEAR SIR,

I AM come to no fixed opinion yet in relation to Wickliff's version of the Bible. But I have sent you by Mr. Wilkins all the materials I have had to make a judgment by. Having been lately at Cambridge, I have brought up with me what I call the first draught of Wickliff's Testament, as being plainly older and ruder than the common one. Of the first there are but very few copies : but the copies of the latter are numerous. I have also sent you, by Mr. Innys's permission, one of the common copies : so you may at your leisure compare both together. Our College copy of the first is not entire, but wants some chapters somewhere in the Epistles ; I think either in Romans or Corinthians, not remembering certainly in which.

I have sent you a specimen of the Lambeth copy of the Bible ; enough to confute Mr. Russel's pretences. I have also sent you some readings collected out of Trevisa ; which are an argument to me that the common translation ascribed to Wickliff is not Trevisa's.

The Old-Testament-texts I have compared, and placed oppositely in the paper I send : the texts of the New, you can yourself compare with the books I send. Mr. Innys will not sell his copy under three pounds, but he lends it you free-cost, if I remember his words to me some time ago. I design for Windsor on Saturday next, God willing : and there I intend to spend my time between this and Whitsunday. Thither you may please to direct to me after you have received the books from Wilkins. I shall be glad to know that you have received them safe. I deliver them out this day to Mr. Wilkins's journeyman. He himself is not at home.

I am, good Sir,

Your affectionate Friend and faithful  
humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Mr. Wilkins's man now tells me that the parcel cannot be sent out before Wednesday next : but he promises me to be punctual and careful.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

## No. XV.

Magd. Coll. July 1, 1729.

DEAR SIR,

I AM laying out for materials towards your complete account of the English translations of the Bible, or of any part of the Bible. But that I may not do more than I need, let me first acquaint you what materials I have, and do you please to let me know whether you already have any of the same.

I will begin with *Tindale's New Testament of 1526*. I cannot meet with the book itself yet, though I do expect to find a copy or two at Emanuel College: but I can send you a very particular account of the book and its editions, Dutch and English, out of *George Joye's Apologye, 1534*. Have you that Apology? I have no mind to transcribe several pages to no purpose.

The next in order is *Tindale's Translation of the Five Books of Moses, A. 1530*. This I have not met with: but his prologues to every book may be seen in Tindale's Works, printed by John Daye, 1573.

*The Psalter of 1530*, by Joh. Aleph, and printed at Argentine by Foye. This book I have by me, and shall send you account of.

*George Joye's Psalter*, and Jeremy, both of 1534. Those I have, and shall send account of, unless you tell me you have them.

*Coverdale's Bible in folio, 1535*. This I have, and shall make report of.

*Matthew's Bible in folio 1537*. This I have.

*Coverdale's of 1539*, vellum, St. John's: and another paper one, I have.

*Taverner's of 1539*, I also have.

*The Great Bible of 1540*, I have not at present, but believe I shall meet with one: otherwise you may get an account of it from Sion College.

*Tunstall and Heath's of 1541*, I have.

*Coverdale's Anglo-Latin Test. 1538* spurious; *1539* genuine: I have both, and shall send account of them.

*Coverdale's quarto of 1550*, I have.

*Beck's Bible of 1549*, I have.



The *Geneva New Testament in 12<sup>o</sup>. of 1557*. The first with distinction of verses I have, and shall give account of.

† The *Geneva Folio Bible of 1560*, the first edition (be it fol. or 4to.) I cannot yet find, though it is in Bishop More's library.

*Parker's first edition of 1568*, and *second of 1572*. I have both, and shall send accounts of them.

As to *Delayne*, I must desire you to explain yourself. Do you take it for an English version? His new Latin version of 1540, I have. The dedication is a very long one, thirty-eight pages in large 4to. and I do not see any great use of it. Please to open your mind a little further upon this head in your next.

As to the sentences of scripture in Elizabeth's Liturgy, (the same with those in Edward's of 1552,) I am very sure they are not taken from any one edition of the Bible: but the compilers translated as they thought proper, or selected out of several editions. Only, the Psalms are all exactly the same with the great Bible of 1541. I intend to send you some accounts to look at in a little time, that you may peruse them, and may then send to me again for any further particulars, before I part with the books I have by me. I would send the parcel to Parker for you, but is he to be directed to at the King's Head, where Wilkins was; or has he changed the sign, or removed the shop? Send me Wickeliff's Testament hither when transcribed, and I will do you all the service I can in collating. I propose (God willing) to stay here till the end of October. But if any sudden occasion should make me leave Cambridge sooner, I will take care of your papers.

I am, good Sir,

Your very faithful Friend and Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

You will excuse the haste  
of this scribble.

I had almost forgot to mention *Sir John Cheek's* <sup>2</sup>*New Testament*, (if it be Cheek's) printed in 1550, Anglo-Latin, 4to. or large 8vo. I have the book, and am searching diligently for some certain proofs either of its being Cheek's or not Cheek's.

† Mr. Lewis has not properly distinguished these two editions, having described them *both* as *Bibles*. See Mr. Todd's *Vindication of English*

*Translations and Translators*, 1819. App. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See Lewis's *Hist.* p. 186.

It is by J.C. It is out of the Greek into English, with Erasmus's Latin opposite. Maunsell, in his Catalogue, twice ascribes a Testament to him. And yet neither Bale, nor Langbain, nor Strype seem to have known any thing of it. I will inquire further into it.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

No. XVI.

AN account of the seven editions of Tindale's New Testament, chiefly from George Joye's Apologye, published 1535, Feb. 27.

1526.

1. The first edition was published by Tindale himself, (though he put not his name to it,) and in this year, as is well proved by Strype, in his Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. Joye speaks thus, p. 39, (according as I have paged it,) "Tindal aboute viii " or ix yere agoo translated and printed the New Testament, in " a mean great volume; but yet wythoute kalendar, concordances " in the margent, and table in thende<sup>a</sup>."

1527, or thereabout.

2. The next was a Dutch edition, not revised by Tindale himself. We may call it the first Dutch edition<sup>b</sup>, of which Joye thus speaks, p. 39. "And anon aftir, the Dwchemen goto a " cotype, and printed it agen, in a small volume, adding the " kalandare in the begynning, concordances in the margent, and " the table in thende. But yet, for that they had no Englishhe " man to correcke the setting, thei themselfe, havynge not the " knowlege of our tongue, were compelled to make many mo " fautes than were in the cotype, and so corrupted the boke, that " the simple reder might ofte tymes be taryed, and steek." This edition, by what will be observed of the next, I judge to have been a small 12mo. such as the English Psalter was printed in by Johan. Aleph, or Francis Foye, at Argentine, 1530. and by Joye, or Marten Emperour, in 1530. [I think, at Antwerp.]

1528 *perhaps*, or 1529.

3. The next was a second Dutch edition, of which Joye goes

<sup>a</sup> See Lewis's Hist. of Transl. 2d ed. p. 75.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 80.

on thus, p. 39. "c Afir this thei printed it agein also, without " a correctour, in a greater letter and volume, with the figures " in thapocalipse, whiche were therefore miche falser than their " firste." He observes further of this and the former, that " there were of them both about 5 thousand bokis printed." There is a copy of this edition belonging to Emanuel College, marked i. 5—66. I have it now in my hand. I make this judgment from the figures; that is, cuts, drawings, in the Apocalypse. It is imperfect, both beginning and end torn out. It is a large 12mo, if it may not be called a small 8vo. The titles and chapters are in red letter. There is part of *the prologe unto the Newe Testament* at the beginning. And there are *the Epistles of the Olde Testament after the use of Salisbury* at the end; but part torn off. These were all sold off before 1534.

1533 *perhaps*, or 1534.

4. A third Dutch edition <sup>d</sup> in a smaller character and volume. Joye goes on thus: "When these two pryntes—were al soulede, " more than a twelve moneth agoo, Tind. was pricked forthe to " take the Testament in hande, to print it, and correcke it, as " he professeth and promyseth to do, in the later ende of his " first translation. But T. prolonged and differred so necessary " a thing, and so just desyers of many men. In so miche that " in the mean ceason, the Dewchmen prynted it agen the thyrd " tyme, in a small volume lyke their firste prynt, but miche more " false than ever it was before.—Thei printed them, and that " most false, and about two thousand bokis, and had shortly solde " them al. Al this longe while T. slept, for nothing came from " him, as farre as I coude perceive." p. 41.

1534.

5. <sup>e</sup> A fourth Dutch edition corrected now at last by George Joye, who took the liberty to correct the translator himself, in some few instances, as well as the printers, and thereby gave very <sup>f</sup> grievous offence to Tindale. This edition must bear date 1534, because Tindale, in the preface to his of 1534, November, observes that Joye's was brought him, when his own was in the press, "almost fynessed."

Mr. Baker has noted down an edition, which he has seen, but forgets where, entitled thus: *The Newe Testament, imprinted at Antwerp, by Marten Emperour, Anno M.D.XXXIIII.* I make

<sup>c</sup> See Lewis's Hist. of Trans. p. 65\*.  
dates it 1530.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 79\*—85.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. pp. 66\*, 73\*; but Lewis  
<sup>f</sup> [See Fox, c. 2. p. 515.]

no question but that is the very edition I am now speaking of : and the same Marten Emperour printed Joye's Psalter that very year, as appears from the Psalter itself, now in my hand. However, Joye's edition of T.'s Testament may be infallibly distinguished from any other by this plain mark, which I shall note in the words of Tindale's preface ; " thorow oute Mat. Mark, " and Luke perpetually, and ofte in the Actees, and sometyme " in John, and also in the Hebrues, where he fyndeth this worde " *resurreccion*, he chaungeth yt into *the lyfe after this lyfe*, or *verie lyfe*, and soche lyk." *Tynd. pref.* cited in Joye's Apol. p. 52. I proceed now to give Joye's own account of this edition of his, which is the fourth Dutch, and makes the fifth in the whole. Apol. p. 41. (numb. of bs. now printed 2000.) " Then the " Dewche began to printe them the fowrth tyme, because thei " sawe no man els goyng about them: and aftir thei had " printed the first leife, which copye another Englishsh man had " corrected to them, thei came to me, and desiered me to cor- " recke them their copie ; whom I answered,—that if T. amende " it with so gret diligence as he promyseth, yours wil be never " solde. Yisse quod thei, for, if he prynte two thousand and " we as many, what is so little a nnumber for all Englonde? And " we wil sel ours beter cheape : and therefore we doubt not of " the sale.—p. 42. The printer came to me agen and offred " me two stivers and a halfe for the correcking of every sheet " of the copye ; which folden contayneth xvi leaves : and for " three stivers which is 4 pence halpeny sterling, I promised to " do it. So that in al I had for my labour but xiv shylyngis " flemesshe. Which labour, had not the goodnes of the deede " and comon profyte and helpe to the readers compelled me more " than the money, I wolde not have done yt for 5 tymes so " miche, the copie was so corrupt, and especially the table. " And yet seith T. I did it of covetousnes. If this be covetous- " nes, then was Tindal moche more covetous. For he (as I " herd saye) toke x ponde for his correction. p. 43.—p. 45. " This Testament was printed or T. was begun, and that not by " my pervencion, but by the printers quicke expedicion and T. " own longe sleeping. For as for me, I had nothing to do with " the printing therof, but correcked their copie only. As where " I founde a worde falselie printed, I mended it : and when I " came to some derke sentencis that no reason coulde gathered " of them, whether it was by the ignoraunce of the first transla-

“ tour or of the prynter, I had the Latyne text by me, and  
 “ made yt plain. And where any sentence was unperfite or  
 “ clene left oute, I restored it agene, and gave many wordis  
 “ their pure and native significacion in their places, which thei  
 “ had not before.”

1534.

6. Tindale's own correct copy. *The Newe Testament diligently corrected and printed in the yere of oure Lorde M.CCCC and XXXIIII. in November.* I take this title from Joye's title page to his *Apologye*; which, I presume, is exact enough, in the thing at least, if not to the words. † To this edition was prefixed a very angry preface, complaining too severely against the liberties Joye had taken with his translation. That preface produced G. Joye's *Apologye and Answere unto Tindal's Pistle*, printed 1535, Feb. 27, in 12mo, pages 104.

The sixth edition may be known by its preface: or it may be known without it, or without title or date, by some alterations made in it, which Joye speaks of. The note to 1 Pet. iv. 6. “ the dead are the ignorant of God,” was not before this edition of 1534. Tindale's former editions read Matt. i. 18. *¶ married to Joseph*: but his editions of 1534 and after have *betrouthed*.

1536.

7. † *The Newe Testament yet once agayne corrected by Willyam Tindale &c. prynted in the yere of oure Lorde God M.D. and XXXVI.* 4to.

This title I take from a note of Mr. Baker, who has seen the edition with that title, but does not at present remember where. I have this edition now in my hands; but the copy is imperfect both at beginning and end. It belongs to Emanuel College, marked B—4—28. It is a 4to. and a pretty broad one, and the print appears to be English. It is not earlier than the edition of 1534, because of *betrouthed* in Matt. i. 18. It is not the edition of 1534, because it has not a fault which G. Joye charges upon that edition<sup>i</sup>, viz. this, that in the marginal gloss upon 1 John iii. there is noted, “ Love is the first precept and cause of all other,” and on the other side, “ Fayth is the firste commandment and love the seconde.” This staring contradiction of the edition of 1534 is prudently avoided in this more correct one of 1536.

† Lewis's Hist. ut supra.

‡ Ibid. p. 85.

§ [So reads an after edit. folio, 1537.]

¶ Ibid. p. 85.

These are the seven editions of Tindale's N. T. all in ten years' time, and amounting to about fifteen thousand books. I have seen but two of the seven, but hope to see more, either in my Lord Oxford's library, or Bishop More's, or where else I can think of. You have seen one copy: and, by the marks given, you will easily and certainly distinguish the edition, unless it be the *second* or *fourth*, which though easily distinguished from all besides, are not so easily distinguished from each other; being much alike, both Dutch prints, and of small character, and nearly of the same time. But if you happen to meet with one with a date, you may give a shrewd guess whether it be the second, or fourth, in the whole; whether the first or third of the Dutch editions.

I send you this, without waiting for an answer to my last; because, I think, I may be morally sure from your speaking before so doubtfully of the copy you had seen of Tindale's N. T. that you had not yet met with G. Joye's book, from which I have taken my accounts of all but the last. I found it accidentally in our public library: it is marked B—7—54. As it is a small piece, and I believe very rare, I may perhaps get it all transcribed, if I have leisure, before I leave this place. Since my last, I have got the folio edition of 1540, besides some others. I am procuring you copies of the dedication and preface of the Anglo-Latin of 1538, and also of the dedication and preface of 1539. You shall have all other proper materials as fast as I can get them ready.

I am, good Sir,

Your affectionate Friend and humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Magd. Coll. July 5, 1729.

All I can hitherto find of Richard Culmer is, that he was scholar of the foundation in our College in 1617.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,  
of Mergate in Kent.*

N<sup>o</sup>. XVII.*Magd. Coll. July 13, 1729.*

DEAR SIR,

I HAD the favour of your's bearing date the 7th instant. I perceive, I had already done some things which might have been spared: nevertheless, since the papers are drawn up, I shall send you all in a little time. In the mean while, I shall here send you some general or casual observations. I distinguish whole Bibles by these several names. 1. Coverdale's, alias Cranmer's, alias Great Bible. 2. Matthew's. 3. Geneva. 4. Parker's. 5. Rhemish, alias Doway. 6. King James's. To speak severally now of the two first.

## 1. Coverdale's.

Coverdale's of 1535, improved by Cranmer &c. in 1539 and 1540, and again by T. and H. in 1541, and reprinted at London by Harrison in 1562, and again at Rouen 1566. You will have an account of this last among my papers. All these editions (excepting the first of 1535) have the small letter in Psalm the xivth and in 1 John v. 7. There is another peculiarity in three of them, worth the noting, that they call the apocryphal books *Hagiographa*; taking indeed Mattheue's preface to the Apocrypha of 1537, but changing Apocrypha, as often as it occurs, (which it does several times,) into *Hagiographa*. The three editions which do thus, are 1539, 1540, 1562.

N. B. Was it not this very Bible that Henry VIII.<sup>1</sup> and Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth authorized by their successive injunctions? And it was never out of place till Parker's succeeded them in 1568.

N. B. The edition of 1562 follows 1540, in the Psalms, and otherwise: but 1566 follows 1541.

## 2. Matthew's.

This appeared first in 1537, and was the first which had a royal license, though Coverdale's having no notes to give offence, afterwards carried the bell. Hither I refer Taverner's of 1539, and Becke's of 1549, and Mattheue's revised of 1551. These

<sup>1</sup> The Letters Patent of King Henry VIII. concerning this translation may be seen in Lewis's Hist. p. 121. briefly cited. The whole is copied by Burnet, and Wilkins, and by Mr. Todd, in his Vindication of our Authorized Translation, App. 2.

all omit that part of Psalm xivth which others have in small letter. And as to 1 John v. that of 1537, and Taverner, and 1551, have it in small letter; while Becke's includes it in hooks as a parenthesis, a method begun by Coverdale in his of 1535, or rather by Tindale in his N. T. of 1526. Matthew's Bible most pleased the Puritans, till the Geneva Bible succeeded in its room.

I have nothing now in particular to say of the other Bibles beyond what you will find in the packet I intend you.

As to Sir John Cheke's, I am satisfied it was no new version of his: perhaps J. C. might mean another, the version is the common one of that time. But of this I shall write more largely in my papers. J. C. includes 1 John v. 7. in a parenthesis.

I mentioned to you in my last the figures, wooden cuts, in the Apocalypse of Tyndale's N. T. the second Dutch edition. I have since taken notice of the editions besides, which have the like cuts in the Apocalypse, and they are these: Matthewe's of 1537, Becke's of 1549, Jugg's 4to. Test. of 1550, the Great Bible of 1562. Parker's has them all in one plate, or page, just before the Apocalypse, in the edition of 1572. By the way, I observe, that Parker's of 1572 has both the editions of the Psalter (Hebrew and Septuagint) columnwise, facing each other. Later editions left out the new version from the Hebrew, and retained only the old version which is in our Liturgy. Qu. When began that frugal contrivance? How long before 1602?

I have been examining thoroughly all that belongs to Ham-pole's Psalter of 1330, and 1340; and shall send a particular account of it. But Wickliff's Bible or Testament will take me up longer time. I have seen a Testament somewhat older than that I once lent you: and I just dipped into one at Bene't, or part of one, (P. vi.) which is quite another version, and older than any I had before seen. Upon a transient view, I judge of the age only by the participles running in *ande* instead of *ing*, (as for instance, *lastande* for *lasting*.) which is a mark of age above any thing I have yet seen of Wickliff's, and goes up, a century perhaps, higher, or half a century at least. But I shall inquire more minutely when I can have leisure. It is a misfortune to us, that no manuscript of that College can be borrowed out: otherwise I should not scruple the pains of reading it all over.



R. ix. x. of the same library is older than the common MSS. of Wickliff, but not so old as P. vi.

I know it has been the common practice of the scribes to take a liberty of suiting the spelling, and language too, to the time they transcribe in. This I have observed in the several copies of Robert of Gloucester, and in the written and printed copies of Trevisa, and in Hampole's Psalter; the later the copy, the more modern always the English itself, and not the spelling only: so that it will be the harder to judge of the age of versions by either spelling or language. Perhaps the common copies of Wickliff may not be much older than 1440, as I have one bearing date 1437, though it looks old: if so, one would expect that the copies written about 1380 should be older English, though the same version. But of this I shall consider at leisure.

I did not send you, in my last, the title-page of Joye's little piece against Tindale, from whence I took the editions. It is a curiosity worth the transcribing, though somewhat long.

<sup>k</sup> *An Apoloqye made by George Joye to satisfye (if it may be) W. Tindale: to pouрге and defende himself ageinst so many sclauderouse lyes fayned upon him in Tindals uncharitable and unsober pystle, so well worthye to be prefixed for the reader, to induce him to the understanding of hys New Testament diligently corrected and printed in the yeare of oure Lorde M.CCCC and XXXIIII. in November.*

*I knowe and beleve that the bodyes of every dead man shall ryse agayne at Domes daye.*

*Psalme cxx. Lorde, delyver me from lying lyppers, and from a deccatfull tongue. Amen.*

1535.

At the end of the book is,

*The xxvii daye of Februarye.*

It is observable, that Joye has the same motto from Psalm cxx. to his Psalter of 1534, in the title-page to it. But that Psalter was finished in August, two months or more before the date of Tindale's new edition of the N. T. However, probably, he had then heard of T.'s resentment, and of what was preparing: and indeed he intimates as much in the beginning of his Apology.

Lewis's Hist. p. 83.

In the College Library at Windsor, I took notice of a copy of Matthew's New Testament, in 8vo. printed 1548. I can get you an account of it, if you shall think proper to take that in with the rest.

I am, good Sir,  
Your very faithful and affectionate Friend,  
and Servant,  
DAN. WATERLAND.

*To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

<sup>1</sup> N<sup>o</sup>. XVIII.

*Hampole's English Psalter and Comment*, MS. Fol.  
Sidney Coll. Cant. K. 5—3.

THE book begins with a prologue, which sets forth the use and excellency of the Psalter. In the close of the prologue, something is said of the comment itself by the compiler.

“<sup>m</sup> In this werke I seke no straunge ynglys, bot lightest, and comonest, and swilk that is most like unto the Latyne: so that thai that knawes noght Latyne, be the ynglys may com to many Latyne wordis. In the translacione I felogh the letter als mekille as I may, and thor I fynde no propur ynglis, I felogh the wit of the worde, so that thai that shalle rede it, them thar not drede errynge. In the expownyng I felogh holi Doctors. For it may comen into sum envious mannes honde, that knawys not what that he suld saye, att wille saye that I wist not what I sayd, and so do harme tille hym and tille other.”

The composition and contrivance of the Psalter and comment is, to produce every Psalm, a paragraph only at a time, in Latin; and then under the Latin follows a literal translation of that paragraph, to which immediately is subjoined a short English comment on the same. The comment generally is dry and

<sup>1</sup> There is no date to this large collection of papers; but the letter immediately following it, and dated July 24, 1729, mentions a packet, of about

eight or nine sheets, having been sent the day before, which appears to be this collection.

<sup>m</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 13, 14.

insipid enough, after the mystical allegorical way, current at that time.

<sup>n</sup> At the end of the Psalter follow the several canticles treated in the same way as the Psalms had before been.

Canticum Isaie. 12. *Confitebor tibi* &c.

Canticum Anne. 1 Sam. 2. *Exultavit cor meū* &c.

Canticum Moysi. Exod. 15. *Cantemus Dno.* &c.

Oracio Abacuch. Abac. 1. *Dne. audiui* &c.

*Audite Celi que loquar.* Deut. 32.

*Magnificat* &c. Luc. 1.

*Et sic explicit Psalterium David.*

The xcviith (alias xcivth) Psalm in his version.

“ Comes, glad we to oure Lorde, joy we to God oure hele.

“ Before occupy we his face in schrifte, and in psalmes joye we  
“ to him.

“ For God is grete Lorde, and Kynge grete oboven alle  
“ goddes.

“ For in his hondes are alle the endes of erthe, and the hegh-  
“ nes of hilles is his.

“ For of hym is the see, and he made it, and the drye his  
“ hende schope.

“ Comes, loute we, and falle we, and grete we before our Lorde  
“ that made us, for he is our Lord God.

“ And we folk of his pastoure, and schepe of his hende.

“ This dey, if yee haf herde his voyce, willes nought harden  
“ youre hertis.

“ Als in stiryng, after the dey of temptacioun in deserte.

“ Whore youre faders temped me, thei proved and thei sowe  
“ my werkes.

“ Fourty yere I was wrethede to that generacioun, and I seyde,  
“ ay that thei erred in herte.

“ And thei knew nought my weyes, to whom I sware in my  
“ wrethe, if thei enter in my rest.”

Sidney College copy is a very old one, coeval probably with the author, who died in the year 1349. We may set the comment at 1330. The language and spelling are antique; many old

<sup>n</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 15.

words, such as grew out of use by Wickliff's time. The participle generally ending in *ande*, instead of *ynge*; as *punyschande* for *punyschyng*: and abstract nouns terminating in *hede* instead of *ness*; as *fairhede*, *barnhede*, for *fairness*, [beauty,] *barrenness*: both which are certain marks of age, and conform to the oldest MSS. of Robert of Gloucester. They are two more copies of this comment, one in Trinity College, another in Bene't (1—1—); but both modern in comparison; and the language altered. Besides that the copy of Trinity College is full of interpolations, against Prelates, Priests, and Friars, which swell the bulk about one third above its native size. There is in St. James's Library another, a very fair copy, but interpolated too, as I imagine by the description of it.

The several MSS. of Hampole are thus marked.

Sidney-Coll. MS.—K. 5—3. the oldest copy, and uncorrupt.

Trinity-Coll. MS.—R. 10.—25. interpolated.

Bene't-Coll. MS.—1—1 a later copy, but of the genuine Hampole, and not of the interpolated.

King's Library—E. 15—12. Whether of the genuine, or the other, I am not certain.

In that of King's Library there is this note, as Mr. Russel testifies by a memorandum left in a spare page of Trinity College Copy:

“Here bigynneth the prologe upon the Sauter, that Rychard heremyte of Hampole translated into Englyshe, aftir the sentence of Doctours and resun.” °That copy is imperfect, from Psalm xviith, and in Trinity copy there is a good deal erased, especially in Psalm lxxvi. and lxxvii. and the two last leaves torn out. The reason probably is, because in those places there were rude reflections upon Priests, or Prelates, or Friars.

¶ *Some Account of the MS. of Bene't.* P. vi.

I have run over, hastily, the gloss of St. Mark and St. Luke. I see nothing of the style or turn of Wickliff in either: no reflections upon Friars, Priests, or Prelates that I observed. Besides, the language, I conceive, is older than Wickliff's time, and comes nearer to Hampole's. I judge the version and com-

° Lewis's Hist. p. 15.

¶ Ibid. p. 16.

ment (or gloss) to be of 1340, or 1350. I shall here give some specimens of the language.

Mark i. 7. "And he prechyde sayande, a 9stalworther thane  
" I schal come eftar me, of whom I am not worthi downfallande,  
" or knelande, to louse the thwonge of his <sup>r</sup>chawcers."

Mark vi. 22. "When the doghtyr of that Herodias was in  
" oomyn, and had <sup>s</sup>tombylde and pleside to Herowde, and also  
" to the sittande at mete, the kyngge says to the wenche."

Mark xii. 1. "A man made a vynere, and he made aboute a  
" hegge, and grofe a lake, and <sup>t</sup>byggede a tower."

Mark xii. 38. "Bese ware of the scribes whylke will go in  
" stolis and be <sup>u</sup>haylsede in the market, and for to sit in the  
" fyrste chayers."

Luke ii. 7. "—and layde hym in cratche, for to hym was no  
" place in the dyversory."

As this manuscript seems to be near the age of Hampole, it may not be improper to compare the Magnificat (Luke i. 46, &c.) of this version with Hampole's annexed to his Psalter among the Canticles at the end.

*<sup>x</sup>Bene't MS.*

" My soule hogis, or lofys,  
" God, and my spirit joyed in  
" God my hele.

" For he has byholdyn tho  
" mekenes of hys handemay-  
" den.

" Lo therefore blysed me  
" schal say all generaciouns.

" For he has done grete  
" thinges, for he is myghty,  
" and holy tho name of hym.

" And hys mercy fro progeny  
" to progenyes, to the dredande  
" hym.

<sup>q</sup> [*Stalworther* ʃal-ʃep̄h, a ʃal et ʃep̄h̄: Chalybeus Animus, nisi a ʃaðol stabilis &c. Hickes, p. 128. Gramm. Anglo-Sax.]

<sup>r</sup> [*Chawcers*, from the French, from the Latin *calceus*.]

*Hampole's MS. Sidney.*

" My saule wurshipes the  
" Lord, and my gost joyed in  
" God my hele.

" For he loked the mekenes  
" of his handmayden.

" Lo for whi of that blisful,  
" me schal say, alle genera-  
" ciouns.

" For he hath done to me  
" grete thinges that myghty is,  
" and his name haly.

" And the mercy of hym for  
" kynreden to kynredens to the  
" dredland hym.

<sup>s</sup> [*Tombylde*, Sax. *tumban saltare*, *tumbiad salire*.]

<sup>t</sup> [*Byggede*, Sax. *býcgan, ædificare*.]

<sup>u</sup> [*Haylsede*, Sax. *hælu salus, hæle-tunge salutatio, halctan salutare*.]

<sup>x</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 32.

*Bene't MS.*

“ He made power in hys  
 “ arme, he ysparbylde tho  
 “ proude in thoughte of there  
 “ herte.

“ He doun put tho myghty  
 “ of sete, and he heghed tho  
 “ meke.

“ Tho hungry he filled with  
 “ godys, and tho ryche he lefte  
 “ voyde.

“ He toke Israel hys chylde,  
 “ a umthoghte of hys mercy.

“ As he spake to our fadyrs,  
 “ Abraham, and sede of him in  
 “ worldys.”

*Hampole's MS. Sidney.*

“ He did myght in his arme,  
 “ he scatered the proude fro  
 “ the thought of their hert.

“ He did doune the myghty  
 “ of setil, and he heghed the  
 “ meke.

“ The hungerande he ful-  
 “ filled of godes, and the riche  
 “ he left <sup>z</sup>tome.

“ He receyved Israel his  
 “ childe, he is unthoght of  
 “ his mercy.

“ Als he spake to oure faders,  
 “ to Abraham and to his sede  
 “ in werldes.”

<sup>b</sup>Note, the method and composition of this gloss is very like that of Hampole's upon the Psalms. The text is first produced in Latin, (a paragraph or more at a time,) then follows the same in English, and after that a short comment. And the comment is much more in the allegorical mystical way, than in the literal.

## MSS. R. ix. x.

They are the common version of Wickliff, (as it is called,) but the xth is the older copy.

## Sidney MS. K. 5. 14.

This edition is not the same with the common one: it is nearly the same with that which I lent you out of our College: only that it appears an older copy, and somewhat fuller of

<sup>y</sup> [*Sparbylde*. I suppose, a slight corruption from the French *esparpiller*, to scatter. Latin, *propello propellere*.]

<sup>z</sup> [*tome*. In the interpolated copy it is written *tome*. It is from the Danish, or Islandick *tomur*, void, empty. See Hickes's Islandick Dictionary in his Thesaurus Ling. Septentr.

We preserve something of the same to this day, in the North at least,

where *to teem* is to empty, or to pour out.]

<sup>a</sup> [*Umthoghte*, from the Saxon *ymb-þencean*, though I have not met with the word in composition in the old Saxon.

In Benson's Saxon Vocabulary is *ymb-ðeohtian deliberare*. I think, *ymb-ðincan*, or *ymb-ðencean* more natural: but choose as you like.]

<sup>b</sup> Lewis's Hist. pp. 16, 17.

synonymous words inserted. I shall here set down the same texts as before, for a sample<sup>c</sup>.

Mark i. 7. "And prechid seiynge, a strengre than I schal  
"come aftir me, of whom I knelyng am not worthi for to undoo,  
"or unbynde, the thong of his schon." (Our MS. has the same.)

Mark vi. 22. "Whanne the doughtir of the ilke Herodias  
"hadde entrid in and lepte and plesid to Heroude, and also to  
"men restyngre, the kyngre seide to the wench." (Our MS. has  
*thilk for the ilke.*)

Mark xii. 1. "A man plauntid a vineyerd and puttede about  
"an hegge, and dalf a lake, and buldid a tour."

Mark xii. 48. "Be ye war of scribis that wolen wandre in  
"stooles and be salutid in chapyngre and sit—in the firste  
"chairs." (So our MS. also.)

This manuscript has, at the beginning, a table of the Epistles and Gospels, intitled in the MS. itself; *The Quotaciouns of Epistlis and Gospels that ben rad bi al the year.*

At the end, after the Apocalypse, are *The Lessouns of the olde Lawe that ben rad in the Churche.*—*The first Fridai pistil of Advent. Isaie li.*

#### The Conclusion.

*Expliciunt Lecciones veteris Testamenti que leguntur per totum Annum.*

I am still of opinion, that this edition or version is older than the common one which passes under the name of Wickliff: but which of them is the true Wickliff I cannot yet determine. I think the way must be, to find some part or parts of scripture, which are undoubtedly Wickliff's, and to compare with the editions. Wharton, in his *Auctarium Historiæ Dogmaticæ*, has chalked out the method. He speaks of the Norfolk MS. copy of the Gospels, as being unquestionably Wickliff's: if that be true, we may, by the help of that copy, come to some certainty in the matter. Perhaps you may have interest enough with some of the Royal Society to borrow that MS. or if it be contrary to rule to lend a MS. out, then either you or I (when at London) may take an opportunity of going to their library to consult it.

Having a little spare paper here left, I shall transcribe the

<sup>c</sup> Lewis's Hist. pp. 30, 31.

Magnificat out of the MS. Testament of Sidney, and then you will have three different versions<sup>d</sup> to compare with one another, and with the common one called Wickliff's.

“ My soule magnyfieth the Lord, and my spirit hath gladdid  
“ in God myn *helthe*.

“ For he hath biholden the mekenesse of his hondmaiden.

“ Lo forsothe of this, alle generaciouns scholen seie me  
“ blessid.

“ For he that is mygtti, hath don to me greet thinges, and  
“ his name holi.

“ And his merci fro kynrede into kynredis to men dredynge  
“ hym.

“ He maade mygt in his arm, he scatered proud men with  
“ mynde of his herte.

“ He puttide doun mygtti men fro sete, and enhaused meke.

“ He hath fulfild hungri men with goode thinges, and hath  
“ left riche men voide.

“ He havynge mynde of his merci, took up Israel his child.

“ As he hath spoken to oure Fadris, to Abraham and to his  
“ seed into worldis.”

*The Psalter of 1530.* Publ. Libr. 12mo, small. A—7—43.

Title-page.

*† The Psalter of David in Englishe, purely and faithfully translated after the Text of Feline, every Psalmes hauynge his argument before, declarynge brestly thentente and substance of the wholl Psalmes.*

Preface.

“ *Johan Aleph greteth the Englishe nation,* (in red letter.)

“ Be glad in the Lorde (dere brothern) and geve him thankes :  
“ which nowe at the laste of his merciabile goodnes hath sente  
“ ye his Psalter in Englishe, faithfully and purely translated :  
“ which ye may not mesure and juge after the comen texte.  
“ For the trowth of the Psalmes must be fetched more nygh  
“ the Ebrue verite, in the which tonge David, with the other  
“ syngers of the Psalmes firste sunge them. Let the gostly  
“ lerned in the holy tonge be juges. It is the spirituall man  
“ (saith Paule) which hath the spirit of God, that muste decerne  
“ and juge all thynges. And the men quietly sittynge (if the

<sup>d</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 32.

<sup>e</sup> [In our Coll. MS. *helthe gifer*, the rest agrees.]

<sup>f</sup> Lewis's Hist. pp. 86, 87.



“ truth be shewed) they must juge and stand up and speke (the  
 “ firste interpreter holdynge his pease) God gave ye true spi-  
 “ rituall and quiete sittynge juges. Amen.”

xcv. Psalm.

“ Come and let us triumphe, let us make melody to the Lorde :  
 “ the defender of owre hellthe.

“ Let us haste to come into his presens with praysegvynges :  
 “ let us synge unto hym with hymnes.

“ For the Lorde is a righte grete God : and kynge over all  
 “ goddis.

“ In whois hande are the depe secretes of the erthe : and the  
 “ heighthes of the hylles.

“ The see is hys, for he made it : and all contened theryn his  
 “ handes have fashioned.

“ Come therefore and let us worshype : and fall downe upon  
 “ ower knees before the Lorde owre Maker.

“ For he is oure God and we are the people of his pasture,  
 “ and the flocke whom he dryvethe : (yf we thys daye geve hede  
 “ and beleve his worde)

“ Se that ye harden not yowre hartes as they dide in the  
 “ deserte of Meribah in the tyme of temptacion

“ When yowre fathers tempted and provoked me : and yet  
 “ thei se my workes.

“ Forty yeares I chide with the nacion : and I sayd, this peple  
 “ errethe in their hartes, they alowe not my wayes.

“ Unto whom I swore in myn angre : they shall never entre  
 “ into the lande of my reste.”

At the end is, a *Table to fynde the Psalmes* : it is alphabetical,  
 having the beginning of every Psalm according to the Latin, and  
 referring to Psalm and fol.

In the close is

*Emprinted at Argentine in the yeare of our Lorde 1530, the 16  
 daye of January by me Francis Foye. Praise ye the Lorde.*

‡ *The Psalter of 1534*, in small 12mo. Publ. Libr. A—7. 42.

Title-page.

*David's Psalter, diligently and faithfully translated by George  
 Joye, with brief Arguments before every Psalm, declaringe the  
 effecte therof.*

*Psal. cxx. Lorde, delyver me from lyinge lippes and from a deceaitful tonge.*

xcv Psalme.

“ Come and let us leap for joye before the Lorde, let us syngo unto the rocke of our savinge helth.

“ Let us come before him with thankis gevinge, and in the Psalms singe unto him.

“ For he is the Lorde, both God and Kinge most mighty above all goddis.

“ In his handis ar the depe secretis of the erthe, and also the strength of the mountains.

“ The sea is his, for he hath made it, all the drye lande joyninge therto, his handis have facioned it.

“ Come and let us fal downe before him, let us bowe downe oure knees and beseche the Lorde oure maker.

“ For he is our God, we be the peple of his pasture, and the flock off his hande, so longe as we cease not to obaye his voyce.

“ Be not harde herted as were they that chode and rebelled agenste him in the wildernes.

“ Where youre fathers casted me of, they proved me and sawe my workis.

“ Fourtye yeres it yrked me of that nacion, in so myche that I sayde : this peples herte is gone from me, for they knowlege not my wayes.

“ In my grete wrath therefore made I my othe agenst them, that they shulde not come into my reste.”

The Conclusion.

*Thus endeth the text of the Psalmes, translated oute of the Latyna by George Joye; the yere of our Lorde M.D.XXXIII. the moneth of Auguste.*

Then follows a table, such as in the other Psalter, and at the end of the table is

*Martyne Emperour, 1534.*

N. B. Though I call these 12mos. yet they are more properly in 16<sup>o</sup>. were it usual so to note books.

*Erasmus's Paraphrase, Tom. i. 1548.*

Title.

<sup>h</sup> *The First Tome or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon*

<sup>h</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 161.

*the Newe Testament. Emprinted at London in Flete Strete at the Signe of the Sunne. By Edwarde Whitchurche the last daie of Januarie. Anno Domini 1548.*

1. Nicolas Udall's Dedication to Edwarde the Sixthe.
2. Nicolas Udall's Preface to the Reader.

Queen Katherine Dowager procured the paraphrase to be translated into the vulgar tongue by several hands. (Udall's Pref.) And Edward the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth, by their injunctions, recommended it to public use.

<sup>i</sup>The Second Tome was

*Imprinted at London in Flete Street at the Signe of the Sunne. By Edwarde Whitchurche, the 16th days of August, Anno 1549.*

The Dedication is to the King, by Myles Coverdall.

The version contained in, or going along with this paraphrase, ought, I think, to be taken notice of in its place, among the other English versions.

### *Matthew's New Testament in 8vo. A. D. 1548.*

Such an edition I have seen in the library at Windsor: if it will be of any use, an account of it may easily be procured from thence. I can take account of it myself when there: or can write to a friend when I am elsewhere.

### 1540, *Delayne's N. T. Latin.*

*Novum Testamentum Latinum, ad antiquissima Græcorum exemplaria, quam diligentissime castigatum: inque Latinam Phrasim transfusum, quicquid erat idiotismi vel Græci vel Hebræi: quin et Scripturarum Concordantiis, una cum allusionibus, quam accuratissime illustratum.*

*Præterea difficillima quæque loca sunt passim aut explanata, aut certe eminus ostensa. Figuræ quoque Veteris Testamenti, cum spiritu ac veritate Novi, pensiculantur.*

*Estque præfixa Præfatio, quæ, præter alia Sacrarum literarum cognitu necessaria, argumenta quoque totius Novi Instrumenti ex ordine continet.*

*Per B. Galterum Delænum, Regiæ Majestatis Anglicanæ Biblioscopum.*

*Excudebat Londini Johannes Mayler Anno Dni. 1540.*

<sup>1</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 167.

<sup>k</sup> *The Geneva New Testament of 1557.*

[Mr. Baker's.]

It is in 12°. a small but very beautiful character: the first, I presume, in English with distinction of verses and numeral figures.

[Note that R. Stephens's first Greek one, with distinction of verses; such as the present, was printed 1551. And the first Latin Bible in octavo, with the like distinction, was 1555. I have seen that Latin Bible, by the favour of Mr. Baker; it ends thus: *Excudebat Roberto Stephano Conradus Badius, Anno M.D.LV. viii. idus Aprilis.*]

As to the Geneva New Testament, the title-page is,

*The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ conferred diligently with the Greke, and best approved Translations. With the Argument as wel before the Chapters as for every Boke and Epistle, also diversities of readings and most profitable Annotations of all harde places: whereunto is added a copious table. At Geneva, Printed by Conrad Badius M.D.LVII.*

Then follow,

1. The Epistle declaring that Christ is the end of the Lawe, by John Calvin.

2. To the Reader Mercie and peace through Christ our Saviour.

At the end,

*The Table of the Newe Testament, being an alphabetical Index. A perfecte Supputation of the Yeres and Time from Adam unto Christ, proved by the Scriptures, after the collection of divers Auctors. Printed by Conrad Badius M.D.LVII. this xth of June.*

Matt. iii. 2. "Saying, Repent, for the kyngdome of heaven is "at hand."

1 Pet. ii. 13. "Submit your selves unto all maner ordinance "of man for the Lordes sake, whether it be unto the kynge as "unto the chief head."

<sup>1</sup> 1534. *Joye's Jeremy*, Publ. Libr. A—9—12.

Title-page.

*Jeremy the Prophete, translated into Englishe, by George Joye; some tyme Fellowe of Peter College in Cambridge.*

<sup>k</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 207.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 88.

*The Songe of Moses is added in the ende, to magnifye our Lorde for the Fall of Pharao, the Bisshop of Rome.*

*Anno M.D. and XXXIIII in the monethe of Maye.*

Then follows *The Preface into the Prophete Jeremy.*

At the end of Jeremy *The ende of the Prophete Jeremy: translated by George Joye. An. M.D. XXIIII. mense Mais.* Then immediately follows,

“ To supplce the lefe, take here (Crysten reder) that godly  
“ and godly songe of Moses: wherewith thou oughtest now  
“ gloriously to magnifie and prayse God for the destruccion and  
“ throing downe of our cruel Pharao the Bisshop of Rome, non-  
“ other wyse then did Moses and his Chirche loauē him for  
“ drownyng of Pharao: whiche Pharao fygured our blodye  
“ Bisshops of Rome.

“ The songe of Moses and his Chirche, songen aftir Pharaos  
“ dethe, drowned with his hoste in the ydde sea.”

<sup>m</sup> *Coverdale's Fol. Bible of 1566.*

From an imperfect copy of Mr. Baker's, and another, imperfect also, of my own. Both together perfect.

Title-page.

*The Bible in Englishe of the largest and greatest volume: that is to saye, the Contentes of all the Hoyle Scripture, booth of the Oulde and Newe Testament. According to the Translation appoynted by the Queenes Majesties Injunctions to be read in all Churches within her Majesties Realme, at Roven, at the cost and charges of Richard Carmarden. Cum Privilegio 1566.*

Then follow,

1. The order howe the rest of holy scripture (beside the Psalter) is appoynted to be read.
2. Proper Lessons for first Lessons for Sundayes.
3. Lessons proper for holy dayes.
4. A brief Declaration of the Terms.
5. The Almanacke for xxx years, begin. with 1561.
6. To fynde Easter for ever.
7. What holy dayes to be observed.
8. A Table for the Order of the Psalmes Mornyng and Evenyng.
9. A Kalendar.

<sup>m</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 214.

10. The Prologe, beginning *Thoughe a man hadde a precyous jewell, &c.* At the bottom of the Prologue, *At R. by C. Hamilton.* At the end of Job, *At the cost and charges of Rycharde Carmarden, 1566.*

Title-page of N. T.

*The Newe Testament in Englyshe, translated after the Greke, contaynyng these bookes, &c.*

At the end is *A Table to find the Epistles and Gospels usually red in the Churche, &c.*

This edition is worth the notice on several accounts.

1. As being the latest edition of Coverdale; for such I take it to be, and after the pattern of Tonstal and Heath's of 1541. And so Psalm xiv. and 1 John v. 7. have the *small letter*, as usual in that Bible.

2. As being so late, and yet without distinction of verses; though the distinction had been introduced into the Geneva Bible in 1560, and into the Geneva Testament as early as 1557.

3. As being printed at Rouen, (qu. why?) and at the charge of Richard Carmarden, so far as the end of Job, at least. This Carmarden, I am told, was an officer of the Customs, and of good repute.

There is a Liturgy prefixed to this Bible, or part of a Liturgy, but differing much both from that of 1552 and that of 1559, as well as from two more which I have seen, 1578, 1592, prefixed to two copies of the Geneva Bible. It concludes with the Communion, leaving out the rest of the occasional Offices. One peculiarity is, that in the Litany, after "We humbly beseech thee, &c." is inserted a Psalm, or Hymn collected out of the Psalms, beginning thus: "Lorde, thou art become gracious unto thy land, &c."

Next follows the Prayer for the Queen's Majesty.

"O Lord our heavenly Father, hygh and myghty, Kyng of kynges, &c."

<sup>n</sup> *Myles Coverdale's Bible in folio, 1535.*

Publ. Libr. A.—4—9.

Title-page torn out.

*An Epistle unto the Kynges Highnessc.* The beginning torn

<sup>n</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 91.

out. The end is, *Youre Graces humble subjects and daylye Oratour*

*Myles Coverdale.*

Next is, A Prologe: *Myles Coverdale unto the Cristen reader.*

Then, The Names of the Bokes of the Hole Byble: the partition thus;

1. The Bokes of the Fyrst Parte: containing the Pentateuch.
2. The Bokes of the Seconde Parte. Josua—Hester.
3. The Bokes of the Thyrd Part. Job—Salomons Balettes.
4. The Prophetes.
5. Apocripha.
6. The Newe Testament.

The Partition of the New Testament.

- 1 The Gospelles and Actes.
2. The Epistles of St. Paul, which are but 12.
3. The First and Seconde Epistle of St. Peter. The Three Epistles of S. Jhon. The Epistle unto the Hebrues. The Epistle of S. James. The Epistle of S. Jude. The Revelacion of S. Jhon.

In the last page, *Prynted in the Yeare of our Lorde M.D.XXXV. and fynished the fourth daye of October.*

xcivth Psalm.

“ O come, let us prayse the Lorde, let us hertely rejoyse in the strength of oure salvacion.

“ Let us come before his presence with thankesgevyng, and shew our self glad in him with psalmes.

“ For the Lorde is a greate God, and a greate Kynge above all goddes.

“ In his honde are all the corners of the earth, and the strength of the hilles is his also.

“ The see is his, for he made it, and his hondes prepared the drie londe.

“ O come, let us worshipe and bow downe oure selues: let us knele before the Lord our Maker.

“ For he is oure God: as for us, we are the people of his pasture, and the shepe of his hondes.

“ To daye yf ye wil here his voyce, harden not youre hartes, as when ye provoked in tyme of temptacion in the wildernes.

“ Where youre fathers tempted me, proved me, and sawe my workes.

“ XL yeares long was I greved with that generacion, and

“ sayde : They ever erre in their hertes, they verely have not  
 “ knowne my wayes.

“ Therefore I sware unto them in my wrath, that they shulde  
 “ not enter into my rest.”

Matt. iii. 2. “ Saynge : Amende youre selves, the kyngdome  
 “ of heven is at honde.”

Psalm li. (als. l.) 3. “ Wash me well from my wickednesse,  
 “ and clense me from my synne.”

Gen. xxix. 31, 32. “ But when the Lorde sawe, that Lea was  
 “ nothinge regarded, he made her fruteful, and Rachel baren.

“ And Lea conceaved and bare a sonne, whom she called  
 “ Reuben, and sayde : The Lorde hath loked upon mine ad-  
 “ versitie. Now wyll my husbände love me.”

Mr. Wanley observes, that this Bible was printed at Zurich,  
 in the imprinting house of Christopher Froschover, anno 1535.

*Matthew's Bible in folio, 1537.*

° The copy is Mr. Baker's, imperfect ; but almost perfected  
 from a perfect copy in my Lord Oxford's library.

The Title-page.

*The Byble which is all the Holy Scripture: in which are contain-  
 ed the Old and Newe Testament, truly and purely translated into  
 Englysh: by Thomas Matthewe.*

*Esaye i. Hearcken to ye heavens, and thou earth geave eare: for  
 the Lorde speaketh.*

*M.D.XXXVII.*

*Set forth with the Kinge's most gracyous lycence.*

Next follow,

A Dedication to the King, by his Graces faythfull and true  
 subject, Thomas Matthew.

A Preface to the Reader.

Afterward follow,

1. A Calender with an Almanacke.

2. An Exhortation to the study of

the holy Scripture, gathered out of  
 the Byble. At the end J. R. denot-  
 ing, as Mr. Wanley judges, John  
 Rogers.

3. The summe and content of all the

holy Scripture, both of the Old and  
 Newe Testament.

} These three parts all  
 } torn off.

° Lewis's Hist. p. 105.



4. A Table of the pryncypal matters conteyned in the Byble.
5. The names of all the bokes of the Byble: and the contents of the chapters of every boke: with the nombre of the leaffe wherin the bokes begynne.
6. A brief rehersall of the yeares passed sence the begynnynge of the worlde unto this yeare of our Lorde M.CCCCC.XXXVII. both after the maner of the reckenynge of the Hebrues, and after the reckenynge of Eusebius and other chronyclers.

Title-page to the New Testament.

*The Newe Testament of our Sauyour Jesu Christ, newly and dylygently translated into Englishe, with Annotacions in the margent to helpe the reader to the understandynge of the Texte. Prynted in the yere of our Lord God M.D.XXXVII.*

The conclusion is thus.

*The Ende of the Newe Testament and of the whole Byble. To the honoure and prayse of God was this Byble prynted and fynished in the yere of our Lorde God a. M.D.XXXVII.*

This was the first authorized English Bible.

It has the figures or cuts in the Apocalypse, such as Tyndale's Testament of the third edition (second Dutch edition) has, a copy of which is in Emanuel. I—5—66.

At the beginning of the Prophets are R.G. on the top of the page, i. e. Richard Grafton; and E.W. at the bottom, i. e. Edward Whitchurch. At the end of the Old T. is W. T. i. e. William Tindale.

This Bible, probably, was printed at Paris. Mr. Wanley gives several good reasons to persuade us that it was not printed in England, rather too long to transcribe.

<sup>e</sup> *Taverner's Bible, 1539. Folio. Bibl. Publ.*

A—4—25.

Title-page.

*The most Sacred Bible, whiche is the holy Scripture, conteyning the Old and New Testament, translated into English, and newly recognised with great diligence after most faythful Exemplars, by Richard Taverner.*

*Harken thou heven, and thou earth gyve eare: for the Lorde speaketh. Esaie i.*

*Prynted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of the Soone, by*

<sup>e</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 131.

John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlet. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendū solum.* M.D.XXXIX.

Then follow,

1. Taverner's dedication to the King.
2. An exhortacion to the studye of the holy Scripture, gathered out of the Bible.
3. The summe and content of all the holy Scripture, bothe of the Olde and Newe Testament.
4. The names of all the bokes of the Bible, with the content of the chapters.
5. A briefe rehearsall declarynge how long the worlde hath endured from the creacion of Adam unto this present yere of our Lord. M.D.XXXIX.

6. A table to fynde manye of the chyefe and principall maters conteyned in the Bible.

Title-page to the Apocrypha is as in Matthew's, thus:

*The volume of the bokes called Apocripha, conteyned in the common translacion in Latyn, whiche are not founde in the Hebrue nor in the Chalde.*

*The registre thereof.*

Then follow the names of the books.

Title-page to the New Testament.

*The New Testament of our Saviour Jesu Chryst, translated into English: and newly recognised with great diligence after moost faythfull Exemplars, by Rycharde Taverner.*

*Pray for us, that the worde of God may have fre passage and be glorified.* 2 Tessa. iii.

*Printed in the yere of oure Lorde God M.D.XXXIX.*

Conclusion.

*The ende of the Newe Testament.*

xcrvth Psalm.

“ O come let us prayse the Lord, let us hertely rejoyse in the strengthe of our salvation.

“ Let us come before his presence with thanksgyvyng, and shewe our selfe glad in hym with psalms.

“ For the Lorde is a greate God, and a greate Kynge, above all goddes.

“ In his hande are all the corners of the earthe: and the strengthe of the hylles is his also.

“ The see is his, for he made it, and his handes prepared the drye lande.

“ O come, let us worshyp and bowe down our selves : let us  
 “ knele before the Lorde our maker.

“ For he is oure God : and we are the people of his pasture,  
 “ and the shepe of his handes.

“ To day if ye wil heare his voyce, harden not youre hertes,  
 “ as when ye provoked in time of temptacion in the wildernessse.

“ Where youre fathers tempted me : proved me, and saw my  
 “ workes.

“ Fourtye yeres longe was I greved with that generation and  
 “ sayde : They ever erre in theyr hertes, they veryly have not  
 “ knowen my wayes.

“ Therefore I sayd unto them in my wrath : that they sholde  
 “ not entre into my reste.”

N. B. Matthew's Bible of 1537 is exactly the same : as also  
 in the texts following, except that *for* is left out in Matt. iii. 2.

Matt. iii. 2. “ Sayenge : Repent, for the kyngdome of heven  
 “ is at hande.”

Psal. li. 3. “ Washe me wel from my wickednesse, and clense  
 “ me from my synne.”

Gen. xxix. 31, 32. “ When the Lorde sawe that Lea was  
 “ despised, he made her fruteful : but Rachel was bareyn. And  
 “ Lea conceyved and bare a sonne, and called his name Reuben,  
 “ for she sayde : The Lorde hath looked upon my tribulation ;  
 “ and now my husbände will love me.”

† *Beck's Bible*, 1549, Bibl. Publ. A—4—10.

Title-page.

*The Byble, that is to say all the holy Scripture: in which are  
 containyd the Olde and New Testamente, truly and purely. trans-  
 lated into English, and nowe lately with greate industry and dili-  
 gence recognised.*

Esaye i. *Hearken to ye heavens, and thou earthe geve eare : for  
 the Lorde speaketh.*

*Imprynted at London by Jhon Daye dwelling at Aldersgate, and  
 William Seres dwelling in Peter Colledge. Cum Gratia et Privi-  
 legio ad imprimendum solum. xvii. day of August M.D.XLIX.*

Then follow,

1. An Almanacke for xxix yeares.
2. The Kalendar.

† Lewis's Hist. p. 178.

3. An exhortation to the study of the holy scripture, gathered oute of the Byble.

4. The summe and content of all the holy scripture, both of the Old and New Testament.

5. A dedication to the King, ending with, *your Graces faythful and humble subject,*

*Edmunde Becke.*

6. A description and successe of the kinges of Juda and Hierusalem, &c.

7. To the Christen Readers.

8. A Table of the principall matters contayned in the Byble, &c.

9. A supputation of the yeares and time from Adam unto Christe, proved by the scriptures after the collection of dyvers authours, by Edmund Becke.

10. A prologe shewyng the use of the scripture.

11. The names of all the boke of the Byble, and the contente of the chapters of every boke.

12. A Regyster, or a bryefe rehersall of the most famous and notable persons mencyned in the Olde and Newe Testamente.

Title-page to the New Testament.

*The Newe Testament of our Savyoure Jesu Christe newly and dylygently translated into Englyshe wyth Annotacions in the mergent to helpe the Reader to the understandyng of the Texte. Prynted in the yeare of our Lorde God M.D.XLIX.*

Next follows Tindale's preface, "Here hast thou, most dear reader," &c.

Close of the Byble.

*To the honoure and prayse of God was this Bible printed and fynished, in the yeare of our Lorde God, Anno M.D.XLIX. Imprinted at London by John Daye dwellyng at Aldersgate, and William Seres dwelling in Peter Colledge towarde Ludgate. These Bokes are to be solde by the Lyttle Conduyte in Cheapesyde. Cum privilegio ad imprimendū solum.*

This has the cuts in the Apocalypse, as Matthew's of 1537, and Tyndale's in Emanuel, have.

§ *The New Testament, English, with Erasmus's Latin, 1550.*

Bibl. Publ. A—6—9.

It is in octavo, the English in the outward column of each page, the Latin in the inner column.

§ Lewis, pp. 184, 185.

Title-page thus.

*The New Testament in Englishe after the Greeke translation annexed wyth the translation of Erasmus in Latin. Whereunto is added a Kalendar and an exhortation to the readyng of the holy Scriptures made by the same Erasmus, wyth the Epistles taken out of the Olde Testament both in Latin and English, a Table necessary to find the Epistles and Gospels for every Sondag and Holyday throughout the yere, after the use of the Churche of England nowe. Excusum Londini in Officina Thomæ Gualtier, pro J. C. Pridie Kalendas Decembris Anno Domini M.D.L.*

On the other page is an Almanacke for xxii yeares, beginning with 1550, ending with 1571. Then follows in the next page,

*J. C. unto the Cristen Reders.*

“ For as muche as it is knowen thorow out all Europe, to the  
 “ great comforte of al them that love the pure and true religion  
 “ of Christe, that our most noble and Christian Kynge Edwarde  
 “ entendeth earnestly to reforme religion in al his Gracis dominions  
 “ by the holy worde of God, and wolde that his Gracis subjectes  
 “ as in diligent readyng of the holy scripture, so in lyving, and  
 “ practyse of the same shuld be exercised in good workes also,  
 “ doying theyr deutyte to God and his Majestye, and to theyr  
 “ neyghboures, to the intent yt his Majestis purpose myght the  
 “ more spedely and easely be brought to passe, I have caused  
 “ to be set oute the Newe Testament in Englishe, translated out  
 “ of the Greeke, with the translation in Latin of Erasmus ryght  
 “ over againste it: for that ende that al men that are learned  
 “ both in the Englishe and Latin tonge may compare, whether  
 “ the Englishe texte be faythfully taken out of the Greeke or no,  
 “ by comparing it with the translation of Erasmus, whiche was  
 “ done accordyng unto the truth of the Greeke texte: and that  
 “ if there be any faute committed eyther by the translatour, or  
 “ by the printer, it maye be perceyved and amended by the trans-  
 “ lation of the moste noble and famouse clerke Erasmus. They  
 “ that are learned in the Greeke tonge (I graunt) nede none of  
 “ this labour: but when as there is a very great nombre in this  
 “ realme which understande well the Latin tonge and under-  
 “ stande not the Greeke, (which is the tong wherin the Newe  
 “ Testament was written,) it were pytie, seeing the Latin trans-  
 “ lation is next in goodnes unto the Greke tonge, for the ex-  
 “ aminyng of all vulgare and comon translations of the Newe  
 “ Testament, that the learned in Latin shoulde be withoute the  
 “ Latin text, set over against the Englishe. For if they were

" not set together one against another, it wolde be very tedious  
 " and werisum to compare them togyther out of two diverse  
 " bookes. Therefore to incorage all Englishmen that are sene in  
 " the Latin tonge, to the trial of the English translation, as wel  
 " for the profyt of their neygboures, as for their owne learnynge,  
 " I have partely taken this present labor in hand. I reken also  
 " that this booke shall be very profytable for yonge scolors of  
 " this realme, which are desyrous to learne the Latin tong: it  
 " will be also profytable (as I judge) for all straungers that are  
 " learned in the Latin tong, and wold attayne to the knowledge  
 " of our English tong. Besyde all these commodites, whatso-  
 " ever profyt can ensue by the redyng of both the Englishe and  
 " Latin translation severally, all the same commodites maye be  
 " had in this booke alone by it selfe. And these my labours I  
 " dedicate unto you, most Christian Reders, desyryng you to  
 " take them in good worthe: whiche, yf I shall perceyve, it shall  
 " move and incorage me to take more suche lyke labor hereafter.  
 " Almyghty God gyve you as well grace to lyve after your know-  
 " ledge, as to come unto the same. Amen."

One might think this was Sir John Cheke's translation of the New Testament, which Maunsell twice mentions in his catalogue, (p. 33, 113,) but too briefly: he calls it a quarto, which he well enough might: it is a large octavo.

Matt. iii. 2. " Sayenge, Repent, the kingdome of heaven is at  
 " hande."

1 Pet. ii. 13. " Submyt your selves unto al maner ordynaunce  
 " of man for the Lordes sake, whether it be unto the kyng as  
 " unto the chefe head."

This book probably is the same that Maunsell pointed to in his catalogue; but is not a version of Sir John Cheke's. It has none of his peculiarities, such as *toller* for *publican*, and others, which may be seen in his *Life* by Strype. It is the common version, Matthewe's version, as it seems: and if Sir J. Cheke did any thing, it was no more than ordering the common version to be printed with Erasmus's Latin in an opposite column, for such reasons, or uses, as the preface intimates.

<sup>b</sup> *Parker's Bible* of 1568. Bp. Moore's Library, 4287.

At the top, *the Holie Bible*.

<sup>b</sup> Lewis, pp. 240, 241.

At the bottom, *Non me pudet*, &c.

Then follow,

1. The summe of the whole, &c. as in the opposite of 1572.
2. A Table setting out the Genealogy, &c.
3. A Table of the Bookes, &c.
4. Proper Lessons, &c.
5. Lessons proper for Holidays.
6. Proper Psalms.
7. The Order how the rest, &c.
8. A brief Declaration, "When," &c.
9. An Almanack from 1561 to 1590 inclusive.
10. To find Easter for ever.
11. What days, &c.
12. A Table for the order of Psalms, &c.
13. A Kalendar.
14. A Preface, by Parker: his arms before it.
15. Cranmer's Prologue.
16. A description of the yeares, &c.—untill this present yere 1568.
17. The Order of the Bookes of Old and N. T. (map of Canaan facing Jos. xx. xxi.)

*Imprinted at London in Powles Churchyarde by Richarde Jugge printer to the Queen's Majestie. Cum privilegio regie Majestatis.*

Note, That this edition has only single psalms of Parker's version. The verses here distinguished, and numbered, as before in Geneva.

This also has the figures, or wooden cuts, in the Revelations, (like as Tindale's second Dutch edition, and several other editions after,) distinct, and in their proper places: whereas the edition of 1572 has them all in one plate fronting the Apocalypse.

I drew this account of the edition of 1568 in the library, (for I could not have the book out,) and after I had drawn the account of 1572. Where I have made &c.'s, the remainder is to be filled up with what is in the opposite page, belonging to 1572.

I found no difference in the initial letters placed at the end of the several books of the Bible, and so I took no more notice of them. Indeed, Brett's account is exact enough, and wants no improvement.

Mr. Wanley notes, that before Joshua is the effigies of the Earl of Leicester, and that of Sir William Cecil before the

**Psalms**: and in the frontispiece the effigies of Queen Elizabeth with her arms, within the royal pavilion, supported by Religion and Charity.

I viewed this in the library; but not being permitted to take it to my chamber, I did not observe every nicety. The edition of 1572 has the two effigies, as observed, and has the arms of Dudley in the initial letter of Joshua, and of Cecil in the initial letter of the Psalms.

<sup>1</sup>*Bishops' Bible, 1572.*

Title-page; a large border, at the top of which is the effigies of Queen Elizabeth within a royal pavilion, engraved on copper, and on each side of it the figures of Religion and Charity sitting. At the bottom is printed within an oblong border supported by the supporters of the Queen's arms, the lion and the dragon, *Non me pudet Evangelii Christi, virtus enim est &c.* In the middle is the title thus, *The Holy Bible*. Then follows,

1. The summe of the whole Scripture of the Bookes of the Old and Newe Testament.

2. A Table setting out the genealogy of Adam; so passing by the Patriarchs, Judges, Kings, Prophets, and Priests, and the Fathers of their time, continuing in a lineal descent to Christe our Saviour. The running title *Christe's Line*.

3. A Table of the Books of the Old Testament with their contents.

4. Proper Lessons for to be read for the 1st Lessons both at Morning and Evening Praier on the Sundays throughout the year, and for some also the 2nd Lessons.

5. Lessons proper for Holidays.

6. Proper Psalms for certain days.

7. The order how the rest of the Holie Scripture, beside the Psalter, is appointed to be read.

8. A brief Declaration when every Term begins and ends.

9. An Almanack from 1572 to 1610 inclusive.

10. To find Easter for ever.

11. What days to be observed for holy days and none other.

<sup>1</sup> Lewis, p. 257. Note, The account here given of this edition appears to be in Mr. Lewis's own hand-writing. Another account of it occurs a few pages further, by

Dr. Waterland himself. But a fuller description, from both together, is given by Mr. Lewis in his History, under the edition of 1568, from p. 240 to 251.



12. A Table for the order of Psalmes to be said at Morning and Evening Praier.

13. The Kalendar, in the inner margin of which are printed, in circles, representations of the 12 signs of the Zodiac.

14. A Preface into the Bible: made by Abp. Parker, which is intimated by his arms being set before it.

15. A Prologue or Preface made by Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury. In the capital letter are included his arms empaled with those of the see of Canterbury, and the letter T placed on the right hand of them.

16. A description of the yeeres from the creation of the world until this present yere of 1572, drawn for the most part out of the Holy Scripture with declaration of certayne places wherinne is certayne difference of the reckoning of the yeres. On the inner margin are notes of the Archbishop's.

17. A fair Map of Canaan or the Holy Land, with the Lord Burleigh's coat of arms engraven in it, he being a great encourager of this work.

Then follows the First Booke of Moses, &c. Under the contents is a large wooden cut representing the history contained in that book. The same method is observed in most of the following historical books &c. After the second chapter is a map of the kingdom of Eden. At the beginning of the twenty-fifth chapter of Exodus is placed a hand in the margin: and from thence to the end of chap. xxx. are placed in the margin inverted commas, which is done in other places. After the twenty-seventh chapter follows a representation of the Jews' Tabernacle, their sacrifices &c. and the manner of their pitching their tents round about it. After verse 6. of the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus are placed two tables: I. Degrees of kindred which let matrimonie. II. Degrees of affinitie or alliance which let matrimonie. At the end of Deuteronomy is a leaf printed only on one side thus,

*The seconde part of the Bible containing these bookes, The Book of Joshua—the Book of Job.*

Underneath, on a copper-plate, the effigies of the Earl of Leicester in armour, holding a truncheon in his left hand, and underneath this motto, DROIT ET LOYAL, on the right hand of which is a tablet with 1 2 3. on it.

a  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

In the Letter A, the first letter of the Book of Joshua, are this nobleman's arms with the same motto. The running title of 1 Samuel is 1 Kinges on one page, and on the page over against it 1 Samuel. The same method is observed in the other Book of Samuel.

To the First book of Esdras, as Ezra is here called, is prefixed, A very profitable declaration for the understanding of the histories of Esdras, Nehemias, Esther, Daniel, and divers other places of scripture very darke by reason of the discorde that is amonge historiographers, and among the expositours of the Holy Scriptures, touching the successive order of the kynges or monarchies of Babilon and of Persia; of the yeeres that the said monarchies lasted, from the transmigration of the Jews under Nabuchodonosor, until the monarchie of the Greeckes, and of the confusion that is in the names of the kinges of Persia.

After Job follows, *The thirde part of the Bible containing these bookes, The Psalmes—Malachi.*

Underneath is the picture of Sir William Cecil, after Lord Burleigh, in his gown and furs, and holding in his left hand a Hebrew Psalter. On the chapters of the pillars betwixt which he stands is this motto, COR UNUM, VIA UNA. On the other page is a Prologue of St. Basil the Great upon the Psalms, in the initial letter of which is the aforesaid person's arms. The Psalms are printed of two translations. In the right hand column is the new translation, in the white letter, with the words that are not in the original printed in the black. In the other column is printed, in the black letter, the translation of the Great Bible. Accordingly in Psalm xiv. the fifth, sixth, and seventh verses in the translation of the Great Bible are omitted in the New. At the end of the Psalms is a table, entitled *Numerus secundum Hebræos*, or how the Psalms are numbered according to the Hebrews.

In the initial letter of the Prophecy of Jeremiah is another coat of arms within the garter.

After the prayer of Manasses King of Judah follows *A necessary Table for the knowledge of the state of Juda from the beginning of the monarchy of the Greekis, (where the table that is set forth upon Esdras endeth,) until the death and passion of Jesus Christe.*

At the end of the Apocrypha is *A description of the Holy Lande, containing the places mentioned in the four Evangelists, with other places about the sea coastes: wherein may be seen the waies*

and journeyes of Christe and his Apostles in Judea, Samaria, and Galilee: for into these three parts this land is divided.

Under the map are the places specified in it, with their situation by the observation of the degrees concerning their length and breadth.

Next follows *A Table to make plaine the difficultie that is found in S. Mattheue and S. Luke, touchinge the generacyen of Jesus Christe the sonne of David and his right successor in the kingdom: which description beginneth at David, and no higher, because the difficultie is only in his posteritie.*

The frontispiece of the New Testament consists of a border cut in wood, on the top of which is the Queen's arms with those of Ireland on the right, and of \_\_\_\_\_ on the left. On each side are Hope and Charity represented as in the title-page of the Old Testament, and at the bottom, in an oblong tablet, are printed these words of the Apostle in English: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christe, because it is the power of God unto salvation to al that bileue." Rom. i. Which tablet is supported by the supporters of the Queen's arms as before. In the middle is this title: *The Newe Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christe.*

On the other side of the leaf is *A Preface into the Newe Testament*, written by the Archbishop, whose arms are placed in the initial letter, empaled with those of Christ-Church Canterbury, with the crosier staff run through the stem of the T. and his motto MVNDVS TRANSIT ET CONCVPISCENTIA EIVS, in a circle round it, and the first letters of his name, M. P. on each side: at the bottom is the date, 1572, and the Archbishop's name in a cipher.

Then follows *The Gospel by St. Mattheue*; to which, as to the other three Gospels, are prefixed wooden cuts representing their several writers, St. Matthew, &c.

Before St. Paul's Epistles is placed *A Cart Cosmographic of the peregrination or iourney of St. Paule, with the distance of the myles, and underneath the order of tymes.*

At the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans is a wooden cut, representing St. Paul sitting, and giving direction to a person before him, who has a letter of his in his hand.

Before the Epistles of St. James and St. Peter, are their pictures cut in wood.

Before the Revelations are represented in a frontispiece, all

together, the several figures which are in Tindal's—Dutch edition of the New Testament placed in their places. After the end of the Revelations is *A Table to finde the Epistles and Gospels read in the Churche of England on Sundays and Saints Days, wherof the first line is the Epistle, and the other the Gospel: whose beginning thou shalt finde in the book marked with a hand, pointing, as it were, forward, and the ende with a hand pointing backward, contained within these letters A. B. C. D. &c.* At the end of this table is added,

*Imprinted at London in Powles Churche Yard by Richard Juge Printer to the Queene's Majestie, 1572. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.*

Throughout the whole are marginal notes and scripture references, and contents to the several chapters, which are divided into verses, as the Geneva translation; and at the end of the several parcels of books are the initial letters of the translators' names and titles.

<sup>k</sup> *An account of the Edition of 1539.*

Coverdale's.

I have two copies of it now before me; one vellum out of St. John's Library, the other paper out of Pepys's Library in our College.

The title-page of the vellum copy is very short, *The Byble in Englysh*. But in the paper copy the title-page is thus:

*The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye, the content of all the Holy Scripture, bothe of the Olde and Newe Testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by the dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges. Prynted by Rycharde Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1539.*

After the title-page in both copies follow, *The names of all the bookes of the Byble*. The partition of the books is thus:

1. The bookes of the first parte, containing the five Books of Moses.
2. The bookes of the seconde parte, beginning with Josua, and ending with Job.
3. The bookes of the thyrde parte, beginning with the Psalter, ending with Malachy.

<sup>k</sup> Lewis, p. 122—128. under the title of Cranmer's, or The Great Bible.

4. The bookes of Hagiographa, that is, the Apocryphal books, beginning with the iiii of Esdras, ending with the iid of Machabees.

5. All the bookes of the Newe Testament.

After the names of the books, in both copies, follow,

1. The Kalendar.

2. An Almanack for xix yeares, beginning with 1539.

3. An exhortacyon to the studie of the Holye Scripture gathered out of the Byble. It is a collection of pertinent texts from the New Testament first, and next from the Old.

4. The summe and content of all the Holy Scripture both of the Olde and Newe Testament. It is a summary of the most important doctrines contained in scripture.

5. A Prologue expressyng what is meant by certayn signes and tokens that we have set in the Byble. Here an account is given of the *small letter* intermixed, what it imports, and of several marks of the margin.

6. A description and successe of the kynges of Juda and Jerusalem, declaring when and under what kynges every Prophet lyved: and what notable thynges happened in their tymes, translated oute of the Hebrue.

7. Wyth what judgement the bokes of the Olde Testament are to be red.

Fol. 1. "The First Boke of Moses, called in the Hebrue "Bereschith, and in the Latyn Genesis." It is remarkable, that this edition, as also those of 1540, 1562, call the Apocryphal books *Hagiographa*; taking in the preface of the edition of 1537 to the *Apocrypha*, but always changing it into *Hagiographa*.

In St. John's copy, the title-page before the New Testament is short, *The Newe Testament*. But in the paper copy of Pepys's library it is longer: *The Newe Testament in Englyshe, translated after the Greke containyng these bokes*: then follows a recital of every book by name.

In both copies the close is the same, thus: *The ende of the Newe Testament and of the whole Byble, fynished in Apryll, Ann. M.CCCCC.XXXLV. A Domino factū est istud.*

In both copies part of Psalm xiv. and 1 John v. 7. are in small letter. The xvth Psalm in both is exactly the same with

[<sup>1</sup> See James Corrup. p. 223.]

that in our Prayer-books, except the spelling, and verse 2. *selfe* for *selves*; and verse 7. *the Lord* is in small letter.

<sup>m</sup> *An Account of the Edition of 1541.* From Mr. Baker's Copy.

The title-page is thus :

*The Byble in Englyshe, of the largest and greatest volume, auctorised and apointed by the commaundement of our most redoubted Prynce and Soueraygne Lorde, Kynge Henrye the VIII. supreme Head of this his Church and Realme of Englande, to be frequented and used in every Church within this his sayd Realme, accordynge to the tenoure of hys former Injunctions geven in that behulfe. Oversene and perused at the commaundement of the Kynges Hyghnes, by the Ryght Reverende Fathers in God, Cuthbert Bysshop of Duresme, and Nicolas Bisshop of Rochester. Printed by Rycharde Grafton. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1541.*

Note, From this edition are the Psalms of our Liturgy.

After the title-page follow,

1. The names of all the bokes of the Byble.
2. The Kalendar.
3. Almanacke for xviii yeares.
4. A Prologue or Preface made by the Moost Reverende Father in God, Thomas Archbyshop of Cantorbury Metropolitan and Prymate of England.

Fol. 1. "The Fyrst Booke of Moses, called in the Hebrue, "Bereschith; and in the Latyn Genesis."

The title-page of the New Testament is,

*The Newe Testament in Englyshe, translated after the Greke, contaynyng these Bookes.* Then follow the names of the books.

In the last page, *The ende of the Newe Testament and of the whole Byble, fynysghed in November, Anno M.CCCCXLI. A Dno. factum est istud.*

Mr. Wanley mentions one in Lord Oxford's library of the same sort, finished in May, 1541.

Of this edition, see Mr. Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. i. 372, 397.

<sup>n</sup> *The Edition of 1562.*

My copy has lost the title-page, and other preliminaries: but I suppose they are much alike to the edition of 1540, which this

<sup>m</sup> Lewis's Hist. pp. 140, 141.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. pp. 213, 214.

follows. After Malachi follows a preface to the *Hagiographa*, as they are here called, as well as in the editions of 1539 and 1540.

*The volume of the bokes called Hagiographa*, is here their title.

Title to N. T.

*The Newe Testament in Englyshe after the last Recognicion and settinge forth of Erasmus, conteynynge these bokes.*

At the end,

*Imprinted at London in White Crosse Strete by Richard Harrison, the yeare of our Lorde a thousande fyve hundred thre score and two. Cum privilegio ad imprimendū solū.*

Note, That this Bible follows not that edition of the Psalms which was perfected in 1541, by Tunstal and Heath, and so stands to this day in our Liturgy: but it follows the older edition of 1539, and 1540, in Coverdale's (or Cranmer's) Bible.

Part of Psalm xiv. and 1 Joh. v. 7. are in small letter.

<sup>n</sup> *An Account of the Edition of 1540.*

Eman. Library.

Title-page.

*The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye, the Content of all the holye Scripture, bothe of the Olde and Newe Testament truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke texts, by the diligent studye of dyvers excellent lerned men, experte in the foresayde tongues. Prynted at London by Thomas Petyt and Roberte Redman, for Thomas Berthelet; prynter unto the Kynges Grace. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. ° 1504.*

Then follow,

1. An Almanack for 30 years, 1540—1568.
2. The Kalendar.
3. The names of all the bokes of the Byble, and the contents of every boke, with the nombre of the leafe where the bokes begyn.
4. A Prologue expressynge what is ment by certayne synges and tokens that we have set in the Byble.

Title-page to the N. T.

*The Newe Testament in Englyshe after the last recognicion and settinge forth of Erasmus, conteynynge these Bokes, &c.* [N. B. So is edit. 1562.]

<sup>n</sup> Lewis's Hist. pp. 139, 140.

<sup>o</sup> [Mr. Wanley mentions one printed by Richard Grafton, *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*, 1540, but at

the end, *fynnyshed in December, 1541.*

He mentions another by Edward Whitchurch, 1540, *cum privilegio, &c.*]

Part of Ps. xiv. and 1 John v. 7. are in smaller character, like as in the other editions of this Bible in 1539 and 1541. I have an edition of the same as late as 1566, wherein the same places are so printed in small letter. This, I suppose, was the authorized Bible, and read in the churches, till Parker's came in its place.

There is in the King's library, at <sup>p</sup>Essex house, a beautiful edition of this Bible in vellum, like to St. John's of 1539. That Bible concludes thus :

*The ende of the Newe Testament and of the whole Byble, finisshed in Aprill Anno M.CCCCXL. A Dno. factum est istud.*

That book is finely illuminated : it was a present made, or intended, to the King, as appears by the words written on the first leaf.

*This Booke is presented unto youre most excellent Highness, by your loving, faithful, and obedient subject and daylie oratour,*

*Anthonye Marter, of London, Haberdasher.*

This account of that vellum copy I have from a letter sent to Mr. Baker from a person that viewed it. 1724.

¶ *Coverdale's New Testament Anglo-Lat. 4to. 1538.*

Pepys's Library, Trin. Coll.

This spurious, stolen edition has a dedication to the King, and a preface. The title-page is,

*The New Testament both Latine and Englyshe, ech correspondent to the other, after the vulgate Texte, communely called S. Jeromes. Faythfully translated by Johan. Hollybushe Anno M.CCCCC. XXXVIII.*

*Jeremie xxii. Is not my worde lyke a fyre, sayeth the Lorde, and lyke an hammer that breaketh the harde stone ?*

*Printed in Southwarke, by James Nicolson. Set forth wyth the Kynges moost gracious Licence.*

Then follow,

An Almanack for xviii years, and a Kalendar.

¶ *Coverdale's New Testament Anglo-Lat. 8vo. 1539.*

Mr. Baker's Copy.

This is the true and the rare edition, of Coverdale's own correcting. No title-page.

<sup>p</sup> Lewis, (p. 139.) says, the King's library at Westminster.

¶ Lewis's Hist. p. 112.

¶ Ibid. p. 115—118.



1. A Dedication to Lord Cromwell.
2. Epistle to the Reader.
3. A Kalendar, imperfect, beginning with July, the rest torn out. First chapter also of St. Matthew, a whole leaf, wanting.
4. At the end, A Table of the Epistles and Gospels, after Salysbury use, which is not in the quarto edition of 1538.

Here is no date, nor any note of printer: but it seems to be the same octavo edition which is mentioned in Maunsell's Catalogue, p. 113, there said to be printed in English and Latin, by R. Grafton and E. Whitchurch, 1539.

† *Coverdale's Bible in 4to. 1550.* Publ. Libr.

A—5—5.

The same, I suppose, with that mentioned in Maunsell's Catalogue, p. 10. Printed for Andrew Hester, 1550, quarto. But the title-page and close are torn out. What remains is,

1. The Bokes of the hole Byble.
2. Dedication to K. Edward the Sixth.  
(In the Dedication are these words: "*therefore was I boldened in God sixtene yeares agoo,—to dedicate this my poore translation to youre Graces moost noble Father.*")
3. A prologue to the Reader.
4. The Table and Kalender expressynge the ordre of the Psalmes and Lessons, &c.
5. An Almanack for xix yeares, beginning with 1552, ending<sup>s</sup> 1570.
6. A Kalendar.

There is a more perfect copy of Coverdale's quarto, of 1550, in the Public Library, A—5—5.

Title-page is,

*The whole Byble, that is, the holy Scripture of the Old and Newe Testament, faythfully translated into Englyshe by Myles Coverdale, and newly oversene and corrected, M.D.L.*

*Pray for us, that the worde of God maye have free passage and be glorified.* 1 Thess. iii.

*Printed for Andrew Hester, dwellynge in Paules Church-yard, at the sygne of the Whyte Horse, and are there to be solde. Set forth with the Kynges most gracious licence.*

† Lewis, pp. 182, 183.

<sup>s</sup> Lewis says, "An Almanack for xiv years, beginning 1550, ending "1563." It appears, therefore, that

Lewis's account corresponds with the more perfect copy, of which a description is here immediately subjoined.

Upon comparing the two books, I find that they are not the same impression: or however, the preliminary parts before the Bible, I am sure, are not. St. John's copy, I believe, belongs to 1552, as I judge by the first year of the Almanack. The other copy, in the Almanack, begins with 1550, and the preliminaries are as follows:

1. The bookes of the hole Byble, &c.
2. The Dedication.
3. A Prologe to the Reader.
4. An Almanacke for xiv years, beginning 1550, ending 1563.
5. The Kalendar, and Table of Epistles and Gospels.

Upon a review of both, I take the Dedication, and Prologue, and Bible itself, to be of the same impression: only the kalendar of the latter is new, and is adapted to Edward's Prayer-book of 1552. There is a whole sheet more in the latter than in the former, six new leaves instead of two old ones: and here *Convers. of Paule* is in *black*, which in the first is in *red*.

N. B. The words above cited out of the Dedication remain in both: *sixtene* yeares both here and there, which shews the same impression so far.

† *Parker's Bible of 1572*. Publ. Libr. A—1—9.

Title-page.

At the top, *The Holie Bible*.

At the bottom, *Non me pudet Ecangelii Christi, &c.* Rom. i.

Then follow,

1. The summe of the whole Scripture of the bookes of the Old and Newe Testament.
2. A Table setting out the genealogy of Adam—continuing in lyneal descent to Christe our Saviour: the running title, *Christes Lyne*.
3. A Table of the books of the O. T. with their contents.
4. Proper Lessons for Sundays throughout the year.
5. Lessons proper for holy days.
6. Proper Psalms for certain days.
7. The order how the rest of the holie Scripture, beside the Psalter, is appointed to be read.
8. A brief declaration when every term begins and ends.

† This is the same edition of which an account was before given, (p. 337.) which appears in p. 257. of his History. This which is here added is in from Mr. Lewis's hand-writing, and Dr. Waterland's hand.

9. An Almanack from 1572 to 1610 inclusive.
10. To find Easter for ever.
11. What days to be observed for holy days, and none other.
12. A Table for the order of Psalmes to be said at Morning and Evening Prayer.
13. The Kalendar.
14. A Preface into the Byble, by Abp. Parker himself; though without a name. His arms before it.
15. Cranmer's Prologue or Preface.
16. A description of the yeeres from the creation of the worlde, until this present yere of 1572.
17. The order of books of Old and N. T.

(The map of Canaan is placed at the xxist of Joshua) At the end of the Pentateuch, v W. E.

<i>Samuel</i>	
2 Kings,	R. M.
2 Chronicles,	E. W.
Job,	A. P. C.
Psalms,	T. B.
Proverbs,	A. P. C.
Songue of Solomon, }	
Ballet of Ballettes, }	A. P. E.
Jeremiah, with Lamentations,	R. W.
Daniel,	T. C. L.
Malachias,	E. L.
2 Machabees,	J. N.
Actes of the Ap.	R. E.
Romans,	R. E.
1 Corinthians,	G. G.

*Imprinted at London in Powles Churche-yard, by Richard Jugge, Printer to the Queenes Majestie. 1572. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.*

N. B. This edition has two versions of the Psalms, Parker's and the common one, in opposite columns. I know not whether that method was not first begun in the Geneva Bible. I have one of 1578, which has double Psalms, the Geneva version, and the common one. But by degrees (how soon I know not) this method came to be disused; and the printers, in both Bibles, took in but one version. Parker's was dropped in his Bible:

v These and the following initials will be found explained in Lewis's Hist. pp. 236, 237.

the common one dropped in the Geneva, though sometimes the other. The notes made it the more necessary to retain the Geneva version in the Geneva.

\* *Mattheue's Bible*, fol. of 1549. Bishop Moore's L.

Title.

*The Byble, whych is all the Holy Scripture: in whych are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament, truelye and purely translated into Englishe by Thomas Mattheue 1537, and now imprinted in the yeere of oure Lorde M.D.XLIX.*

Esaye i. *Hearken to, ye Heavens, &c.*

*Imprinted at London, by Thomas Raynolde and William Hyll, dwelling in Paules Churchs Yeard.*

At the end :

*And nowe agayne accordyngly imprinted, and fynished the last day of Octobre, in the yeare of our Lord God M.D.XLIX. at London, by Wylliam Hill and Thomas Reynoldes Typographers. God save the Kyng. Cum privilegio.*

\* *Napier of 1593*. Publ. Libr. D. 12. 33. Octavo.

*A plain discovery of the whole Revelation of St. John, set down in two Treatises: the one searching and proving the true interpretation thereof; the other applying the same paraphrastically and historically to the Text. Set foorth by John Napier L. of Marchistoun younger. Whereunto are annexed certaine Oracles of Sibylles agreeing with the Revelation and other places of Scripture. Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegrave, Printer to the King's Majesty, 1593. Cum privilegio Regali.*

This book follows the last (the common) edition of the Geneva Bible. I have compared the first chapter, and find that it agrees exactly with that, and with none else.

‡ *An account of the Geneva Bible*, large folio, 1578.

Title-page.

*The Bible, translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in divers languages. With most profitable Annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance, as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader.*

\* Lewis, p. 180.

\* Ibid. p. 296.

‡ Ibid. p. 271—273.

*Whereunto is added the Psalter of the common Translation, agreeing with the Booke of Common-Prayer.*

Josh. i. 8. *Let not this booke of the law, &c.*

*Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes Majestie. Cum gratia et privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.*

Then follow,

1. The Dedication to the Queen, [made by the Geneva exiles.]  
“How harde a thing it is, &c.”

2. A Preface to the Reader. “Beside the manifolde and continual benefits, &c.”

3. Cranmer's Prologue.

4. A Table of the genealogy of Adam, down to Christ.

5. Proper first Lessons for Sundays throughout the year, and some second Lessons.

6. Lessons proper for holy days.

7. The order how the rest of the holy Scripture, beside the Psalter, is read.

8. A brief declaration of the terms beginning and ending.

9. A Table for the order of the Psalmes.

10. What holy dayes to be observed, and none other.

11. An Almanacke, beginning with 1578, ending 1610.

12. The Kalendar. At the bottom of every month are historical notes of what happened on such and such days of the month. E g. Under January, N. 1, first day, “Noah, after he had been in the ark 150 dayes, began to see the toppes of the high mountains.” Gen. vii. 24. N. 22. “The Duke of Somerset, as upon this day, was beheaded, 1552.” Under August, N. 27. “Religion, as on this day, was reformed, according to God's expresse trueth, in the most renoumed citie of Geneva, 1535.”

The same historical notes are in the folio edition of 1583. (at Eman. Coll.) Chr. Barker.

13. The Booke of Common Prayer &c.

Note, the Psalter is here double: the outer column, in white letter, is the Geneva version; the inner column, in black letter, is the common translation of our Liturgy. But the folio edition of 1583 has single Psalmes, the common Psalter.

14. Before the New Testament is a little map of the Holy Land, as in Christ's time, with an index at the bottom of the places therein specified.

15. At the end is, *The summe of the whole Scripture of the Bookes of the Olde and New Testament. Imprinted at London, by*

*Christ. Barker, Printer to the Queenes Majestie. 1578. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.*

16. A brief Table of the interpretation of proper names.

17. A Table of the principal things conteyned in the Bible.

18. A perfite supputation of the yeares and times, from the creation of the world unto this present yeare of our Lorde God 1578, prooved by the Scriptures, after the collection of divers authours.

*Finis.*

This edition of the Geneva Bible is, I presume, one of the largest and most pompous of any; for which reason I have given this particular account of it. There have been several editions of this Bible, in 1560, 1570, 1575 1578\*, 1579, 1581, 1583, 1589\*, 1608. The two which I have marked, I have here: 1583 I have seen. Another which I have at London, you have had an account of: I forget the date. 1581 is in Lord Oxford's library. That of 1589 is in 4to. and common; there is a large concordance at the end, intituled, *Two right profitable and fruitful Concordances, &c. Collected by R. F. H. Robert Fitz Herrey*, which though made in 1578, yet was not added to the edition of that year. It was in the edition of 1581. Whether in 1579, I know not. It is not in 1583.

*A note of some uncommon pieces, or editions, which I have not yet met with.*

<sup>z</sup> 1531. *George Joyes Translation of the Prophet Esay.* Printed at Strasburg, by Belthasar Backneth, 1531, 8vo. See Maunsell's Catal. p. 63. The book is in Lord Oxford's library, bound up with some other pieces; which I learn from Mr. Wanley's notes transcribed Mr. Baker.

<sup>a</sup> 1538. *The Newe Testament in Englyshe and Latyn, accordyng to the Translacyon of Doctour Erasmus of Roterodam Anno M.CCCC.XXXVIII. Prynted in Fletestrete by Robert Redman, 4to. Set forthe under the Kynge's most gracious lycence. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*

At the end, thus :

*Thus endyth the Newe Testament both in Englyshe and in Laten of Mayster Erasmus Translacyon, with the Pystles taken out of the Olde Testament. Set forthe with the Kynge's moste gracious lycence,*

<sup>z</sup> Lewis, p. 78\*.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 118.

and imprynted by Robert Redman dwellyng in Fletestrete, at the sygne of the George, nexte unto Saynte Donstans Church: the yere of oure Lorde M.CCC.CC.XXXVIII. and the thyrty yere of the Kynges most gracious reygne. God save the Kyng.

This edition is mentioned briefly in Maunsell's Catalogue, p. 113. But this particular description of it I have from Mr. Baker's notes. I suppose this edition led the way to the other of like kind in 1550 by J. C. I could wish to compare.

1552. <sup>b</sup> *The Byble &c.* at London, printed by Nich. Hyll, M.D.LII. 4to. This I find thus briefly referred to by Mr. Baker.

1550. <sup>c</sup> *Miles Coverdale conferred with the Translation of Wil. Tindal.* Printed by R. Wolf, 1550, 8vo. Maunsell's Catal. p. 113. Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 265.

<sup>d</sup> 1568. *Bible, with the Common Prayer*, English. Printed by Jugge and Cawood, 2 vols. 4to. 1568. v. Bibl. Trin. Coll. Cant. This hint I take from Mr. Baker's notes. The Bible I can inquire after at Trinity College.

<sup>e</sup> 1569. *Parker's Bible* in 4to. of 1569. Printed by Rich. Jugge.

This is in Lord Oxford's library, as I find by Wanley's MSS. notes. But, I believe, I shall shortly have a copy lent me by a friend who has it.

<sup>f</sup> 1570, 1573. *Parker's Bible* again in 4to. by Jugge. The O. T. 1570, the N. T. 1573, in Lord Oxford's library.

1576. *Parker's Bible*, printed by Jugge, 4to. The arms of Dudley and Cecil, which used to be in the initial letters of Joshua and Psalms, are now left out. This I have from Wanley's MSS. notes.

I have seen Parker's of 1588, fol. by Chr. Barker. It has single Psalms of the common version, no effigies nor arms before Joshua and Psalms, no cuts before the Apocalypse, like to the edition of 1572. The same may be said of the edition of 1602 (by Rob. Barker) as of 1588. The later the editions, the less pompous; being made plainer, and sold cheaper.

<sup>b</sup> This does not appear to have been noticed by Lewis.

<sup>c</sup> Lewis, p. 183. A very full and minute description of this rare edition is given in Nichols's Liter. Anecd. vol. iii. p. 517—519, by Mr. Thorpe,

in a Letter to Dr. Ducarel, from a copy in his own possession.

<sup>d</sup> Lewis, pp. 217, 218.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. pp. 253, 254.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. p. 259.

Ⓢ *Jugge's Quarto New Testament, 1552, 1553.*

Eman. Coll. B. 4—18. Mr. Baker.

I have two editions of this Testament now before me: one from Emanuel, perfect; the other from Mr. Baker, without title-page. I judge the first to be of 1552, because it was in the fifteenth of King Edward's age, and the Almanack begins with the year 1552. The other I refer to 1553, because the Almanack begins with that year. Now to proceed.

Title-page of that of Eman. Coll.

*The Newe Testament of our Saviour Jesu Christe. Faythfully translated out of the Greke. Wyth the notes and expositions of the darke places therein.*

Then follows, in oval figure, a picture of King Edward. On the left hand is *Vivat*, and on the right, over-against it, *Rex*. And round the effigies is written, *Edcardus Sextus Dei Gratia, Anglie, Francie, et Hibernie Rex etc. Ætatis suæ xv.*

Under the head,

Matt. xiii. f.

<sup>h</sup> *Unio, quem præcepit emi Servator Iesus,*

*Hic situs est; debet non aliunde peti.*

*The Pearle, which Christ commaunded to be bought,*

*Is here to be founde, not elles to be sought.*

So ends the title-page. Next follow,

1. A Dedication to the King.
2. A Kalendar.
3. An Almanacke for xxiii yeares, beginning with 1552, ending with 1575. (In the other edition for xviii yeares, beginning with 1553, ending with 1570.)
4. A Table of the principall matters conteyned in thys Testamente.
5. A perfecte supputation of the yeres and time from Adam unto Christ, proved by the Scriptures, after the collection of divers auctours.
6. An exhortation to the diligent studye of the holye scripture, gathered out of the Byble.
7. The Lyfe of the blessed Evangelyste Saynte Mathew, written and set forth by the moost holye Doctoure Sainte Hierome.

At the end, (after the Epistles of the Old Testament and

Ⓢ Lewis, pp. 194—196.

page of Salisbury's Welsh Testament,

<sup>h</sup> The same lines are in the title- translated into Welsh.

Prynwch a reddwch a vudd, &c.



Table of Epistles and Gospels,) *Imprynted at London by Rycharde Jugge, dwelynge in Paules Churche-yarde, at the signe of the Byble. With the Kyng his mooste gracious lycence, and privilege, forbydyng all other men to print, or cause to be printed, this or any other Testament in English.*

In the other edition, instead of *in Paules Churche-yarde* is, *at the North dore of Paules.*

Note, In the Kalendar of 1552, *Conversion of Paul* and *St. Barnabas* are not entered. In the Kalendar of 1553, *Conversion of Paule* is in black; *Barnabas* here also omitted. In Coverdale's quarto of 1552, (Kalendar,) *Convers. Paul* is in black; *Barnabas* omitted. In Edward's Prayer-book of 1552, *Con. Paule* is in red letter; *Barnabas* omitted.

Yet proper second Lessons are set against both days, in all the Kalendars above mentioned. Compare Mr. Wheatly's account. If he means by King Edward's second Common Prayer-book, that of 1552, there were more editions than one of that year; or else he mistook in saying, that *St. Paul is put down in black*: mine (of our public library) is *red*.

Matthew's fol. Bible of 1551, in the Kalendar has both days in *red letter*, as also Coverdale's 4to. of 1550.

" To the most puyssant and mightye Prince Edwarde the  
" Syxt, by the grace of God, Kyng of Englande, Fraunce,  
" Irelande, Defender of the Fayth; and of the Churche of  
" England and also of Irelande, in earth the supreme Head;  
" your Graces most humble and obediente subjecte, Rycharde  
" Jugge, wissheth all grace and peace from God, wyth longe  
" raygne, honour, health, and prosperitie.

" That most worthy Kyng and Prince Josophat, as holy  
" Chronicles do testifie, being moved with a godly zeale, dyd  
" sende out into all coastes of Jurye, certayne of his chiefe  
" Lordes that he had about him, with the Levites and Priestes,  
" to se that his lovinge subjectes, and leage people, over whom  
" the Lorde had made hym ruler and governour, should be truely  
" instructed and taughte in the lawe and commaundements of  
" the lvyng God. Wheby, most noble and redoubted Prince,  
" he declared thys to be the chiefe and principall office of a  
" Christian kyng, whych seketh the glorye of God and the welth  
" of hys people, to provide that the worde of God be truely and  
" sincerely set forth and taught thorowout all his dominions and  
" realmes, that so the people committed unto hys charge, maye

“ be trayned in all godlynesse, and true obedience, towardes God  
“ and theyr soveraygne. Whereunto are required, not only  
“ true and faithfull ministers, but especiallye, that the bookes of  
“ the holye scripture be well and truly translated and printed  
“ also, both to take away all occasions of schismes and heresies,  
“ that by reason of impropere translation and false printe many  
“ times do arise amonge the simple and ignoraunt people, and  
“ also to stoppe the mouthes of the adversarie part, whych upon  
“ suche faultes, take a boldenesse to blaspheme and misreport  
“ this heavenly doctrine, nowe so plentifully set forth unto us,  
“ thorowe your Graces moste prudente and godlye carefulnesse.

Wherin forasmuche as semede to lacke no more to the absolute  
perfectnesse, but that, one undoubted true impression mighte  
be had, whereunto in suche worde-debates, men might have  
“ recourse and be resolved: accordyng to the streyght charge  
“ and commaundement that I receaved of youre Highnesse in  
“ that behalfe, I have endeavoured myselfe, accordyng to my  
“ duetye and power, to put in print the Newe Testament, using  
“ thadvise and help of godly learned men, both in reducinge the  
“ same to the truth of the Greke text, (appoynting out also the  
“ diversitey where it happeneth,) and also in the keypyng of  
“ the true ortographie of wordes, as it shall manifestlye appeare  
“ unto them that will diligently, and without affection, conferre  
“ this with the other that went forth before.

“ I have (as becometh a true obediente subjecte) done all that  
“ in me dydde lye, to satisfye your Graces moste godlye zeale and  
“ commaundement. And with suche submission, as becometh a  
“ subjecte to his most drad soveraygne Lord, do now present it unto  
“ your Majestie, in most humble wise desiring the same, accord-  
“ ynge to youre princelye clemencye, to accept my good endeavoure.

“ The Gever of all power, which is Kinge of all kinges, and  
“ Prince of all princes, vouchesafe of hys goodnesse, to preserve  
“ your Majestie, and in all your royall affayres so to assist your  
“ graciouse Highnesse with his holy Sprite, that whatsoever  
“ your Grace shall thinke or do, maye be to Goddes glorye, the  
“ continuall flourishinge of youre Highness honoure, and the  
“ commune welthe of us your subjectes. Amen.”

<sup>1</sup> In Bishop Moore's (now our royal) library, I met with a little book in 12<sup>o</sup>. N<sup>o</sup>. 332, with this title.

<sup>1</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 203.

*An Exposition of part of S. Johannes Gospel, made in sondrie readings in the English congregation. By Bartho. Traheron, and now published against the wicked enterprises of a new starte-up Arrians in Englande. Imprinted Anno 1557.*

In the comment on the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, are these words: "Some thincke *the word* here is taken for *a thinge*, ' after the Hebrue maner of speakinge; for the Hebrues use *dabar*, which signifyeth a worde, for *a thinge*.—So then " after this understandinge, S. Johannes meaninge is, that in " the beginninge there was a divine and heavenlie *Thinge* with " God."

Note, The author does not himself so translate the words, neither does he adopt this explication for his own: but he mentions this interpretation as one that had been given by *some*.

Who this Bartho. Traheron was, I do not certainly know: but, I suppose, one may find him in Le Long's List of Commentators, which I have not in this place, though at London I have. He was author of another little piece, under this title:

*An Exposition of the fourth chapter of St. John's Revelation. By Bar. Traheron, in sondrie readings before his countrymen in Germanie. Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson, for Thomas Charde, 1583.*

Note, By *readings*, he means only so many texts which he read, and expounded to the people.

Mr. Baker has left a note of this Traheron, that he was library-keeper to King Edward VI. referring to Rymer, tom. xv. p. 351.

#### Title-page of the Geneva edition.

*The Holy Bible, that is, the Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament. Translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in divers languages; with most profitable annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance, as may appear in the Epistle to the Reader.*

*Fear ye not, stand still, &c. Exod. xiv. 13.*

*The Lord shall fight for you, &c. Exod. xiv. 14.*

*Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queen's Majestie, 1582. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.*

Versiones.

A. D.

Versio A. Saxonica Bedæ, quæ intercidit

-

- 701.

Versio Anglo-Saxonica Evangeliorum	-	-	-	880.
Psalmorum,				
Richardi Hampoli versio Psalm. et Cantic.	-	-	-	1340.
Wiclevi versio Bibliorum ex Vulgata	-	-	-	1380.
Joh. Trevisæ (see Bale, and Caxton, in my Crit. Hist.				
vol. iii. p. 145.)	-	-	-	1390.
Tyndalli versio N. T. in partibus transmarinis impressa.				
In V. T. non ultra Pentateuchū	-	-	-	1526.
Eadem versio secundis curis recognita	-	-	-	1530.
Eadem versio, post Tindalli obitū, recognita atque auota				
per D. Coverdallum : vulg. dict. <i>Tindal and Coverdale's</i>				
<i>Bible</i>	-	-	-	1535.
Novam ejusdem editionem dedit Joh. Rogers, alias				
Matthew. <i>Matthew's Bible</i>	-	-	-	1537.
Novū Testamentū Anglo-Latinum	-	-	-	1538.
Editio altera per Coverdallū, approbante Cranmero, et				
Rege ipso suadente. <i>The Great Bible</i> . Cujus pulcherrimū				
exemplar extat Coll. Johan. Cant.	-	-	-	1539, 1540.
Nova Editio, accurantibus Tunstallo et Heatho. Huic				
editioni debetur Psalterii versio recepta in Liturgiam				
Angl.	-	-	-	1541.
Editio versionis Joh. Rogers, sub Edvardo	-	-	-	1551.
Versio Genevensis	-	-	-	1560.
Editio tertia versionis Coverdalli	-	-	-	1562.
Versio Parkeri, <i>The Great English Bible</i> , alias, <i>The Bishops'</i>				
<i>Bible</i> , alias, <i>The Great Bible</i> . Capita nunc primū in Com-				
mata distingui cœperunt	-	-	-	1568.
Editio altera ejusdem, 8vo.	-	-	-	1569.
Editio tertia in folio, et quarta in folio,	-	-	-	1572, 1574.
Versio nova Laurent. Tomson. parū abit a Genevensi	-	-	-	1583.
Versio Rhemensis, Pontificiorū opera	-	-	-	1584.
Versio ultima sub Rege Jacobo	-	-	-	1610.
<i>The King's Bible</i>				

<sup>1</sup>*Quarto Bible of 1568. two Volumes.*

Trin. Coll. Cant.

Title-page.

*The Bible in English, that is to say: The content of all the holy Scripture, both of the Olde and Newe Testament. According to the translation that is appointed to be read in the Churches. Anno 1568.*

<sup>1</sup> Lewis's Hist. pp. 217—219.

Then follow,

1. An Almanacke for 14 years, beginning 1567, ending 1580.
2. A Kalendar.
3. A Table for the order of the Psalmes.
4. The order how the rest of the holy Scripture (beside the Psalter) is appointed to be read. A leaf, or more, torn out.
5. The Common Prayer, at large. And at the end thereof, facing the first of Genesis,

*Imprinted at London in Paules Churchyarde by Richard Jugge and John Carwood, Printers to the Queenes Majesty. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.*

The translation is the same with the great Bible, called Cranmer's, or Coverdale's. But in Psalm the xivth, the three inserted verses are in the same black letter with the rest : and so is 1 Joh. v. 7. The Psalmes are the common Psalter-Psalms, as read at this day, and first fixed by the edition of 1541. The title to the Apocrypha is, *The volume of the bookes called Hagiographa*, like as in the editions of 1539, 1540, and 1562.

The title to the N. T. is, *The Newe Testament in English, translated after the Greke, contayning these bookes, &c.*

1 Peter ii. 13. *Unto the king, as unto the chefe head.*

The verses are not numbered or distinguished in this edition, any more than in those of 1539, 1540, 1541, 1562, 1566, which it follows.

At the end it is imperfect, all beyond the 5th verse of the xxiind. chapter of the Apocalypse being torn off; a leaf, I suppose. The singing Psalmes come after: but whether they were of the same date and impression, I cannot say: they are in a larger character; and they may have been only bound up together with the Bible, though of another impression. After those Psalmes follows, A Forme of Prayer to be used in private houses: but it is imperfect, wanting a leaf, as I conceive, at the end. N. B. This very Bible was again printed the year after, and has the date 1569 in the title-page to the New Testament. I have both.

<sup>m</sup>*Saxon Gospels of 1571. Bibl. Pepysiana.*

*The Gospels of the fower Evangelistes translated in the olde Saxons tyme, out of Latin into the vulgare toung of the Saxons, newly*

<sup>m</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 4.

*collected out of auncient monumentes of the sayd Saxons, and now published for testimonie of the same. At London by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate, 1571. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis per Decennium.*

In the Dedication to the Queen is observed, that “our coun-  
 “treymen Bede did translate the whole Bible in the Saxon  
 “tounge: that he translated againe the Gospell of S. John into  
 “the Englishe tounge, a little before his departure. That K.  
 “Alfrede translated both the Olde and the Newe Testament into  
 “his own native language. It is further said: if historyes be well  
 “examined, we shall finde both before the Conquest, and after,  
 “as well before John Wickliffe was borne, as since, the whole  
 “body of Scriptures by sondry men translated into thys our  
 “countray tounge. In so much that Thomas Arundell, then  
 “Archbyshop of Yorke, and Chauncellour of England, at the  
 “funerall sermon of Queene Anne—who dyed in the yeare of our  
 “Lord 1394, (as Polidore saith,) did avouch, that she had the  
 “Gospells in the vulgare tounge, with divers expositors upon the  
 “same; which he sayth, she sent unto hym to be viewed and ex-  
 “amined, and so did returne them againe unto her, with a large  
 “commendation of her studious diligence, to be so occupied in  
 “reading such bookes.”—It is further added, at some distance  
 after, that by Abp. Parker’s “industrious diligence and learned  
 “labours, this booke, with others moe, hath bene collected and  
 “searched out of the Saxons monuments.”

The Dedication concludes with,

“Your Majesties most humble Subject,

“John Foxe.”

The note and date at the end of the book runs thus:

*At London, printed by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate, 1571.  
 These bookes are to be solde at his shop under the gate.*

The composition of the book is thus: The Saxon in large letters in an inner column, taking up about two thirds, or a little more, of the page; and Parker’s English version in the outer column, (opposite to the other,) taking up the third part, or nearly, of the same page. The verses are distinguished and numbered as at present: I have compared some parts of the outer column with Parker’s of 1572, and find that they agree with it, excepting some very slight variations. I have not 1568 by me, with which, I suppose, it agrees exactly. However, I find that neither the Geneva, nor other versions of repute at that

time, agree to any exactness at all: wherefore Parker's is the version here followed, as one might indeed reasonably expect, on more accounts than one. Wanley observes (Catalog. p. 64.) that this edition of the Saxon Gospels was copied from a MS. of the Bodleian. NE. F. 3. 2382. 15.

---

## No. XIX.

DEAR SIR,

YESTERDAY went out a packet of about eight or nine sheets, being accounts of such Bibles &c. as I have seen. I presume Mr. Parker will convey them safe to your hands. In one half sheet I set down several which I had read of only, and not seen. One of them I have since viewed, and I here send you an account of it. Soon after came your letter, which put me in mind of sending you a brief account of Foxe's Saxon Gospels. I am studying the question about Wickliff's version, as well as you: and you will find in my papers some hints which may be useful that way. But I am still inquiring, and unresolved. You seem to take for granted that the famous prologue printed in 1550, was Wickliff's. But Wharton, both in his *Auctarium*, and in Harmer, has made me suspend. I remember that Russel undertakes to maintain Wickliff's title to it: and his letter is published in part by Le Long, in his *Biblioth. Sacra*. But my Le Long is at London, and I cannot easily find another here. I shall be considering that question, as my leisure serves. I shall be glad to see your friend here, and to furnish him with any thing proper to be transcribed for your use. You will find in my papers, that I sometimes quote Mr. Wanley's MSS. notes. By that I mean a manuscript account of the Bibles in Lord Oxford's library, which Mr. Baker transcribed from him, and is so kind as to lend to me. A cursory reading of my papers may perhaps suggest to you some further heads of inquiry. I keep many of the editions still by me, that I may be ready to answer your further inquiries. And as to those which I have returned, I can, upon necessity, borrow them again. Should not you desire Mr. Granger (till you can wait upon him) to favour you with a catalogue of the Bibles he has? You would guess by the size and dates (where there are dates) what the editions are,

for the most part. Or if beginning and end be torn off, let him but write the first line of any page in that Bible, and say what fol. it belongs to, and the edition may be discovered, if we have editions enough to compare. Since I began these searches, I have discovered several here that were not known, or went under false names, and have returned them to the owners under their true names.

<sup>m</sup> Are you sure that you are right as to Coverdale's Bible of 1535, and Queen Jane's being mentioned in the Dedication? I ask, because the fact is true of Matthew's, of 1537: Queen Jane is there mentioned in the Dedication. But as to that of 1535, I do not find it in that part of the Dedication which I have: I have but part of it; the rest is torn off.

I have seen what is said of Delayne in Hearne's Preface. One would have taken it for an English version, by the place it there bears. But it is certain that the book is Latin, and I suppose it was mentioned among the English Bibles, because it is a rarity. Mr. Baker has a copy, and Emanuel College another. But enough at this time.

I am, Sir,

Your very faithful Friend and humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Magd. Coll. July 24, 1729.

You mention Mr. Russell (who lives, I think, at Fiskerton, near Lincoln) as a person who has made inquiries into Wickliff's MSS. You are acquainted with him: might you not write to him? But I am not of his opinion as to any such very old copies of the Bible. I never yet met with any entire Bible of that kind; nor any piece of scripture, excepting Hampole's Psalms, and the MSS. Gospels of C.C.C.

*To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

N<sup>o</sup>. XX.

<sup>n</sup> *The Great Bible. Fol. 1549. Publ. Libr. A. 4—7.*

*The Byble in Englishe, that is, the Olde and New Testament, after the translacion appoynted to bee read in the Churches.*

<sup>m</sup> Lewis's Hist. pp. 99, 100.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. pp. 181, 182.



*Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the signe of the sunne, over againste the conduyte, by Edwarde Whitchurche, the xxix. day of December, the yeare of our Lorde M.D.XLIX. Cum privilegio, &c.*

Then follows *Cranmer's Prologue, and the summe and content of al the holy Scripture, &c.* but imperfect, all the rest being torn out till the beginning of Genesis.

The Psalms follow the correct edition of 1541, the same with our present Psalter.

The Apocryphal books are here called *Apocrypha*, not *Hagiographa* :

Title to N. T. is, *The Newe Testament in Englyshe translated after the Greke, contayning these bookes, &c.*

Part of Psalm xiv. as well as 1 Joh. v. 7. in parenthesis, and small letter, as usual in the Great Bible.

I have for some time missed this edition, wondering how there came to be none of this Bible between 1541 and 1562. But this makes up the gap. This is of the same year with Becke's, (which follows Matthew's,) but after it, as I imagined before I observed the dates, from Becke's complaining in his Dedication that the *Bible in the largest volume* was grown scarce, and the price excessive. But the dates set it out of dispute; Becke being in August, and this in December of the same year. And now I conceive you have had accounts of all the editions of *the Great Bible, or Cranmer's Bible*, which stand thus by their years :

1539. By Grafton and Whitchurch.

1540. By Whitchurch.

1541. By Grafton.

1549. By Whitchurch.

1562. By Harrison.

1566. At Rouen, by C. Hamilton.

1568. Quarto, by Jugge and Cawood, with the large Liturgy prefixed.

1569. Quarto, by Jugge and Cawood again, as I suppose, by the print and character. This last has the short Liturgy before it, the same as Rouen.

° *Coverdale's Bible, Quarto, of 1553. Publ. Libr.*

A—5—4.

I have been under a mistake in reckoning this to 1552, judging

° Lewis, pp. 196, 197.

only by the calendar, (which begins with 1552,) in an imperfect copy. I have now a perfect book. The title-page thus:

*The whole Byble. That is the holye Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfullye translated into Englyshe by Myles Coverdale, and newly oversene and correcte. M.D.LIIII.*

ii Tessa. iii.

*Praye for us, that the worde of God may have free passage and be glorified.*

*Printed at London by Rycharde Jugge, dwellynge at the north dore of Powles at the sygne of the Byble. Set forth with the Kinges moost gracious licence.*

I am clearly of opinion that the two Bibles of 1550 and 1553 are of the same impression, all but the preliminaries. They are exactly alike, and besides are a foreign print: printed, I suppose, at Zurich, by Christofer Froschover, A. D. 1550, as I find noted by Mr. Wanley, of one of them, who had seen it with the *original* title: though afterwards Hester and Jugge (printing only the preliminaries) pretended that the Bible itself was printed at London, or at least did not distinguish between what was really printed at London, and what was printed abroad.

*P Tindale's New Testament of 1536, Quarto.*

Publ. Libr. A—6—1.

I have now (which I before wanted) a perfect copy of this edition. The title-page is as follows:

*The Newe Testament yet once agayne corrected by Willyam Tindale: whereunto is added a necessarye table, wherein easly and lightelye maye be founde any storve contayned in the foure Exchange-listes, and in the Actes of the Apostles.*

<i>The Gospell of</i>	{	<i>S. Matthew.</i>
		<i>S. Marke.</i>
		<i>S. Luke.</i>
		<i>S. John.</i>

*The Actes of the Apostles.*

*Jesus sayd, Marke xvi. Go ye into all the worlde, and preache the glad tydynges to all creatures: he that beleueth and is baptised shall be saved.*

*Printed in the yere of our Lorde God M.D.andXXXVI.*

The book is curious, and very full of wooden cuts all the way through, as well as in the Apocalypse: as to which, it follows the second edition of the Dutch, of which I have formerly spoken. After the N. T. are *the Epistles taken out of the Olde Testament*, but a leaf or two torn out at the end. I believe it was printed abroad, for two reasons; first, because no place is mentioned in the title-page: and secondly, because instead of commas and semicolons, there are strokes | only, as usual in foreign prints. I must retract my opinion as to the copy I saw in Emanuel College. That, I believe, is a pure English edition, taken from this; but how long after I cannot say. It may be a seventh or eight edition, or yet more distant, for any thing I know.

I have met with another edition of Tindale's N. T. a small folio, or larger quarto than either of the former. Publ. Libr. A—5—38. But the title-page being torn out, and there being no date, I know not how to make a judgment of it, more than that it is later than Tindale's of 1536. After the Epistles (Pistels) of the Old Testament, is added a table to *fynde the Pistels and the Gospels | after the use of Salisbury*. And at the end of the table is, *God save the Kyngs | and all his well-wyllers*. So ends the book. It has the same Prologue with Tindale's of 1536, and is plainly Tindale's New Testament. Somebody has written, in a spare leaf, *Taverner's N. Testament*: perhaps for no better reason than because his name begins with a T. and there is *W. T. to the Cristen Reader* prefixed to the Prologue though it should have been R. T. for *Taverner*. I have some reason to think (from the manner of spelling) that it is a Scotch edition, and perhaps as early as 1536: for Tho. Davidson was then printer at Edinburgh. But of this I must consider more maturely, as I have leisure.

I have compared the two texts of Ezekiel which you transcribed into your letter, and which are called *oure* translation: and I find they agree with the common copies, two of which I have consulted, viz. Emanuel copy, and Bp. Moore's.

I have given Joye's Apology to the young gentlemen to transcribe for you. Tindale's Epistle will not be met with, as I imagine, any where: but a great part of it is taken into Joye's Apology, and so you will have both in one.

As to the Doway<sup>q</sup> translation of the O. T. the years 1609

<sup>q</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 286.

and 1610 were undoubtedly the years of the first impression. It appears plainly from the date of the imprimatur, and other marks, that so it must be. And as to the Rhemish<sup>r</sup> N. T. I make no question but 1582 was the year of its first appearing, though I have not so full proof of it as of the other.

I am examining carefully into what concerns Wickliff: and the result of my inquiries you shall have in due time. Company has broken in upon me while I was writing, and so I conclude the sooner. If I have forgotten any thing I intended to say now, I shall recollect it against my next. I rest

Your faithful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

July 29, 1729.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

No. XXI.

DEAR SIR,

I SEND you here my present thoughts about Wickliff's Bible, though I stick in the half way, because perhaps I may be able to go no further. But first let me transcribe a passage out of an Homily of Wicliff upon the Gospel, beginning at the 23rd verse of Matthew the xth, because I am to make some use of it. It runs thus in two copies, which I have by me.

“<sup>s</sup> He (Antecrist) hath turned hyse clerkes to covetyse and  
 “ worldely love, and so blynded the peple and derked the lawe  
 “ of Crist, that hys servauntes ben thikke, and fewe ben on  
 “ Cristes syde; and algates they dyspysen that men shulden  
 “ knowe Crystes lyfe: for thenne Prestes schulden schome of  
 “ hyre lyves, and specially these hye Prestes: for they reversen  
 “ Crist bothe in worde and in dede. *And herfore on gret*  
 “ *Byschop of Englelond, as men sayen, is yvel payed that Goddes*  
 “ *lawe is wryten in Englysche to lewede men, and he pursueth a*  
 “ *Prest for he wryteth to men this Englysche; and sompneth hym,*  
 “ *and traveleth hym, that hyt is harde to hym to route: and thus he*  
 “ *pursueth another Prest, by the helpe of the pharysees, for he*  
 “ *preacheth Cristes Gospel frely wythouten fables.*

<sup>r</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 277.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. pp. 21, 22.

“ O men that ben of Cristes halfe, helpe ye nowe ageynes  
 “ Antecrist. For the perelouse tyme is comen that Crist and  
 “ Poule tolden byfore. But on coumfort is of *knyghtes* that they  
 “ saveren mucho the *Gospel*, and have wylle to rede in Englysche  
 “ *the Gospel of Cristes lyf*. For afterwarde, yef God wul, the  
 “ lordeschype schal be taken from Prestes, and so the stafe that  
 “ maketh hem hardy ageynes Crist and hys lawe for thre sectes  
 “ feyghten here ageynes Cristene mannes secte : the fyrst is the  
 “ Pope and the Cardynals, by false lawes that they han made :  
 “ the secounde is Emperour Byschopes, whuche dyspysen Cristes  
 “ lawe : the thrydde is these pharysees, possessyoners and  
 “ beggares : and alle these thre Goddes enemyes travelen in  
 “ ypoerisyse, and in worldely covetyse, and ydelnesse in Goddes  
 “ lawe. Crist helpe hys Churche fro these fendes, for they  
 “ fyghten perylously.”

† By the *on gret Byschop*, I understand the Archbishop of that time. By a *Prest*, I understand Wickliff himself: as it was natural to think of himself first, besides that the frequent summons he had had, answer to the character here given. Who the other Priest was, you may consider: I guess it was Nicholas Hereford. The time I judge to be about 1382, from the description here given of it: besides that it is certain from other plain marks about Urban and Clement, that these Homilies were made after 1378. The *knyghtes*, whether you interpret them of *knights* properly so called, or of military men, (as *knyghtes* in old English is *militēs*, soldiers,) either way the fact is true; and what Knighton has (Col. 1651, 1662.) may be a good comment upon what is here said. Now I come to the point.

1. I observe that Wickliff here speaks of his having translated *Goddes lawe*, afterwards explained by *Cristes lawe*, and the *Gospel of Cristes lyf*. All which I understand of the New Testament only. To which also agrees the language of Knighton<sup>u</sup>, who does not say that Wickliff translated the *Bible*, but *Evangelium* only; and twice he observes the accuracy of expression, Col. 2644, 2665. If the Bible had been translated in Knighton's time, and he had known it, why should he have said *Evangelium* only, rather than *Biblia*? I persuade myself that Wickliff translated the New Testament only. No more is

† Lewis thinks the *one great Bishop* Swynderby, of Leicester, pp. 22, 23.  
 meant John Bokynham, Bp. of Lincoln; and *another Priest*, William de

<sup>u</sup> See Lewis, pp. 20, 21.

here asserted, nor in Knighton ; besides that I can scarce conceive, how amidst so many avocations, and such a multitude of other works as he wrote, he should have leisure sufficient to translate the whole Bible. Not to mention that the style of the O. T. and New, though they are tacked together, manifestly differ, what a multitude of *forsothes* and *sothelis* have you every where occurring in the translation of the Old T. and none almost in the New ; none in that which passes for Wickliff's Testament, and which, I doubt not, is really his. In the other translation indeed, (one copy of which I have seen at Sidney College, another I once lent you,) there again are the *forsothes* and *sothelis*, as before, ad nauseam usque : and that Testament, (as I take it) really belongs to the translation of the Old, and both parts are of one author or contriver.

2. That translator both of Old and New came after Wickliff, and the same was the author of the Prologue published 1550.

Wickliff was the first that *published* the New T. in that kind of English ; I say *published*, because there certainly were Testaments, or parts of the N. T. drawn up for *private* use before, such as is the Bene't MS. P. vi. of which I sent you an account ; and such was Q. Anne, wife to Richard II. mentioned by Abp. Parker and Foxe. But Wickliff *published* his version, made it common to every body, as far as he could. That he was the *first* who did so, I gather both from Knighton, and from what I have here quoted from himself. And if he was the first, then the other translator of consequence came after. That that other translator was author also of the Prologue, is, I think, well proved by Wharton in his Auctarium, p. 425. His arguments fully prove that the translator of the Old Testament (called Wickliff's) was the author of the Prologue. The N. T. is unconcerned in his reasoning. It is not improbable that that author, being incited by the publication of Wickliff's New Testament, set himself to translate the Old : and when his hand was in, he translated both : just so did Tindale's New Testament provoke Coverdale and Rogers to undertake the entire translation of the Old, nine years after, or thereabout : and when their hands were in, they added a New Testament also, new vamped up and improved, to their editions of the Old. That translator in rendering the N. T. had Wickliff's to go upon : and so I account for his coming so near it in the main : though, I think, he almost spoiled it by his *forsothes* and his *sothelis* ; which later

copyists being sensible of, they retrenched many of them, and struck them out: and accordingly our College copy (more recent than Sidney's) has not near so many of them as the older copies had.

3. Who that translator of the entire Bible was, I cannot yet learn: perhaps at this distance it may be hard, or even impossible, to discover. It was not Trevisa: I have read over formerly two folio volumes of his, and I have one of them now by me, and have looked into it; but cannot find *forsothe* or *sotheli* occurring frequently in it, as would have done, had he been the author of that translation of the Bible. That man, whoever he was, seems to have thought that *autem, vero*, and such like particles, could not otherwise be justly rendered. Surely, if this was his superstition in one work, it must have appeared in every work of his of like kind. ¶ I conclude then that Trevisa was not our man: and I very much suspect both Caxton and Bale in the report they make of his being a translator of the Bible, though how their mistake came I know not. I can hear of nobody that ever yet saw a Bible with a preface to it, beginning with, *I Johan Trevisa a Preest, or youre Preeste*. Indeed the Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to his translation of Higden begins so. I had taken notice, in my Athanasian History, of Mr. Wharton's ascribing the common translation called Wickliff's to Trevisa: and Mr. Wanley did me the favour, among other marginal notes, to remark hereupon as follows: "Herein Mr. Wharton was misled by John Bagford:" and a little after, "Trevisa is said to have translated no more of the Bible than certain sentences printed upon the walls of the chapel in Berkley Castle."

4. While I assert the New Testament, commonly bearing his name, to Wickliff, I do not mean that it is exactly such as came from his hands. I believe it has been smoothed and polished at least, and in some places corrected, since his time. For I observe, that his translation of the Gospels read in the Church (contained in his Homilies) is more antique in the language, and is seldom exactly the same with his Testament as now read. But yet I do not see difference enough to make me at all question its being Wickliff's. I shall just observe to you how he translates and comments upon Matt. iii. 4. "*This Jon hade clothes of the heres of chamels, and a gurdel of a skyn aboughte hys lendes, and*

¶ Lewis, p. 66.

“ the note of this Jon was fruytte of the erthe, and honye of the wode. Summe men sayen y<sup>t</sup> locusta is a luttel bêst, goode to ete:—summe men sayen, it is an erbe that gadereth hony upon hym: but hyt is lycly that hyt is an erbe that norysche men, that they callen honysukkel, thing varyeth in mony cun- treyes.”

Here you will observe that his note confirms the common rendering in Wickliff's N. T., while the other translation has *locusts*. I remember one place where Wickliff's Homilies are conform to the other translation, having *kings* for the *magi*, as that translation has, while the common one has *astronomers*. But I conceive, Wickliff, in his popular discourses, might choose to adapt himself to popular capacities or prejudices, though in a strict translation he would not take that liberty: or else we must say, that somebody has since corrected that place of Wickliff's N. T., changing *kings* into *astronomers*.

You will observe from the whole drift of what I have been saying, that I admit two entire translations of the New T. and but one of the Old: and you will object perhaps, that the Regimen Ecclesiæ supposes two also of the Old. To this I answer, that that one translator of the entire Bible had several under-workers, or fellow-helpers, who translated parcels for him, as he owns in his Prologue, and probably several men the same parcels: and hence it seems to be that the Lambeth MS. has a portion of scripture, as far as Joshua, differing from the common version; and the like might happen in other parts of the Bible: or if this account be not altogether satisfactory, yet you will please to remember, that before either Wickliff or this other translator, there were parcels of scripture translated for *private use*; and so it might be from one of those *private* versions that the author of the Regimen quoted the verse of Ezekiel. I have now told you all my present thoughts, or dreams, upon this dark subject. If you can make any use of these hints, either by improving or correcting, I shall be very glad of it. I could have wished, now I have Wickliff's Homilies by me, and James's Apology also, that I had had your defence of Wickliff here also. I could better have judged of it: and perhaps I might have something in the MSS. to confirm what you have advanced, or to clear something up. If you have a mind still to send me it hither, and if there be blank pages on which I might enter remarks, or transcribe something out of the MSS., I shall not scruple the



trouble, for the time I have here, which may be about three months longer, or two and a half. I shall be now and then sending you some gleanings of old editions of Bibles or Testaments. I have marked down fourteen editions of the Geneva; one as late as 1644, Amsterdam, copied from the Edinburgh edition of 1610. I have also an 8vo. New T. by Jugge, in 1562, which has the verses distinguished, and is perhaps the first English edition that has so. I set many heads and hands to work to hunt for old Bibles, and raise great expectations of your performance on that head. I find the use and benefit of communicating a design to many: every one almost helps something towards perfecting a work.

I am, good Sir,  
Your very faithful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Magd. Coll. Aug. 5, 1729.

Could not you write to some friend of Merton College, to look over Butler Contra Translationem Anglicanam, for you?

If they have the MS. it may probably furnish some historical hints, though the main of it be controversial. Gul. Butler lived in 1410, according to Bale.

As to 2 Cor. v. All my MSS. but one of Wickliff's T. have the explanatory words in the margin: one copy bearing date 1397, has in the margin thus: *that is, Sacrifice for Synne. Austin.* The copies of the other translation (Sidney, and mine) have the words in the text scored with a red line: *that is, Redempcioun, or Sacrifice for Synne.* One copy of Wickliff's N. T. which I take to be recent in comparison, omits them quite, like the Surenden MS.

*To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

N<sup>o</sup>. XXII.

*Magd. Coll. August 17, 1729.*

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE the favour of your last, but desire that it may lie by a while, till I discharge myself of what I have further to add about the Bible called Wickliff's. What I last advanced was,

1. That Wickliff translated the New Testament, and that only, and that he was the first *publisher* of such translation. I would rather now say, the first that set out an *entire* and *naked* version: for what was before done was by *parts*, and mingled with notes or comments. 2. That the translation of the whole Bible came after, and was made by the same person that made the Prologue printed in 1550, which Prologue, I presume, you have. 3. That the same person who translated the Bible, and composed that Prologue, translated also the New Testament, which is full of *forsothes*, by which mark I know that author, and in which the Bible and this Testament tally exactly. *Forsothe* occurs no less than eleven times in the first five verses of the first of Matthew. It was a peculiarity of that author to make *forsothe* generally stand for *autem*, or *vero*, or *enim*. He owns that he so uses it, in his Prologue, chapter the last: and I know no author else of that time that so used. I think that in others, *forsothe* commonly is *videlicet*, or *profecto*.

These things supposed, (and indeed I see no reason yet to retract or alter a tittle,) I now proceed to search out the *time*, and *author* of that version of the whole Bible.

The year of the Prologue may, I doubt not, be accurately determined by two or three historical marks dropped in chapter 13th. You may please to search the histories at leisure. I will content myself at present only with Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* and Ayliffe's *ancient and present State of the University of Oxford*<sup>x</sup>. There I find, that about 1387, the University then made, or revived a law, that no one should be Inceptor in divinity, till he had run through the arts and sciences. It is to that law, though misrepresented in some measure, that the author of the Prologue, as I conceive, alludes, and heavily complains of, as then upon the anvil, and being of very ill consequence as he supposed. Again, the author of the Prologue speaks of *Oxenford as drinking blood and sleing of quicke men* at that time: which agrees well with Wood's and Ayliffe's accounts of the miserable feuds, and bloody skirmishes between the *southern* and *northern* scholars, in 1388 and 1389. This therefore was the time of the Prologue. The author of the Prologue further speaks of Divines being most charged with sodomy in the *last parliament*: that circum-

<sup>x</sup> Lewis, pp. 35, 36.

stance I have not searched into. But from the two former historical notes I beg leave, for the present, to fix the date of the Prologue to the year 1388; and so the date of the Bible too, just then finished. The Testament of this version was not yet made: but probably came out the year following: and because there was yet no Testament of the same version with this Bible, Wickliff's Testament was tacked to it, and so it has been in most copies drawn after, perhaps in all, and the last N. T. of the new version has gone single.

Having thus guessed at the *time*, next guess we at the *author*. And here the first man I fix my eye upon is *John Pervie*, (or Purvie) (in Knighton, *Purnaye*,) who was Wickliff's disciple, considerably before Wickliff's death, and the principal man of the Lollards after. *Theologus facundus, glossographus insignis, legis prudentia clarus, Lollardorum librarius, et Wiclevi glossator*. See Wood, and Bale, and Fox's Martyrs, vol. i. p. 708. He wrote a famous comment upon the Apocalypse in 1390, being then in prison, and had written several other things before. [He lived with Wickliff many years before he died, and assisted him in his studies &c. after he was seized with the palsey.] This is the man I pitch upon, for the translator of the Bible, and composer of that Prologue. And if one circumstance hits, (which I have sent to know the truth of,) I shall be much confirmed in this persuasion. There is in the library of Dublin College an old English Bible with this character at the end of the Apocalypse, **P** There we have the very name of *Pervie*. If that Bible proves to be the same Bible, and the Prologue also the same, (there are both,) then I shall think what I now advance is something more than conjecture. I have employed a friend to write to Dublin, and I expect an answer in about a fortnight's time. So now I am come to the end of my speculations on this head; which conclude at length in this: that John Wickliff translated the New Testament before 1382, and John Pervie both Old and New, in 1388 and 1389. See Fox, p. 137. ed. 1.

Having some room left, I will correct a slip or two of Mr. Wharton in relation to this Bible. He had not seen copies enough to make a true report. In his Auctarium, p. 425, he intimates as if there were no marginal glosses to this Bible.

excepting in the prophets. He grounded it upon what the prologue says, chap. xi. and upon his view of the Lambeth copy. But if he had looked to the last chapter of the Prologue, he would have found, by the author's own account, that marginal glosses were also added in most of the other books, and particularly in the Psalter. And indeed Bishop Moore's copy shews it. The Pentateuch in that copy (and in another copy of Pepys's library, containing eight books) is full of such glosses, taken from Lyra and the older *interlineary gloss*: and there are some in several other books of scripture. Emanuel copy has but few in comparison: and the Bene't copy (which I just turned over) has still fewer; or, I rather think, none: I saw none. Those glosses were left out of the ordinary copies, to save time, trouble, and expense.

Mr. Wharton, p. 247, puzzles himself about a gloss occurring upon Daniel xith (he should have xiith) which seems to make the author of the version as early as 1229. He answers the difficulty tolerably. But he might have perfectly cleared it by looking into Lyra, and there seeing that the words are really Lyra's, (whom our author there barely translates,) and so are not at all pertinent to the question. And indeed the translator, as usual, at the end of the marginal gloss, has *Lire here*.

I have still paper enough left to assure you, that Matthew's translation and Coverdale's (of the Bible) are not the same. A bare inspection into any chapter will shew that they are different. But there is one thing which you may know, and I cannot; and that is, whether either of them be Tindale's, so far as Tindale went. I have not that part of Tindale. I suspect Tindale's and Matthew's to be the same.

The Dedication and Preface of Matthew are different from Coverdale's. Matthew's Dedication (which I spoke of) concludes thus: " And blesse you at thys present with a sonne, by youre  
 " most gracyous wyfe Queene Jane, which may prosperously and  
 " fortunately raygne, and folowe the godly steppes of hys father:  
 " and after youre Grace shall geve place to nature, and forsake  
 " thys mortall lyfe, graunte you the rewarde of that unspeakable  
 " and celestyal joye, which no eye hath seene nor eare hearde,  
 " nor can ascende into the herte of man. So be it.

" Your Grace's faythfull and true subject,  
 " THOMAS MATTHEW."

Below H. R. (in text letters.)

This I transcribe from Mr. Baker's transcript, prefixed to his Bible.

I am, Sir,  
Your most faithful humble servant,  
DAN. WATERLAND.

To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,  
of Mergate in Kent.

N<sup>o</sup>. XXIII.

*2 Taverner's Dedication.*

“ TO the most noble, most myghtye, and most redoubted  
“ Prynce, Kyng Henry the VIII. Kyng of Englande and of  
“ Fraunce, Defensour of the Fayth, Lorde of Ireland, and in  
“ erth supreme heed, immediately under Chryst, of the Church  
“ of England, his humble servaunt Rychard Taverner desireth  
“ all joye, felicitie, and longe lyfe.

“ How hyghly all England is bounden to your incomparable  
“ Majestie for the infinite and manifolde benefites receyved at  
“ your most gracious handes, from tyme to time without ceasing,  
“ even from the begynning of your most noble raigue: truly no  
“ mortal tonge is hable with wordes sufficiently to expresse, or  
“ with thoughtes of hert worthely to conceyve: certes, it far  
“ passeth bothe the sklender capacitie of my wyt, and also the  
“ rude infancy of my tong to do either thone or thother: yea,  
“ another Cicero or Demosthenes wer not ynough hereunto.  
“ Wherefore omittinge or rather leavinge to some other the just  
“ encomye and commendacion of your Graces most ample dedes,  
“ worthy of eternall memorie, yet this one thing I dare full well  
“ affirme, that amonges all your Majesties deservinges, upon the  
“ Cristen religion, (then which surely nothing can be greater,)  
“ your Highnes never did thing more acceptable unto God, more  
“ profitable unto the avauncement of true Christianitie, more  
“ displeasent to the enemies of the same, and also to your Graces  
“ enemies, than when your Majestie lycenced and wylled the  
“ moost sacred Byble, conteynyng the unspotted and lyvely  
“ worde of God, to be in the English tonge set forth to your  
“ Hyghnes subjectes.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis, pp. 130—132.

“ To the setting forth wherof, (most gracious and most re-  
“ doubted Sovereigne Lorde,) lyke as certeyn men have neither  
“ undiligently nor yet unlearnedly traveled: so agayn it cannot  
“ be denied, but that some faultes have escaped their handes.  
“ Neither speke I this to deprave or maligne their industrie and  
“ paynes taken in this behalf: no, rather I think them worthy  
“ of no litle praise and thankes for the same, considering what  
“ great utilitie and profit hath redounded to your Graces hole  
“ realme by the publyshing and setting forth therof, although it  
“ were not finisshed to the ful absolucion and perfection of the  
“ same. For assuredly it is a worke of so great difficultie, I  
“ mean so absolutely to translate the hole Bible that it be fault-  
“ lesse, that I feare it can scace be doone of one or two persons,  
“ but rather requyreth bothe a deeper confarrynge of many  
“ lerned wittes togyther, and also a juster tyme, and longer  
“ leysure.

“ Wherefore the premisses wel considered, forasmoch as the  
“ prynters herof were very desirous to have this most sacred  
“ volume of the Bible com forth as faultlesse and emendatly as  
“ the shortnes of tyme for the recognising of the same wold  
“ require, they desired me your most humble servant, for default  
“ of a better lerned, diligently to overloke and peruse the hole  
“ copy: and in case I shold fynd any notable default that neded  
“ correction, to amend the same, according to the true ex-  
“ emplars. Whiche thyng accordyng to my talent I have  
“ gladly done.

“ These therefore my simple lucubrations and labours, to whom  
“ might I better dedicate, then unto your most excellent and  
“ noble Majestie, the only authour and grounde, nexte God, of  
“ this so high a benefite unto your Graces people, I meane that  
“ the holy scripture is communicate unto the same.

“ But now though many faultes perchaunce be yet left behind  
“ uncastigat, either for lacke of lerning sufficient to so gret an  
“ enterprise, or for default of leasure, I trust your Majestie and  
“ all other that shal rede the same, wyll pardon me, consyderyng  
“ (as I have alreedy declared) how harde and difficile a thinge it  
“ is, so to set forth this worke, as shal be in al pointes faultles  
“ and without reprehension.

“ And thus I commit your most gracious and excellent Ma-  
“ jestie to the tucion of the Highest, to whom be al honour,  
“ glory, and prayse, worlde without ende. Amen.”

So ends the Dedication. Then follows, on the other side the same leaf, an *exhortacion to the studye of the Holye Scripture, &c.* Several hands, and marks such as mentioned, are in that very page, and so on in the following pages.

*Some account of this Bible.*

<sup>a</sup>Bale's account (under R. Taverner, p. 698.) is short and true. He calls it, *Sacrorū Bibliorum recognitio, seu potius versio nova.* It is neither a bare revisal, or correct edition of the Bible, nor yet strictly a new version, but between both. It is Matthew's (Rogers's) Bible, but the translation itself corrected, wherever the editor saw proper. He takes in the greatest part of Matthew's marginal notes, but leaves several out, and inserts several of his own. I shall give a specimen in Gen. i. and Matt. i.

Gen. i.

"The fyrst boke of Moses called Genesis, or *Generacion.*

"By the worde all thynges be create of God; of man's creation, rule, and sustenance."

The first marginal note, *brethed* or *stered*, as in Matthew's: but under it is added a new one. "Spirite signifyeth a breth, or stiryng, and is taken somtyme for the wynde, as in the viii. of this boke, a. but in this place the most parte of lerned men understand it of the Holy Gost."

He has one marginal note more, and no more at all in this chapter. It is lower down, at verse 22d, as now distinguished: "God blesseth, that is to say, prospereth his creatures." References to texts in the margin are as in Matthew's. As to the version in this chapter, verse 2. "the Spirite of God *was borne,* upon," &c.

Ver. 7. Instead of *and it was so,* Taverner reads, *and so it was doon.* So again at the end of ver. 9th, 11th.

Ver. 11. Instead of *that sowe seed,* he has, *that bereth seed.* The like change ver. 12th and 29th. The other variations are slighter than these mentioned.

Matth. i.

"The Gospell *after Matthews.*"

The first marginal note as in Matthew's Bible, the second is omitted. The third, beginning with *David and,* is taken in.

At Jechonias, is this new note: "This Jechonias is otherwise

<sup>a</sup> Lewis, pp. 132, 133.

“ called Jehoakim, and is the son of Jechonias before mentioned.”

At ver. 19. is this marginal note, “ ensample, that is to say,” as in Matthew’s. But Matthew’s preceding note is left out. He has no more notes but the last, “ her fyrste sonne,” which is also in the other.

The genealogy of our Saviour is printed in columns, like as in Matthew’s.

Ver. 18. Taverner has *espoused*, instead of *maryed*.

Ver. 25. *Tyll at last she brought forth*, instead of *till she had brought forth*.

Ver. 25. *Her fyrst-borne son*, for *hyr fyrst sonne*.

This I suppose may be enough, for a taste of Taverner. Pointing hands are very frequent in the margin, all over the Bible and Testament. But I see not the other mark except at the end of Books.

<sup>b</sup>Cranmer’s Prologue is not in the editions of 1539. It is in some of the editions of 1540. There is one such in Bishop Moore’s library: another in Lord Oxford’s: but though the title-page in the last has, *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*, 1540; yet at the end it is said, *fynysed in May, Anno 1541*. Which I have from Mr. Wanley’s notes. But the other Bible in Bishop Moore’s library (which has Cranmer’s Prologue) has at the end, *Fynysed in Apryll. Anno M.CCCC.XL*. Qu. Whether Booksellers began the new year in May?

<sup>c</sup>Note, that the Bible of Lord Oxford’s library is *printede by Rycharde Grafton*. There is another in the same library *printede by Edward Withchurch*, (Withchurch, for Whitechurch,) *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. Anno 1540*. The date at the end wanting. Mr. Wanley remarks as follows: “ Both these “ two last mentioned Bibles I take to be of the same edition, “ as also some others of different dates. The royal patent, *ad “ imprimendum solum*, was granted to Grafton and Whitechurch, who were partners, or to one of them. In the printing “ of the stated number, so many were to bear Grafton’s name; “ which done, his name was to be taken out of the form, and “ Whitechurch’s to be inserted in his place.”

By *spurious* edition, (which is my own word,) I mean the quarto edition of 1538, which either stole into the world without

<sup>b</sup> Lewis, p. 137.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. ut supra.



Coverdale's leave, or at least was published very incorrect, or with designed alterations, by Holybushe. Coverdale's own complaint of it<sup>d</sup>, in his Dedication before the octavo edition of 1539, (which I sent you a copy of,) is all the light I have.

*Of Primers.*

I have four by me. The first printed at Paris, in 12mo. mostly Latin, A. 1532. The second is the Bp. of Rochester's, in quarto, Anglo-Latin, in columns, London, 1539. The third is Henry the VIII.'s, 1545, in quarto. The fourth is K. Edward's, or Cranmer's, in octavo, London 1551.

That which you saw, as it is nearest the age, so it is most like the Bp. of Rochester's. But Rochester's is still a further improvement or refinement. Henry VIII.'s of 1545, and Edward's of 1551, agree as to Psalm lxvi. with yours of 1546. But Rochester's is different from both your copies, and is very nearly the same with that of our Prayer-book, and Psalter. The Dedication of this Primer runs, "John, by God's grace, Bysshop of Rochester, unto the right Honourable Thomas Lord Cromwell," &c. Here is nothing of the *Pystles* or *Gospels*, excepting a table of them at the beginning of the book, with the initial words of each. I suppose you take the *Pystles* and *Gospels* bound up with your book, to be of later date than the Primer itself, and not properly belonging to it, because you think them taken from the Great Bible: and then the date of them will be uncertain. They may be as late as Edward's Prayer-book, or taken from it. But that you will judge of by comparing.

I shall leave to Mr. Bouchery to copy out Joye's preface to Jeremy<sup>e</sup>, about thirteen pages octavo, and a specimen of the translation itself. He shall also transcribe Becke's Dedication, three full pages folio.

I have not Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, nor do I at present know where I can borrow them. But I shall know, very probably, in a little time, according as I meet with my acquaintance. So as to that part of your letter, let it rest with me; or if those marginal notes you speak of be short, it may be as easy to refer me to them, and I can transcribe and send you them.

The 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14, runs thus in the edition of Tindale, which I call the second Dutch edition, or third edition absolutely,

<sup>d</sup> Lewis, p. 115—117.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. pp. 88, 89.

which is copied from the first of 1526. I never saw the first edition itself.

13. "Submitte youre selves unto all maner ordinaunce of men for the Lordes sake : whether it be unto the kynge as unto the chefe heade :

14. " Or unto the rulers, as unto them that are sente of him, for the punysshment of evell doers, but for the prayse of them that do well."

In the edition of 1536, thus :

13. " Submit youre selves unto all maner ordinaunce of *man* for the Lordes sake : whether it be unto the kynge as unto the chefe head :

14. " Other unto rulars, as unto them that are sent of him forothe punysshment of evyll dours, but for the *lawde* of them that do well."

This edition, which I called 1536 till I found the true one, is a faulty edition ; and by some mistake of the printer, I suppose, the words, *as unto the chefe head*, were omitted. I know not of what date that faulty edition was, only that it was after 1536, because it has the new corrections of that edition.

I mentioned once another quarto edition, (or rather small folio,) which I suspect to be a Scotch one, because of the spelling *nat*, or *natte*, constantly for *not* ; and *whan* for *when*, *than* for *then*, *maister*, *faders*, *betrauthed*, *prepaire*, and the like. But considering that the stops are with strokes | | instead of commas or colons, (which is a foreign way, and more especially the Dutch,) I now rather think that the edition was made abroad, and had Scotch correctors. But all this is conjecture, and perhaps scarce worth mentioning.

¶ It just comes into my head to mention, that it might be proper to take some notice of Sir John Cheke's intended translation in its place, though he went no further than St. Matthew's Gospel, and the first chapter of Mark, left in manuscript, in his own hand, in Bene't College, where I have seen it. Strype also in his Life takes notice of it.

¶ There is a more considerable performance of Ambrose Usher's, an entire version, or nearly, of the Bible, left in manuscript, in Dublin library, of which I expect some account in a short time. He was elder brother to the famous Primate, died young,

† Lewis, p. 186.

‡ Ibid. pp. 339, 340.

but had made great advances in the Oriental languages, and had drawn up his version a little before our last translation, before 16.....

I think I have mentioned every thing of your last letter.

Your very faithful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

August 19, 1729.

To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.

h N<sup>o</sup>. XXIV.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE compared Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. i. p. 306, 307, with Matthew's Bible: there are some slight differences. The first note, upon Mark i. runs thus: "It was then newe, and now after xv. c. xxxvi. yeres, it is yet new: when will it then be olde?" As to the note on Matt. xxv. Strype is exact: and so as to Matt. xvi; but as to Matt. xviiiith, after &c. read, *that is, whatsoever*—And instead of *what ye allow*, read *that ye allow*, &c.

While I am looking upon Matthew's Bible, let me observe to you, what perhaps I before omitted, that at the beginning of the Prophets are four great letters, R. G. for Richard Grafton, at the top of the page, and E. W. for Edward Whitechurch, at the bottom. This Bible then was printed for them two: and so was the Great Bible afterwards, in 1539, 1540. The use I here make of the observation is, to take notice further that when Cranmer and other Bishops undertook to set out a Bible, they pitched upon Matthew's Bible chiefly as their ground, which had had the royal license in 1537; but reformed and corrected it every where, and struck out the notes. I had once too implicitly believed that Coverdale's Bible was what they had gone upon; and I took the notion from what Brett says, p. 5, which I thought he had taken from good authority: and it was upon this

h This letter has no date; but, from the enlarged account given in the next letter, dated Oct. 19, 1729, and from the latter parts of each relating to Wicliffe's translations, it seems pro-

bable that this preceded it. That it followed that of August 19th is evident from what is said in each respecting Strype's Eccl. Memorials.

presumption that I called the *Great Bible Coverdale's*. I would now rather set the Bibles thus.

1537. Matthew's Bible, or Great Bible, with royal license, by Grafton and Whitchurch.

1539. The same corrected by Cranmer, &c. printed by Grafton and Whitchurch.

1540. The same, with Cranmer's Prologue, and printed by Grafton and Whitchurch.

1541. The same, but further corrected and improved by Tonstal and Heath. Or let Coverdale's and Matthew's Bible be reckoned distinct from the rest; and let the name of *Great Bible* begin with the edition of 1539<sup>1</sup>. Indeed Matthew's had several editions afterwards, which may be properly called Matthew's, and reckoned to his, as that of 1549, by Raynoled and Hyll, and several of 1551, though all, strictly speaking, one edition. And to the head of Coverdale's may be thrown his quarto of 1550, which indeed is, properly, the second edition of his Bible; and it never had more, unless Jugge's new vamping the same impression, 1553, may be called another edition. But I leave it to you to sort the Bibles, as best suits with your own inclination, or conceptions. I think, as I once formerly hinted, that Taverner's and Becke's may be thrown under the head of Matthew's. But you will consider better of all these matters, as you draw up your work.

<sup>k</sup>*Of Erasmus's Paraphrase in English.*

The title-page is thus, to the first volume, containing the Gospels and Acts:

*The first Tome or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Neue Testamente. Emprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Sunne, by Edwarde Whitchurche the last daie of Januarie. Anno Domini 1548.*

Then follows a Dedication to K. Edward the VIth, a very long one of twenty-one folio pages, by Nicolas Udall. Therein speaking of the Paraphrase, he says, "Whiche, like as the  
"moste vertuous Ladie Quene Katerin Dowagier, late wyfe of  
"your moste noble Father, and nowe of your ryght dere be-  
"loved uncle Syr Thomas Seimour Knyght, Lorde Seymour of  
"Sudley, and hygh Admerall of your seaes, did ryght graciously  
"procure to be translated into our vulgare tounge; so your

<sup>1</sup> Lewis adopts this suggestion, p. 122.

<sup>k</sup> Lewis, p. 161.

“mooste godly injunctiōns willed to be read, used, and studied by every Curate and Pryeste, to the undoubted edifying,” &c.

Next follows a Preface to the Reader, by the same Nicolas Udall, and there he speaks of thanks as due “to Quene Katherine Dowagier, by whose good meanes and procurement this present worke hath bene by soondrie menes labours turned into our vulgare tounge.”

After follows Erasmus’s Preface to his Paraphrase on St. Matthew; then the Paraphrase itself. Before St. Mark with the Paraphrase is, *the Preface of the Translator*, as it is called, and it is inscribed to *Quene Catherine, wife to H. VIII. by Thomas Key*, who therein says, “Your Grace—hath commaunded certayn well learned persons to translate the sayde worke, the Paraphrase upon St. Marke excepted, whiche the right worshipfull maister Owen (a man of much learning, and no less honestie, and therefore worthy physycian to the Kynges most royal person) moved me, your Graces pleasure fyrst known, to go in hand withal,” &c.

Before the translation of St. Luke with the Paraphrase, is a Preface, inscribed also to *Q. Katerine, wife to H. VIII. by Nicolas Udall*. It was written in H. VIII.’s time, bearing date the last day of September, 1545. Speaking of his performance, he says, “I shall turne my style somewhat to treacte of Luke, whom it pleased your Highnesse to committe unto me to be translated.” He speakes of Luke as his charge, and his whole charge, or province: observing to the Queen, that, as he had heard, she had appointed “others to the translatyng of the other partes.” So that it may seem from hence that Matthew was not translated by Udall, but by some other unknown hand. But see below.

<sup>1</sup> Before John is another Preface by the same Udall, inscribed to *Q. Katerine late wife to H. VIII. of most famous memorie, deceased*. I do not find mention here of the translator of this part. But Mr. Baker, I see, has noted upon Maunsell’s Catalogue, *St. John’s Gospel translated by Fr. Mallet*, which, I doubt not, he has good authority for.

Before the Acts is another Preface, by the same Udall, in-

<sup>1</sup> Lewis has given this preface pretty fully, and in it express mention is made of F. Mallet’s being the translator, pp. 163—165. The preface to St. Luke, in which Udall speaks of his

having been specially appointed to translate that Gospel, is not here quoted by Lewis, but an account is given of Udall’s Dedication of that translation to the Queen, in pp. 159, 160.

scribed as before. In this Preface he says : <sup>m</sup> “ Whiche Actes  
 “ I have by occasion of adding, digesting, and sorting the texte  
 “ with the paraphrase, thoroughly perused : and conferring the  
 “ same with the Latine, I have here and there dooen my good  
 “ will and diligence to make the Englysh aunswerable to the  
 “ Latine booke, at lestwise in sense : as by the same occasion, I  
 “ did also with Mattheue. In John, I have in a manier dooen  
 “ nothyng at all, saving only placed the texte, and divided the  
 “ paraphrase ; because I knewe the translatoours therof, with  
 “ whose exquysite dooynges I might not without the cryme of  
 “ great arrogancie and presumpcion, be busye to entremedle.”

It does not from hence appear who translated Matthew, or the Acts : but they were persons whom Udall, it seems, might make free with, either being dead, or unknown, or known to be of inferior note and character. Bale ascribes the Acts to Udall, p. 717. Lady Mary and Dr. Mallet were to be treated with respect and ceremony.

*The ends of the first tome of the Paraphrasis, printed at London by Edwarde Whitchurche. Cum privilegio, &c.*

<sup>n</sup> *The seconde Tome, or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the New Testament : conteynnyng the Epistles of St. Paul and other the Apostles. Wherunto is added a Paraphrase upon the Revelacioun of S. John. Imprinted at London in Fletestrete at the signe of the Sunne : By Edwarde Whitchurche, the xvith daye of August. Anno Do. 1549.*

A Dedication to K. Edward VI. by Myles Coverdall. At the end of Galatians is *Finis*. So far Coverdale translated, as Maunsell in his Catalogue observes. And Bale also ascribes four books to him : that is to say, Romans, First and Second of Corinthians, and Galatians.

Seven more of the Epistles were translated by John Olde ; whose preface is before them, and of whom see Bale, p. 721. The seven are, Ephesians, Philippians, 2 Thessalonians, 2 Timothy, and Philemon, done at the motion of his *very hartie good friend, Edwarde Whitchurche.*

<sup>o</sup> Titus was undertaken and finished by Leonard Coxe, at the request of John Olde ; as Leonard Coxe himself declares, in his Dedication to *the right worshipfull Master John Hales*, prefixed to Titus.

<sup>m</sup> Lewis, p. 166.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. p. 167.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. p. 169.

Hebrews, I suppose, was done by John Olde, no other name appearing.

¶ The same John Olde translated the seven Canonical Epistles, dedicating his translation to *the Lady Anne, Dutchess of Somerset*. He takes notice of his having been now lately preferred to the vicarage of Cobington in Warwickshire, by this Lady Anne, at the request of Dr. Hugh Latimer. The Dedication bears date 15th of July, 1549.

¶ The whole concludes with a Paraphrase, or Commentary on the Apocalypse, ending thus: *The ende of the Revelacion of S. John, thus brefely expounded by the seruaunt of Christ, Leo Jude, a Minister in the Churche of Tigury: and translated out of the high Duche by Edmonde Alen*. Of whom see Bale, p. 720: though Bale takes no notice of this translation.

After writing this, I have looked into Strype, to compare his account. It agrees in the main with mine. But I wonder (if ever he saw the book itself) how he came to say nothing of Miles Coverdale's part in the work, whose Dedication is at the head of the second volume. He passes over Hebrews without the least mention of it: but he raises a doubt about Matthew, the Acts, Romans, Corinthians, and Colossians. He thinks Q. Katherine might translate Matthew. I think not. Udall would have used her and the performance with more ceremony, had it been hers. He would at least have been as complaisant to her, as to Lady Mary and Dr. Mallet, who had translated St. John. As to Romans and Corinthians, I make no doubt but they were done by Coverdale. See above. All the doubt is, about Colossians and Hebrews. If Maunsell's Catalogue may be trusted, Coverdale translated the four first Epistles, and *the Ephesians and all the rest of the Epistles by John Olde*. Bale also is express in ascribing *ten* to John Olde, and he names both Colossians and Hebrews amongst them. See Bale, p. 722. To me it seems probable, that though at first he undertook *seven* only, yet he got his friend Cox to do the *eighth*, and took the other two to himself. But of this you may consider at leisure.

¶ I can yet find nothing of John Aleph. I suspect it was a feigned name for somebody, like as Felinus (whom he translates) was Martin Bucer.

I am still of opinion, that there were partial translations of

¶ Lewis, p. 168.

¶ Ibid. pp. 169, 170.

¶ Ibid. p. 86.

the New Testament before Wickliff; and that Bene't MS. is one copy of that kind. And it is very probable that some great persons in England might have such translations in English, as there had been the like in French before. Dubigney in 1306 translated the Epistles and Gospels into French for the use of Johanna, wife to the Duke of Burgundy. But if you have doubts of this matter, as to prior English translations, it may be enough to say, that the MS. of Bene't seems to be older. To me it is out of question: for though one may argue against this or that particular mark of antiquity, singled out from the rest; yet when the whole tenor of the writing carries an ancient face, and different from the writings of Wickliff's time, the proof is the more convincing.

I am collating your MS. of Wickliff's Testament. That part especially which is of your own writing is very exact, and wants but little correction. But I wish you had previously settled the manner of dealing with  $\zeta$ . I am afraid you will find some difficulty in directing the Printer. In my opinion, either the character itself should be printed, or else such letter or letters be put in its stead as have prevailed since the character has been left out. But if you think proper to have one certain character, or letter, to denote it, you cannot pitch upon any better than *gh*, as you have done.

Some other things I may have to mention I defer to another opportunity, and am,

Sir,

Your very faithful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

*To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

N<sup>o</sup>. XXV.

*\* The first Tome or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Newe Testamente. Emprinted at London in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Sunne. By Edwarde Whitchurche the last daie of Januarie. Anno Domini 1548.*

*\* Lewis's Hist. p. 161—166. N. B. of the same work described in the This is merely an enlarged account preceding letter.*



“ To the moste puissant Prince and our moste redoubted Sovereigne Edwarde the Sixthe, by the Grace of God kyng of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defendour of the Faith, and on yearth next and immediately under God, of the Churches of Englande and Irelande the supreme Head, your moste humble, lovyng, and obedient subjecte Nicolas Udall wisheth al grace and peace from God, with long and the same moste prosperous reigne over us, in all honour, health, and condigne felicittee.

“ Moste noble and moste worthie Sovereigne,” &c.

The running title is,

*The Preface unto the Kyniges Majestie.*

In this Preface or Dedication are these words :

“ This present Paraphrase of Erasmus, whiche like as the most vertuous Ladie Quene Katerin Dowagier, late wife of your moste noble Father, and now of your ryght dere beloved uncle Syr Thomas Seimour Knyght, Lorde Seymour of Sudley, and hygh Admerall of your seaes, did ryght graciously procure to be translated into our vulgare tounge, so your Majestie more graciously hath by your mooste godly injunccions willed to be read, used, and studied by every Curate and Pryeste, to the undoubted edyfying as well of them, as of all other that with a desyre to knowe God, shal eyther reade or heare ye same.

¶ I my self have in a small porcion of this worke filled one roume of some other man that might have bene hable to do it better then I have dooen.

“ In this present worke, nothing it is that I dooe or justly maye take unto me as myne acte, sayng the translacion of the Paraphrase upon Luke, and the digesting and placyng of the texte throughout all the Ghospelles and the Actes, (except the Ghospell of Marke,) to thentent the unlearned readers maye perceyve where and how the processe and circumstance of the Paraphrase aunswereth to the texte, and how it joyneth therwith.”

This Dedication contains pages twenty-one fol.

The Preface unto the Reader, three pages long, begins thus : “ To the jentel Christian reader Nicolas Udall wisheth health, grace,” &c.

In the first page of the Preface are these words : “ Accept it willingly, and rendre thankses, first, to God, &c.—and then

“ to our moste Excellent Sovereigne, good kyng Edwarde the  
 “ Sixte, &c.—and thirdlie, to Quene Katerine Dowagier, by  
 “ whose good meanes and procurement this present weorke  
 “ hath bene by soondrie menes labours turned into our vulgare  
 “ tounge.”

After Udall's Preface, follows Erasmus's Preface to Matthew, and then his Paraphrase in English; then Key's Dedication before St. Mark.

“ To the most excellent and vertuous Princesse Quene Catherine, wife to our moste gracious Soveraygne Lorde Henry the  
 “ Eyght, Kyng of Englande, &c.—Thomas Key, her daily oratoure, wisheth perpetual felicitie.

“ Your Grace—hath (as is saide) commaunded certeyn well  
 “ learned persons to translate the sayde worke, the paraphrase  
 “ upon S. Marke excepted, which the right worshipfull Maister  
 “ Owen (a man of much learning, and no less honestie, and  
 “ therefore worthily Physycian to the Kynges moste royal person) moved me, your Graces pleasure fyrst known, to go in  
 “ hand withal, affirming that I should do a thyng ryght acceptable unto your Hyghness, if I should diligently travel therin.”

The Dedication ends thus: “ God long preserve our sayde  
 “ Sovereigne Lorde, your Grace, and the most comfortable  
 “ flower of all Englande, noble Prince Edward, in continual  
 “ honour, joy, and prosperitie.”

*St. Luke. Udall's Dedication. Pages eleven.*

“ To the moste vertuous Ladie and moste gracious Quene Katerine, wife unto the moste victorious and moste noble  
 “ Prince Henry the Eight, Kyng of Englande, &c.—Nicolas Udall wisheth,” &c.

It concludes thus: “ Yeven at London the last daie of September, in the yere of our Lorde M.D.XLV.”

*St. John. Udall's Dedication. Pages four.*

“ To the moste vertuous Ladie and most gracious Quene Katerine Dowagier, late wife to the moste noble Kyng Henry the  
 “ Eight, of moste famous memorie, deceased, Nicolas Udall,” &c.

The Dedication runs all in praise of studious, learned, godly women, because of Lady Mary's translating St. John's Gospel.

“ And in thys behalfe lyke as to youre Hyghnesse mooste  
 “ noble Quene Katerine Dowagier, as well for composing and  
 “ settingyng foorthe many godly Psalmes and dyverse other  
 “ templatyve meditacyons, as also for causynge these paraphrases

“ of the mooste famous clerke and moste wryter Erasmus of  
 “ Roterodam to bee translated into oure vulgare language, Eng-  
 “ lande can never be able to render thankes suffyciente: so maye  
 “ it never be able (as hir desertes require) enough to prayse  
 “ and magnifye the moost noble, the mooste vertuous, the  
 “ mooste wittye, and the mooste studyous Ladye Maries Grace,  
 “ daughter of the late mooste puissaunte and mooste victorious  
 “ Kyng Henry the Eyghte of moost famous memorie, and  
 “ mooste derely beloved systur to the Kyng our Soveraygne  
 “ Lorde that now is; it may never be able (I say) enoughe to  
 “ prayse and magnifye hir Grace, for takynge suche greate  
 “ studye, peine and travayll in translatyng this paraphrase of  
 “ the sayed Erasmus upon y<sup>e</sup> Ghospell of John, at youre  
 “ Hyghnesse speciall contemplacion, as a noubre of right wel  
 “ learned men woulde bothe have made courtesie at, and also  
 “ woulde have broughte to wurse frame in the dooyng.—  
 “ When she hadde wyth over peynfull studye and labour of  
 “ wrytyng cast hir weake bodye in a grievous and long sick-  
 “ nesse, yet to the intente the dylygente Englyshe people  
 “ shoulde not be defrauded of the benefyte entended and ment  
 “ unto them; she commytted the same weorke to Mayster  
 “ Frauncisce Malet, Doctour in the Facultee of Divinitee, wyth  
 “ all celeritee and expedicyon to be fynished and made complete.”

*Actes. Udall's Dedication. Three pages.*

“ To the most vertuous Ladie Quene Kateryne Dowagier,  
 “ &c. Nicolas Udall, &c.

“ Which Actes I have by occasion of adding, digesting, and  
 “ sorting the texte with the paraphrase, throughly perused, and  
 “ conferryng the same with the Latine, I have here and there  
 “ dooen my good wyll and diligence to make the Englysh aun-  
 “ swerable to the Latine booke, at lestwyse in sense: as by the  
 “ same occasion, I did also with Mathewe. In John I have in  
 “ manier dooen nothyng at all, saving only placed the texte and  
 “ divided the paraphrase, because I knew the Translatours  
 “ thereof, with whose exquysite dooynges I might not, without  
 “ the cryme of great arrogancie and presumption, be busye to  
 “ entremedle.”

N. B. From this passage of Udall, I conclude that Mr. Strype is mistaken in his conjecture of Queen Catherine's being translator of St. Matthew; for Udall would undoubtedly have been as complaisant to her as to Lady Mary and Dr. Mallet, and

would not have presumed to mend her translation, if he had known it to be hers, or suspected any such thing. Either, therefore, she had no hand in translating St. Matthew, or Udall knew nothing of it. But who the translator of Matthew was, I cannot guess; nor who of the Acts. Udall himself did not know: they had a mind to be unknown.

This first volume ends thus: *The ende of the first tome of the Paraphrasis, printed at London by Edwarde Whitchurche. Cum privilegio regali ad imprimendū solum.*

† Title-page to Vol. II.

† *The seconde Tome or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Newe Testamente; conteynyng the Epistles of S. Paul, and other the Apostles. Whereunto is added a Paraphrase upon the Revelacion of S. John. Imprinted at London in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Sunne. By Edwarde Whitchurche, the xvi. daye of August. Cum privilegio ad imprimendū solum. Anno Do. 1549.*

Maunsell's Catalogue (p. 47) gives this short account of the second volume: "Paraphrase on the Epistles, whereunto is added a Paraphrase on the Revelation. Romans, Corinth. Gallath. translated by M. Coverdale. The Ephesians, and all the rest of the Epistles, by John Olde. The Revelation by Edmond Allen, printed by Edward Whitchurch, 1549. in Fol."

Bale also, under Milo Coverdallus, takes notice of his translating *Erasmī Paraphrases in Paulū. Libr. 4.*

The volume begins with a Dedication to Edward the Sixth.

"To the most excellent Prince, our moste deare Sovereigne  
"Lorde Kyng Edwarde the Sixte," &c.—subscribed,

"Your Majesties most humble and faithfull subjecte,

"MYLES COVERDALL."

Next follows *A Prologe upon the Epistle of S. Paule to the Romayns*; which, by comparing, I find was borrowed from Tindale's Testament. At the end of Galatians is *Finis*, because, as I suppose, there was the end of what Coverdale had translated. Before Ephesians is a Preface: "To the Christian Reader John Olde wisheth grace, mercye," &c.

"Forasmuche (most gentle reader) as every Pryest under a certain degree in Scholes is bounden by the Kynges Majesties most gracious Injunctions to have provided by a daye lymited

† Lewis's Hist. p. 167—170.

“ for his owne study and erudicioun y<sup>e</sup> whole Paraphrase of D. Erasmus upon the Newe Testamente both in Latine and English: And where I heard nevertheles, in the begynnyng of this last somer, by the pryntour, my very hertie good frend Edwarde Whitchurche, that the Paraphrases upon seven of Paules Epistles, that is to saye, to the Ephesians, Philippians, both thepistles to the Thessalonians, both to Timothie, and thepistle to Philemon, were neither translated ready to the prynte, ne yet appoynted certaynly to be translated of any man, so as thefore mencioned Injunction should be lyke in this case to be frustrate of his due execution, &c.—seeing theforenamed seven Epistles—to be left untranslated; I toke in hande to translate them, at such seldome leasures as I possible could from mine other prophane travailes, incident to my drudging vocacion, spare, and now at last have finished them,” &c.

To the seven here mentioned, Bale adds Titus, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, as translated by the same John Olde, p. 722. But Leonarde Coxe translated Titus; whose Dedication is prefixed, and runs thus; “ To the right worschipfull Master John Hales | his servaunt Leonarde Coxe wisheth long and prosperouse welfare.

“ — Master John Olde, a man of right good learnyng, and my very frende, brought unto me the Paraphrase of Erasmus of Roterdame, upon St. Pauls Epistle to Titus, the whiche I had certain yeares gone translated into Englishe, requiring that I should peruse it againe, and amende suche faultes as were therin, eyther by the printer’s neglygence, or myne oversyght.”

This part, therefore, had not only been translated, but printed also some years before, and was now amended and reprinted.

The seven canonical Epistles were all done by John Olde, and have his Preface or Dedication prefixed.

“ To the right excellent and most vertuous Lady, Anne Duchesse of Somerset, her Graces moste humble orator John Olde wisheth true felicitie, and continuance of health in Christ Jesu our only Saveour.”

“ — In the later ende of thys laste yeare, I toke in hande, at the request of your Graces humble servaunt, my special good frende, Edward Whitchurch, printour, to translate the Paraphrases of Erasmus upon certain of Pauls Epistles, which

“ were left untranslated for lacke of payne-takers in that matter,  
 “ forsomuche as the learned menne appoynted to thys purpose  
 “ of translacion had finished their limited tasks before: and  
 “ now, at the like request, I have made the like enterpryse to  
 “ translate the canonycall Epistles of St. Peter, Jude, James,  
 “ and John, &c.—as a monument and reknowlaging of my  
 “ moste bounden duetie of humble thankesgevinge unto your  
 “ Grace, for causinge me to bee called of late to a competent  
 “ vicarage, called Cobington, in Warwikeshire, at the humble  
 “ sute of the Reverende Ministre of Godde’s worde, my singular  
 “ frende Doctour Hugh Latymer,” &c.

The date at the end, *the xv of Julie M.D.XLIX.*

After the canonical Epistles, follows,

*A Paraphrase, or Commentarie upon the Revelacion of St. John,  
 faythfullye translated by Edmond Alen.*

The conclusion thus,

*The ende of the Revelacion of S. John thus brefely expounded by  
 the servaunt of Christ, Leo Jude, a minister in the Church of Tigrury,  
 and translated out of the High Duche, by Edmonde Alen.*

SIR,

I have here sent you larger extracts than before. You can compare this account with Strype’s at leisure: I have not Strype now by me. Mr. Bouchery has finished his transcripts, and brought them to me. I have packed them up with your other papers, in order to take them to London with me some time this month, or the beginning of next. I have not yet had an opportunity of going to Bene’t College; though I wish you had hinted to me what you expected from that MS. I still stick to Pervie, and believe that the Bodleian copy contains both his Bible and Testament. But I am always ready to alter my opinion upon new light. I have had several letters from Mr. Russell. He surprises me by telling me that he still designs to publish Wickliffe, according to his proposals; and he says further, that he is best furnished of men with materials for a history of English versions and editions. I have offered myself as reconciler betwixt you, and have proposed his leaving the Testament to you, and taking the Bible only on himself. Whether this will satisfy, I know not. I have endeavoured to convince him that we do not want competent materials for a history of versions and editions; but I tell him withal, that we should be glad of any supplemental

improvements from his collections. How he will take this, I do not know: but my advice to you is, if you will permit me so far, to go on. He is still positive that the Old Translation is of 1260 or 1240; which I think impossible, that is, a contradiction to history and to the language of that version, which is much more modern. I should have been of opinion with you about the Prologue, and should have set it in 1396, if I could have reconciled it with the other two characters of time about Oxford, which plainly suit with 1388, and would have been very impertinent so late as 1396<sup>u</sup>. Wherefore please to consider, whether *sodomy* might not have been complained of in Parliament any time after Pateshul's discoveries, which made a great noise in 1387; when the Londoners pasted up a bill of that kind upon Paul's church-door.

I am, good Sir,

Your very faithful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Oct. 19th, 1729.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

No. XXVI.

Saturday, Nov. 15, 1729.  
St. Austin's.

DEAR SIR,

I BROUGHT your papers with me to Town last Thursday. You may let me know, at your leisure, whether you would have them sent to you by Parker. I have borrowed out of Sion College library, for ten days, L. Tomson's Testament, 8vo. Title-page thus:

*\* The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, translated out of the Greck by Theod. Beza. Whereunto are adjoyned brief summaries of Doctrine upon the Evangelistes and Actes of the Apostles, together with the methode of the Epistles of the Apostles by the said Theod. Beza. And also short Expositions on the phrases and hard places, taken out of the large annotations of the foresaid Authour and Joach. Camerarius, by P. Loseler Villerius. Englished by L. Tomson. Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker dwelling*

<sup>u</sup> Lewis, p. 36.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. pp. 273, 274.

*in Poules Churchyard at the signe of the Tigres Head, 1576.  
Cum Privilegio.*

Next follows a Dedication

“ To the Right Honourable M. Francis Walsingham Esquier,  
“ one of the principall Secretaries to hyr Excellent Majestie,  
“ and of hir Highnesse Privie Councill: and to the Right  
“ Worshipfull M. Francis Hastings L. T. wyseth prosperity in  
“ this lyfe, and lyfe everlasting, in Christ oure Saviour.”

After the Dedication follows Beza's in English :

“ To the most famous Prince Lewys of Bourbon, Prince of  
“ Conde, &c. and to the rest most famous and noble Dukes,  
“ Marquises, Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen, which have em-  
“ braced the true Gospel of Christ in the kingdome of Fraunce,  
“ Theodorus Beza of Vezels, Minister of the Church of Geneva,  
“ grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord  
“ Jesus Christ.”

Date at the end, 1565.

Next follows, “ The Printer to the diligent reader.”

In my edition of Tomson's Bible, A. D. 1610, the New Testa-  
ment has nothing before it but this of “ The Printer to the  
“ diligent reader :” both Dedications omitted.

The marginal notes in my edition and this are the same. But  
the marginal notes of the Geneva Bible of 1582 are quite  
different. The translation itself, so far as I have dipped into it,  
seems to be much the same with the Geneva. I think you told  
me, you had one edition of Tomson's Bible: by that you may  
judge of this Testament, Dedications excepted; and excepting  
also Junius's Notes on the Revelations, added in my edition of  
1610, not in the other of 1576.

I have not now leisure to be more accurate in the comparison:  
and perhaps you will not think it necessary. If you do, please  
to acquaint me by the first post, before I return the book.

The verses are distinguished as usual.

There is no date at the end, only “ Imprinted by Barker,”  
as before.

I wish you could bring me acquainted with Mr. Granger, whom  
you once mentioned, that I might get a sight of his Bibles while  
I am in Town.

I conclude in haste,

Yours most sincerely,

DAN. WATERLAND.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*



N<sup>o</sup>. XXVII.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING this day waited on Lord Pembroke to see his curiosities, I have a mind to write of what I saw, before it is out of my head. I saw Matthew's Bible with a title-page to it, which I had not seen before. If you shall want it, I will get it for you, the next time I go.

My Lord shewed me two of Tindale's Testaments, both bearing date the same year, the year 1534. They are both Tindale's own. The first was near printed off before Joye's of the same year appeared. The Second was printed after Joye's at Antwerp by M. Emperour. It has the Epistle before it against Joye.

From the lights I have had, I thus settle the editions of Tindale's T., which you may compare with your accounts.

γ 1526. By Tindale himself, 8vo.

z 1527. Dutch edition, 12mo.

a—Another Dutch, with figures in the Apocalypse. I have seen it in Eman. Coll. Cant. It has red lines and red titles, 12mo.

b—A third Dutch, 12mo. like the first.

c 1530. A fourth Dutch.

d 1534. By Tindale, 12mo. Lord Pembroke.

e 1534. By G. Joye.

f 1534. By Tindale, with an additional epistle prefixed against Joye. Lord Pembr.

ε 1536. By Tindale, in 4to. Bibl. Publ. Cant.

h 1536. By Tindale, 12mo. I have it with me.

—A large 4to. seems to be Scotch. Bibl. Publ. Cant.

—A small 4to. Eman. Coll. Cant.

—A small 8vo. uncertain date. I have it.

These thirteen editions, which I have seen or read of, are all ancient. But the three last I can only guess at, as to date. You must tell me, if you would have any thing more particular about the two copies of Lord Pembroke; for I shall see his Lordship again.

γ Lewis, p. 75.      z Ibid. p. 80.      a Ibid. p. 65.\*      b Ibid. p. 65.\*  
 c Ibid. p. 73.\*      d Ibid. p. 79.\*      e Ibid. p. 80.\*      f Ibid. p. 80—82.  
 ε Ibid. p. 85.      h Ibid. pp. 85, 86; where an account is given of these four editions, dated 1536.

There is nothing in Tomson's Dedication that can give light to the history of the translation. Excuse haste.

I am, good Sir,  
Your very faithful humble Servant,  
DAN. WATERLAND.

Watling Street, Dec. 16, 1729.

I shall make my way, in a while, to Mr. Granger.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

N<sup>o</sup>. XXVIII.

Jan. 3, 1729-30.

Sir,

I WAS this day again with Lord Pembroke, and took extracts as follows.

<sup>i</sup> *Of the Bible of 1537.*

Title-page.

*The Byble, which is all the holy Scripture: in whych are containned the Olde and Newe Testament, truly and purely translated into English. By Thomas Matthew.*

Esaye i. *Hearken ye heavens, and thou earth geave ear, for the Lorde speaketh.*

*M.D.XXXVII.*

*Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous Lycence.*

<sup>k</sup> *Tindale's first Testament of 1534.*

The first title-page is torn off. This begins with *William Tindale unto the Christen Reader.*

Next follow several Prologues to

1. Matthew.
2. Mark.
3. Luke.
4. John.

<sup>i</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 105.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 79. \*

A Table for the iiii Evangelistes.

A Table for the Actes of the Apostles.

Title-page to the New Testament is thus :

*The Newe Testament. Anno M.D.XXXIIII.*

At the end,—*Pistles of the Old Testament.* Last leaf torn out.

<sup>l</sup> *Tindale's second, of the same year.*

First title-page torn off.

*Willyam Tindale unto the Christen Reader.*

<sup>m</sup> *Willyam Tindale yet once more to the Christen Reader.* This is the Epistle written against Joye, ending in the words here following :

*Finally, That New Testament thus dyligently corrected, besyde this so oft puttinge oute this word Resurreccion, and I wote not what other chaunges, (for I have not yet reade it over,) hath in the ende before the Table of the Epistles and Gospelles, this Tytle :*

*Here endeth the New Testament dylygentlye oversene and correct and printed now agayne at Andwarp, by me Widow of Christophall of Endhoven, in the year of oure Lorde A. M.D.XXXIIII. in August.*

*Which Tytle, reader, I have here put in, because by this thou shalt knowe the book the better. Vale.*

<sup>n</sup> Title to the following Testament.

*The Newe Testament imprinted at Anwercp: by Marten Empe-  
rour. Anno M.D.XXXIIII.*

At the end, *The Pistles of the Old Testament.* Last leaf torn out.

<sup>o</sup> *The Bible of 1540.*

Title-page thus :

*The Byble in Englyshe: that is to say, the Content of all the holy Scripture, both of the Olde and Newe Testament: with a Prologe therinto made by the Reverende Father in God Thomas Arch Bisshop of Cantorbury. This is the Byble appointed to the use of*

<sup>l</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 80.\*    <sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 82.    <sup>n</sup> Ibid. p. 85.    <sup>o</sup> Ibid. p. 137.

*the Churches. Prynted by Rychard Grafton. Cum privilegio. M.D.XL. At the end—The ende of the Newe Testament and of the whole Byble fynished in Aprill. Anno M.CCCCC.LX: A Dño factū est istud.*

I have not yet had time to inquire after the books you mention ; nor to see Mr. Granger. He is hard to find. I have twice searched for him in Milk-street. I believe, you very rightly interpret Mr. Russell. I believe, it will be necessary for you to talk with me, in order to have some things explained.

I had not room, in your papers, to explain every thing fully ; though, I am afraid, I crowded your margin too much.

I am, dear Sir,

Your very affectionate Friend

And faithful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

I shall have some letters to shew you when I see you : one I had from Oxford ; another from Ireland.

*To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

---

Nº. XXIX.

DEAR SIR,

I FOUND out Mr. Granger in Lime-street, who received me very courteously, and shewed me his two MSS. The largest is Wickliff's Testament, in 8vo, a fair copy, written in the year 1424. The date I judge of by the Almanack in the entrance, which begins with that year. It has the Lessons of the Old Testament (as usual) at the end, and they are of the new version, the same with those you have copied, of the version which I call Pervie's.

The other MS. contains nothing but the Epistles, is in 12mo, very fairly written, and the explanatory or redundant parts scored with red lines. It is of the same version that Sidney College MS. is, and Dublin MS. and a third of Magdalen College, which I once lent you<sup>p</sup>. It is full of *forsothes*, as that version is : I call it Pervie's. But that I might be certain, I carried

<sup>p</sup> Lewis's Hist. pp. 29—34.

with me Magdalen College MS. to compare with it. I found some slight differences, as I found also between Sidney MS. and Magdalen MS. For Magdalen MS. is not so old and so accurate a copy as it should be. I believe, Mr. Granger's, so far as it goes, would be found to agree exactly with the Sidney copy: only Sidney is entire, this but a part.

I shall inquire after the copy you mention in the Library of the Dissenters; and I design also, as I can find a little leisure, to see the copies of Bible and Testament in Sion College, and a copy also of Pervie's N. T. in the King's Library.

Mr. Russell has been in Town some time. He is too full of the Revelations to mind any thing else. Mr. Whiston has had several debates with him, and expresses his dislike of his scheme, in very plain English, as his way is. I, for my part, decline looking into it, having no talent for expounding dark prophecies.

As to Ambrose Usher, (the Archbishop's elder brother,) you may see some account of him in Usher's Life, prefixed to his Letters. All the account I have of his version, from Dublin, is as follows:

"This translation being of the whole Bible, O. and N. T. is dedicated by Ambrose Usher to King James the First, without the date of the year. It is in 3 tomes, 4to."

"Deut. ch. ii. ver. 1, 2, (which in our translation is the second and third,) *Then the Lord spake unto me, saying—q<sup>3</sup> You have compassed this mount inough, turne you northward.* q<sup>3</sup>

"N. This mark q<sup>3</sup> is set at the end of each verse."

I am not for your laying aside your design of printing Wickliff's New Testament. It is a curiosity which many will be fond of; and I depend not at all upon Mr. Russell. But if your History swells to too large a bulk to make an Introduction, you must be content to print them in two separate volumes. Have you got Nary's translation of the Bible<sup>r</sup>, a Popish translation after the Doway? I am told I may have it for three half-crowns. It was made about twenty years ago. Mr. Russell told me he had it; and there is a bookseller in this town (whose name I have at present forgot) who also has it. I have not yet seen it.

I have a roving thought just come into my head, for you to

<sup>q</sup> Lewis's Hist. pp. 341, 342.

<sup>r</sup> Cornelius Nary, Consultissimæ Facultatis Parisiensis Doctor. So Lewis interprets the initials in the Title, C.N.C.F.P.D. This edition

was published in 1719. See Lewis's Hist. pp. 356, 357. Nary is also mentioned, p. 45, as the last Roman Catholic translator of the N. T. into English.

consider of at leisure. What if your Introduction to Wickliff's N. T. should consist only of as accurate account as you can get of all the MSS. in England, either of the Bible, or parts of the Bible, and likewise of the Testament, or parts of it. I could assist you as to Cambridge, and perhaps some other places; as York, Lambeth, Sion College, Cotton, King's, &c. And if you have ever an honest and laborious friend at Oxford, you may soon have an account of all there. But this take as a sudden thought only, which may want some digestion and maturation.

<sup>s</sup> When you reprint your Life of Wickliff, I could be content to spare your vindication of Wickliff, which is not perhaps necessary at this time, or may give offence. But when I have the favour of your company here, we may talk over all matters.

<sup>t</sup> I was once numbering up Bibles and Testaments called Wickliff's, as nearly as I could, thus :

	Bibles.	Testaments.
Oxford - - - - -	8	13
Cambridge - - - - -	3	13
Lambeth, Sion College, Hereford -	3	3
Norfolk Libr. Westm. Cotton. -	3	2
York - - - - -		2
Other places - - - - -		9
	—	—
	17	42
	—	—

The whole number of entire Bibles and Testaments together will be about 60; and there are besides, parcels ten or a dozen, mentioned in the general Catalogue of MSS. But I shall look into Le Long, at leisure, to see what his accounts amount to, if you think it *tanti*, or if you like the project. I have a letter by me, sent me by the late Mr. Bowles, bearing date Aug. 13, 1729. It was in answer to a query I had made. Fairfax MS. a Bible, said (in the general Catalogue of MSS.) to have been *translated* 1408. I wondered at it. But my wonder ceased, when word was sent me, that what was written in the MS. was this only: *the year of the Lord M.CCCC.VIII. this Book was endid.* There

<sup>s</sup> Two editions of the Life of Wickliffe had been printed before the date of this Letter; viz. in 1720 and 1723. See Masters's History of C.C.C. App.

p. 102.

<sup>t</sup> Some account is given of most of these manuscripts in Lewis's Hist. chap. 1.

are indeed but three C's to be seen; but by the blank appearing, it is plain enough that somebody had erased one, to enhance the age and value of the manuscript. I much value the copies that have dates. I have met with or heard of but five such :

Eman. Coll. Cant. N. T.	-	-	-	1397.
Caius, Cant. N. T.	-	-	-	1397.
Fairfax Bible	-	-	-	1408.
Mr. Granger's N. T.	-	-	-	1424.
Pepys's 16mo. N. T.	-	-	-	1437.

If I meet with any more in my searches, I will let you know. I suspect that many of the copies are later than 1437, because that copy has the table of old Lessons, according to the old version: while several other copies have them according to the newer, which I call Pervie's, the common one. I keep a former letter of yours still in my pocket, because I have not yet had leisure to look after the books you mentioned.

† Mr. Russell calls the New Testament which has the *forsothes* in it (such as Sidney, Magd. Coll. and Granger's Epistles) the old version. I do not take it to be so. I think, it plainly tallies with the common Bible, which belongs to the same man that made the Prologue; which Prologue I judge to have been made in 1388, from the characters of time relating to Oxford, as formerly hinted: and the author of it was, I suppose, Pervie, whose name is affixed to the Dublin copy of the N. T. just before that Prologue. But I shall tire you. I long to see you here.

I am

Your very faithful Friend and humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Watling Street, Jan. 20, 1729-30.

*To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.*

† This Mr. Russell, so often mentioned in these Letters, appears to have been Mr. John Russell, Minister of Poole in Dorsetshire, and afterwards Preacher of St. John's, Wapping, where he continued till his death. Through his intimacy with Mr. Russell, Mr. Lewis is said to have been intro-

duced to Archbishop Tenison, and to have obtained preferment in the Church. See Nichols's Liter. Anecd. vol. v. p. 257. It further appears, from Mr. Masters's Hist. of C. C. Cambridge, that Mr. Lewis had been under the tuition of Mr. Russell, who kept a school at Poole in Dorsetshire.

*\* Manuscripts collated.*

1. Bishop Moore's folio Bible and Testament. Royal Library, Cambridge.
2. Emanuel College. Folio Bible and Testament.
3. Caius College. N. T. 4to. written 1397.
4. Eman. Coll. N. T. 8vo. written 1397.
5. Trin. Coll. 8vo. N. T. old hand. This comes nearest to the copy followed in this transcript; has Lessons at the end.
6. Trin. Coll. Small folio N. T. more modern.
7. Pepys's Library. 4to. N. T. has the Epistle to Laodicea, and Lessons at the end.
8. Pepys's Library. Small 12mo. or 16mo. 2 vols. N. T. written 1437; wants all the Prologues.
9. Jesus Coll. Small 8vo. has the Epistle to Laodicea, with Prologue prefixed. This MS. has also the contents of the books and chapters of the N. T. before it; which none else, that I have seen, has. It has Lessons also at the end.
10. Christ. Coll. MS. 8vo. This came late to my hands, after I had finished my collation. But I run the places I had before marked over again, and compared this also: and thereupon made some alterations in my numbers, putting *MSS. omnes* 10, instead of *MSS. omnes* 9, and the like. It is a good MS. and of the earlier kind, but is merely a N. Test. without any Calendar or Tables.

*The other Version.*

1. Sidney College. Small folio N. T. has Lessons at the end; but not the same version with the former.
2. Magd. Coll. 8vo. N. T.

N<sup>o</sup>. XXX.

*† Parker's Editions.*

1568. Lond. folio, { by Jugge.  
                          { Chr. Barker.

\* This Paper appears to be a post-script or appendix to the preceding Letter.

† This Paper (which has no date) appears to be a recapitulation, digested under different heads or classes, of the

several translations and editions, whether printed or manuscript, which had been previously described or noticed, and which are here arranged in chronological order.



1569. Lond. 8vo. with verses. By Jugge.  
 1572. Lond. fol. { Rich. Jugge, fol. } Double Psalms.  
                   { Chr. Barker. }  
 1573. Fol. et 4to. 1576, 1577, 1578, 1582, 1585.  
 1586. London.  
 1587. Lond.  
 1592, 1593.  
 1595. Lond. By Christ. Barker.  
 1602. Lond. by Rob. Barker. Fol.

*Rhemish and Doway.*

- <sup>z</sup> 1582. Rhemish Testament, 4to. By John Fogy. Rhemes.  
 Fulkes.—Edition with his remarks.  
 1589. By deputies of Chr. Barker.  
<sup>a</sup> 1609. } Doway Bible, 4to. At Doway, by Laurence Icellam.  
 1610. } 1609, 1610, of the Vulgate.  
 1602. Fulkes.  
 1617. Fulkes reprinted.  
<sup>b</sup> 1618. Cartwright.  
 1633. Fulkes. 4th edition.

*<sup>c</sup> Authors of the Rhemish.*

George Martin }  
 Richard Bristow } Possevin. Select. Biblioth. l. 2. c. 12.  
 Cardinal Allen }

*MSS. of Wickliff's N. T.*

Caius Coll. A. D. 1397.  
 Emanuel. Fol.  
 Trin. Coll. 8vo.  
 Trin. Coll. Folio.  
 Pepys. 4to.  
 Pepys. 16mo. A. D. 1437.  
 Bene't. 8vo.  
 Moore's Library. Fol.  
 Windsor.

*Other Translation.*

Sidney Coll. Fol.  
 Magd. Coll. 8vo.

<sup>z</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 277.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 295.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. pp. 286, 287.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 291.

*Rhemish Testament.*

1582. Rhemis. Fogy.  
<sup>d</sup>1600. Antwerp, by Dan. Vern.

*Editions of the whole Scripture, or any part.*

1526. Tindale's New Testament. 8vo.  
 1527. Second edition, Dutch, 1. Hamburg.  
 1529. Third edition, Dutch, 2.  
 1530. Fourth edition, Dutch, 3.  
 1534. Fifth edition, Dutch, 4. By Joye. Antw. printed by M. Emperour.  
 1534. Sixth edition, by Tindale himself.  
 1536. Seventh edition. 4to.  
 1536. Eighth edition. 12mo.  
 1530. Tindale's Pentateuch, &c.  
<sup>e</sup>1530. Aleph's Psalter at Argentine. 16mo. By Francis Foye.  
 1531. Joye's Essay. At Strasburgh. 8vo. By Balthasar Backneth.  
 1534. Joye's Jeremy. In May. 8vo.  
 1534. Joye's Psalter. 16mo. by Martyne Emperour. Antwp. in August.  
 1535. Coverdale's Folio Bible. Zurich.  
 1537. Mathew's Folio Bible. Hamburg.  
 1538. Erasmus's Test. Anglo-Latin. By Rob. Redman.  
 1538. Coverdale's Anglo-Latin. By Hollybushe. 4to.  
 1539. Coverdale's N. T. Anglo-Latin. 8vo. By Grafton and Whitchurch.  
 1539. Taverner's Folio Bible. By Biddell, for Barthelet.  
 1539. Cranmer's (*Great*) Bible. Folio.  
 1540. Cranmer's (*The Great*) Bible. Fol. by Grafton.  
 1541. Cranmer's, corrected by Tonstal and Heath.  
 1548. Mathewe's New Testament. 8vo. Windsor.  
 1548. } Udall's Translation of Erasmus's N. T.  
 1549. }  
 1549. The Great Bible. Fol. By Edw. Whitchurch.  
 1549. Becke's Bible. Fol. Lond. By Day and Seres.  
 1549. Matthew's Bible. By Tho. Raynolde and Will. Hyll.

<sup>d</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 295.

• Ibid. pp. 86, 87.

1550. N. T. Anglo-Latin. By J. C.  
 1550. Coverdale's 4to Bible.  
 1550. Coverdale's conferred with Tindale's. Printed by R. Wolf.
1551. Mathew's folio. By Nic. Hyll, for Joh. Wyghte.  
 1551. Matthew's fol. By N. Hyll, for Rich<sup>d</sup>. Kale, at the cost of men of the occupation. May 6.  
 1551. Matthew's folio revised. By Jo. Day, for Tho. Petite.  
 1551. Matthew's folio. By Nic. Hyll, for Tho. Petite.  
 1552. Jugge's Testament, with cuts. 4to. Bibl. Pepys.  
 1552. Bible. Lond. By Nich. Hyll. 4to.  
 1553. Jugge's Test. second impression.  
 1553. Coverdale's 4to Bible. By Jugge. Bibl. Cant.  
 1557. Geneva Testament. 12mo. Conrad Badius. First with distinction of verses.  
 1560. Geneva Bible. 4to. First edition with verses distinguished. Geneva.  
 1568. 2 vols. fol. Lond.  
 1570. At Geneva. Folio.  
 1572. In fol. et 4to. Lond.  
 1575. At London.  
 1576. At London. Fol. By Chr. Barker.  
 1578. London. Large fol. Chr. Barker.  
 1579. London. Chr. Barker. Folio.  
 1581. London. By Chr. Barker. Fol. (Ld. Oxf.)  
 1583. London. By Chr. Barker. Fol. (Eman.)  
 1589. London. By Chr. B. 4to. 1598.  
 1599. London. 4to. Deput. of Chr. Barker.  
 1606.—1608. London. — R. Barker.  
 Bis 1610. Edinburgh. 1631. By John Bill.  
 1627. )  
 1642. ) Amsterdam. By Tho. Stafford.  
 1644. )  
 1657. 1677. 1688.  
 1562. Cranmer's Bible. Fol. Lond. By Rich. Harrison.  
 1562. Jugge's Test. 8vo. with verses distinguished.  
 1566. Cranmer's folio. At Rouen. By Carmarden.

<sup>f</sup> Lewis's Hist. p. 188. "This edition," says Lewis, "was printed by different printers, at the cost of several booksellers, whose names were accordingly set to their respective parts of the impression."

1568. Cranmer's (*The Great Bible*). 4to. By Jugge and Cawood. Trin. Coll.

1569. Cranmer's (*The Great*). 4to. By Jugge and Cawood. (Dr. Grey.) The same Liturgy with that of 1566.

1568. Parker's first edition.

1569. Parker's, in 8vo.

1571. Foxe's Saxon G. with Parker's.

1572. Parker's second edition, corrected.

1576. L. Tomson's translation of Beza's N. T. 8vo.

1582. Rhemish N. Testament.

1583. Tomson's translation of Beza's N. T.

1589. Tomson's second edition.

1610. Tomson's third edition.

*Ambrose Usher's MS.*

1609. Doway Bible.

1611. King James's Bible.



**DR. WATERLAND'S LETTERS**

**TO**

**JOHN LOVEDAY, ESQ.**

**MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.**

THE following Letters, fifteen in number, were addressed to John Loveday, Esq. of Magdalen College, Oxford, bearing date from the year 1735 to the year 1740. They were obligingly put into the hands of the Editor, by . . . . Loveday, Esq. of . . . . Oxon, grandson of the gentleman to whom they were written. Together with these were several rough drafts of Letters from Mr. Loveday to Dr. Waterland; of which no other use has been made, than occasionally to subjoin extracts from them, in the Notes added by the Editor, for the purpose of illustrating Dr. Waterland's Letters.

# DR. WATERLAND'S LETTERS

TO

JOHN LOVEDAY, ESQ.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

---

Nº. I.

*Windsor, Jan. 1st, 1734-5.*

SIR,

I HAVE no thought of taking any public notice myself of Mr. Jackson's late piece, full of romancing and railing all the way: but I shall not be sorry to have some strictures made upon it (for the reasons mentioned) by some other hand, and in such a way as is hinted. I may here make a few observations upon the piece, just sufficient to shew what I think of it in the general.

1. The author begins with railing accusations of my ill nature, want of moderation, modesty, &c. which, I suppose, was to contrive some pretence or cover for his own abusive way of writing, that it might seem to be occasioned by just provocations: every railing book begins commonly in that way, and it is natural enough. I believe, nobody that has seen my book, can find any thing in it contrary to good nature or good manners. Several that dislike the doctrine, yet acknowledge, as I am told, the candid manner of treating the adversaries. I have said nothing against *political toleration* even of Arianism, though our laws do not tolerate it. All I have pleaded is only against *ecclesiastical*



*toleration*, or admitting to communion and to the right hand of fellowship. Even the chief Socinians themselves (those particular friends of toleration and moderation) yet carry their rigour as far as I have, and even against Socinians: for they renounce communion with as many as refuse to worship Christ, yea, and they declare them *no Christians*; as I take notice in my Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Catechism, p. 22<sup>a</sup>. And, were it not a thing notoriously known, several more proofs might be added.

Merely renouncing communion with others, is not properly *punishing* at all, either corporal or spiritual: though *accidentally* some inconveniences may arise to the persons so rejected.

2. A second thing I have to observe of Mr. J. That he gives up the whole point in question, the point of *importance*, in the very first page; and therefore all the rest is *impertinent*, belonging to another question, the question concerning the *truth* of the doctrine. And if he was disposed to enter into that, he should have undertaken a full and just answer to my *Second Defence, Sermons, and Farther Defence*: whereas, in truth, he has only, or mostly, brought up again the same old stuff which appeared before in Clarke's Reply, concealing from his readers the repeated answers made by me, or others, to them.

3. He is never to be trusted in any thing he says of me. For (as if he had lost all fear of God, or all sense of the Ninth Commandment) he scarce can write a line or two of me, without some calumny, or gross misrepresentation; which shews, however, how much he is distressed for want of just matter to reproach me with. None but the half-witted would ever make use of falsities, if truth would as well serve their present turn. What a piece of rhodomontade is his whole third page and part of the fourth! But indeed the same strain runs quite through.

4. He deserves to be roundly reckoned with for what he advances in page the eleventh, viz. that the pretending to be *certain* (morally certain) of the *right* and *reason* of a cause, is pretending to be *infallible*. For since he is too modest, I presume, to think himself infallible, it follows that he is not morally certain of any thing, and therefore must be in just consequence a perfect sceptic.

Further, as no man is more dogmatical or confident than

<sup>a</sup> See vol. iv. p. 13, 14. of the present edition.

himself, though not morally certain of any thing, how will he justify his conduct? He has pronounced very confidently and dogmatically against the doctrine of all the Protestant Churches, (nay, of the Christian world in a manner, from the fourth century at least, by his own confession,) that it is *Tritheism* or *Sabellianism* (pp. 2, 35, 38, 39, 51, 57.) that it is grossly irreligious, Antichristian, blasphemous, atheistical, diabolical, (1, 58, 60, 62, 71, 132, 133;) and all this without being *morally certain* of the right or reason of the cause, and without being *infallible*. We know, indeed, that he has done it not only *without* moral certainty, but *against* it. However, by his own account, and in consequence of his own argument, he has done it without *certain* grounds for so doing, and therefore is *self-condemned*, and guilty of a most flaming breach of Christian charity, candour, justice, and common honesty. Rash accusation, (and all is *rash* which has not *certain* ground to go upon,) and of such a kind, is desperate iniquity. *Persuasion* alone will not suffice: men ought to know what they say, and what they do. Papists are *consistent* in their censures, on the foot of their supposed *infallibility*, and Protestants likewise, on the foot of *moral certainty*: but such sceptical Arians as admit no *certainty*, ought to be exceeding *modest* in their censures, or rather to forbear censuring at all. But his *Christian Liberty* is marvellous.

5. Some notice should be taken, in the entrance of any answer to his book, of his avowed principle, as to the Son and Spirit being created, (pp. 55, 127,) and of the Son being once *God*, and afterwards ceasing to be so for a time, and then becoming *God* again, in a higher sense than before, pp. 73, 74. He calls upon us, p. 76, ridiculously, to prove that he and his friends make Christ a creature. This book of his is alone sufficient to prove it, or, if it be not, my arguments, nine in number, (in my Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription, p. 20<sup>b</sup>.) remain unanswered. But enough of this.

Sir,

If the gentleman thinks of picking out my answers to the several particulars, the fifth chapter of my *Farther Defence* will be of great use to him, as to referring to the places where I

<sup>b</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 324, 325. of the present edition.

answer what relates particularly to the Fathers. But then please to observe, that if he makes use of the second edition of my *Second Defence*, he must look five pages forwards, to find the place referred to. For instance, if he sees p. 254. Second Defence, he should look for p. 259. Such is the difference of pages in the two editions, owing to the printer's want of forecast and care.

If the gentleman pleases to write but on one side the papers, and to leave a blank page all the way, and will afterwards favour me with a sight of them, there will be room for me to supply any thing material upon the blank pages.

In the mean while, as I have leisure, I shall be referring, on the margin of Jackson's book, to proper places; and perhaps may send it up afterwards to Oxford, if the gentleman desires it. He may find some things which may escape me, and I may hit some things which escape him.

As to 1 John v. 7. which the writer talks of, p. 67, as if I had lately received light, or changed my former sentiments, I presume he builds it upon idle hearsay, or upon Whiston's *Memoirs*, p. 101. It happens unluckily for them both, that I gave my judgment of that text (the same as I have since) in the year 1723, in a Sermon then printed, entitled, *A Familiar Discourse upon the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity*, p. 13<sup>c</sup>. Indeed, I avoided bringing that text into my controversial writings, partly because that dispute then lay between Martin and Emlyn, and chiefly, because I would not give the adversaries a handle for running out, perhaps forty or fifty pages upon a bye-point, when I did not want it. I knew that *I and my Father are One*, was strong enough for *two* being one God; and if *two persons* were admitted to be *so one*, a third would be granted of course. So I avoided needless dispute, and waste of time and paper.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

It may be noted, that as I have proved that we cannot com-

<sup>c</sup> See the present edition, vol. v. p. 350. The passage is this: "And they are all three together said to be one; 'these three are one,' 1 John v. 7. which, though a disputed text, is yet not without very many and very considerable appearances of being truly genuine. The doctrine however is certain from many other places of Scripture, whatever becomes of that text."

municate with Arians, so Mr. J. has proved (if he has proved any thing) that they *ought not* to communicate with us. How can they communicate with so *Antichristian, blasphemous, atheistical, diabolical* a party? But that they should *subscribe* also such diabolical principles, is monstrous beyond expression.

The *Episcopians, indifferents, or neutrals*, being now equally condemned on both sides, my book of *Importance*, as it seems, has gained its ends. And now we are to return to the point of the *truth* of our doctrine, where the adversary had been abundantly baffled before, and made to retreat to the question about *importance*. So they are driven backwards and forwards, reel and stagger, and are at their wits' end here, just as they are between worship and no worship, of Christ and the Holy Spirit.

No. II.

Windsor, Jan. 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1734-5.

SIR,

I do not think of going to London suddenly. Several of the Bishops, and a good many of the Clergy, I find, were disposed to make me a compliment of what would not well suit either with sedentary temper, or my uncertain state of health: so I have sent up my thanks, and begged myself off<sup>d</sup>. If any business should come on in Convocation afterwards, (which I do not expect,) I hope to be as serviceable, or more so, in another way, than I could be in the post that was thought on.

I intend (God willing) to send you what I promised by the next return of the carrier; or else by Don Lewis, if he should meet you sooner. I was not well pleased that he had been inquiring after the gentleman's name, and was glad that you did

<sup>d</sup> This relates to the intention of choosing him Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. In the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1735, [vol. v. p. 50.] it is stated, that Dr. Waterland was *chosen* Prolocutor. But the Biographia Britannica (art. *Waterland*, vol. vii. p. 4169) says, "The Convocation meeting this year, our Archdeacon was pitched upon for Prolocutor of the Lower House, and an elegant Latin speech was prepared to be spoken, on present-

ing him to that House, by the learned Dr. Cobden, Archdeacon of London. But he thought proper to decline that office, which, in the then state of the Church, must have been attended with extraordinary trouble; as was foreseen by the King, who therefore presently dissolved it." *Dr. Lisle* was chosen Prolocutor of the Convocation in the room of Dr. Waterland, on his declining the office. See *Gent. Mag.* Feb. 1735, vol. v. p. 108.

not oblige him in an imprudent request. I had rather not know, that I may afterwards safely and truly say that I do not know who or what the gentleman is. If he has any occasion to write to me, he may write without setting any name, and I can direct my answer to you, with your good leave. In turning over Jackson's piece, I found myself sometimes tempted to scribble down a few thoughts that occurred, beyond my first design. For I designed no more than references. I hope, the gentleman, your friend, will pardon my indulging myself in a kind of natural infirmity, which prevailed upon me unawares. He will be at liberty either to make use of fresh hints or to neglect them, as he sees proper: and when he has finished his work, may commit what I send to the flames.

I refer sometimes to two pamphlets, written by two ingenious men, and contrived to be, as it were, supplemental to my Defences:

*Brief animadversions on two Pieces, by John Browne*<sup>e</sup>. Printed for Inunys, 1725.

*An Essay on Irenæus. By John Alexander.* Printed for John Clark and Richard Hett, at the Bible and Crown in the Poultry, 1727.

Both the pieces are very well written; and both of them went through my hands before they went to the press.

In Mr. Browne's piece will be found just answers to several things brought up again in Jackson's last piece. Jackson's stock is but slender, and he serves up the same things again and again, as often as he publishes in the same cause; never concerning himself to rejoin to what has been replied, or so much as to take notice of it: always objecting, never responding. That is his way. He has published in this cause: 1. *A Collection of Queries.* 2. *An Answer to Mr. Nye*, the noted Socinian, whom he took to be the mouth of the orthodox. 3. *The Reply to Dr. W.'s Defence*: though he had but a very small hand in it, so far as the first rough draft. Mr. Whiston added, and Dr. Clarke new-modelled and enlarged: so it was more properly *Dr. Clarke's Reply.* 4. *The True Narrative*, in opposition to Dr. Berriman's *Historical Account*, 1725. which Dr. Berriman answered in his *Defence*, &c. 1731. 5. *Remarks on Dr. W.'s Second Defence*, (which I ought to have mentioned sooner,) by

<sup>e</sup> Author of Sermons at L. Moyer's Lect. and of a Letter to Mr. Jackson, on his "Plea for Human Reason."

*Philalethes Cantabrigiensis*, 1723. This was answered by Mr. Browne, 1725. 6. *Christian Liberty*, now under consideration. These are all I know of, that he has published, relating to the subject: unless I may mention, 7. *Calumny no Conviction*, which, if I remember, has here and there some things relating to the Trinity, and is such a piece of Billingsgate as can hardly be paralleled. His friends made him keep it up for some time, being ashamed of it. But at length (to reimburse the bookseller, or the author) it came abroad. He has not set his name, as I remember, to any of these seven, excepting to what he wrote against Nye. I have long neglected him, as being a profligate or (as Mr. Browne more genteelly calls him) a *privileged* writer, who takes the liberty to say any thing, and whose reproach is no scandal. But as he is now almost the only writer left on the Arian side, and as he is thought to be a first-rate-man by the ignoramuses of the party, I know not but that it may be of good service to call him to account once more, not only for his heterodoxy in faith, but for his viler offences against moral probity, decency, veracity. But I shall weary you with talking of this trifling man: pardon me thus far. I am, with great respect,

Sir,

Your obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

N<sup>o</sup>. III.

Windsor, Jan. 27th, 1734-5.

SIR,

I HAVE sent what I promised: you may please to deliver it to the gentleman; sealed or unsealed, as you judge proper. Perhaps, as the thing is to be burned afterwards, it may be best to have what is in it kept as a secret between him and me. Being suddenly called to London, (which I did not expect,) I have scarce had time to revise what I had scribbled, or to correct any mistakes. However, since I am to be favoured with a sight of the gentleman's papers, before they go to the press, I can then, upon more mature consideration, correct any thing I may find amiss, and thereby prevent my leading him into any mistake. He will excuse it, if he sometimes finds some things,

written *currente calamo*, which a sudden heat produced, and which might better have been spared. My service to him, and tell him, I wish him good success in his kind and Christian undertaking. I go to London (God willing) on Thursday, and hope that I may be dismissed on Saturday: for it is not expected that the Convocation will sit to do business, at least not this winter.

I am, Sir,  
Your most obedient humble Servant,  
DAN. WATERLAND.

---

No. IV.

*Twickenham, March 18th, 1734-5.*

SIR,

I THINK of continuing, for the most part, here till Whitsunday be over, and then to remove (God willing) to Cambridge. Your friend's papers, when ready, may best be directed for me at *Mr. Warcupp's, at the White Lion, near Charing Cross*: for Mr. Warcupp will always know where I am, and will convey any letters or parcels safely to my hands.

If the gentleman happens to be at a loss for any other book, which I may be able to procure, I shall very readily serve him. I have thought of one book, which he should see, and which perhaps he will not readily come at. It is a book of Wesseling's, lately brought over from abroad<sup>f</sup>. I must be at Windsor the 25th instant, Tuesday next: and I intend to send Wesseling up to you by your carrier. It may be returned with the former, when done with, to Mr. Warcupp's, at the White Lion.

I shall be under a disadvantage, as to revising and correcting papers, in this place, having few or no books with me relating to the subject. But if I should find a necessity of consulting any, I will go over to Windsor, (which is but twelve miles off.)

<sup>f</sup> This, no doubt, was Wesseling's *ἦν ὁ λόγος*. Horbery, in his "Animad-  
*Probabilium Liber*, published at Frank-  
fort, 1731. Several chapters in it  
relate to the attempts of an author,  
under the assumed name of *Artemon*,  
to shew that the text in St. John, *καὶ*  
*Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος*, ought to be *καὶ Θεοῦ*  
"versions on Jackson's Christian  
"Liberty asserted," (p. 120,) refers to  
the tenth chapter of this book of  
Wesseling's, to correct Jackson's in-  
terpretation of a passage in Melito's  
Apology.

for a day or two, on purpose. I have leisure enough here, and little or no business, more than taking care of the pulpit on Sundays, and looking after some parish affairs on the week-days.

I am, Sir,  
Your most humble Servant,  
DAN. WATERLAND.

---

No. V.

*Twickenham, Apr. 2nd, 1735.*

SIR,

I RECEIVED the papers last night, and immediately fell to reading them, and before nine o'clock this morning got through all the four parts. Upon this cursory reading, I take the liberty to say, that they are very well written, that I am highly pleased with them, both for matter and manner, and do not doubt but that they will be well received by the public, and will be of good service to the Christian cause. The first leisure I have, I shall lay out upon a cool and deliberate reading of the same, in order to observe whether any thing needs correcting or altering. If I have any thing to remark, I think of doing it upon a separate paper, that nothing may appear upon his MS. and that he may judge of it himself before he takes any correction into his copy. Perhaps I may sometimes take the freedom to draw a line through a sentence, or expression, which I may wish to have struck out. But, so far as I can judge from the first reading, I shall have but very little to do by way of correction or improvement. I shall probably return the papers in a week or ten days' time, by coach or carrier. I did not expect my scribbles again; having destined them to the fire, had your friend so pleased. I sent Wesseling by the coach, I think; and I hope you have received it before this. The book is curious, and worth the reading, on other accounts.

. . . . .



N<sup>o</sup>. VI.*Magd. Coll. July 6th, 1735.*

SIR,

I HAVE received *Mr. Anonymous's* piece, and have read it with much pleasure. The Preface particularly (I need say nothing of the rest) is extremely fine, and shews both the gentleman and the scholar. I am so cautious of making any discoveries, that I denied myself the pleasure of putting you in the list of presents, for a trifle of mine just published, on the subject of *Fundamentals*. If you will be so kind as to tell me the Prelate you speak of, I will tell you whether it be proper for Anonymous to own his performance there. I know pretty well how men stand affected, having a general acquaintance. I cannot be particular in a post letter: but I heartily wish for an opportunity of seeing you, and then I could freely deliver my mind upon various subjects. I intend (God willing) to be at Twickenham on the 12th of August, to be ready for waiting at Kensington soon after. There is an odd piece upon the Sacrament lately published<sup>h</sup>, and supposed to come from a great hand, which makes much noise. By what I can judge of it, the merits of it will depend upon two previous questions, concerning the doctrine of *Atonement*, and *Divine Grace*. If those are well fixed, all the pretences of that book drop at once, and the Sacrament retains its ancient dignity: if not, the Sacrament must be understood in a low sense, and at the same time Socinianism must succeed in the room of primitive Christianity. But there is no fear of that, while there is any learning, or good sense, or conscience remaining amongst us.

I am, good Sir,

Your obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

† His "Discourse on Fundamentals, being the substance of Two Charges delivered to the Middlesex Clergy, in 1734 and 1735," inserted in vol. v. of this edition.

<sup>h</sup> Hoadley's "Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," published in June, 1735.

## No. VII.

*Magd. Coll. July 15, 1735.*

GOOD SIR,

I AM very glad that Mr. A.<sup>i</sup> is so happily fixed with a person who will esteem and value him the more, the more he knows him. I should be sorry if his Lordship should not discover, in a while, his public merit in the orthodox cause: because I am very sure it would be there a high and lasting recommendation. I can now with great pleasure assure you, that the piece is much esteemed here by as many as have read it, and they are very inquisitive to know from what hand it came. I declare to them that I think myself much obliged to the gentleman who has done me more than justice so handsomely, and has been so kind as to send me a present, but that he is unknown to me by name: only I hope, some time or other, to learn who he is, and to be acquainted with him, since a person of his merit cannot long be concealed.

I should have been glad if your affairs would have permitted you to give me the pleasure of seeing you at Twickenham or at Windsor, and I will not yet despair. Or if I should happen to be at the Bath next September, (a journey which I have some fluctuating thoughts of,) I may possibly find you out there, if returned from Maidstone.

If not, I wish you however as much pleasure, as there will be use, in the Oriental studies which you have in view. A very little assistance will put a man in a way to go on by himself: labour and assiduity must do the rest.

My time will be taken up with other affairs, (for two or three months at least,) that I cannot sit down to do any thing upon the subject you mention. I hope there will be no occasion; for many hands will be at work, or rather are at work now. I have seen a good Weekly Miscellany already, and I hear of a pamphlet besides, but have not seen it. Some talk of Bishop Sherlock's being engaged on the subject, and others of Dr. Stebbing. I have contented myself with weighing and considering the nature and texture of this new book. It is put together with abundance

<sup>i</sup> Mr. *Anonymous*. See preceding letter.

of art, and a kind of studied confusedness : and though he has here and there dropped very dangerous principles, yet he has thrown in so many salvoes and evasions elsewhere, that it will be difficult to reconcile the distant parts, or to make out his whole meaning. The design, no doubt, was, so to insinuate what he aims at, as to lay in at the same time for guards and fences against any attacks.

I shall only observe, that he builds much upon the words, *remembrance of me*, which he interprets sometimes of remembrance of Christ's *body* or *blood*, sometimes remembrance of an *absent Saviour*, or of an *offering* made, or a *sacrifice*, and frequently remembrance of Christ as our *Head*, *Lord*, *Master*, and once, *Judge*. He goes as high as his principles will suffer him to do, and confines not himself to the bare words of the institution, but takes in all that he conceives to be *virtually* implied. Now, if he will but give us the like liberty with himself, we may interpret the remembrance of Christ so as to take in what scripture declares of his *dignity*, *merits*, and *sufferings* : and so, we shall remember him as *true God*, *God over all*, (and the like,) condescending to become *man*, and to atone for the sins of mankind by his death. And if we so remember Him in the Eucharist, all will be right, and every thing we desire will naturally flow from it. It will then appear (which I believe is the real truth) that he and we do not so properly differ about the *Sacrament* itself, as about the *previous doctrines*, which must influence every article relating to the Sacrament, and must determine it to a *high* or a *low* sense. If I am right so far, then it is plain, that in the last result, this dispute about the Sacrament must terminate in the other dispute about the doctrine of the Trinity. For his scheme is nothing else but the *doctrine of the Sacrament Socinianized* ; ours is the *Trinitarian doctrine of the Sacrament*.

I thank you for mentioning a book to me which I had never before heard of. I have since seen it. It is a thick folio, pompously printed, containing, in all, above eight hundred pages. Delaune and Keach were two *Presbyterian*<sup>k</sup> Divines, as I con-

<sup>k</sup> Mr. Loveday has noted in the margin, that they were *Anabaptists*, and has referred to Neal, iv. 520. Neal, however, speaks there of *Delaune* only. But *Keach* also was un-

doubtedly an *Anabaptist*, and took a part in the controversies of that sect. See Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. xix. p. 274.

ceive; and this book of theirs was the work of twenty years or more. I have just run it over, to observe what it aims at. It is to reduce scripture tropes and metaphors to certain heads, and to explain them in order. It is a good Repertorium for things of that kind, and may serve for a sort of Concordance of matters, so far. There is often more fancy than judgment shewn in drawing out parallels: but notwithstanding, it must be owned, that there is a treasury of good materials in it, regularly digested; and it is an useful book in its way. I may probably look further into it, as I have leisure.

I am, Sir,  
Your much obliged humble Servant,  
DAN. WATERLAND.

Instead of *remembrance of me*, it were better, I think, to render it, *in commemoration of me*.

---

No. VIII.

Twickenham, Sept. 18th, 1735.

SIR,

I HAVE been in these parts since the middle of July, and think of leaving them for Windsor about the 6th of next month. I suspect now that I shall not find leisure (as, I thank God, there is no great necessity) for going to the Bath. I am afraid the labour of considering what concerns the Sacrament must at length fall upon me; though, if it does, I must work leisurely, as health and avocations permit<sup>1</sup>. It is proper that somebody should do it. Bishop Sherlock, I hear, declines it; and Dr. Stebbing is full of Foster. Mr. Whiston is warm upon it: but he will both over-do and under-do, and is no fit man to rest such a cause upon<sup>m</sup>. There are many by-questions which must be cleared in the course of such a work: and to do it thoroughly, so far as I am able to judge, cannot take up less than four or five hundred pages in 8vo. I was sorry to see the

<sup>1</sup> His great work, the "Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist," came out in April, 1737. In the mean while, he printed a Charge on "the Doctrinal Use of the Christian Sacraments," which was published in

June, 1736.

<sup>m</sup> Whiston published in June, 1736, a tract entitled, "The Primitive Eucharist Revived; occasioned by The Plain Account," &c.

“Winchester Converts.” The subject is too grave to be treated in that manner: and lightness begins not well on our side. It may furnish the adversaries with a handle for playing their ridicule, and with a plausible excuse for doing it.

I hear that Mr. A—gh’s piece<sup>n</sup> is mere ribaldry: I have not seen it. I thank you for acquainting me with your and my friend’s name<sup>o</sup>. I see no reason now for keeping it secret: the end I had in view is already answered by concealing it hitherto. However, I have discovered no further yet to any one, but that he is a Fellow of a College in Oxford. One gentleman told me the other day, that he had heard his name. I asked him to tell it me; but he said, he had forgot: so the discourse ended. I think, the sooner he is known, the earlier a reputation he will have: everybody that has seen the book speaks well of it, and none can justly do otherwise. Jackson has seen it, and calls it mine; which is his way. He was told that I neither was the author nor knew the author. He was asked the reason of his thought: and then he referred to the Preface, as discovering private things. The gentleman told him, in return, that he saw no discoveries in the Preface, more than had been made long ago in a printed Preface of mine: as indeed there are not. But that raving creature loves to ascribe to me every thing written on my side; that the orthodox cause may be represented as resting upon a single man.

I shall be very glad of any opportunity of waiting upon you, if you come near where I shall be, or I where you: and I hope some time to be personally acquainted with Mr. Horbery. I can think of a way of making the thing known to Bishop Smalbroke, by Mr. Welchman in a letter, if I fail of an opportunity of seeing his Lordship in Town.

I am, good Sir,  
Your very much obliged humble Servant,  
DAN. WATERLAND.

I am told that the Dissenters in general condemn the “Plain Account;” nay, one of them assured me yesterday, that even

<sup>n</sup> This was a Mr. Ayscough, of C. C. C. as appears from Mr. Loveday’s letter, who says of him, “he has been too well known ever since his College published their case with relation to him intruded upon them for a Fel-

low; and is the reputed author of “the ‘Reply to the Winchester Converts.’”

<sup>o</sup> Mr. Loveday had acquainted him, in a letter of Sept. 6, that Mr. *Matthew Horbery*, Fellow of Magd. Coll.

Chandler opens against it, as leading to *Deism* directly. I have not had leisure for any thing, except the sketching out a rough plan, which may want altering in the progress. I cannot sit down to write before the middle of next month; and winter comes on, which is not the best season for me. Mr. Biscoe, in his Remarks, has done very well, so far.

---

N<sup>o</sup>. IX.

*Windsor, Jan. 1736-7.*

SIR,

I HAD the favour of your kind letter, containing several curious and useful improvements to *Cave*, which will deserve to be inserted in their places by the editors<sup>P</sup>. The thought of doing something in that way was first suggested by me to Judge Reeves and Dr. Jones, who approved of it. Had it been thought on sooner, more might have been done in it, and the edition made more complete. But late as it was, it may be a considerable improvement. I had not leisure to undertake such employ myself; but I spoke to the bookseller to move it to some proper person at Oxford, offering to draw out a scheme of what I conceived requisite to be done, and promising to furnish out some materials. I had noted several references to Fabricius and Oudin in my own *Cave*; and I knew a friend of mine, (Dr. Bishop, of Ipswich,) who had carried the design much further than I had done. I procured his *Cave*, and joined it to my own: and these were to be the materials to begin with; to which more of like kind might be added, upon further searches. Mr. Potc, having been at Oxford, comes and tells me, that he could find no gentleman there that had leisure enough upon his hands to

Oxon. was the author of the *Animadversions on Jackson's Pamphlet*. This tract was published in July, 1735, anonymously, under the title of "Animadversions on a late Pamphlet, entitled, Christian Liberty Asserted," &c.

<sup>P</sup> This is in answer to a letter of Mr. Loveday's, accompanied with several references and corrections for the new edition of Dr. Cave's *Historia Literaria*, then preparing under the superintendance or direction of Dr.

Waterland; though, as appears from this Letter, Dr. W. was obliged to consign the labour of carrying it through the press to other hands. In a subsequent letter from Mr. Loveday, that gentleman appears to have furnished a large supply of materials for the purpose. The first volume of this new edition of the *Hist. Liter.* was published in March, 1740. In the Preface, honourable mention is made of Dr. Waterland's assistance.

undertake such a work. Hereupon, I thought of a person here, (one of our Petty Canons,) and explained the design to him, and offered to put the materials into his hands, and to give him such further assistance as I could, while resident upon the place. He undertook it, and has spared no care or pains since the time that he engaged in it; minuting down as many new editions as he or I could think of, and running over Tillemont, Ittigius, Henry, and others who had given account of such authors as are mentioned in Cave, and making references to them. All Fabricius's pieces he has looked into; not excepting his latest alphabetical account of authors of the middle ages, (entitled, *Bibliotheca Latina medicæ et infimæ Ætatis*, 1736,) left imperfect in the letter P, by the decease of that great man.

Hearne's pieces had not been examined. They are very scarce, and I had none of them, but the Textus Roffensis. But I am assured, that they are in Eton College Library; and thither the gentleman has promised to go, some time this week, to take down the several references which you have been so kind to put us in mind of, and to enter them in the margin of Cave.

Your observation about an edition of Philastrius, I doubt not, is very just: for I see in Fabricius's edition of 1721, he marks that edition of 1611, as a quarto. So, if Cave himself has not corrected it before, it shall be corrected now, by putting 4to for 8vo.

If you or any other curious gentleman has any further additions to supply us with, it may not be too late to take them in, and they will contribute to the perfection of this edition. The design is not so much to note where other authors differ from Dr. Cave, but where they treat of the same things after him, whether differing from him or adding to him: so that this edition may be a kind of index to later Bibliothèques, and a common Repertorium for things of that kind. And if it can be made tolerably perfect, it will be of very great use and ease to the inquisitive. To instance only as to Fabricius. His *Bibliotheca Græca* is in a very confused order, and it is not very easy, even with the help of his Index, to turn readily to the volume or place, where he treats particularly of this or that ecclesiastical writer. This new edition of Cave will now be a better index to Fabricius (so far as relates to writers mentioned in both) than Fabricius's own is; and will besides have references, not only to the *Bibliotheca Græca*, but to all his other works of that kind;

such as his *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, and his *Latina*, and his other *Latina*, and several more pieces. New editions will not always be particularly noted, if Fabricius has before taken notice of them: because a reference to Fabricius, in such cases, may be sufficient. As to any new edition, in whole or in part, by Mr. Hearne, it will be sufficient to note it in its proper place, in some such manner as this: *Item, per Th. Hearne, Oxon. A. D.* And where he has offered any useful remarks, *Vid. Th. Hearne, &c.* The like may be done with respect to any thing of Dr. Smith, whose *Miscellanea* I have not seen, but shall inquire for them. Probably, Dr. Cave himself, in the corrections he left behind, or additions, (which make about a quarter part of the whole,) may have taken in what Dr. Smith had furnished.

I am glad to hear that our very ingenious and worthy friend, Mr. Horbery, has a Stall in Lichfield church, and heartily wish it may be but a step to greater preferment. He is my countryman, I find, by what you are pleased to tell me. There is (living, I think,) an old acquaintance of mine, Mr. Poole<sup>q</sup>, in the isle of Axholme, a very valuable man, both for learning and integrity; but whom I have not seen nor heard of these many years.

I think of staying here till this month is over, or perhaps longer, and then of removing to Twickenham; though I may often be moving backward and forward, there being but twelve miles distance. If any thing should call you this way, I shall think myself happy in the enjoyment of your good company here: and if you, or any friend of yours hath any more materials, to add to the perfection of the edition preparing, and will please to send them, you will thereby add to the obligations laid upon,

Sir,

Your most obliged and respectful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

My work goes on like church-work, slowly: twenty-five sheets are printed: there will be about eleven more. Perhaps it may be finished by Lady-day; if Dr. Warren's last part (which, for the present, with my consent, employs the same press) does not throw it off to a later date.

<sup>q</sup> Mr. Loveday has corrected the name of Poole to Hoole, and mentions, in a subsequent letter, that Mr. Horbery had once been Curate to Mr. Hoole, who had left the isle of Ax-

holme, for the living of St. Anne's, in Manchester. This Mr. Hoole afterwards published a small tract in 12mo. entitled, "A Guide to Communicants; or the common Christian instructed



## No. X.

*Twickenham, Feb. 19th, 1736-7.*

GOOD SIR,

I RECEIVED your former papers, (as well as the last, bearing date the 17th instant,) and left them at Windsor, in the hands of the person who takes care of the additional notes to Cave: only I contrived, first, to cut out your name and place, having no commission to make discovery of either. I left some hints of advice with him about the manner or method of minuting down any thing of that kind. It must be done in a very brief way, and generally by a reference only to such book of Hearne's as makes mention of any of those later authors. Pecoock I happen to be pretty well acquainted with, having formerly seen and read his two manuscript pieces at Cambridge, and having sent large extracts out of them to Mr. Lewis, of Mergate, who was then writing his *Life*<sup>r</sup>. His design was, to print in one volume the lives of Wickliffe, Pecoock, and Fisher. He finished the work, but could not meet with sufficient encouragement from the booksellers: so it rests still in his hands<sup>s</sup>. I saw part of it, and liked it well; excepting only that he would be sometimes needlessly severe upon Hearne. I desired him to strike those places out, if ever he should publish. It seems, there was an old emulation between those two antiquaries. Yet good Mr. Baker, of St. John's, Cambridge, kept constant correspondence

"in the Doctrine of the Eucharist, "being an extract out of Dr. Waterland's Review of that Doctrine; by way of Question and Answer. With Devotions for the Use of Communicants. By Joseph Hoole, M. A. Rector of St. Anne's, in Manchester." In the Preface he states, "that the great author of the Review was acquainted with his design, had these papers laid before him, approved of them, and was pleased to encourage the publication." Hence it appears, that the acquaintance between Dr. W. and Mr. Hoole was renewed, after this letter to Mr. Loveday, and, not improbably, in consequence of it. Dr. W.'s Review was published in April 1737, Mr. Hoole's Guide in 1739. It is an excellent manual.

<sup>r</sup> How largely Waterland contributed to Lewis's *Life of Pecoock*, is evident from his correspondence with Lewis in the foregoing part of this volume.

<sup>s</sup> It seems, by this, to have been Mr. Lewis's design to print these lives together; but that finding himself obliged to abandon this intention, he printed the *Life of Wickliffe* separately, in 8vo. in the year 1720. The *Life of Pecoock*, he says, in the title-page, was written in 1725, but it was not published till 1744, a considerable time after Waterland's death. The *Life of Fisher* does not appear to have been ever published. Mr. Masters, in his *Hist. of C.C.C. Cambridge*, mentions it among the tracts left by him in MS. See Masters's *Hist. Appendix*, p. 103.

with both, and supplied them both perpetually with choice materials.

While I was turning over Pecoek's Repressor, I discovered an odd blunder in the Oxon. Catalogue of MSS. N. 2370. 190. p. 170 : *Explicit coram Domino Rege in Capella sua apud Humhich*. Mr. Lewis had desired me to inquire what county that *Humhich* was in : but upon carefully looking into the Notary's memorandum, at the end of that copy of the Repressor, (the very copy upon which Pecoek was condemned, and the only left remaining,) I found it to run thus :

*Exhibit : coram Domino, in Capella sua, apud Lamhith.*

The book was exhibited before his Grace the Archbishop, in his chapel at Lambeth ; and there poor Pecoek received sentence : cruel enough, and executed afterwards with utmost rigour.

The opinion, as I remember, which I then conceived of him was, that he was a very honest man, and one of the ablest Divines of that age. His misfortune was, that he undertook to defend a very corrupt Church against the Wicklevites, upon a *Scriptural* and *rational* foot. It was impossible for him to do it, but by softening and disguising several principles and practices then prevailing. His design was very like to what the Bishop of Meaux attempted in the last century : but Pecoek was not altogether so artful, nor so well guarded. He made some concessions which were very just, but which so corrupt a state of the Church would not bear. His enemies (some through envy, some through superstitious zeal) took the advantage, and aggravated every thing to the utmost. And thus a good and great man fell a sacrifice.

This, I remember, was my judgment of the man and his case, when I read his pieces, and looked into his history.

Your last favour, which I received this morning, I intend to carry with me to Windsor (God willing) next Tuesday, and there to stay till the 10th or 12th of March, and then to return hither, and here to reside some time. I hope to leave such instructions with Mr. Chapman, Petty Canon of Windsor, as may be sufficient for his carrying on what concerns Cave in my absence.

I have Alberti's late book of 1735, and shall leave it in Mr. Chapman's hands. An edition of Hesychius was intended by Mr. Nimpfell, of Breslaw, who came over into England about

fifteen years ago, chiefly with a design to furnish himself with materials. I saw him at Cambridge, and afterwards sent him a letter, directed to him at Breslaw; acquainting him, that Mr. Morland (who was brother to the late High-Master of St. Paul's) had left behind him a *fair*<sup>t</sup> copy, which he had been twenty years preparing, and which had near twenty thousand emendations in it, collected chiefly from old Lexicons, Scholiasts, &c. and that his son (a physician, living at St. Alban's,) would sell his father's copy, at a reasonable price, I could not say what. Mr. Nimpself wrote me word back, that being full of other employ, he had laid aside all thoughts of proceeding with Hesychius. Whether Alberti knows any thing of those papers of Morland, I cannot say: neither have I seen Dr. Morland since, nor heard any thing of him; nor do I know whether he is alive or dead. But it may be a great loss to the learned world, if those papers should be lost: not but that I make some allowances for Dr. Morland's flourishes, in setting off his father's performances to best advantage<sup>u</sup>.

I am glad to hear that Mr. Hoole is alive, and preferred somewhat higher (as I presume) in the Church. He is a person whom I have a great esteem for, though I have not seen him of a long time. Pray, my service to Mr. Horbery. Mr. Wheatley's Sermons, preached in Lady Moyer's Lecture, at St. Paul's, are in the press, more than half wrought off. They are well penned, with good judgment and accuracy, and will be useful to the Christian cause.

If you have any acquaintance at Trinity College, will you be so kind as to inquire for me, at what time Sir Thomas Pope, their founder, died. I have looked into Wood, and several

<sup>t</sup> Over the word *fair*, Mr. Loveday has put a *Qu*?

<sup>u</sup> On a loose paper, which accompanies this letter, Mr. Loveday has made the following memorandum:

"*Alberti* in his Pref. to *Hesychius*, p. xvii. speaking of the still further improvements which might be made upon his author, says,

"*Ceterum in Anglia Criticorum feracissima, hic illic multa præterea delitescere me docuit ante hos annos literis Anglice conscriptis ἀνώνυμος aliquis: nomen enim reticuerat, neque auctor quis fuerit intellexi. Gratus tamen benevolum ipsius*

*animum agnosco. Inter ea recensentur anecdota Doctorum Viorum, Morlandi, Nimpselfii Breslavisensis, G. Langbanii, Badgeri, et aliorum. De quibus adcuratius non est quod moneam."*

On another paper, dated 1784, Mr. Loveday (as I suppose) has written the following memorandum:

"The Manuscript Notes on *Hesychius*, among the *Rawlinson* MSS. in the *Bodleian*, are by *Obadiak Oddy*; contained in two thick 4tos. of an interleaved *Hesychius*. There are also many notes on this Lexicon among *St. Amand's* books."

other historians and antiquaries, to find it, but have been disappointed. That gentleman was one of the executors of Lord Audley, founder of Magd. Coll. Cant., and he had the chief hand in compiling our Statutes. I wished to know, how long every one of the five executors lived; have discovered two, (who were Lady Audley and Lord North;) the third is Sir Tho. Pope. No doubt but the College registers must have recorded the day of his death.

I think Orthodoxy is in as promising a way as can be expected in such days of liberty: and the late promotion to Lambeth is a good omen on that side, the work of a kind Providence towards us. I wish you and him a worthy successor to fill the see of Oxford. It is said, that he and the Speaker join their interest in favour of Dr. Lisle: but I will not warrant the truth of it\*.

I am, Sir,

Your much obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

N<sup>o</sup>. XI.

*Windsor, March 10th, 1736-7.*

SIR,

I INTENDED to have returned you Virunius, Synesius, and Ximenes, by the last carrier: but having a little leisure to look over your several papers, I thought it best to keep the books, till I could see the several entries in Cave's margin settled according to my mind; which now I have seen done, as far as could well be done without Hearne's pieces. The rest I leave to Mr. Chapman, when he can procure those pieces, which he is promised a sight of. Some part of your remarks came too late; as much as belonged to the last century: for that part of Cave's copy was gone to the press. There can be no doubt of what you hint concerning Virunius. The note at the end is plain. He lived in 1520, as I learn from Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, in his notes on Trythemius, p. 235. I can make no certain judgment of the date of your Synesius, and therefore do

\* *Dr. Secker* succeeded *Potter* in the see of Oxford, on the translation of *Potter* to Canterbury. *Dr. Lisle* was advanced to the episcopal bench in 1743, being then made Bp. of St. Asaph, and afterwards translated to the see of Norwich, 1748. He died in 1749.

forbear. As to Ximenes, I very much doubt, and have not time to make full inquiries. He died in 1516 or 1517. It appears not likely that any thing of his should be first published so late as 1565, and without a name. I suspect, that either Arias Montanus, or others concerned in preparing the Antwerp Polyglott, compiled this Onomasticon, partly from the last volume of the Complutensian, and partly from their own observations. But I have not leisure, at present, to make the just inquiries. I return you my hearty thanks for Petrus Comestor, and Smith, which you are so kind as to lodge with me. I believe I shall put Comestor into Windsor Library, and make a reference to him in Cave's margin, as there repositèd.

I find that several observations contained in your papers are anticipated either in *Oudin*, or in *Fabricius's Bibliotheca mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*. In such cases, it may be sufficient to refer to those two, or to them together with Hearne.

In your last, you hint something of Hicks' and Hearne's Account of the Prima, or first Canonical Hour. No doubt but what the first hour of the day, in Roman account, began at six, as ours does at twelve, that is, midnight. But yet the way of reckoning *one o'clock* is to take the *end* of the first hour, not the *beginning*. So if *ad primam* means at *one o'clock*, it means at the *end* of the first hour, and answers to our *seven*. I took the hint first from Johnson of Cranbrook, in his first volume of Saxon Laws, Ann. 957, No. 19. Elfric's Canons. Upon considering it, I thought he must be right: for that otherwise, in adjusting our computation to the Roman, we should take odd numbers to answer to their even numbers, and *vice versâ*. Their nine o'clock is our three, their three our nine: and therefore their one must be our seven. Or if their one be our six, their three will be our eight, their six our eleven, their nine our two, and so on. *Midday*, in Latin account, is the *sixth* hour: not when the sixth hour *begins*, but when it *ends*, that is, twelve o'clock. I think Hicks, Hearne, and Johnson, are all right in the main thing. The *first hour* is the same here and there: but hours are not numbered or reckoned, till they are over, and ended. I have noted, at the end of my Somner, the old way of reckoning the hours, but forgot to note what MS. I took it from. The words run thus:

*Pryme* is the first houre after the sunne rysing.

¶ Mr. Loveday here inserts, "v. "before Leusden's Onomasticum "alloquutio ad Benevolum Lectorem, "Sacrum."

The tweie houres after pryme is cleped *underne*.

*Midday* is the *thridd houre*, that men clepeth the *sext houre*, that is, the middel of the day, when the sunne is at the highest.

The *thridd houre* after midday is cleped the *nynthe houre*, nones.

An houre before that the sunne go downe, is the *eleventhe houre*.

The *twelcethe houre* is complyn, when the sunne goeth adoun even in the west.

I shall only observe from this account, that if pryme be the first hour after sun-rise, the reckoning must begin an hour after sun-rise; not at six, which is sun-rise, but at seven, an hour after: and thus *complyn* will answer to *prime*, being at the end of the twelfth hour, (at sun-set,) as *prime* is at the end of the first. But enough of this.

By what you somewhere hint of the English Bibles, you seem not to have had a sight of Lewis's edition of Wickliff's New Testament; which has a *History of the English Translations of the Bible* prefixed to it: a full and accurate performance<sup>x</sup>. Therefore I chose to refer to that History, rather than to Mr. Hearne, for an exact *notitia* of our versions of the Bible. Nothing before extant, relating to that subject, is to be compared with it. If any thing was wanting to make it complete, it was a thorough search into St. Paul's Library; which was thought on too late, and the accounts (too hastily taken) were not so exact as might have been wished. I could wish that that History were printed separate<sup>y</sup>, with such few further improvements as the author might make. But the booksellers discouraged him so far, by refusing to print his *Three Lives*, that, I believe, from that time he has been somewhat chagrined, and cares not how little he has to do with them.

I am moving (God willing) from hence on Saturday, towards Twickenham; but I shall take particular care to see your books packed up before I leave this place, and shall leave special orders to have them carefully delivered to the Oxford carrier at his next return. I shall take leave to pack up with them a few

<sup>x</sup> Of the extent of Waterland's contributions towards its fulness and accuracy, some judgment may be formed by the foregoing letters to Mr. Lewis,

<sup>y</sup> It was afterwards printed separately, in 8vo., in the year 1739, considerably improved and enlarged.

papers of mine, relating chiefly to Robert of Gloucester, which have lain with me above eleven years. I intended to have sent them to Mr. Hearne: but Mr. Baker hinted to me, that the telling him now of any improvements or corrections that might be made to his edition, would rather afflict than oblige him: upon which I forbore. And, I believe, he never was told, that Trinity College MS. of R. Gl. (which he had often inquired after) was found, soon after his edition appeared. It is a fine old MS. far beyond that which he printed from, in every respect, and a great deal fuller. I guessed from four lines of that MS. that St. Paul's was formerly the temple of *Apollo*, not of Diana. If the conjecture be reasonable, there is an easy account of the name of *Paul*, as succeeding to the similar name of *Apollo*. And I think Bishop Stillingfleet's arguments against a *Temple of Diana* (in his *Antiquity of London*) will not be of the same force against this other supposition. I wish it could be known from whence Robert of Gloucester borrowed his intelligence. Speaking of Bladulf's flying in the air a while, and at length falling, he says:

The wynd com mid stormes, tho wethede his fetheres,  
 The stringes that helde that gyn: for, the grete Wederes  
 To borsten, and the King adoun fel open the rof  
 Of Appollines temple, so that he al to drof.  
 Appollines temple was at Londone, in that dawe:  
 For that was here manner in that ulke lawe  
 Then Bladulf ded was, and hadde swiche endinge:  
 Thus was tho his kinedom bireved of the kinge.

These lines, with four more before them, should come in the 29th page of Robert of Gloucester. Excuse this hasty scribble, and believe me to be, with very true respect,

Your much obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

My service to Mr. Horbery.

---

Nº. XII.

*Twickenham, March 24th, 1736-7.*

SIR,

I HAD NO thought of your ever returning the trifles I sent, and therefore desire you to think no more of it. It was a

chance that they were kept so long within my Rob. of Gl. They were intended for Mr. Hearne: and now finding that you were particularly conversant in all his pieces, I thought they might not be altogether unacceptable to you. I have the substance of them in the margin of my Robt. of Gl. and at the end. Indeed, I drew that account out of what I had first written upon the leaves of the book itself, as I read the MS. I collated the MS. quite through, marking every considerable variation all the way, transcribing the additional verses, as far as the bottom of pages would permit, or small slips of paper would hold; omitting only the large additions, which I had not room nor time for<sup>γ</sup>. By the help of those memorandums I have transcribed into the other leaf the whole account of the Three Wonders, as it stands in our MS. only neglecting the Saxon Letters, which lately I have been little used to. I believe *Hull*, or *Hul*, is rightly interpreted *Hill*: it is twice so used in p. 56, and again in p. 145, and again in the last line of p. 147, according to our MS. *To the Hull of Kyla*, &c. and so, I believe, constantly, wherever it is used. As to the book called *Prick of Conscience*, I have never seen it: otherwise I should soon know by the diction whether it was Hampole's, having carefully read his Psalter. I understand, however, that Hampole's *Stimulus Conscientiæ*, a Latin piece, is nothing akin to the other in matter or method; and therefore, probably, they had not one author<sup>z</sup>.

While I was searching the age of the Anglo-Saxonic versions of the Athanasian Creed, (which I saw could not be competently judged of without some insight into our old language,) I threw myself out into that kind of study; which proved more entertaining, upon a little use, than I once imagined. It was worth the pains, were it only to be master of Wanley's Catalogue, the best catalogue of MSS. that ever was drawn, and the best model and pattern for future catalogues. But there are many useful discoveries to be made in history and science from the old Saxon remains, and some from the old English also. I wonder that the curious men of your University have so long let Junius's Etymologicon of the English language lie neglected, and nobody has yet thought of printing it by subscription. It is most

<sup>γ</sup> Waterland's copy of Robert of Gloucester, with the marginal and other notes here mentioned, is now among Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian library.

<sup>z</sup> V. Fabricii bibl. med. et infin. Lat. iii. 554.



certainly a very curious piece, and would be highly instructive. Not that I ever expect a complete Etymologicon from any single hand: it requires a club of men, great linguists in their several ways; some in the northern languages, some in Greek and Latin, some in Welch, French, Italian, Spanish, and some in the Oriental. I easily see how and why Etymologists have so often failed, and thereby brought a kind of contempt upon the art; *Non omnia possumus omnes*. For our own language, a man must have Saxon, French, and Welsh, in order to make the first step in the evolution of our words: and if he would go higher, he must next have Greek, Chaldee, and Hebrew, if not more. Latin is of little use in the inquiry, except it be to shew how it was derived from the same common fountains with the Welch and Saxon, which appear to be both of them as old, or older than the Latin, and came late in. Vossius (Gerard) is the most judicious Etymologist that the world has known. The next to him, in my mind, is a late author, a Welshman, I think, whose name I have forgot, though I have his book in my study at Windsor, and have not looked into it for ten years last past, or more<sup>a</sup>. Our grammars of the English tongue have none of them been made by men competently qualified for the business. Wallis aimed well: Greenwood has improved upon him: none but a thorough Saxonist can ever do it to perfection; and he must be one that has traced its several changes and declensions in a course of 800 years, or more. Bishop Hutchinson, a while ago, (if he was the author of the piece dedicated to Lord Macclesfield,) trifled wretchedly on this head. But I know not why I thus run out in a letter, except it be to fill up my paper, now I have begun.

When I return to Windsor I shall inquire what Fabricius has noted of the editions, or intended editions of Epiphanius. That man knew every thing almost belonging to the *Historia Literaria*: the world has a great loss by his death, in the middle, or before the end of a very useful work. He died under the letter P, and in the fifth volume. I know not who will be able to supply the remainder, if he has not himself left it behind him in manuscript. Philo Judæus, as I suppose you have heard, has long been in good hands, I mean Dr. Mangey's: and I presume it is in the press, and in some forwardness. Mr. Twell's Poccocke, at two

<sup>a</sup> This was *Lhuyd's Glossography*, as appears from the next letter.

presses, is near two-thirds printed off. The two folio volumes of Popish Tracts I have heard but little of lately; but I believe they are well nigh finished. My scribbles are swelled to p. 544, and will be near 600<sup>b</sup>; and they intend to wait upon you and Mr. Horbery sometime in April, as near as I can guess. If I should ever have the pleasure of seeing you at Windsor, I would take that opportunity of improving my small acquaintance with Mr. Baber, whom I once waited upon, along with Don Lewis. I shall step to Windsor now and then from hence, but shall not go to reside there till after I have been at Cambridge, and winter draws on, about the time you think of returning out of Holland. Excuse me, if I interfere with what concerns your election: I was lately told you were likely to have no opposition: but that you best know. We once thought it certain that Dr. Lisle was to be your Bishop. But it seems he is a cautious man, and thinks a lower station is safer from storms<sup>c</sup>.

I am, good Sir,

Your most assured humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

N. B. To this letter is subjoined the account of *The Three Wonders*, extracted from Robert of Gloucester's poem, and referred to in the beginning of the letter.

---

N<sup>o</sup>. XIII.

Twickenham, May 18th, 1737.

SIR,

SINCE the favour of your last, I have been at Windsor, and left instructions there for inserting some things in Cave, pursuant to the hints contained in your two last letters. I have also insisted upon it with Mr. Pote the bookseller, that he shall contrive to have every sheet hereafter brought from your press to Windsor, to Mr. Chapman there, in order to have it carefully revised and corrected by him: otherwise mistakes will creep in, to the great detriment of the edition. Mr. Chapman has taken vast pains in preparing the edition, and no one else can espy a

<sup>b</sup> His work on the Eucharist, which had declined episcopal promotion, extended to about 600 pages. though he afterwards accepted it.

<sup>c</sup> It appears by this, that Dr. Lisle

fault of the press, or so easily correct it, as he can ; especially as to what concerns the additional references.

I am very glad to hear that subscriptions are taking in for Junius. I have sent to Crownfield at Cambridge to put me into the list of subscribers. I suppose I shall see the proposals there : I have seen none yet, nor so much as heard any thing of them but from your letter. Should not some way be taken to advertise it more, and to make it more generally known ? I speak of it myself wherever I come, to encourage the design, and to promote subscriptions to it, and shall do so all along : it is a work of value, so far as I am able to judge from Wanley's account, and from what I know of the learned author of the work from his other writings.

You guessed very right : Lhuyd was the man whose name I had forgot, but whose very judicious Glossography I formerly read over with great satisfaction, when I was minded to understand something of the use and value of the etymological art. I thought that he and Vossius shewed more judgment and less trifling, than any I had met with besides.

I think of moving to Cambridge (God willing) in Whitsun-week, and to spend the summer there. The bill mis-titled *for the encouragement of learning* is happily dropped. It is to be hoped some better bill may be prepared against another session. It was well designed by the first promoters, but quite spoiled in the progress. The result of it, as new modelled, would have been subjecting authors to attorneys and informers to such a degree, that very few, I believe, would have been ambitious that way for the future, had the bill passed. Abundant care was taken to secure fourteen copies for as many libraries ; but little or none taken to encourage learned men to write. If that project of fourteen copies were laid aside, a good bill might be prepared : or if some men's fondness for that unreasonable tax cannot be removed, the proper way would be, not to threaten authors with 50*l.* fine (half to the king and half to the informer) for neglect, or for any error in form, but to give every donor of fourteen copies a double or treble term, or a perpetuity, in his copy. That would be handsome encouragement, and would have good effect, and would not leave the defaulters liable to be harassed by officious or malicious informers.

So as to second editions, instead of leaving authors to the mercy of informers, (in case they should add new improvements

without printing the same separately,) it were sufficient to give every one liberty to print separate sheets that would, for the use of the public. Above all things, care should be taken to secure authors from lawsuits, (especially for innocent slips,) as well as from pirates, or else it is doing nothing. It were much better to risk the worst that pirates can do, than to be insured in such a way as may expose many an honest man to much greater hardships. At present, we stand pretty well upon the foot of Queen Anne's Act: but still I am in hopes, as circumstances may favour, that some additional encouragements to learning may be thought on, and meet with acceptance in the two Houses. My service to good Mr. Horbery, and thank him for his last kind letter.

I am, Sir,  
Your obliged humble Servant,  
DAN. WATERLAND.

P.S. I shall take care to do justice to your worthy President<sup>d</sup>, if I ever hear him reflected on: though I believe very little credit was given to those malicious aspersions by any one at that time; and the honour since done him by the University has effectually wiped off all suspicions among men of any judgment.

N<sup>o</sup>. XIV.

SIR,

Twickenham, Octob. 16th, 1738.

I TAKE the freedom to recommend Mr. Checkley, who waits upon you with this, to your favour, in any way you judge proper. You will see a brief account of him in the preamble<sup>e</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Dr. Edward Butler, President of Magdalen College.

<sup>e</sup> The following is a copy of the preamble here mentioned, from a transcript made by Mr. Loveday:

“ Contributions, by the respective colleges, to the Rev. Mr. John Checkley of Boston in New England, known by his writings in defence of the Christian Religion as professed in the Church of England, lately ordained Deacon by the Bi-

shop of St. Asaph, and Priest by the Bishop of St. David's, both upon Letters Dimissory from the Bishop of London: appointed Missionary to the Providence Plantation by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and preparing shortly to return into his own country, there to execute his mission.”

It appears that this Mr. Checkley had been a bookseller at Boston,

to the contributions which we raised for him very lately, in our University. A further account of his past and present circumstances I leave to him to give, if you shall please to admit him to the honour of your acquaintance. He suffered some years ago for defending Episcopacy with more learning and spirit than was agreeable to some persons. But I refer you to his book, and leave you to judge of him by that, after a perusal of it. I think of moving (God willing) to Windsor the latter end of this week, there to take up my winter quarters. I long to see how *Cave* is advanced. I am afraid it goes on slowly: but better so than to precipitate a work of that nature.

I am, Sir,  
Your most humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Mr. Hoole, I believe, by this time is in the press with an Abridgment of Review, &c.<sup>f</sup>

Nº. XV.

*Mayd. Coll. Cambridge, July 6th, 1740.*

WORTHY SIR,

I HAD the favour of your most obliging letter, the contents of which I shall presume, after you, to call words of course; being such as naturally flow from an inbred goodness improved by a polite education. I take leave to congratulate you upon your happy change of state. May you find in it all the de-

where (in the year 1723) he published an edition of "Leslie's Short Method with the Deists; with the Discourse concerning Episcopacy; in Defence of Christianity and the Church of England, against the Deists and the Dissenters." This publication drew upon him a prosecution for a *libel*, grounded on some passages in the Discourse on Episcopacy, alleged to have a design of drawing into dispute his then Majesty's title to the crown, and of scandalizing the Ministers of the Gospel, by law esta-

blished, in that province, &c. The jury found a *special* verdict; upon which the court declared him *guilty*. Mr. Checkley, in the year 1730, published at London the speech which he had made in his own defence upon his trial at Boston, in which he very ably exculpated himself from the charge, and (as Dr. Waterland observes) "defended Episcopacy with more learning and spirit than was agreeable to some persons."

<sup>f</sup> See note on Letter IX. p. 425.

sirable satisfaction which is used to go along with minds well paired.

Your kind opinion of my papers I thank you for. If they prove but any way serviceable to sincere and ingenuous inquirers, I have my aim. They are such small quit-rents as I think myself in duty bound to pay, when I can, for the leisure and opportunities wherewith God has blessed me.

I am much pleased with the amiable character you give me of Mr. Bye. I shall be sure to spread it, wherever I conceive that it may be of service to him. It will not be long before I must return to Twickenham, to stay there a month or two, in the neighbourhood of the town. In the mean season I am here, in an agreeable situation, amidst plenty of books, printed and manuscripts, entertaining myself, and serving distant friends in a literary way. We have lately here lost an excellent man, who lived and died in that pleasurable kind of toil: I am just come from the hearing a fine panegyric of him from St. Mary's pulpit. Mr. Baker is the person I mean; as you would have imagined, without my naming him. He lived to a great age, but so lived as to make it necessary for those he leaves behind him, to think he died too soon.

I am, good Sir,  
Your much obliged humble Servant,  
DAN. WATERLAND.

N. B. Besides the foregoing letters, the papers transmitted from Mr. Loveday's Collection contain a long account by Dr. Waterland of a MS. of the Lives of the Saints in the Library of Magdalen College, Cambridge, with several extracts from it, in a letter to Mr. Hearne, dated Nov. 17, 1725: also a paper addressed to Mr. Baker, giving an account of the principal variations of the printed copy of Robert of Gloucester from the MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, with some Remarks on the Glossary<sup>s</sup>. There are, besides these, two letters to Dr. Waterland from Mr. Pownall, a gentleman of Lincoln, concerning some Saxon MSS. in the library belonging to Lincoln Cathedral. There is also the following paper, written by Dr. Waterland himself, concerning the different keeping of Easter-Sunday, in

<sup>s</sup> Probably these are the notes mentioned at the beginning of Letter XII.

the year 577, which, as a matter of curiosity, seems worthy of being preserved :

Anno 577.

Gold. N. 8.

Cycle S. 26.

Dom. Lett. C.

That year Easter-Sunday was thus differently held :

Hispani. Churches . . . March 21.

Gallic. . . . . Apr. 18.

Alexandrians . . . . . Apr. 25.

Quære, how and why ?

1. The Spanish Churches at that time took March the 21st for the equinoctial full moon, or fourteenth day : and their rule then being to reckon from the fourteenth moon, and that proving to be Sunday, they thereupon kept their Easter.

2. The French being two days sooner in their reckoning, made March the 19th the last full moon of the old year, and April the 3rd following, the first new, and consequently April 16th the first full moon, or fourteenth day. And they likewise then following the same rule of beginning at the sixteenth moon, now falling on April 18th, they thereupon kept their Easter.

3. The Alexandrians, following the same reckoning with the French, as to the new and full moons, looked upon April 18th as the first full moon, or fourteenth moon. But their rule being never to calculate Easter so soon as the fourteenth moon, (for fear of conforming too near to the Jews,) were obliged to put off their Easter to the Sunday following, namely, to Apr. 25. Which rule of theirs we follow at this day.

**DR. WATERLAND'S LETTERS**

**TO**

**THE REV. DR. ZACHARY GREY,  
BROWNE WILLIS, ESQ.**

**AND**

**THE REV. DR. WILLIAMS.**



**T**HE six following Letters were transcribed from the original manuscripts, which form a part of Mr. Cole's Collections deposited in the British Museum. They occur in vol. xxx. pp. 170, *et seq.* and in vol. xxxii. p. 225, of those Collections.

# DR. WATERLAND'S LETTERS

TO

THE REV. DR. GREY.

---

N<sup>o</sup>. I.

*To the Reverend Dr. Grey.*

*Windsor, Dec. 10th, 1725.*

DEAR SIR,

I THOUGHT sooner to have acknowledged your last kind letter ; but happening to write Mr. Chapman<sup>a</sup>, soon after I begged of him to make my compliments to you, and to give my answer in part. If Mr. Baker's friend succeeds so far as to get the Vice-Chancellor's hand, with the hands of some other Heads, he may be sure of mine, if wanted, to fill up the number. Please to present my most humble service to Mr. Baker.

Mr. Peck has written to me on the affair you mentioned. I will write about it to our President, (now at Cripplegate,) in order to have the sense of the Society upon it. I am for encouraging all *public works*: and I believe there will be no difficulty in the affair, provided there be no danger of giving offence to Mr. Pepys's relations<sup>b</sup>. For, since it was his own handy-work, perhaps they

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Cole, in a note subjoined to one of the following letters, says, "Dr. Waterland was uncle or cousin to my brother-in-law, Mr. John Chapman, formerly of Magdalene College, and afterwards at Moulton, in Lincolnshire."

<sup>b</sup> This probably relates to the collections Mr. Peck was making for his *Desiderata Curiosa*, the first volume of which appeared in 1732. Mr. Pepys had been President to the Royal Society, and Secretary to the Admiralty ; and bequeathed his library

may conceive, that we ought, in good manners at least, to consult them in it. Mr. Foulkes will write to you in a while, after he has well considered.

Mr. Peck is so kind as to send me a list of several books relating to the *Eucharist*. If you write to him, please to return my thanks, and tell him, that if it be not too much trouble to him, and to his friend, I should be glad to see two or three of them:—*The Christian's Manna*, 1613. *Lambert. Danæi. Isagoge*, 1583. *Beza Dialogi*, 1561. The rest I either have already, or doubt whether they would be of any use to me. I thank you for the use of those you were so kind as to send up: I find some *curiosities* amongst them.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate, humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

No. II.

To the Rev. Dr. Grey.

Windsor, Feb. 5th, 1734-5.

REV. SIR,

I THOUGHT myself highly obliged to *you* and *my other kind friends*, for the honour they were pleased to do me in a *late affair*, and heartily sorry that I was forced, in a manner, to make further trial of their good nature and friendship, *by declining the office*. I beg of you to believe, that as I received their *compliments* with all *possible respect*, so I accept of their generous *excusing me* with all *possible gratitude*<sup>c</sup>. And whenever I shall have the pleasure of meeting you, you and I perhaps may talk more of that matter.

(containing many rare and curious collections) to Magdalene College, Cambridge. (See Nicholls's *Liter. Anecd.* vol. i. p. 509. and vol. iv. p. 550.) It appears from this letter, that Dr. Waterland was scrupulous of supplying Mr. Peck with materials from Mr. Pepys's collections, without the

concurrence of the Royal Society and of Mr. Pepys's relations.

<sup>c</sup> This evidently refers to the intention of nominating Dr. Waterland Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. See his letter to Mr. Loveday, (No. II.) Jan. 23d, 1734-5, adverting to the same circumstance.

I thank you for acquainting me with what you are designing ; I am very glad that you think of reprinting that *excellent piece*. I have no thoughts of replying to *Barbeyrac's late insult*<sup>d</sup>; neither indeed have I yet seen it ; but Mr. Johnson of our College sent me up some account of the *manner and contents* of it ; by which, I apprehend, that he has scarce entered into the *main question*, or set himself (as he ought to have done) to defend the *charges* he had before made against Athenagoras, Clemens, &c. but has contented himself with *loose, roving talk*, such as any one may throw out, when he cannot make a *just reply*. Mr. Johnson is going to publish *De Officio Hominis et Civis*, in Latin, with a *short Preface and Notes*. He asked me, if I would have him take any notice of what concerned me ; and I sent him word, he might spend a page of his Preface that way, if he saw proper<sup>e</sup>. But if you will be so kind as to animadvert further in *your Preface*<sup>f</sup>, you will have a handsome occasion for so doing, and will have more room to spare for it ; and, I believe, you will find it little [more] than play to you, to deal with him on that subject.

If you think of sending up *papers* to me, it will be best to direct them to Mr. Warcupps' for me ; and he will convey them safe to me, either at Twickenham or at Windsor, as may happen. And if I am capable of observing any thing upon them that may be useful, and to the purpose, I shall readily do it ; only I shall

<sup>d</sup> Barbeyrac's severe attacks upon the morality of the Fathers, in a Preface to his French translation of Puffendorf, *de Jure Nat. et Gent.* and in his work entitled, *Traité de la Morale des Pères de l'Eglise*, had been justly censured by Dr. Waterland, in the 7th chapter of his *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*. Barbeyrac, in a Preface to a subsequent edition of Puffendorf, *De Officio Hominis et Civis*, in 1734, animadverted with great asperity on Dr. Waterland's observations. This is the *insult* here alluded to.

<sup>e</sup> The *Preface* to this work of Mr. Johnson's takes no notice of Barbeyrac's treatment of Waterland. The only reference to it occurs in a note, p. 12, in which he merely states the controversy which had passed between them, and closes the note with saying, "De

"meritis hujus controversiæ nil dicemus ; non nostri est tantas componere lites."

<sup>f</sup> Dr. Grey, it appears, adopted this suggestion. An offensive pamphlet had been published in 1722, entitled, *The Spirit of Ecclesiastics of all Sects and Ages, as to the Doctrines of Morality ; with a Preface, by the Author of the Independent Whig*. The work itself was nothing more than a translation of part of Barbeyrac's Preface to his French translation of Puffendorf. In answer to this, Dr. Grey published, in the same year, *The Spirit of Infidelity Detected* ; which tract he now, in 1735, reprinted, *with a Preface in Answer to Barbeyrac's Short Invective against Dr. Waterland, in his last French edition of Puffendorf, De Officio Hominis et Civis*.

be under a disadvantage at *Twickenham*, where I have no books to consult.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate and obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

P. S. I was told by Mr. Burton, that you was preparing a *second part* against Neal, which I hope is true. Neal and Chandler, I observe, are lashing the *Establishment* of our Church, through the sides of the *Papists*, in their *late sermons*. Chandler has slandered Athanasius without the least colour for it. I have been sorry that no one yet has undertaken a just *answer* to Sir Isaac Newton's 14th chapter, relating to the *Prophecies of Daniel*, in which he slyly abuses the Athanasians<sup>h</sup>; and Mr. Whiston, in his last about *Phlegon*, applies and enforces it. That *prophetic* way of managing this debate on the side of Arianism is a very silly one, and might be easily retorted. But besides that, what Sir Isaac has said, is, most of it, *false history*. I have scribbled the *margin* all the way; but I have so many other things to do, (and besides less able to bear close and intense study,) that I cannot, I believe, undertake it myself. I wish somebody else would.

N<sup>o</sup>. III.

*From Mr. Warcupps [April] 27th, 1735.*

*To the Reverend Dr. Grey.*

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE found time to read over your papers, with great satisfaction, and have returned them to Mr. Clarke. I have taken the freedom you gave me, to make a few alterations, and one addition of four or five lines. But, I presume, the bookseller is to send me the sheets from the press, with the copy, for

<sup>g</sup> Dr. Madox (afterwards Bishop of Worcester) had published an *Examination of Neal's first volume of the History of the Puritans*, in the year 1733, for which Dr. Grey had contributed materials. Dr. Grey published an *Examination of Neal's second volume*, in 1736; of the *third volume*, in 1737; and of the *fourth volume*, in 1739.

<sup>h</sup> Sir Isaac Newton, in the chapter here referred to, frequently insinuates,

that Athanasius gave encouragement to a superstitious reverence for the relics of saints, and to the belief of miracles having been wrought by the use of them, and even to the invocation of saints. He also implicates Chryso-stom, Basil, and the two Gregorys, in these charges. The copy of this work of Sir Isaac Newton's, containing Dr. Waterland's *marginal* observations, has not been discovered.

your correction and last hand: and therefore, if any thing I have done suits not with your thoughts and design, (as I may be guilty of oversights, especially while writing in haste,) be pleased to do yourself justice, and regard not ceremony.

I perceive, you have not made inquiry after Barbeyrac's new edition, if there be any such; but what I have added in one place is to cover that omission, and to prevent complaint, as well as I could think of doing it. But still, if you could find that there was a new edition, and could procure it, it would be worth the while; and then some things of yours and mine in these papers might be a little altered. I have not had time to inquire among booksellers. Might you not send yours about the town, to make proper inquiries among the French and Dutch booksellers?

What you have added out of Dailé is very proper. As to Le Clerc's *Ars Critica*, pray ask Mr. Foulkes for the last edition of his critical works, in smaller octavo. I think, I borrowed it of him; or else of Mr. Johnson. And his reply to Mr. Baker is in an Appendix to one of the volumes; to that volume, I believe, which contains the *Ars Critica*. So far as I remember, it is very near the end, either in the last page or a page or two higher. I hope to be at Cambridge in the beginning of June, and then (God willing) we may have leisure to talk over all matters. I return to Twickenham to-morrow. I do not think I shall have health and leisure to draw up an answer to Sir Isaac. I want to be thrown out for two or three months, to recover my constitution. Scarborough, or the Bath, I believe, would do it. My case now is, that if I write above three or four hours in a day, I am sure to disable my self from doing any thing the day following. A great pain in my neck comes next morning, and disorders me the whole next day, if not longer. So I am forced to forbear, or to work only at short intervals. You will be very able to deal with Sir Isaac, and I shall be glad to leave him in such good hands. He is a man of such note, and his authority so justly celebrated in some things, that his name is of great weight in other matters, where he was plainly out of his element, and knew little of what he was talking about. Besides his countenancing Arianism in the piece referred to, he has given too much encouragement to Popery by his large concessions, such as our best Protestant writers, all the time of K. James, as well as before, would never make. Dr. Young, in his two late volumes, has justly taken notice of Sir Isaac, and

condemned him for conceding too far in that article. You may consult his second volume at leisure. The place will easily be found by the Index.

I am, dear Sir,  
Your most affectionate humble Servant,  
DAN. WATERLAND.

Services of all here wait upon you and the ladies.

---

Nº. IV.

Windsor, March 17th, 1735-6.

DEAR SIR,

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for your *two very seasonable, very useful pieces*<sup>1</sup>; which I have received, and have read over with much pleasure; and which I speak of in such terms as they deserve, to as many of my acquaintance as I happen to meet with.

I have likewise been reading *your Tutor's Second Part*<sup>k</sup>: for so you think it an honour to yourself to call him: and I think the *honour is mutual and reciprocal* between *tutor and pupil*. Will you be so good as to present my humble service and thanks to *Dr. Warren*, when you see him, for his kind *present to me*, and for the *great service* he has done, and is still doing, to *our common Christianity*. He has *girded the great man* closer than any one before; and has unravelled both his *sophistry* and *prevarication* with the utmost acuteness. But I am more particularly pleased with the critical *acumen* shewn in rescuing 1 Cor. xi. 21. from the false and odious construction given of it by the *adversary*, and too easily admitted by some *uncautious friends*. I am glad that he intends to favour us with a *Third Part*: and

<sup>1</sup> Probably, his answer to Barbeyrac, entitled, *The Spirit of Infidelity Detected*, 1735, and another, entitled, *An Examination of the 14th chapter of Sir Isaac Newton's Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, in which that Author's Notice of the Rise and Causes of Saint-Worship in the Christian Churches is carefully considered and disproved*, 1736, which appears to have been written in consequence of Dr. Waterland's suggestion in the preceding letter.

<sup>k</sup> Dr. Richard Warren, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, Rector of Cavendish in Suffolk, and afterwards Archdeacon of Suffolk. He published an *Answer to Houdley's Plain Account of the Sacrament*, in *Three Parts*, to which was afterwards added an *Appendix*, 8vo. 1736 and 1737. The passage which Dr. Waterland here particularly commends, on 1 Cor. xi. 21. occurs in part ii. pages 11—50.

the longer he makes it, the more obliging to his readers. I saw a kind of *squib*, which some *trifler* had thrown out upon his *First Part*. His best *answer* to it, in my mind, will be *contempt*, and going on with his work. None but *low declaimers* will engage on the *other side*: and if any *man of parts* should engage, he will not be able to write sense upon it. I am persuaded *the principal man* will write no more on that argument, for fear of exposing himself further. You judge rightly of the author of *Christian Exceptions*. I know it is our friend Wheatly's<sup>1</sup>; and it is well received, and is of good use for detecting the *Socinianism of Plain Account*; and for opening the eyes of some ignorant admirers.

It is a great pleasure to me, to find that there is no necessity of my writing at all; or at least, that I may reasonably take what time I please for it. I have drawn out a *rough sketch* of what I intended in a general way, taking in the whole compass of the subject, and discussing such points as fell in my way, either against *Papists*, or *Lutherans*, or *others*; but particularly *Socinians*. I shall take due time to consider whether it may be proper to publish at all, or what improvements to make, if I do. Mr. Peck has been so kind as to send me *several curious pieces*, of which I shall make use, in due place. I hope our College has obliged him in the *last request* he made, and which I had the pleasure of recommending to their consideration, desiring them to acquaint you with the result. Mr. Foulkes sent me word that he believed the affair would meet with no difficulty.

When you see your neighbour the Vice-Chancellor, will you please to present my humble service to him, and tell him, that I am moving to Twickenham (God willing) on Friday next, and shall be *within call*, if the *University* sends up *their petition*, with respect to a *bill depending*<sup>m</sup>. We have had (*God be*

<sup>1</sup> This tract of Wheatly's was published, *anonymously*, in 1736. It is a short piece, and goes no further into the subject, than to shew how strikingly Hoadley's sentiments coincide with the old Socinian writers, and differ from our Church. It is entitled, *Christian Exceptions to the Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, with a Method proposed for coming at the*

*true Apostolical Sense of that holy Sacrament.*

<sup>m</sup> The bill here alluded to was the *Mortmain Act*. It was brought in by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, on March the 5th. The Cambridge petition against it was presented on the 25th of the same month; and the Oxford petition on the day following. Petitions were also presented from many other corporate



thanked) all desirable success in the *Test affair*: which I look upon as the *Church's triumph*, not merely over *Dissenters as such*, but over a more dangerous set of men, made up of *unbelievers* and *misbelievers*. That threatening storm is happily blown over: as to the *other*, I am not yet fully apprised of the nature of it. I was told by some persons yesterday, that the design was only to prevent *death-bed alienations*, or *donations*, and that all would be left at liberty to dispose of their *estates* as they should see fit, provided it were but done while there was *mens sana in corpore sano*. I am afraid, this news is too good to be true, or has something artful in it, contrived for a blind, to make us *careless* and *negligent*, till it be too late to interpose. But whether a *petition* be a proper way of interposing, I am much in doubt. I should think it sufficient to send up a *letter of thanks* to Mr. Townshend, and to desire him, if need be, to confer with the *Oxford Members* about moving for a saving clause in behalf of the *Universities*; as has been usual in such cases. This may serve, at least, for the present; till we can dive a little deeper into the secret of affairs, and know certainly what is intended.

Pray, my humble service to the good Master of Jesus<sup>n</sup>, when you see him; and if you think his modesty will not be offended, thank him for his *very acute* and *learned remark* upon the *old Knight's blunder*. I never supposed that Sir Isaac was any *great Divine*, or *ecclesiastical historian*. But that he should be caught tripping in *calculation*, and failing in *his own art*, was

bodies and charitable institutions. But, after much debate, the bill was carried through the Commons on the 15th of April. In the House of Lords it was also warmly contested, but passed into a law on the 13th of May. See Chandler's *Hist. of this Session, Introduction*, pp. 45—51.

The motion in the House of Commons respecting the Test Act, to which Dr. Waterland here also adverts, was warmly debated and rejected, on the 12th of March.

<sup>n</sup> Dr. Charles Ashton, who was chosen Master in 1701, and died in 1752, aged 87, having been Master above fifty years; a man of great learning, particularly in Chronology and Ecclesiastical Antiquities; but

who never published any thing in his own name, though he assisted his friends in many learned works. He had also been chaplain to Bishop Patrick. See Nicholls's *Liter. Anecd.* vol. iv. pp. 226, 227, and vol. ix. p. 766. His detection, here alluded to, of Sir Isaac Newton's mistake, will be found in Dr. Grey's tract before mentioned, on Sir Isaac Newton's *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel*, p. 17, where Dr. Grey states that a learned Divine, whose name he was not at liberty to mention, had communicated to him the observations he there recites, in answer to a passage in Sir Isaac's *eleventh* chapter, relative to the time of celebrating the festival of *Corpus Christi*.

what we would not have expected: and it ought to make his friends blush for exposing his *crude performance*.

*My wife* joins in service to the good ladies, with,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

---

No. V.

To Browne Willis, Esq. at Whaddon Hall, near Fenny  
Stratford, Buckinghamshire.

Sept. 14th, 1727.

DEAR SIR,

I CAN NOW acquaint you that we have passed an order in our College for ten pounds°. You may draw upon me for half: the other half you will be so good as to give us credit for till next year. And now, Sir, I rejoice in the expectation of the honour of having our *College arms* to shine over the altar.

The *picture* you sent us is commended by all that see it; but I have not yet had the favour of the gentleman's company whom you mentioned to me in yours. Please to present the service and thanks of our Society to good Mr. Cartwright, when you see him, and tell him whenever he comes to Cambridge, we shall be heartily glad personally to know and to be known to the gentleman that has so generously obliged *Buckingham College*. I forgot to thank you for your *History of the Duke*, wherein you have shewn the *antiquary*, and *nearly united* our *two founders*.

Dr. Grey is busy this time of the *fair*: but I hope to see him in a little time; and shall be ready to consult with him (if any thing can [be] done) about *ways* and *means*.

I am, good Sir,

Your obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Your good countrywoman sends service.

° Probably a subscription to Mr. Willis's *Survey of the Cathedrals*, the first volume of which was published in 1727.

## No. VI.

To the Rev. Dr. Williams, President of St. John's  
College, Cambridge.

Windsor, Feb. 15, 1739-40.

DEAR SIR,

I AM ashamed to come so late with my acknowledgments due for your kind letter, and for the *copy* of the *University's compliments to Lord Townshend*; whereby they have done justice to their *royal and noble benefactors*, as well as *honour to themselves*. My excuse for my tardiness may appear a little *ill natured*; because I am going to charge you with part of the blame. You had put me upon considering Justification, which was sending me into a *wood*, to wander up and down, and lose myself; and you could not well expect to hear any *news* of me, till I had found a *way out*; as, at length, I believe, I have<sup>p</sup>. But I am not yet so confident of my *acquaintedness* with all the *windings* and *turnings*, as to undertake to *conduct others* safely through them: it is enough for once, if I have but escaped *myself*.....

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and affectionate humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

P. S. A learned foreigner (Mr. Lemker, of Lunenburg) sent to me to know, whether any such pamphlet as *Some Observations addressed to the Author of the Letter to Dr. W. &c.* had ever appeared. It seems he had taken hints of such a piece from some foreign Journals, and some persons of Leipsick had reproached him, as referring to a *piece* which never was in *being*; and it gave him uneasiness. I compassionated his case, and sent him an *exact list* of all that had been published in that *fray*, *by or against* the *letter-writer*. Only, I would not acquaint the gentleman with the *names* of the *several authors*, having no leave; and besides, not knowing what use might be made of it. Mr. Lemker had translated into the *German language* De Lany's *Revelation examined with Candour*, in which there is a small *digression*<sup>q</sup> about the *letter-writer*: so came Mr. Lemker to give

<sup>p</sup> The tract upon Justification was not, however, published till after his death, in December following.

<sup>q</sup> The passage occurs in vol. i. pp.

64—68. of Dr. Delany's work, where he defends Dr. Waterland against Dr. Middleton, respecting the literal interpretation of the Fall.

some account, by way of note, of what had been written, on the same side with De Lany, as far as he could learn from the *foreign prints*.

---

THE following letter was obligingly communicated to the editor by the present Bishop of Chester, together with another found among the papers of his father, the late Bishop of Carlisle, but which, relating chiefly to some personal concerns in the University, is not here inserted.

---

To the Reverend Mr. Law, Fellow of Christ's College, in Cambridge.

Windsor, July 19, 1732.

GOOD SIR,

I HAD the pleasure to receive your kind present some time ago<sup>r</sup>; but I deferred my acknowledgments, because I was in hopes to find two or three days of cool leisure, when I might read some parts over with a proper attention and care, such as you had employed in the writing. But I have not such recess here, as at Magdalen College; my time and my thoughts are much broken, with great variety of calls and interruptions. I had a mind to have gone over Archbishop King's once again carefully, as well as your notes upon him. But in truth I could not find leisure for more than barely running over the notes, and particularly considering the additional parts. I am first to thank you for the honour you have been pleased to do me in the dedication, and next for the service you have done the public by your accurate inquiries into several very useful and important, as well as curious subjects. The Archbishop's Sermon upon the Fall, which you have now added, appears to me a very rational and solid discourse, and seasonable also at this time: your own additional compositions I have read with a great deal of pleasure. What you have, pp. 80, 81, in answer to Mr. J.<sup>s</sup> is perfectly

<sup>r</sup> The second edition of Mr. Law's translation of Archbishop King's *Essay on the Origin of Evil*, which Mr. Law dedicated to Waterland, and to which was added Archbishop King's

*Sermon on the Fall.*

▪ A tract by the Rev. John Jackson, entitled, *Calumny no Conviction, or a Vindication of the Plea for Human Reason.*

clear and right. You wave the unravelling his pretended demonstrations of the Unity: but I am willing to hope that you have, or will have, a particular answer to them ready drawn up, to be thrown out afterwards, as occasion may offer. They are little more than trifling equivocations upon the word Necessity: but yet common readers may be imposed upon by such things. You have effectually made good your point against your namesake<sup>t</sup>, p. 94, &c. and in the handsomest manner. I hope he will learn to understand a question, before he again takes upon him to censure: he was too precipitate, but intended well. I am hugely pleased with your Postscript. You stand upon firm ground, where it will be impossible for the adverse party to attack you with any success. You will blow them off like a feather, come they ever so many of them: that I perceive plainly: for they have indeed nothing to produce, but what to a person of your discernment will soon appear to be lighter than vanity. You have very softly intimated to them, how it is with them. If they have any sense in them, they will be quiet for the future. But if they are as wrongheaded in point of prudence as well as in point of speculation, they must go on, to be exposed thoroughly: and there is no help for them.

Upon reading your account of moral good and evil, (p. 50,) and some hints dropped (p. 458) about God's *graciously ordaining* that this world should appear good and desirable to us; a few out-of-the-way thoughts came across my mind; which, because I see I have blank paper enough left, I shall here communicate, for you to muse upon at leisure.

I consider that moral goodness or moral virtue in men is not merely choosing or willing natural good, but choosing it *without view to present rewards*. For please to observe how the case stands. The greatest natural good of all is so provided for by God himself, by the strong *appetites* he has implanted in men, or the *necessities* he has laid them under, that there is no moral goodness, no virtue at all in choosing it. The greatest natural good I call what concerns the *being* of the moral world; and the second greatest what concerns their *well-being*. Now God has taken care to preserve the world in being, to continue both the species and the individual; 1, by implanting a very strong love of life in every man; 2, by the appetites of hunger and thirst;

<sup>t</sup> Mr. Law's *Case of Reason*.

3, by warm desires for propagating the species; 4, by the *στοργή* of parents towards their offspring; 5, by necessitating men to unite in society and mutual offices of trade, traffick, &c. Upon these five articles depends the very being of mankind: and God would not trust such weighty things as these to the weak reason of man, but has provided for them by never-failing appetites and necessities; insomuch that there is no virtue in choosing these actions, but in regulating or moderating them. There is no moral goodness in eating and drinking, though a natural good, necessary to keep up life; no moral goodness in propagating the species, though that also must come under the notion of choosing natural good; no moral goodness in pursuing the *στοργή* before mentioned, nor in carrying on any trade for the service of the world; though without these things the world could not subsist. Moral goodness, therefore, lies not in choosing the greatest natural good, but in choosing any natural good when not impelled to it by *necessity*, nor moved by *present* pleasure or reward. Eating and drinking is not virtue, because we do it to satisfy hunger and thirst, and to please the appetite: but the virtue is in regulating and moderating the appetite, that that very appetite which is necessary for the *being* of the world, may not be carried to such an excess as to disturb its *well-being*. The like may be said of the rest.

Moral goodness, therefore, is choosing natural good, without fee or reward for the present. But because it would be irrational for a dependent being to choose such natural good for no reward at all, therefore to complete the notion of moral goodness, in a dependent being, we must take in the consideration of future rewards: and so, the full definition of moral good, will be, the willing or choosing actions naturally good for the world, without view to any reward here, but with a view to future recompense only. So much for the notion of *moral goodness* in a dependent being. But if you ask what it is in a being independent; it is choosing actions naturally good without view to self-interest at all, present or future, *ex mero motu*.

The principles I have here mentioned, may, I think, be pursued a great deal further, in several useful corollaries, or other superstructure: but I shall not forestall your own thoughts. Only pardon me for offering them in this plain and immethodical dress, just as they occurred. I had no time to throw them into neater form, and it is not necessary in writing to a person that

made things before confused become clear. If I live to return to Cambridge, and to meet you there, we may then more thoroughly discuss points of this nature. In the mean while, if it may lie in my power to do you any service with a great man, I shall be heartily glad to do it: and I believe it will not be long before I shall see him. In ten days time, or thereabout, you may expect a trifle of mine now in the press<sup>u</sup>.

I am, good Sir,

Your affectionate Friend and faithful humble Servant,  
DAN. WATERLAND.

<sup>u</sup> Probably, his *second* Charge on Infidelity, which was delivered and published in this year.

**ADDITIONAL NOTES**

**BY**

**DR. WATERLAND**

**ON**

**SOME OF HIS OWN WRITINGS.**



THE following Additional Notes on Dr. Waterland's *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity* were taken from a copy of that work lately purchased by the editor from a bookseller in London, and which appears to have been in the possession of the author's friend, Dr. Joseph Clarke : in whose handwriting, at the end of the book, is the following memorandum :—" This was Dr. Waterland's book, and all the above Remarks, and those in the book, are written in his own hand. Jos. Clarke, D.D."—The notes consist of three pages prefixed to the book, three pages at the end of it, and several marginal observations according to the references here subjoined.

The Additional Notes on *Regeneration Stated and Explained*, and on the *Sixth and Seventh Charges*, are taken from copies of those works now in possession of the Rev. Archdeacon Pott, by whom they were obligingly offered for the use of this edition of the author's Works. They also belonged to Dr. Joseph Clarke, who has prefixed to the volume in which they are contained the following memorandum :—" N.B. The manuscript notes in the margin of this book are written by Dr. Waterland in his own hand. Jos. Clarke, D.D."

# NOTES

ON

## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

[Vol. iii. of the present edition, p. 389.]

---

### PREFIXED TO THE TITLE-PAGE.

#### *Motives of belief among the Romanists.*

- “ 1. **SOME** believe it, because their forefathers did so, and they were good people.
2. Some, because they were christened, and brought up in it.
3. Some, because many learned and religious men are of it.
4. Some, because it is the religion of their country, where all other religions are persecuted and proscribed.
5. Some, because Protestants cannot show a perpetual succession of professors of all their doctrines.
6. Some, because the service of their Church is more stately, and pompous, and magnificent.
7. Some, because they find comfort in it.
8. Some, because that religion is further spread, and hath more professors of it, than the religion of Protestants.
9. Some, because the priests compass sea and land to gain proselytes to it.
10. An infinite number, by chance, and they know not why, but only because they are *sure* they are in the right.

“ This which I say is a most certain experimented truth : and if you will deal ingenuously, you will not deny it. And, without question, he that builds his faith upon our *English translation* goes upon a more prudent ground than any of these can with reason be pretended to be. What then can you allege, but that with you, rather than with us, *truth*

and *faith* and *salvation*, and *all*, rely upon fallible and uncertain grounds?" *Chillingworth*, c. 2. s. 72. p. 71. [vol. i. p. 209. Oxford edit. 1837.]

"If we consider the strange power that education and prejudices instilled by it have even over excellent understandings, we may well imagine, that many truths which in themselves are revealed *plainly* enough, are yet to such or such a man, prepossessed with contrary opinions, not revealed *plainly*. Neither doubt I but God, who knows whereof we are made, and what passions we are subject unto, will compassionate such infirmities, and not enter into judgment with us for those things, which, all things considered, were *unavoidable*." *Ibid.* c. 3. s. 20. p. 122. [vol. i. p. 386. Oxford edit.]

"If the cause of it be some voluntary and avoidable fault, the error is itself *sinful*, and consequently in its own nature *damnable*: as if, by *negligence* in seeking the truth, by *unwillingness* to find it, by *pride*, by *obstinacy*, by desiring *that* religion should be true which suits best with my *ends*, by *fear* of men's ill opinion, or any other *worldly fear*, or any other *worldly hope*, I betray myself into any error contrary to any *divine* revealed *truth*, *that* error may be justly styled a *sin*, and consequently of itself to such a one *damnable*." *Ibid.* c. 3. s. 52. p. 141. [vol. i. p. 364. Oxford edit.]

"But if I be guilty of none of these faults, but be *desirous* to know the truth, and *diligent* in seeking it, and advise not at all with *flesh* and *blood* about the choice of my opinions, but only with *God*, and that *reason* that he hath given me; if I be thus qualified, and yet through *human infirmity* fall into error, that error cannot be *damnable*." *Ibid.* [p. 365.]

"Since the *conservation* of such things as are united, is the end of *union*, it is evident that we are not to entertain any union but only with them who may help forward that design, and so far only as they may help it forward. If, therefore, there be any who, under colour of the blessed name of Christ, *subvert* his *doctrine*, annihilate his *authority*, and our *salvation*; it is so far from being our duty to *unite* ourselves to them, that on the contrary we are obliged to *part* from them: because to 'unite with *them* were in effect to disunite from *Christ* and from his *body*, and instead of coming to *salvation*, to fall into eternal *ruin*—Both the *discipline* of Jesus Christ, and the *laws* of civil societies, and even those of *nature* itself, permit us to avoid the communion of such, as, under any pretence, name, or colour whatsoever, go about to destroy and ruin Christianity." Daillé's *Apology for the reformed Churches*, p. 4. 5. French edition: A. D. 1633. English edit. 1653.

"Salmeron<sup>a</sup>, Costerus<sup>b</sup>, Acosta<sup>c</sup>, are so ingenuous as to confess expressly, that a life *apparently* good and honest is not proper to any

<sup>a</sup> In Epist. Pauli de fals. sign. Eccles. Disp. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Costeri Enchirid. Controv. c. 2. p. 101.

<sup>c</sup> Acosta de temp. noviss. l. 2. c. 20.

one sect, but common to *Jews, Turks, and heretics*. And St. Chrysostom<sup>d</sup> is as plain and large to my purpose as any of them. It is too plain, that arguing from the pretended holiness of men's lives to the goodness of their cause or opinion, is a paralogism which hath advanced *Arianism, Pelagianism*, and other heresies of old; *Mahometanism, Familism, and Anabaptism* of late; and unless God of his infinite mercy prevent, may ruin Christendom now." Thomas Smith, *Christ. Coll. Cambr.* Aug. 2, 1658, in his Preface to Daillé's *Apology*, p. 31. Conf. Herbert *de Causis Error.* p. 29. et *Append.* n. 7. *Præcepta ad Hæredes et Nepotes in Bibliothec. Montgomer.* A. D. 1643.

## TITLE-PAGE.

In necessariis, unitas :

In non-necessariis, libertas :

In omnibus, prudentia et charitas.

*Witsius ap. Turretin. de Fund.* p. 45.

"Ita enim reputavi semper cum animo meo, confutari errorem, non confodi errantem, oportere; disputationes atramento consignandos, non sanguine; nec dum divina tractantur, humanitatem exuendam." *Frid. Spanh.* tom. ii. p. 1010.

## INTRODUCTION.

P. 399. note i. *Witsius in Symbol. Apostol.* pp. 11, 12, &c. *Remarks on Clarke's Expos. of the Catechism*, pp. 30, 31. *Stillingfleet, Rat. Account*, part i. c. 2. p. 52.

*Ibid.* l. 32. "A doctrine may be said to be necessary," &c.] *Vid. Witsius in Symb. Apostol.* p. 10.

P. 400. l. 7. "fundamental doctrines."] *Vid. Frid. Spanheim, de Fundamentalibus*, *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 1311, &c. *Alphons. Turretin, de Fundamentalibus*, c. 5. p. 21. *Sherlock's Vindicat.* p. 250. *Stillingfleet, Rat. Account*, part i. ch. 4. *Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Expos. of the Catechism*, p. 30.

## CHAPTER I.

P. 406. note a. Or in *Buddeus, Miscellan. Sacr.* tom. iii. p. 256, &c. or in *Trapp's Preservative*, p. 52, &c.

*Ibid.* l. 22. "our faith and our ideas."] "I am bound to believe the truth of many texts of scripture, the sense whereof is to me obscure; and the truth of many articles of faith, the manner whereof is obscure, and to human understanding incomprehensible. But then it is to be observed, that not the sense of such texts, nor the manner of these things, is what I am bound to believe, but the truth of them." *Chillingworth*, p. 244.

P. 415. l. 5. "rather than submit our wisdom to the wisdom of

<sup>d</sup> Chrysost. in *Matt.* iii. *Hom.* 4.

"God.]" "Quia autem quicquid notitiæ est de pluribus personis in una divina essentia, unice a divinarum scripturarum revelatione hau-  
ritur, ideo ei doctrinæ a Christianis hominibus febriculosa ratiocinia  
opponi non debent." Puffendorf. *de Consens. et Dissens. Protestantium*,  
s. 39. p. 140.

## CHAPTER II.

P. 422. note *m*. Compare *Rom.* v. 8. viii. 32.

P. 423. note *p*. Compare Bishop Pearson, *Art.* ii. p. 144.\* "If the sending of Christ into the world were the highest act of the love of God which could be expressed; if we be obliged unto a return of thankfulness someway *correspondent* to such *infinite* love; if such a return can never be made without a true *sense* of that infinity, and a sense of that *infinity* of love cannot consist without an apprehension of an *infinite dignity* of nature in the person sent; then it is absolutely necessary to believe that Christ is so the *only-begotten Son* of the Father, as to be of the *same substance* with him, of glory equal, of majesty co-eternal."

P. 425. note *u*. Compare Pearson *on the Creed*, *Art.* ii. p. 142. [p. 254. 8<sup>o</sup>. edit.]

P. 426. note *y*. And Wolfius: conf. Ignat. *ad Ephes.* c. 1. Tertullian. *ad Uxor.* l. i. c. 9.

*Ibid.* l. 14. "it was the Lord of glory that was crucified.]" *Add*, it is the *blood* of the *Son of God* which cleanseth us, being *offered up* through the *eternal Spirit*, Heb. ix. 14, the *divine* nature of the Person so offering.

*Ibid.* note *a*. 1 John i. 7.

P. 427. l. 4. "is Jehovah]" *Add*, as well as man:

*Ibid.* l. 4. "And these two considerations taken together.]" *Add*, (that the person sacrificed was God as well as man.)

P. 431. l. 26. "the atonement made for sins.]" "The belief or denial of the atonement of Christ's death makes a *specific* change in religion: a religion *with* a *sacrifice*, and a religion *without* a *sacrifice* differ in the whole kind." Sherlock, *Vindicat.* p. 292.

P. 432. l. 8. "for the edification of the Church.]" *Add*, were the gifts of the Spirit;

*Ibid.* l. 13. "Gospel-notion]" *Add*, of them.

*Ibid.* last line, *instead of*, "the two creatures superadded to the "Creator will appear but as ciphers that add nothing to the sum," *read*, the two creatures so joined to the Creator will appear not only improperly, but insignificantly superadded.

P. 433. l. 11. "retaining still the name of Christianity, but giving "up the main things.]" "Ad priorem classem pertinet articulus de sacrosancta Trinitate, seu quod in una divina essentia tres Personæ

\* Vol. i. p. 259, of the 8vo. edition. Oxford 1833.

existant.—Ad novi fœderis naturam intelligendam usque adeo necessaria fuit facta ejus cognitio, ut citra hanc istud plane subsistere nequeat. Cum enim Salvator *verus Deus* a sacris Scripturis pronuncietur, et vero Deus cum Salvatore fœdus reconciliando sibi genere humano iniverit; necessum est, plures una personas dari, quibus et nomen et res, seu essentia veræ Deitatis competat.” Puffendorf. *de Consensu et Dissensu Protestantium*, s. 39. p. 140.

P. 435. note c. “The understanding is not only made up of *dry* light; but it receives an infusion from the will and affections: and that begets such sciences as the heart desireth: for a man soonest believes that which he would have to be true. Wherefore he rejects *difficult* truths, through impatience in inquiring; and *sober* truths, because they restrain his hope, [or desire;] and the *deeper* natural truths, by reason of *superstition*; and the light of *experiments*, by reason of *arrogance* and *pride*, lest the mind should seem to be conversant in *mean* and transitory things; and *paradoxes* out of respect to the opinion of the *vulgar*. In sum, the *will* seasons and infects the mind by innumerable ways, and by such as are sometimes not at all perceived.” Bacon, *Nov. Organ.* l. 1. Aph. 42. *Remains*, p. 14.

Ibid. note d. Comp. Trapp's *Preservative*, 152. “Grotius fidem credit partem esse obedientiæ Deo debitæ, propterea aptam esse ad producendum obedientiæ quod restat, primum in *proposito*, deinde etiam in operibus ipsis, ubi operandi tempus est et occasio.” Grot. *Rivetian. Apologet. Discuss.* p. 729.

P. 436. l. 16. “it appears to be strictly practical, and highly important.” “In hoc quoque articulo de tribus personis in una divina essentia residet fundamentum *genuinæ* religionis *Christianæ*; quo sub-ruto, et hæc collabitur, et nil remanet nisi accurata quædam *philosophia moralis*. Si enim in divina essentia non sunt plures una personæ, non est *Salvator*, non est *redemptio*, non *fides*, non *justificatio*.” Puffendorf. *de Consens. et Dissens. Protest.* s. 52. p. 174.

Ibid. l. 21. “the doctrine of the Trinity is *practical* enough to be a “*fundamental* article of Christianity.” “Tota theologia nostra *practica* est, non *speculativa*, si *finem*, *subjectum*, et *media* spectes. Tit. i. 1, 2. Dubium non est, quin illa Theologiæ pars quæ de *mysteriis* agit, (præcipua sane) in *seriis* pœnitentiæ, fidei, obedientiæ ac invocationis *exercitiis* magnum et insignem usum præbeat.” Buddeus, *Misc. Sacr.* t. iii. p. 259.

P. 437. l. 22. “that fatal dispute between the Greek and Latin “Church about the *Filioque*.” “Parum etiam interesse, sive dicatur Spiritus Sanctus procedere a *Patre et Filio*, sive, fatentibus Græcis, a *Patre et Filium*, modo de re constet, et statuatur spiratio *una, non duplex*, tanquam ab uno, non duobus principiis. Hinc, non fuisse

quod tantopere stomacharentur in *Latinos Græci* ob additam vocem *Filioque* Symbolo Cpolitano, declarationis ergo; quæ et duraturum schisma, et myriades voluminum peperit." *Frid. Spanheim*. tom. iii. p. 1225.

P. 438. note i. "De phrasibus nonnullis quæ sunt in Symbolis, et non sunt in Scripturis sacris, sic habe.

"Eæ nihil addunt nisi id quo sublato tollitur Hoc quod est expresse in Scriptura sacra. Ex. gr. Symbolum Nicænum dicit Christum esse *δμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ*, et jure; alioqui enim aut non esset verus Deus, aut essent plures Dii, cujus utriusque contrarium *expresse* habetur in Scriptura sacra, in qua continetur fides primorum Christianorum." Roger. Boyle, *Summ. Theol. Christian.* p. 202.

### CHAPTER III.

P. 443. l. 5. "merely renouncing, or refusing communion with some "persons, may sometimes not amount to any judicial censure at all."] Such is the case, when the inferior Clergy or laity renounce communion with an heretical Bishop, separate from him: a thing allowed by the ancient Canons, and countenanced by primitive practice. Cyprian. *Epist.* 68. p. 288. Iren. l. iv. c. 44. *Concil. Constantinopolit. Generale.* item *Ephesin.* vide Potter, *Ch. Gov.* c. 4. p. 182. conf. Sherlock, *Defence of Stillingfleet*, p. 218.

P. 444. note y. Conf. Hoornbeeck. *Socin. Confut.* t. i. c. 9. p. 205.

P. 445. l. 19. "they could be very smart and severe in their censures."] Vide Hoornbeeck. *Socin. Confut.* t. i. c. 9. p. 205, &c.

P. 447. l. 13. "with more wiles and artifices, than became plain "honest men."] Vide Hoornbeeck. *Socin. Confut.* tom. i. l. 1. c. 9. p. 221—224.

Ibid. l. 18. "it is, in effect, denying the veracity of God, or the inspiration of scripture."] Vid. Frid. Spanheim. *de Fundamentalibus*, disp. vi. s. 6. Opp. tom. iii. p. 1309. Sherlock's *Vindication*, p. 314.

P. 451. note k. Gardiner, *Fidei Delineatio*, p. 183. compare Wall, *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, part ii. c. 2. s. 9. 14. p. 275, 279.

P. 453. note o. Browne's *Animadversions*, p. 21, 22.

Ibid. l. 23. "but yet essence of essence (ever since that term came "in) was always Catholic doctrine, as God of God."] Vid. Augustin. *de Trin.* p. 855, 856, 994. Epiphan. p. 351. Greg. Nyse. *contr. Eunom.* l. ii. p. 84. Hilar. *de Trin.* Athanas. *Orat.* 4. Anselm. Fulgent. vide Petav. p. 351.

P. 454. note s. Conf. Hoornbeeck, tom. ii. l. 1. c. 1. p. 2, 3.

P. 455. note x. Frid. Spanheim. Opp. tom. iii. p. 1210.

Ibid. l. 29. "What stronger or more effectual method could have "been devised to proclaim the necessity and high importance of this

"great article?"] "Sacramentum initiationis, quo Christiani in numerum civium regni Christi referuntur, diserte in nomine *Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*, administrandum præscribitur.—Atque id ipsum etiam *necessitatem credendi* hunc articulum innuit, et quod iste velut *fundamentum* religioni Christianæ substernatur, quo negato istæc tota corruat." Puffendorf. *de Consens. et Dissens. Protestantium*, s. 39. p. 142.

P. 456. l. 8. "the doctrine of the Trinity—a fundamental doctrine of "the Gospel, diffusing itself through the whole of our religion," &c.] "Qui Trinitatem negat, hoc ipso quicquid mysteriosum ac velut augustum et venerabile in religione Christiana est, evacuat; simul primariam personam fœderis, cui nostra salus innitur, rejicit, eoque totum fœdus subvertit." Puffendorf. *de Consens. et Dissens. Protestant.* s. 39. p. 143.

## CHAPTER IV.

P. 457. l. 29. "a common weakness incident to mankind, having "men's persons in admiration."] See *Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety*, c. 16. p. 370, &c.

P. 458. l. 9. "the milder sense appears most probable."] "*Anathema sit*, inquit: id est, separatus, segregatus, exclusus; ne unius ovis dirum contagium innoxium gregem Christi venenata permixtione contaminet.—Anathematizare eos qui adnuntiant aliquod præterquam quod semel acceptum est, nunquam non oportuit, nunquam non oportet, nunquam non oportebit." *Vincent. Lirin.* c. 14. p. 288. edit. Brem.

P. 459. l. 18. "if he is puffed up," &c.] Some Latin copies read, *inflatus est autem*. See Mill in loc.

P. 460. l. 5. "such effects might last beyond the apostolic age."] Vide *Addenda*, p. 684.

P. 461. l. 6. "every one—must give a helping hand to preserve it "in its native purity."] See Bishop Potter on *Ch. Gov.* c. 1. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr.* l. v. c. 7. s. 10. p. 91, &c. and Phil. ii. 4.

P. 462. l. 6. "such well-meaning, but mad teachers,"] As Encratitæ, Euchitæ, Messalians, Montanists, Novatians, Luciferians. See *Causes of Decay*, &c. c. 17. p. 378, 379.

P. 464. l. 8. "The heart perverts the head; and both conspire in the "same false judgment and conduct."] *Add, Now*, as admonition includes instruction, it is very proper for correcting the failures both of head and heart.

*Ibid.* l. 27. "not to be self-condemned"] *Lege*, not to be *directly* self-condemned.

*Ibid.* note *e*. Compare Dr. Stebbing, *Defence of the Report*, p. 184. fol. ed. See Clarke's Sermons, vol. viii. serm. 10. pp. 204, 205.



P. 464. l. 31. "an aggravating circumstance of heresy, after two admonitions."] *Lege*, an aggravating circumstance of heresy, *his persisting in it after friendly warning.*

Ibid. l. 36. *Lege*, "whenever they allow themselves in wrong things, "against repeated advices to the contrary, when they may, and ought "to know better."

P. 465. l. 17. "an erroneous judgment in fundamentals has more "commonly passed under the name of heresy."] See Hammond's *Parænesis*, c. 5. p. 364. Opp. vol. iv.

P. 466. l. 23. "must be self-condemned in teaching it—as the faith "once delivered to the saints."] "Why cannot heresies be sufficiently discovered, condemned, and avoided by them who believe scripture to be the rule of faith, if scripture be sufficient to teach what is *heresy*; seeing heresy is nothing but a manifest deviation from and an opposition to the faith? That which is straight will plainly teach us what is crooked; and one contrary cannot but manifest the other." *Chillingworth*, c. 2. s. 127. p. 90. [vol. i. p. 247. edit. 1838.]

P. 467. l. 26. "all our zeal for the ancient faith," &c.] It is ridiculous to make the offending *party* the *judge*, or the *sole* judge, and to wait for his passing formal sentence upon *himself* as guilty. A court must want *common sense*, to sit in judgment upon those terms; and the man a fool to give them the trouble.

P. 468. l. 18. "he—may now come to have a covenant right to happiness, who before stood only in uncovenanted mercy."] Stebbing's *Defence of the Report*, &c. c. 6. p. 103, &c. c. 7. p. 111, &c.

Ibid. l. 23. "when they wrest the scriptures, it is to their own "destruction."] "And when it is considered, that all the odds that Christ makes between him that does ill *knowingly*, and *ignorantly*, is in the *number* of the stripes, we must resolve, our *mistakes* are no such amulets as totally to secure us." *Causes of Decay*, c. 17. p. 392. Trapp's *Preservative*, 33, &c.

P. 469. l. 6. *Lege*, "who had the information *at first or second hand* "from Polycarp."

P. 470. l. 14. *Lege*, "owing only to *unavoidable* infirmity."

Ibid. l. 15. *Lege*, "through the like *insuperable* weakness of judgment."

P. 473. l. 30. "what is there so just, so rational, or so commendable, that may not be objected to?"] "Nec vel *Atheis* in existentiam Numinis, *Scepticis* in Providentiam, *Zenoni* in veritatem motus, *Anaxagora* in albedinem nivis, *Hæreticis* in Deum Veteris Testamenti, in veritatem carnis, mortis, passionum Christi, et in evidentissima id genus, exceptiones defuere." *Frid. Spanheim*. tom. iii. 1225. Cardanus negabat hominem esse animal. *De Subtil.* l. xi.

## CHAPTER V.

P. 475. l. 19. "when some persons of more warmth than wisdom "have gone upon what they call healing measures—they have been for "the most part miserably disappointed."] "Quo successu hoc tentarunt? Isti infideles non sunt conversi, at hi boni reconciliatores facti sunt apostatæ. Siquidem haud ignotum est, quam plures ex Anti-trinitariorum schola prodiisse, qui partim in *Judaismum*, partim in *Mahometanismum*, partim in *Epicurismum* et *Libertinismum*, et partim in apertum *Atheismum* prolapsi sunt." *Ashwell de Socin.* p. 39, 40.

Ibid. l. 36. "while they stoop too low—to fetch others up, they are "themselves dragged down, and can never recover it."] Conf. Lud. Capell. in *Esai.* 53. p. 7.

P. 476. l. 2. "The Episcopian neutrality seldom stays long before "it passes over into Arianism or Socinianism."] "Quod autem D. Mathisius tuetur, in postremis conciliis errasse circa Fidem Ecclesiam illam, qui in communione est Romanæ Ecclesiæ, id non miror, cum is errasse in Fidei Articulis credat et Synodum Nicænam primam: *nec aliter sentiant plerique Remonstrantes.*"

Ibid. l. 7. "one commandment—may make greater difficulty than "many creeds."] *Ditton*, p. 46, &c.

P. 478. l. 7. "if they were not strong enough to stand at first upon "plain and firm ground, how shall they keep steady afterwards upon "declivity?"] "Nempe, quibus leve fuit maximos Fidei Articulos evertere, nihil porro sane relinquere et habere, justa ultione qua solet veritatis suæ illusæ destitutæque pœnam exposcere, Deus voluit." Hoornbeeck, *Socin. Conf.* tom. ii. p. 195.

Ibid. l. 29. "to talk of a man's leading a good life while he is "corrupting the faith and disseminating pernicious doctrines, is "talking contradictions."] "Besides, if we could suppose that a man may lead a *good life* (as circumstances now stand under the Gospel) without the belief of the Trinity, yet a good life alone will not carry a man to heaven, being it is the *conditional* cause only, not the *meritorious* ground of salvation, and will not avail without faith in Christ, and salvation by him: and we cannot rightly believe in Christ for salvation, without a true faith in the Holy Trinity." *Sherlock*, 280, 305.

P. 487. l. 12. "How will it [sincerity] be proved?"] "There are cases wherein the heart being deceitful (not only to others, but even to a man's self also, by *secret* partiality and *imperceptible* prejudices) no perfect and unerring judgment can be made of a man by *any other* than by *God* only." Clarke's *Sermons*, vol. i. serm. xi. pp. 257, 258.

Ibid. l. 33. "He that has reason on his side, (I except the case

" of unavoidable incapacity,) he is the sincere man.]" See Locke, *H. U.* b. iv. c. 19.

P. 487. l. 38. " Be it warmth of temper, be it weariness and impatience—if it is not reason, it is prejudice and partiality—and " the man is not sincere in the strict sense."] " Such is the untoward constitution of our nature, that we do neither so *perfectly understand* the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor so *steadfastly embrace* it when it is understood, nor so *graciously utter* it when it is embraced, nor so *peaceably maintain* it when it is uttered, but that the *best of us* are overtaken sometime through *blindness*, sometime through *hastiness*, sometime through *impatience*, sometime through other *passions* of the mind, whereunto (God knows) we are too subject." Hooker, *on Justification*.

P. 489. l. 29. " the natural and regular process is to prove the " former [sincerity] by the latter, [the truth and justice of what we " espouse.]" " There is nobody in the commonwealth of learning who does not profess himself a lover of truth; and there is not a rational creature who would not take it amiss to be thought otherwise of. And yet for all this, one may truly say, there are very few lovers of truth for truth's sake, even amongst those who *persuade themselves* that they are so. How a man may know whether he be so in earnest, is worth inquiry: and I think there is but one unerring mark of it; viz. the not entertaining any proposition with greater assurance than the proofs it is built upon will warrant. Whoever goes beyond this measure of assent, it is plain, receives not truth in love of it, loves not truth for truth's sake, but for some other by-end." Locke, b. iv. c. 19. p. 330.

P. 492. l. 25. *Instead of*, " designing thereby to honour and shew " their love to the Lord," *read*, believing that they both love and honour the Lord.

P. 496. l. 15. " a wide difference between authority to do a thing, and " infallibility in doing it.]" And again, between a *conditional* infallibility and an *absolute*.

P. 503. note r. Malbranch, *Annot. ad cap. 10. l. i.* Clarke, *Answer to Collins*, pp. 20, 24.

P. 507. l. 31. " yea, and Christ and his Apostles, persecutors.]" For they *suspended* their *good opinion* of the faithless and unbelieving.

P. 509. l. 20. *Instead of*, " no breach of charity or ill manners," *read*, no breach of charity or of good manners, &c.

P. 511. l. 24. " Christianity is a social religion.]" See Bishop Potter's *Discourse of Church-Government*, c. 1. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr.* l. v. c. 7. s. 10. p. 91, &c.

P. 514. l. 36. "but the Gospel was worth it, and carried more than "enough in it to make mankind amends.]" "Præstat salutiferam veritatem vel inter pugnas et contentiones retinere, quam mendacio altam inter quietem indormire. Sed nec ejusmodi concordix ratio est ineunda quæ vel Christianæ religionis indoli repugnet, vel plures calamitates generet quam illæ ipsæ dissensiones, non lacessitæ aut irritatæ producebant." Puffendorf. *Jus Feciale Divinum*, s. 3. p. 111.

P. 515. l. 21. "Though the censuring of men that corrupt the faith "may provoke, may increase ill blood, &c. yet it must be done.]" "The Church was forced to oppose the Valentinians, Manichees, Arians, Macedonians, &c. These were such invasions as seemed to commissionate all that could wield the sword of the Spirit to take it up, and engage in this warfare. But all the while, it was a sad dilemma to which the Church was driven. If she gave countenance to these seducers, she betrayed her faith; if she entered the contest, she violated her unity: the one would undermine her foundation, the other would make a breach in her walls." *Causes of Decay*, &c. c. 9. pp. 249, 250.

P. 516. l. 34. "And it would be but an ill way to preserve peace, " (if it might be called peace,) by forfeiting our Christianity.]" "Pretiosum quidem nomen est pacis, et pulchrum est nomen unitatis. Sed quis ambigat eam solam Ecclesiæ atque Evangeliorum unitatem, pacem esse, quæ Christi est?" Hilar. *contra Auxent.* 1263. edit. Benedict.

Ibid. note *g*. Hoornbeeck, vol. i. *Apparat.* p. 73, 74. Buddeus, *Miscel. Sacr.* tom. i. pp. 319, 320.

P. 517. l. 8. "that no one ought to be excluded from Christian "communion, whatever his faith be, provided he acknowledges sacred "writ for his rule, and is ready to admit any creeds or confessions "drawn up entirely in scripture terms.]" How common this pretext has been in the mouths of those who have had a mind to introduce new doctrines, is observed by Frid. Spanheim, *Opp.* tom. ii. pp. 982, 983.

P. 518. l. 15. *Instead of*, "the famous Abbot of St. Clare," read, Franciscus a Sancta Clara.

P. 523. l. 1. "there is a medium between taking violent measures "with them, and treating them as fellow-Christians.]" Mr. Chillingworth, in answer to the Romanists, distinguishes very justly, in these words: "Neither do you obey our Saviour's command, *Let both grow up till the harvest*, who teach it to be lawful to root these tares, such are heretics, *out of the world*; neither do Protestants disobey it, if they eject manifest heretics, and notorious sinners, *out of the Church.*"

## CHAPTER VI.

P. 524. note *c*. Stillingfleet, *Vindic.* 178. Vossius *de Symbol.* diss. i. p. 38. Suicer. *Thesaur.* tom. ii. p. 1093.

P. 536. note *a*. Conf. Hoornbeeck, tom. i. l. i. c. 9. p. 256. tom. iii. proleg. p. 65. Witsius in *Symbol. Apostol.* p. 17.

P. 538. note *i*. Basnage, *Annal.* tom. i. p. 599.

P. 541. note *x*. "Saltem in hoc acutius vidit Julianus Socinianis, quod Jesum a Johanne Deum esse pronunciatum non negavit; si voluisset autem—intendere, idem etiam ab aliis factum Apostolis intelligere voluisset." Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* l. iv. c. 5. p. 140.

P. 550. l. 6. "the ancient visionaries—being ashamed perhaps to "confess Christ crucified,"] *Add*, or afraid to suffer martyrdom for it.

Ibid. note *z*. Conf. *Epiphan.* xxiv. 4. *Philastr.* c. 32.

P. 553. note *s*. Compare *Joh.* iii. 16, 17, 18.

P. 562. note *g*. Zornii *Opusc. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 77, &c. Frid. Spanheim. *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 250.

P. 566. l. 28. "the will conceive no high opinion of his [Le Clerc's] "veneration for the scriptures." How slightly the Socinians in general think and speak of the *inspiration* of scripture, may be seen in Hoornbeeck, *Socin. Confut.* tom. ii. lib. 1. c. 1.

Ibid. l. 29. "it is keeping them indeed, for the saving of appearances, "but in order to expose them the more insidiously." The admitting only of a *partial* inspiration, is eluding, or evacuating, the authority of the *whole* Canon: it is, *verbis ponere, re tollere*.

Ibid. l. 36. *Instead of*, "Deism," read immorality.

Ibid. l. 37. "thousands perhaps may be thus led—who could not "have been brought to it by the shorter, coarser methods." It may be added, that a *holy life* (were it possible, or consistent with heresy) is not the whole and entire end of the Christian religion. But *forgiveness of sins* must be considered, as well as an *holy life*. *Sherlock*, pp. 28, 305. Whatever is necessary to be believed for forgiveness of sins, is a *fundamental*, though we could not see how it affected morals.

P. 572. note *y*. Conf. *Philastr.* 77. p. 196.

P. 583. l. 18. "and then the Father could be considered only as in- "habiting Jesus, a mere man, and a distinct person from him." Conf. *Athanas.* tom. ii. p. 39. *Epiphan. Hær.* 65. p. 614.

P. 586. l. 27. "But as that first Council [of Jerusalem] had its "use in the Church—so had this other also, [of Nice,] and has to this "day." "Invaluit illa quidem hæresis aliquantisper in Ecclesia: sed tanta cum pugna invecta est, ut nemini licuerit ignorare quæ ejus fuisset origo. Ante fuit damnata illa causa, quam victrix, ut scias

eam judicio Ecclesiæ periisse, potentia aulica revixisse." Roger. Boyle, *Summ. Theol. Christ.* p. 108.

P. 588. note *k*. Conf. *Basil.* tom. iii. p. 307. A. D. 375.

P. 589. l. 18. Before "Ignatius," insert as follows: Clemens Romanus, in his second Epistle, "Brethren, we ought to think of Christ as of God.—We ought not to think meanly of our Saviour. For if we think meanly of him, we hope to receive little."

This intended against Cerinthus. See Bull. *D. F.* sect. 2. cap. 3. that thinking meanly of Christ, is hazarding salvation.

P. 599. note *d*. Conf. Frid. Spanheim. *Hist. Christian.* sect. 3. p. 740.

#### CHAPTER VII.

P. 602. l. 35. "Such unworthy suggestions," &c.] Compare what Dr. Wall observes of the *Jesuits*, as pretending that *infant-baptism cannot be proved from scripture*; by which they serve some political ends. Wall, *Hist. of Inf. Bapt.* part 2. c. 8. pp. 458, 459. part 2. c. 2. s. 9. p. 278. s. 13. p. 279. second edition.

P. 604. note *t*.] Gardiner, *Cathol. circ. Trin. Fidei Delinatio*, p. 153. Wall, p. 2. c. 8. s. 6. pp. 458, 459.

P. 605. l. 7. "there is something of equivocalness and ambiguity, for "the most part, in words, or phrases, though ever so well and wisely "chosen."] Vide Scrivener *contra Dallaum*, part 2. p. 108. Werenfelsii *Dissert. de Logomachiis*, p. 124, &c.

P. 606. l. 23. "ambition," &c.] Valentinus. *Tertullian. ad Valentin.* c. 4. Marcion. *Epiphan. Her.* 42. Montanus, *Novatianus. Euseb.* vii. 43. Arius, *Theodoret.* vide *Lactant.* l. 4. c. 30.

P. 608. l. 4. "Those that lived in or near the apostolical times," &c.] Confer Scrivener *contra Dallaum*, pp. 34, 35.

P. 611. note *p*. Chillingworth, c. 2. s. 147. p. 98.

P. 614. note *b*. Taylor, *Liberty of Prophesying*, p. 124.

P. 618. l. 26. For, "doctrines of the church," read, doctors.

P. 621. l. 21. "the use which might be made of the negative argument, supposing we could go no further, or had nothing more to "plead from antiquity."] "Summa eorum quæ diximus, huc redit, non potuisse fieri ut Ecclesia universa, imprimis Ecclesia primorum sæculorum, in vicem capitum sive Articulorum Fidei falsitates amplecteretur et ad posteros propagaret; ut Ecclesia, inquam, *universaliter* antiquitus in *fundamentis* religionis erraret; et hoc nobis constare ea *certitudine* qua sacris scripturis divinisque promissionibus assentimur. Quæ vero fuerit publica et passim recepta primorum sæculorum doctrina, e priscorum doctorum consensu—patere *certitudine morali*, quæ in illo quidem genere maxima sit, et formidinem

oppositi sufficienter excludat." Georg. Calixt. *Proœm. in Augustin. de Doctrin. Christiana.*

P. 624. l. 25. "wounding Christianity itself through their sides." "Re vera dicendum est, inter eos qui ab Ecclesia Papistica secesserunt, complures inveniri, qui Patrum scripta ob id unum legisse videantur, ut eos calumniis et maledictis omne genus incessant. Quod ut forte haud ita mirandum sit in iis hominibus qui, etsi male dissimulant, nomine, ore, et moribus *Judaismum* inviti produunt; vix tamen in iis tolerari potest, qui Christum sincero animo profitentur." *Vindic. Veter. Script. contr. Joan. Harduin.* p. 60.

P. 625. l. 30. "those who have—adhered strictly to antiquity—have "done most honour to the perfection of scripture." "Tanto sane majoris faciendus est consensus antiquitatis, quanto turpius quotidie labi eos videmus qui jus novandi sine fine ac modo sibi vindicant." Grotii *Epist.* p. 32. conf. p. 434.

P. 629. l. 4. "divine attributes are ascribed to him." *Add*, besides the works of creation.

P. 631. l. 7. "to the analogy of faith," &c.] What analogy of faith properly means, see briefly explained in Jenkins's *Remarks on some Books*, p. 169.

P. 637. note *m.* Conf. Zornii *Opusc. Sacr.* t. i. p. 613, 614.

P. 644. note *y.* Hoornbeeck, *Socin. Confut.* tom. i. l. i. c. 19. pp. 206, 207. Puffendorf, *de Consensu et Dissensu Protestantium.* Lubece, 1695. sect. 14. pp. 80, 81. Frid. Spanheim, *de Fundament. Disput.* x. ss. 5, 6, 7. p. 1331, &c. *Opp.* tom. 3.

*Ibid.* l. 25. "as if all Christian doctrines were to be expunged out "of the list of necessities, which have had the misfortune to be dis- "puted amongst us." "Fidem non habent huic articulo, quia *non est necessarius* ad salutem; non est necessarius ad salutem, quia non habetur *clare* in scriptura sacra;—non habetur *clare* in scriptura sacra, quod de textibus ei pertinentibus a multis doctis disputatur.—Hoc est, si diabolus potest hæresin in Ecclesia excitare, (et quod poterit, præmoniti sumus) tum poterit efficere, ut quod antea *semper* et *ubique* videbatur necessarium ad salutem, non dehinc ut tale videatur. Quod est, religionem Christianam mutilare, et paulatim ad nihilum redigere. Roger. Boyle, *Episc. Clogherens. Summ. Theol. Christian.* c. 16. p. 67.

P. 653. note *x.* "Antiquæ Ecclesiæ plus tribui in *Britannia* quam in *Gallia*, miror a quoquam negari. In Canonibus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ conscriptis anno 1571, hunc invenio:—*Imprimis* vero, &c. Hanc legem an accepturi sint *Galliæ* ministri, multum dubito." Grot. *Epist.* p. 21. A. D. 1615.

P. 654. l. 19. *Instead of*, “the present Church speaks by scripture and Fathers,” *read*, it is the present Church that speaks, though in the name of scripture and Fathers.

P. 655. l. 27. “let us not too hastily part with any thing,” &c.] See Hoornbeeck, *Socin. Confut.* tom. i. c. 6. p. 86, &c.

P. 656. l. 17. “for then a right belief would be no matter of choice, nor faith any longer a virtue.”] Conf. *Chillingworth*, c. 2. s. 93. p. 77. and s. 96. p. 78.

P. 660. note o. Dr. Payne’s *Examination of the Sixth Note of the Church*, A. D. 1687.

Ibid. l. 29. “that the Protestant cause could not desire any fairer or greater advantage than to join issue upon the point of genuine antiquity.”] “Viderunt jam olim *Jesuitæ*, monstrantibus non paucis eorum qui ductu Evangelii feliciores Christiani cultus semitas ingressi sunt, *traditiones* scriptas, quas apud rerum antiquarum ignaros magnifico tumore verborum ostentare solent, in plerisque fidei Romanæ capitibus mutare.—Id autem cum fateri non possint, contendunt hodie passim negligendam esse antiquitatem, Patres falsariorum manus esse passos, in permultis recentiorum auctoritatem esse anteponendam.” *Vindic. contr. Harduin.* pp. 5, 6.

Ibid. note s. Zornius, p. 666. vide Payne’s *Sixth Note of the Church examined*, p. 113, &c.

P. 663. note b. Conf. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr.* l. iv. c. 9. sect. 14. p. 925. edit. Amst. 1727.

P. 665. note f. Stillingfleet, *Eccles. Cases*, vol. i. p. 118.

Ibid. l. 14. “except it be as to the choice of some leader or leaders.”] See *Causes of Decay of Christian Piety*, c. 16. pp. 370, 371, 372.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

P. 667. note h. *Pro* “significatur” *lege* signatur.

Ibid. note k. l. 7. *Pro* “illum” *lege* ille; and l. 16. *pro* “impediris” *lege* præpediris.

Ibid. l. 34. “and therefore Being of being, or Substance of substance, (not beings or substances,) has been the catholic language.”] See my *Further Vindication, or Third Defence*, vol. iii. pp. 40—46. Browne’s *Animadversions*, pp. 10, 11, 28, 29, 30.

P. 673. note g. Conf. Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* l. iv. c. 5. p. 141.

P. 676. l. 3. “all this discourse about being and person is foreign, and not pertinent.”] “Vadimonium deserunt, dum *re missa* de *vocibus* litigant: seu *missa veritatis Substantia*, invadunt theologicum declarandi, explicandi, muniendi *modum*.” Frid. Spanheim. *Fil.* tom. iii. pp. 1210, 1213.



P. 677. note *e*. "Omnia quæ in negotio Trinitatis dicuntur extra ea quæ in sacris literis habentur, et pauca quæ ad eorum explicationem consensus antiquus recepit, periculum habent. . . . Quæ ad internam Dei naturam pertinent, aut circumscripte eloquenda, aut silentio veneranda sunt." Grotii *Epist.* 1118. p. 514.

P. 678. l. 28. "could there be any words thought on, either plainer " or stronger, to express a proper efficiency?" ] See my second Sermon, where it is proved at large, that God the Son is properly *Creator*, and *efficient Cause* of all things made.

P. 680. note *t*. See Pearson, *Art.* 2. p. 98. [p. 178. Oxford edit. 1833.]

P. 683. l. 6. "are yet but a very slender part of what the whole scripture affords us in that cause." ] "Mediatorem novi fœderis esse *Deum*, evincunt infinita S. Scripturæ loca, quæ id nomen in *proprio* sensu ei tribuunt, ac talia opera quæ non nisi in *verum Deum* cadere possunt. Quod et ipsa fœderis indoles requirit; cum nulla creatura ejus possit esse dignationis ut personam totius humani generis repræsentare possit cum tam nobili effectu qui *creationi* æquiparari possit. *Ps.* xlix. 8, 9. Atque idem *falso* minor aut inferior quoad essentiam Deo Patre fingitur; cum non obscure contradictionem involvat, aliquem esse *verum Deum* et tamen *minorem* aut *inferiorem* quoad Essentiam esse Deo Patre, qui a consensu omnium verus Deus est: sicuti et impossibile et contradictorium est, aliquid quod posterius tempore vero Deo existere cœpit, in veri Dei essentiam creatione, adoptione, aut quovis modo provehi." Puffendorf. *De Consens. et Dissens. Protest.* sect. 41. p. 145.

#### ADDENDA.

P. 684. note *e*. Conf. Hieronym. *Ep. ad Heliodorum*.

P. 689. l. 30. "if men come with humility, modesty, and circumspection, &c. there will be no great danger in examining every thing " with the utmost severity." ] A *thorough* examination is indeed the *safest*. For, the greatest danger lies in examining by halves.

P. 690. note *a*. l. 5. After "*communione*," add, τὸ καταλαμβάνειν itaque per *opprimere* verti voluit.

P. 691. note *n*. Conf. Coteler. *Not. ad Ignat. Interp. ad Trall.* p. 66.

P. 695. l. 16. "Some others are charged with secularity and selfish " views, but not all." ] *Col.* ii. 18, 23.

P. 696. l. 6. "there lay all the stress." ] See Stebbing's *Defence of the Report*, p. 189. fol. edit.

*Ibid.* l. 24. "artful professions," &c.] Vid. Dodwell. *Diss. in Iren.* iv. s. 23. p. 335. "Not to believe *all necessary* points, and to believe

none at all, is for the purpose of salvation all one; and therefore he that does so may justly be said to destroy the Gospel of Christ, seeing he makes it *ineffectual* to the end for which it was intended, the salvation of men's souls." *Chillingworth*, c. 6. s. 75. p. 340. [vol. ii. p. 421. Oxford edit. 1838.]

---

#### NOTES AT THE END OF THE BOOK.

"*INTER* eos autem quos sola duntaxat discrepantia dogmata disjungunt, nullo interveniente emolumento quidam *toto theologiæ systemate* ac notorie *fundamentalibus articulis* dissentiunt.—Ad [quam] classem referimus *Socinianos* et qui hisce proxime accedunt, tum plerasque *Anabaptistarum* familias, *Tremulos* seu *Quackeros*, et qui *fanaticorum* nomen merentur: qui articulos quos Protestantes *palmarios* habent, negant aut detorquent, et velut evacuant, ut amoto nucleo inania tantum putamina remaneant. Sic ut theologiæ systema ab istis formatum, a nostro plane abeat, et vix circa alia inter eos conveniat quam quæ ex ipso naturalis rationis lumine cognita sunt, aut ad regendos mores pertinent. Circa quos, quamdiu hypothesebus suis innituntur, nobiscum conciliandos satagere, vesaniæ proximum, ac plane inutile duco. Ac in id potius incumbendum fuerit, ut solida confutatione, ea errorum gangræna comprematur, ne latius serpat: præsertim cum profanis hominibus admodum blandiatur, si nihil ad credendum proponatur nisi quod *ratio* capere possit, nec plus ab hominibus exigatur quam alias socialis indoles ad vitam honeste et tranquille agendam requirit.

"Ex quo et illud consequitur, rationem istos valde fugisse qui conciliationem harum quoque sectarum quas tetigimus cum Protestantibus moliti sunt eoque fere vel *Symbolum Apostolicum*, vel aliam *laxissimam formam* proposuerunt, velut ad concordiam Ecclesiasticam sufficere posset, circa isthæc consensisse; circa reliquos articulos, extra eam formulam positos, perinde esse quid quisque sentiat, nec eum dissensum paci quidquam officere. Nam si formula concordiæ ita *laxe* concipiatur, ut eadem quibusvis *sectariis* ad palatum sit, *theologia* emerget oppido quam *jejuna* ac *mutila*." *Puffendorf. Jus Feciale Divinum: sive de Consensu et Dissensu Protestantium*, sect. 4. p. 82. Lubecæ. 1695.

"Cum ab una parte militet interpretatio et intelligentia Scripturæ, subnixæ *notorio consensu* omnium doctorum Ecclesiæ primitivæ, quorum ad nos scripta pervenerint, (horum enim consensus etiam se-

quentium temporum testimonium includit) quosque nemo impietatis sine impietate accusare possit;—ab altera autem parte militet *consequentiae* privatae quas ego non possim solvere;—an his assentiri teneor? Annon eum laude *modestiae*, vel saltem minori peccandi *periculo* illi assentiar? Nam si non teneor, quæ sit *stultitia* aut *temeritas* a *piorum veterum* unitate tam manifesta, cum plerorumque Christianorum *scandalo*, discedere? Si vero *teneri* me probaveris, tum demum illam tecum ingrediari disputationem, an *consequentiae* tuæ tales sint ut responsionibus meis elidi nequeant.” *Epist. C. Bergii Ruaro*, pp. 124, 125. script. A. D. 1626.

“Nunc audio, quosdam conjicere, vobis *Calvinistas* sequentibus successuros *Deistas*, qui tollant ipsius S. Scripturæ veritatem.” Mersennus in *Epist. ad Ruarum*, p. 268. circiter A. D. 1664.

“Libri quem molitur *Bysterfeldius* paginam unam vidi, vereor et ego, ne, quod Jeckermanno evenit, ei eveniat, et nimis subtilitates aliqua parte ad impetum eorum quos pugnat, pateant; omnia quæ in negotio Trinitatis dicuntur, extra τὰ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς κείμενα, et pauca quæ ad eorum explicationem consensus antiquus recepit, periculum habent. Optime Chrysostomus et ex eo Isidorus Pelusiota, *ὅταν ἄπερ ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἠθέλησαν εἶδέναι, ταῦτα βραζόμεθα μανθάνειν, ὅτι ἐσόμεθα πῶς γὰρ Θεοῦ μὴ βουλομένου; καὶ τὸ κινδυνεύει ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ ζητεῖν περίεστιν μόνον.* Cui illud addam, maxime, τὸ γεγραμμένον καὶ σὺ λέγε, καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύσεις. In quem sensum plurima sunt in disputatione Basilii contra Eunomium. In illis Dei attributis quæ nos respiciunt, (justitia maxime et bonitate) dat nobis et sacra Scriptura et impressæ mentibus nostris *προλήψεις* uberem dissertandi materiam: Quæ vero ad *internam* Dei *naturam* pertinent, aut circumscripte eloquenda, aut silentio veneranda sunt.” Grotii *Epist.* 1118. p. 504.

“Quid enim aliud est hæresis quam pestis, quam venenum Ecclesiæ, et quidem præsentissimum? Sed tamen hæresium aliqui sunt gradus, ita ut sit hæc illa nocentior. Scimus quam exosum, quam horrendum, bonis omnibus olim fuerit Arii dogma, qui Christum Dominum nostrum Patri *ὁμοούσιον consubstantialem* negabat. At ille tamen exstitisse eum priusquam mundus existeret, et Patri similimum fatebatur. Quanto in Christum contumeliosior Samosatenus, aut quicumque alius fundamentum illud evertit quod Evangelio substernitur, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, qui ereptum it Christo τὴν δόξαν ἣν εἶχε πρὸ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ, qui abnegare mavult quam agnoscere inenarrabile beneficium, ὅτι ὁ ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών. Hanc igitur hæresin, ad cujus mentionem pii omnes exhortent, invehi in Ecclesiam clamat Sibrandus, non errore aliquo et

ignorantia, sed studio atque industria." Grotii *Ord. Holland. Pietas.*  
p. 99.

*Infidelitatis 4 species.*

1. *Gentilismus*, *materialiter* maxima infidelitas, sed *formaliter* levior quam *Judaismus*.
2. *Judaismus* est gravior infidelitas, quia acceperunt figuram Evangelii quæ erat quasi aurora respectu diei Evangelicæ.
3. *Hæresis*, *gravissima* infidelitas, quæ renititur fidei claræ.
4. Apostasia est fastigium hæreseos, scilicet generalis defectio a fide.  
Roger. Boyle, *Summ. Theol. Christianæ*, p. 204.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES

ON

### REGENERATION STATED AND EXPLAINED.

[See vol. iv. pp. 425—458.]

---

#### *Regenerated.*

1.

CONSIDERED as a *birth* into a new state, as the *entrance* or *first admission* into such and such privileges, first reception of the *grants*, entrance into *sonship*.

1. Which grants may be considered as *made* and *received*, but not *salutarily* applied.

2. As *salutarily* applied.

As a *birth* it comes but *once*, though the things received, as justification, remission, &c., are *continued* acts. It differs from them as first *reception* does from *continuance* of them.

2.

Considered as a *continuance* of that state. When a man is said to *retain* his baptism, or to *lose* or *forfeit* it, the word means a *baptismal state*: so when regeneration is said to be *retained* or *lost*, it means a *regenerate state*, or *sonship*. But as that state is never *wholly* lost, a man is never *rebaptized* or regenerated *again*, or entered into *sonship*.

3.

Both considered as *salutary*, or *not salutary*; *imperfect* as to their main end and use, or *perfect* with respect to their main end and use.

The perfective addition is considered as an *integral* part of it: and then *baptism*, in a *large* sense, takes in its *salutariness*; and *regeneration*, in a *large* sense, takes in *renovation*, and is distinguished from it as *whole* from part. In this view, a man may lose his sonship in *part*, which sonship is restored or repaired, by restoring that perfective part.

## 4.

Regeneration for *baptism*, or for the thing *signified* and *exhibited* in and by baptism. Baptism, in its *whole* notion, takes in *sign* and *thing*, comprehends *God's part* and *man's part*. *Water* and *Spirit*. To be validly baptized is the same as to be *regenerated* of water and the Spirit, but abstracting from the question of *savingly* or not *savingly*; for all regeneration is not *saving*, any more than all *valid* baptism.

## 5.

Regeneration, or the grants once made and applied, are continued in and by the *worthy* receiving of the *Eucharist*, and is distinguished from that condition as a *birth* is from *life*, or as *reception* of life is from *nutrition* of the same. Life is no more *given*, no more *begun*; but it is repaired, renewed, preserved, nourished, kept up.

---

P. 427. note *b*. *Firmil.* p. 148, 149. *Clem. Alex.* 156, 551. *Hieronym. Pelagius, Theodorit. in loc.*

P. 428. note *d*. Gerhard. *Loc. Com.* tom. iv. 596. *Whitby in loc.*

P. 430. note *l*. Gale, 483. Wall, *Def.* p. 321.

P. 431. l. 4. "the new man"] Leo I. *Serm.* iv. in *Solemn. Nativit.*

*Ibid.* l. 15. "man's spiritual state."] Four states :

1. Ante legem.
2. Sub lege.
3. Sub gratia.
4. Sub pace plena.

"In quacunq̄ue autem quatuor istarum velut ætatum singulum quemque hominem gratia *regenerationis* invenerit, ibi ei remittuntur præterita universa peccata, et reatus ille nascendo contractus, *renascendo* dissolvitur. Tamque multum valet quod *spiritus ubi vult spirat*, ut quidem secundam illam servitatem *sub lege* non noverint, sed cum *mandato* incipient adjutorium habere *divinum*." *Augustin. Enchirid.* p. 241.

*Ibid.* l. 25. "demonstrates the same thing."] "Non est instituta *regeneratio*, nisi quia vitiosa est *generatio*, Ps. l. 7." *August. Ench.* c. 46. p. 214. tom. vi. "Regeneratio spiritualis una est, sicut generatio carnalis una est." *Augustin. in Joh.* tr. xii.

"Baptismi finis est, ut signet et obsignet spiritualement *nativitatem* nostram, sive *insitionem* in Christum et *receptionem* in familiam ejus. Hoc in altero Sacramento, hoc est, cœna, locum non habet, quia hæc est signum et sigillum non *regenerationis*, sed *nutritionis* ac *alimonie* spiritualis; non fœderis initi, sed continuati.—Semel per baptismum nascimur, sed sæpe per cœnam nutrimur." *Voss.* t. vi. 320.

P. 432. note *q*. *Adv. Pelag.* l. iv. c. 11. p. 490. tom. x. Wall, *Inf. Bapt.* part. i. p. 71. *Defence, Append.* p. 24.

Ibid. l. 5. "third birth."] Augustin. *de Civit. Dei*, l. xx. c. 5. p. 577.—Tom. vii. c. 6. p. 580.—tom. x. 540, 541.

Ibid. note *s*. Gataker *Adversaria*, p. 336.—"Peccata quæ male agendo postea committuntur, possent et *pœnitendo* sanari, sicut etiam post baptismum videmus." August. *Enchirid.* c. 46. p. 214. tom. vi.

Ibid. l. 19. "a permanent state."] "So the word *baptism*, in ancient Church-writers, often signifies a *baptismal state*, a *permanent* privilege, or quality, or character, though baptism is but *once*, and admits no *second*.

"Because that pious disposition is what he is indispensably *obliged* to arrive to; and what by his very profession he is *supposed* to have already in some measure attained; and what the generality of Christians, in the primitive and purest times, *actually did* possess: therefore, a man's being '*born of God*' signifies, in scripture phrase, the same as being a *true and sincere Christian*; and '*whosoever is born of God*,' is as much as if the Apostle had said, *whoever pretends to be a good Christian*." Clarke's *Serm.* vol. ix. p. 327. So, Whosoever is *baptized* into Christ *has put on Christ*. Gal. iii. 27. And, *How shall we, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?* Rom. vi. 2.

Ibid. l. 21. "the state he was once born into."] "So the word *baptism* is often used for *baptismal state*, as when a man is said to retain *his baptism*, or to retain it *entire*." *Concil. Eliber.*

Ibid. l. 28. "does not *justify* himself,"] "*Regeneration* seems to differ from *justification*, as the *first act* from the *continuation* of the same; or as *creation* from *conservation*. Note, that *justification* and *remission* are things *permanent* and *increasing*; are *continued acts*." *Bull.* 437, 438.

P. 433. l. 5. "The thing granted,"] The *grants* themselves are *continued acts*: but still *regeneration* is a name for the *first conferring*, or *first reception* of them.

Ibid. l. 20. "*integral parts*,"] "Chrism was thus an *integral part* of baptism, though not absolutely *essential* to it." *Bingh.* vol. iv. p. 374.

Ibid. l. 28. "a kind of renewal;"] "And therefore *ἀνακαίνωσις*, or *ἀνακαίνωσις*, is used sometimes for *regeneration*." See *Suicer*, t. i. p. 275.

P. 434. l. 1. "*Preventing grace*"] *Philipp.* ii. 13; *Ephes.* ii. 3, 4; 2 *Tim.* i. 9; *Tit.* iii. 5; *John* xv. 6.

Ibid. note *d*. "Cornelio"] *Aug.* t. ix. 85, 138, 139, 140. Confer *de Bapt. Aug.* l. iv. c. 24. p. 140. tom. ix. et sup. *Levit. Q.* 84. Chrysost. in *Joh. Hom.* xxv. p. 146. tom. viii. *Œcumen. in Act.* x. 48, Cyprian. *Epist.* lxxii. p. 128. Anonymus *de Rebapt.* p. 356. Hieronym.

ad *Heliodor.* Ep. 5. p. 11. tom. iv. Bull, *Examen ad Animadv.* v. p. 16.

P. 435. note r, *Eph.* ii. 10.

Ibid. note x. Georgius Abbot. A. D. 1597. Apud *Voss.* tom. vi. p. 229. "Baptizari etenim est quasi in Ecclesiam generari: et ut nil sæpius quam *semel* generatur; ita decenter institutum fuit, ut nemo sæpius quam *semel* baptizaretur."

Ibid. l. 27. "Regeneration and renovation"] One is the *receiving* life; the other is part of the *nutrition*, or a *condition* of it.—One is both of *body* and *soul*; the other of the *soul* only.—One the act of God *towards* us; the other the act of God *in* us.

P. 436. l. 9. "regenerating act."] "Regeneratio illa est opus divinæ *gratiæ*, quia nec præcedentia nec sequentia *merita* nostra respicit, sed *gratis* propter Christum nobis contingit.

"Quemadmodum nemo quippiam confert ut *generetur*, ita quoque ad spiritualem *regenerationem* nihil quicquam ex penu *nostrarum virium* conferre possumus. Cum hac *regeneratione* conjuncta est *renovatio*, per quam *natura* nostra incipit legi divinæ *conformari*. Sed propter illas *novas qualitates* non *regeneramur*, &c. quin potius requiritur, ut prius per fidem in Christum mediatorem *Deo reconciliemur*, per Spiritum Sanctum *regeneremur*, et *ex gratia*, propter Christum, accipiamus *vloðe-slav*, antequam in operibus *bonis* ambulare possimus." Gerhard, *Loc. Comm.* tom. iii. 456.

Ibid. l. 24. "progress of the Christian life."] "Memnisse debemus tantummodo peccatorum omnium plenam perfectamque remissionem *baptismo* fieri; hominis vero ipsius *qualitatem* non totam continuo commutari," &c. Augustin, *de Peccat. Meritis*, l. ii. c. 27. p. 64. tom. x.

P. 437. note c. *Voss. Hist. Pelag.* l. vi. *Thes.* xi. p. 746. tom. vi. Bull, *Apolog.* p. 668. *Wells*, 215.

Ibid. note d. "Gratia Dei non solum reatus omnium præteritorum solvitur in omnibus qui baptizantur in *Christo*, quod fit *Spiritu regenerationis*; verum etiam in gaudibus *voluntas ipsa sanatur*, et præparatur a Domino, quod fit *spiritu fidei et charitatis*. Augustin, *Retract.* l. i. c. 13. p. 20. tom. i. edit. Bened.

Ibid. l. 17. "complete regeneration."] Not complete as to its *ends* and *uses*; therefore not *complete* as to that *larger* notion of it, which *takes in* the ends and uses.

As faith without works is a dead faith, so regeneration in an adult is a kind of dead or dormant regeneration: but yet, as faith is faith, though works do not follow, so is regeneration, regeneration. And as faith, in its precise notion, does not mean *faith* and *works* both, so neither does regeneration, in its precise notion, signify both *regenera-*



tion and renovation. As faith is *perfected* by works, so is regeneration *perfected* by renovation.

P. 438. l. 24. "special cases.]" Three ways the Spirit might be given :

" 1. *Aquam præstare Spiritum solitum.*

" 2. *Et sanguinem proprium, hominibus præstare Spiritum solitum.*

" 3. *Et ipsum quoque Spiritum præstare Spiritum solitum.*"—  
*Anonym. de Rebapt. p. 364. ed. Bened.*

*Ibid.* l. 18. "sign.]" *Regeneration* was *prior* to baptism under the *patriarchal* and *legal* states, and was therefore *independent* of the *sign* of water *then*, and may be *now*. See Aug. *Enchirid.* c. 119. p. 241. *De Bapt.* l. iv. c. 24. p. 140. tom. ix.

" In Cornelio præcessit *sanctificatio* spiritualis in dono *Spiritus Sancti*, et accessit *sacramentum* regenerationis in lavacro baptismi." *August. ibid.*

*Ibid.* note *h.* For "quamdiu recenseatur," read, quamdiu *non* recenseatur.

P. 439. note *o.* " Ipsum est quod in nobis celebratur *magnum* baptismatis *sacramentum*, ut quicumque ad istam pertinent gratiam, *moriuntur peccato*, sicut ipse *peccato mortuus* dicitur, quia mortuus est carni, hoc est, peccati similitudini; et vivat a lavacro *renascendo*, sicut ipse a sepulcro resurgendo, quamlibet corporis ætatem gerant." *August. Enchirid.* c. 42. p. 213. tom. vi. " Ideo enim quisque *renascitur*, ut solvatur in eo quicquid *peccati* est cum quo nascitur." *Ibid.* 214. Confer Aug. *Retract.* l. i. c. 13. p. 20. tom. i. edit. Bened. cited above.

P. 440. note *r.* " A parvulo enim *recens nato* usque ad decrepitem senem, sicut nullus est prohibendus a *baptismo*, ita nullus est qui non *peccato* moriatur in baptismo: sed parvuli tantum *originali*, majores autem iis omnibus *moriuntur peccatis* quæcunque male vivendo addiderunt ad illud quod nascendo traxerunt." *August. Enchirid.* c. 43. p. 213. tom. vi.

P. 441. l. 21. " becomes again whole and entire.]" " Uti olim in *circumcisione* ita nunc in *baptismo*: Deus quidem promittit *gratiam*, et *vitam æternam*, homo autem *fidem* et *obedientiam*. Quod si a pacto resiliat homo, amittit ille quidem *jus postulandi* vitam æternam: at qui semper pacto stat, Deus, non perdit *jus suum* in hominem. Atqui baptismus additur fœderi *ex parte Dei*; si igitur non ex parte Dei, sed hominis, rumpitur fœdus, nihil attinet repeti, quod ex parte Dei [baptismus] obsignabat, sed duntaxat opus est ut homo *per pœnitentiam* redeat ad Deum, quo percipiat fœderis in baptismo *initi* fructum.

" Nempe, hic res se habet ut in *matrimonio*. Quemadmodum enim

*maritus* si uxorem *adulteram* retinere volet, non eam novo se copulat *matrimonio*, sed ad prius revocat *foedus*; similiter *Deus* spiritualiter *fornicantes* ad *conjugii* spiritualis *semel* initi *foedus* redire item jubet." *Vossius*, tom. vi. 320.

P. 442. l. 13. "water only"] "Certe qui nascuntur ex *aqua* et *Spiritu Sancto*, non *aquæ filios* eos rite dixerit quisquam; sed plane dicuntur filii *Dei Patris*, et *matris Ecclesiæ*." Aug. *Enchirid.* c. 39. p. 212. tom. vi.

Ibid. l. 18. "but with proper distinctions."] *John's* baptism was distinguished from *Christ's* by this, that one was of *water* and the other of the *Spirit*. Acts i. 5; xi. 16. Conf. *Anonym. de Rebapt.* p. 354. See *August.* tom. ix. p. 158; and see p. 169, where Austin says, "*Simon ille Magus* natus erat ex *aqua* et *Spiritu*."

"Christi baptismus est non in *aqua* tantum (sicut fuit *Johannis*) verum etiam in *Spiritu Sancto*, ut de illo *Spiritu regeneraretur* quisquis in Christum *credidit*, de quo Christus generatus regeneratione non eguit." August. *Enchirid.* c. 48. p. 214. tom. vi.

Ibid. note b. Austin expressly allows the *Spirit* to be given in some part, or in some sense, in all *true* baptism. Tom. ix. 116, 117. And p. 169 he is express that *Simon Magus* was born of the *Spirit*.

P. 443. l. 14. "whether good or bad."] Vid. *Austin*, tom. ix. p. 117.

Ibid. l. 25. "disqualifications"] They are therefore *born of the Spirit*, only not *salutarly* born. Vid. *Aust.* tom. ix. 169.

Ibid. note c. Conf. *August.* tom. ix. pp. 86, 87, 88, 89, 117, 133.

"*Simon ille Magus* natus erat ex *aqua* et *Spiritu*, et tamen non intravit in regnum cælorum." p. 169. A. D. 400. Conf. p. 157, 158.

"*Simon* ille de Actibus Apostolorum acceperat *lavacrum aquæ*, verum quia *Spiritum* non habebat, indutus non erat Christum." Hieronym. *ad Galat.* tom. iv. p. 214. A. D. 388.

"Idem *Spiritus*, etiam super *indignos* quoque sui, nonnunquam invenietur esse: non utique *otiose*, nec *sine ratione*, sed *necessariæ* alicujus *operationis* gratia, sicut super *Saul* fuit, super quem factus est *Spiritus Dei*, et prophetavit." *Anonym. de Rebaptismate.* Inter Opp. *Cypriani*, p. 364. ed. Bened. Compare St. Austin, p. 31, of *Serm.* note.

Though *Simon Magus* was born of *water and the Spirit*, yet he was not born of God in the sense of 1 John iii. 9.

"Qui natus est ex *Deo* habet *caritatem*. Ecce accepit sacramentum *nativitatis* homo *baptizatus*: sacramentum habet, et magnum sacramentum, divinum, sanctum, ineffabile. Considera quale: ut *novum hominem* faciat *demissione* omnium peccatorum. Attendat tamen *in cor*, si perfectum est ibi, quod factum est *in corpore*. Videat si habet *caritatem*, et tunc dicat, *natus sum ex Deo*. Habeat *caritatem*: aliter,

non se dicat, *natum ex Deo*. Sed habeo, inquit, sacramentum. Audi apostolorum, 1 Cor. xiii. 2." *August.* tom. iii. par. 2. p. 859. A. D. 416.

P. 444. l. 10. "hitherto wanting."] Vid. *August. de Bapt.* l. i. c. 10. pp. 87, 88. tom. ix. Conf. 79, 81, 91, 121, 145, 169, 419, 427, 447, 620.

P. 445. l. 16. "Jezebel"] Buddei *Eccles. Apost.* p. 401.

Ibid. note *h*. Bishop Smalbroke's *Answer to Quakers*, p. 183.

P. 446. l. 3. "Galatians"] Vide *Hieron.* in loco, p. 278. tom. iv.

Ibid. note *k*. Calv. *Inst.* l. iv. c. 16. et *Comm.* in loco. *Chamier*, tom. iv. l. 5. c. 9. *Gomarus*, *Opp.* par. i. 261. *Maresius*, p. 456. *Episcopus Dilemm. Pontific.* p. 159. *Schlictingius* in loco. *Wolzogenius* in loco. *Hoornbeeckius*, *Theol. Pract.* l. ix. c. 22. *Grotius* in loco. *Hottingerus*, *Thes.* p. 246. *Cocceius*, tom. iv. 90. *Ittigii Exercit. Theol.* p. 80.

P. 447. l. 29. "what has frequently happened,"] St. Saulien's confession to Mrs. Bourignon. *Abridgment of her Life*, p. 285. Conf. p. 238; and on *Solid Virtue*, part i. p. 86. "He told her, he was not what he had appeared to be; that, having from his youth a *haughty* mind, he desired to *distinguish* himself from the people; which, since he could not do by *birth* or *wealth*, he resolved to put on the appearance of *virtue* and *piety*, as being *more esteemed*, which made him practise outward works of *mortification* and *devotion*; that he learned to speak after so *sublime* a manner of *inward* things, by reading carefully *spiritual* books, and observing *her* words, sentiments, and way of behaviour; that the first time he saw her on the street, he was struck with *love* of her; and all he had done or said since was to insinuate into *her* friendship, and to enjoy her, by *love* or *force*, which he was resolved upon, though he should hang for it."

Ibid. note *l*, 1st parag. Conf. Buddeus, *Eccles. Apost.* p. 325.

P. 448. note *l*, 3rd parag. "Cum—*falsa* dixisse deprehenderetur—ausus ejus *sacrilegos* fuisse, satis emineret, cum ea non solum *ignorata*, sed etiam *falsa*, tam *vesana* superbiæ vanitati diceret, ut ea tamquam *divinæ* personæ tribuere sibi niteretur.——In illo autem qui *doctor*, qui *auctor*, qui *dux*, et *princeps* eorum, quibus illa suaderet ita fieri ausus est, ut qui eum sequerentur, non quemlibet *hominem* sed *Spiritum* tuum *sanctum* se sequi arbitrarentur; quis tantam *dementiam* (sicubi *falsa* dixisse convinceretur) non *detestandam*, longæque abjiciendam esse judicaret?" *August. de Bapt.* p. 111.

Ibid. note *l*, 5th parag. Dr. Hammond in the year 1654 says of it, "The opinion that of late begins to diffuse itself among some." *Fundament.* *Opp.* tom. iv. p. 317.

P. 449. l. 12. "some secret rules of their own breasts.]" "Every one will have a familiar spirit of his own to teach him." Laney's *Sermon on Comprehension*, Gal. vi. 7, 8. A.D. 1675, p. 14.

"Here is no place in the text (Rom. viii. 16.) for private *revelations*, and I wish they had none amongst us; for under *colour* of them, every man will have a *private spirit*, though of his own making. Any *vain dream* or *imagination*, nay, any *wicked* or *devilish* suggestion, shall be an *impulse* of God's *Spirit*: it were happy for this kingdom and church if we could lay these *familiar spirits*: no *schism* in the church, no *mischiefs* in the commonwealth, no *rebellious* practice which was not carried on by the *conduct* and *impulse* of these *spirits*. Thus by them they *trouble* the world, *deceive* simple men, and *work despite* to the *Spirit* of God." Laney, p. 17.

P. 450. l. 2. "dictates of the Spirit.]" To believe it a *divine* inspiration, and so not *controllable* by scripture; this is to be *mad*, to be given up to all *delusion*, to surrender our *hearts* as a *blank table* for the *devil* to write what he pleases upon, and to pass it as the engravings of the finger of God. And if there be no *light* (i. e. no *understanding*) in us but what is *divine*, we must think every thing *divine* that is written there; and then we are sealed up in *error*, from which there can be no returning, &c.

Ibid. note n, 3rd parag. l. 10. "pretended principle]" "Which, when any man comes to be persuaded are the immediate dictates of the Holy Ghost, then is his *madness* in perfection. The Quakers have never yet been able to give us any *mark*, or *rule*, or *show* of *reason* that they do not thus mistake all their own *wild imaginations* for the *inspiration* of God. That *assurance* does always accompany every error; for no man can be in any error who does not think himself to be in the right, else he were not in an *error*, but a wilful obstinacy, if he persisted in it after he knew it to be an error." Leslie, vol. ii. 262.

P. 451. note t, "Simonians.]" Vid. Buddeus, *Eccles. Apost.* p. 355.

Ibid. note t, l. 5. "*good works*."]" "Si ergo per hæc *miracula* non fiat modo *testimonium* præsentiae Spiritus Sancti; unde fit, unde cognoscit quisque accepisse se Spiritum Sanctum? Interroget *cor suum*; si diligit fratrem, manet *Spiritus Dei* in illo. Videat si est in illo dilectio *pacis* et *unitatis*—dilectio *Ecclesie* toto terrarum orbe diffusæ.—Ergo, si vis nosse quia accepisti *Spiritum*, interroga cor tuum; ne forte *sacramentum* habes, et *virtutem* sacramenti non habes." August. tom. iii. par. 2. p. 868. See also the Valentinians, *Bull*, 531. Whitby's *Preface to the first Epistle of John*, p. 747.

P. 452. l. 23. "workings of their own minds.]" "When men talk so much of the *Spirit*, if they take notice what they ordinarily *mean*

by it, it is nothing else but a strong *impetuous motion*, whereby they are zealously and fervently carried in matters of religion; so that fervour, zeal, and spirit are all one." *Henry More*, p. 16.

P. 452. l. 32. "Judas."] *Judas* and *Ananias* had *impulses* upon them to do evil; therefore there is no trusting to *impulses*, barely considered *as such*. *Judas* and *Ananias* might have *good meanings* along with their impulses, (for *false colours* are easily laid upon any wickedness whatever); therefore there is no trusting to *impulses* and *good meanings* jointly considered, much less to bare impulses considered by themselves, however strong or impetuous.

P. 453. note *b*. Compare Mrs. Bourignon's *Warning against Quakers*, Pref. p. ix—xix. c. 17.

*Ibid.* l. 12. "good meanings."] He might have been made to think that he had not so *absolutely* dedicated all to God, as not to have reserved a liberty to himself of *second* thoughts: he might design what he reserved for *pious* uses, being willing still to have it in his power to do acts of *munificence*. As it was an *heroic* act, a kind of *supererogation*, to leave himself *no private property*, he might conceive that he had more liberty in such a case than in a point of strict duty. He was, no doubt, a *very pious, zealous* man; but yet he had a mind to have the *credit* of greater piety than he really had.

P. 454. l. 28. "and therefore we have the Spirit."] See *Homily for Whitsunday*, and *Church on Regeneration*, p. 42.

P. 455. note *i*. See Laney on *Gal.* vi. 7, 8; p. 15. "To clear our understanding by removing *pride* and *prejudice* that obscure it, to inflame us with a *true love* of truth; not to *dictate* or reveal any thing which is not seen in the Gospel, as well by the eyes of others as our own."

"Testimonium illud *internum* non est *testimonium* proprie dictum, quasi Spiritus Sanctus cuiquam proprie *revelaret* speciatim, hoc vel illud *dogma* esse *verum*, ut ita illud cognoscat ex *duplici* revelatione, quorum altera est *externa* in verbo Dei, altera *interna* quam quilibet accipiat *immediate* a Deo, non secus ac prophetæ divinitus *inspirati*. Hic enim esset purus putus *enthusiasmus*, quem theologi omnes hic uno ore rejiciunt. Quæ igitur hac in re partes sunt Spiritus Sancti? Audivimus ab initio rationes credendi *tales* esse ut in corde *rite disposito*, fidem producant. Hæc vero *cordis dispositio* est gratiæ Dei et Spiritus Sancti: unde petenda ab eo assiduis precibus," &c. Werenfels. tom. ii. *Lect. Hermeneut.* p. 334.

*Ibid.* note *k*. See Norris on *Humil.* p. 259.

*Ibid.* l. 5. "the proud Pharisee."] "Jam sciens homo gratia Dei se esse quod est, non incidat in alium *superbiæ laqueum*, ut de *ipsa* Dei *gratia* se extollendo *spernat* cæteros. Quo vitio alius ille Pharisæus,

et de bonis quæ habebat Deo *gratias* agebat, et tam se super *publicanum* peccata confitentem extollebat." August. *de S. Virginitate*, c. 43. p. 363. tom. vi. See Norris's *Humility*, 127, 129, 130, 174. Bull, *Posth.* vol. ii. p. 209.

P. 455. l. 18. "the life and spirit of true Christianity."] It is an unaccountable perverseness and madness to turn that into matter of *pride* and *vainglory* which was intended for the purposes of *humility*; as also to turn the fear and love of God, which are the *checks* and *restraints*, into *incentives* to iniquitous proceedings; as also to turn *preservatives* into *snares*, and *food* into *poison*; so as to leave no possibility of cure without a *miracle*. More hopes of an *atheist* than of an *enthusiast*.

P. 457. l. 24. "*immediate* revelation."] "Quotus enim quisque nostrum per revelationem Christi didicit et non homine prædicante cognovit?" Hieron. *ad Gal.* i. 1. tom. iv. p. 230.

Ibid. l. 28. "*delusions*."] See *Leslie*, vol. ii. p. 262. "There can be no *returning* while we keep in that principle. The scriptures can be no reproof or check upon us while we think that what we call *light* within is *superior* to the scriptures, and by which the scriptures themselves were given forth. And *reason*, which is *human*, and as these men term it *carnal*, can never be admitted by them to rectify what they think *divine*; so that all *avenues* are stopped to their *recovery*. This is the most *dreadful* condition that any man can be supposed to be in; it is *desperate* to every thing but a *miracle*: therefore you see what reason we have to remove men from this principle." Ibid. Compare Bourignon's *Warnings against Quakers*. Pref. p. ix. p. 334.

P. 458. l. 7. "*godly*."] See *Leslie*, Pref. p. ii. *Church*, Pref. p. iv.

**ADDITIONAL NOTES**  
**ON THE SIXTH CHARGE,**  
**ENTITLED,**  
**THE SACRAMENTAL PART OF THE EUCHARIST**  
**EXPLAINED.**

[See vol. v. pp. 185—230.]

---

P. 188. note *b*. “Dr. Grabe”] “Grabium cujus ingenium novarum et portentosarum opinionum tenax nemini ignotum est.” Deyling. *Observat. Miscell.* p. 177.

“Nec tamen id dissimulamus, ipsum, antequam ad Anglos abiret, ad ecclesiam Romanam transire omnino voluisse, et quidem hanc præcipue ob rationem, quod crediderat, successionem episcopatus ministeriique apostolici in ea sola inveniri.” *Pfaffius*, p. 500.

P. 189. note *k*. “1120”] or 1130.

*Ibid.* “Hugo de S. Victore dicit, quod Sacramentum ex sanctificatione invisibilem gratiam *continet*.” *Aquin.* par. 3. Q. 62. Art. 3. p. 138.

“Sacramentum est corporale vel materiale elementum—ex sanctificatione *continens* invisibilem et spiritualem gratiam.” Hugo de S. Vict. t. iii. *de Sacramentis*, par. 9. c. 1. p. 405.

“Dona enim gratiæ spiritualia quasi quædam invisibilia antidota sunt, quæ dum in sacramentis visibilibus, quasi quibusdam *vasculis*, homini porriguntur, quid aliud quam ex patenti specie virtus occulta ostenditur?” p. 406. edit. Colon. 1617.

P. 190. l. 4. *Abp. Cranmer*, pp. 338, 340, 341, 355.

*Ibid.* note *m*, “Novatian. c. xix.”] xxiv.

*Ibid.* After note *m*, add, καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἐκείνο ἦν ἡμεῖς, τῷ Χριστῷ, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ ἄρτου τούτου ἐνούμεθα. Chrysost. in 1 *Cor.* Hom. 24. p. 213.

P. 190. l. 30. After "wine" insert "on earth." Which also seems to be the meaning of all the ancient Liturgies, in which it is prayed, that God would send down *his Spirit* upon the bread and wine in the Eucharist, p. 22. alias 246. Conf. *Spalatens.* l. v. c. 6. p. 85. *Salmas.* P. 395.

P. 191. l. 8. "illapse"] The illapse of the second Person was prayed for likewise. "Sacerdotes quoque qui dant baptismum, et ad Eucharistiam *Domini imprecantur adventum*, faciunt oleum chrismatis, manum imponunt." Hieron. in *Sophon.* iii. p. 1673. "Crede adesse *Dominum Jesum*, invocatum precibus sacerdotum." Pseud. Ambr. *de iis qui mysteriis initiantur.* c. 5. But vid. *Missal. Gallican. in Pfaffio* 383. This relates to baptism.

The whole Trinity sometimes invoked. Vid. Justin. *Apol.* 96. Cyrill. *Mystag.* i. t. vii. p. 308. conf. *Pfaffius*, 384, 385, 399.

..... "Improperie ergo, in Sacramentis participandis, *verbo carne vesci* dicimur, cum *carne* tantum per *verbum* facta *vivificante* vescamur. Sed nec ipsam carnem *proprie* sumimus, quæ in pane sanctificato *sub sacramento* nobis communicatur." Salmasius, *contra Grot.* p. 156.

Ibid. l. 17. "The work of the Holy Ghost upon the elements.]"  
"1. Papists say, the Holy Ghost *transubstantiates* the elements.

"2. Lutherans, that he *unites* them with the *natural* body locally present.

"3. Modern Greeks, that he *fills* them with himself, or with his grace or energy.

"4. Ancients, that he makes them exhibit *symbols* of Christ's body locally absent, and of all the benefits accruing from it, conveying them to the *communicants* in the use of the symbols. They are *changed*—They have a *dignity* and *preeminence* which they had not before—They are not now *common* bread or *common* wine, but the *Sacrament* of the body and blood of Christ. A *holy mystery*—a *covenant*—a *testimony*—a *perfect seal* and sufficient *warrant* of God's promises," &c. Jewel, *Treatise of the Sacraments*, p. 274. ed. 1611.

"Consecratio nullam pani et vino *mutationem* inducit nisi ut ex his fiat per eam *sacramentum*. Fides deinde sacramentum digne accipientis facit ut *spiritualiter* illud percipiat: id est, ut *spirituali* ejus *virtuti* communicet, et Spiritus Dei particeps existat. Nec huic veritati obstat, quod Patres sæpe *δύναμιν ἄprov* appellent, &c. Non enim intelligunt eam esse panis virtutem, aut pani *inesse*, sed quia *cum pane* simul accipitur ab eo qui digne eam accipit." *Salmasius*, p. 429.

P. 192. l. 8. "first six centuries]" "When Gelasius speaks of the *going of the sacraments into the divine substance*, he meaneth not that the substances of the sacraments go into the substance of God, but that in the action of that mystery, to them that *worthily* receive the



sacraments, *to them* they be turned into the Divine substance, through the working of the Holy Ghost, who maketh the godly receivers to be partakers of the Divine nature and substance." *Cranmer*, 356. comp. 358. N. B. The *outward* change as to *relative* holiness, belongs to the elements, but the *inward* change to the *persons* only.

P. 192. l. 22. "signify—signifies"] *Read*, signified.

*Ibid.* note *t*. "Jewel"] *Add*, *Treatise of Sacraments*. *Add also*, *Salmasius*, pp. 350, 351, &c.

*Ibid.* l. 27. *Dele* "literally."

P. 193. l. 7. "spiritually"] The doctrine of eating *spiritually* was preserved even in *Pasch. Radbert*. *Opp.* pp. 1567, 1570, 1571, 1583, 1626.

*Ibid.* note *z*. *For* "168" *read* 164.

*Ibid.* l. 25. "longer"] That doctrine was preserved in the old English or Saxon Church down to the 10th or 11th century, as appears from *Ælfric*, who thus speaks in his Saxon Homily on Easter-day:

"We do now spiritually (gærlice) receive or eat Christ's body, and drink his blood, when we receive (or eat) with true belief, that holy housel (hutel)." p. 3. ed. Lisle.

"Non sit tamen sacramentum corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, nec sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit, sed *spiritualiter* corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis sicut manna quod de cœlo pluit, et aqua quæ de petra fluxit." *Ælfric. ep. ad Wulstan. Wanley*. 58. ann. circiter 950 et 941.

*Ibid.* *after* note *b*, *add*, But they seem to have used *type* and *symbol* promiscuously, and to have rejected them both. Οὐκ εἶπε, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ σώματός μου, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ αἱματός μου, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, καὶ τὸ αἷμά μου· διδάσκων ἡμᾶς μὴ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ἄρῃν τοῦ προκειμένου, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς γενομένης εὐχαριστίας εἰς σάρκα καὶ αἷμα μεταβάλλεσθαι. Theodor. Mopsuest. in *Possini Catena in Matth. xxvi.* 26. p. 350.

P. 194. l. 10. "aphthartodocetæ"] and *Aphthartistæ*, ἀφθαρτισταί.

*Ibid.* l. 14. "680."] 685. *Oudin.* t. i. p. 1663.

*Ibid.* note *c*. "rebus"] *Add*, quæ iis significantur.

*Ibid.* note *e*. In the 11th century arose another dispute, namely, whether the *consecrated* elements were themselves *corruptible*. So that the very premises on which Anastasius built his argument for the *corruptible* nature of the *thing signified* was disputed. For since our *Lord's body* was held *incorruptible*, it was now pretended that the eucharistical body, being the same, was *incorruptible* also. Vide *Salmasius*, p. 344. the natural consequence of transubstantiation.

*Ibid.* l. 29. "Gaiantes"] "Videntur isti homines credidisse omnem

panem communem esse *antitypum* corporis Christi, quia Christus in *pane* sacramenta constituit sui corporis: at post consecrationem, cum desinat esse *communis panis et simplex*, desinere esse *antitypum* corporis, quia jam sit *ipsum corpus*." *Salmas.* pp. 340, 341.

P. 194. l. 33. "which was to be proved.]" "Frivolum et ineptum est argumentum: ex re sequeretur *imaginem* cujuslibet rei aut personæ iisdem vitiis plane esse obnoxiam ut ipsum *architypum*, vel ipsa res cujus est imago.—At illi negant panem eucharistiæ, quem *corruptibilem* asseverant, esse ἀρτίτυπον corporis Christi. Sed quod negant, res ipsa, velint nolint, ostendit." *Salmasius*, p. 343.

P. 195. *After note g, add*, The Greeks that came later, *Nicephorus, Theodorus Graplus, Samonas, Marcus Ephesius, Theophylactus, Miletius*, &c., followed the same scent. See *Pfaffius*, pp. 141, 142. And so Pasch. Radbert. in *Matth.* p. 1626.

*Ibid.* *After note i, add*, N.B. After that transubstantiation took place, many denied that the consecrated elements were *corruptible*. This happened in the 11th century, near 400 years after Anastasius. 1066. Vid. *Guitmund.* t. ii. p. 447.

P. 196. l. 16. "very difficult.]" "Ut quotidie de novo creetur infinitis in locis corpus Christi corruptibile, cum sanguine pariter *corruptibili*, et separato a proprio corpore, ut effusus est ex latere ejus in cruce, id vero nullo modo credibile dictu est, nec possibile factu.—Non mirum est porro Græculos istos neotericos doctores in re obscura exponenda, variis semetipsos implicasse contradictionibus." *Salmas.* pp. 345, 346.

*Ibid.* l. 24. "his notion.]" See the weakness and inconsistency of the notion fully exposed in *Salmasius*, p. 345, &c.

"Isti volunt ex pane, corruptionis omni labi obnoxio, confici corpus Christi *frangendum*, similiter ut in cruce ipse fractus est, et multis aliis præterea vitiis *mucoris, putrefactionis, verminationis* corrumpendum, quæ non sensit tum corpus Christi:—Quod non solum est ἀνοήταρον, sed etiam maxime impium cogitatu. Non mirum est porro Græculos istos," &c. *Ibid.* pp. 345, 346.

*Ibid.* note o, "given.]" *Read*, eaten.

P. 197. l. 23. "Damascen.]" *Read*, John Damascen.

*Ibid.* l. 31. "the ancients.]" "Locutiones *figuræ, imaginis et antitypi* aliquid mutationis *octavo sæculo* apud Græcos accepisse facile conciperim." *Simon. not. ad Gabr. Sever.* 23c.

P. 198. *After note q, add*, Conf. *Conc. Nicen.* ii. Act. vi. p. 370. *Hard.*

*Ibid.* *After note r, add*, *Salmasius de Transubst. contra Grot.* pp. 338, 339, &c. *Simon. not. in Gabr. Philadelph.* p. 230. *Pfaffius in Iren. Fragm.* p. 140.

*Ibid.* l. 10. "very terms.]" Vid. *Jewel, Answer to Hard.* p. 335. *Salmasius*, p. 341, 445.

P. 198. l. 18. "and sometimes"] "Paulus Diaconus Aquileiensis A. D. 785. Præsius conditor noster infirmitatis nostræ, ea potestate qua cuncta fecit ex nihilo, et corpus sibi ex carne semper-virginis, operante Sancto Spiritu, fabricavit, panem et vinum aqua mixtum, manente propria specie, in carnem et sanguinem suum, ad catholicam fidem, ob reparationem nostram Sancti Spiritus sanctificatione convertit." *In Vit. Gregorii M.* Then Paulus reports a pretended miracle of Gregory, to convert a woman and to confirm the doctrine.

Ibid. *After note u, add, Conf. Paschal. Radb. c. 3. p. 1563. IV. 1565. 1588. Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. 2. Paulus Diaconus in Vit. Gregor. I. A. D. 734. Missal. Goth. in Missa Leudegarii A. D. 780. Steph. Advers. A. D. 1113.*

Ibid. *After note x, add, Euseb. in Isai. p. 385. Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. 17. c. 6. p. 266. Gregor. Nazianz. Or. 38, et 42. Marius Victorin. contr. Arian. l. i. Gregor. Moral. l. xviii. c. 12. Homil. in Evang. 33. Beda in loc.*

P. 199. l. 34. "attempted not to get out"] *Add, excepting only a few short hints.*

Ibid. l. 26. "suggesting"] *Add, and enforcing.*

P. 200. *Subjoin to note z. Damascen had hinted this matter before, in his book, l. iv. p. 270, but had not explicitly opened his meaning: "Ὡσπερ φυσικῶς διὰ τῆς βρώσεως ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τῆς πόσεως εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ ἐσθιοντος καὶ πίνοντος μεταβάλλονται, καὶ γίνονται ἕτερον σῶμα παρὰ τὸ πρότερον αὐτοῦ σῶμα· οὕτως ὁ τῆς προθέσεως ἄρτος, οἶνός τε καὶ ὕδωρ, διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὑπερφυῶς μεταποιούνται, εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ αἷμα, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλ' ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτό.*

Ibid. *Add to note b. And others referred to by Zornius, Histor. Eu-charist. Infant. p. 457.*

P. 201. l. 14. "divinely sanctified"] "*Consecrare idem est Latinis scriptoribus quod deum facere: ut de illis qui in numerum deorum referbantur, quæ est Græcorum ἀποθέωσις.*" *Salmas. de Transubst. pp. 437. 439. 443.*

Ibid. l. 18. "replenished"] "*Simulachra consecrari dicebantur, cum deus cui dedicabantur, in ea certis carminibus eliciebatur, ut divinitate sua illa repletet, et in simulachro deus ipse præsens haberi et coli videretur.*" *Idem, p. 438. conf. 443.*

Ibid. *note f. After φυσικῆς dele comma.*

Ibid. *After note f, add, "Non enim δύναμις aut virtutem divinam ex verbis consecrationis inditam esse pani crediderunt, quamvis et spiritum invocatum, de cælo descendere dixerunt, et adesse, et præsentia sua vegetare et implere species elementorum in mensa dominica positas."* *Salmas. p. 443. conf. 446.*

P. 202. l. 8. "800."] *Read, 806.*

P. 203. note *n*, " *ibid.*" ] *Read*, vid.

P. 204. l. 3. "figure, or image"] These words were kept in the English-Saxon Church 200 years later, as appears by Ælfric. "This mystery is a *pledge* and a *figure*: Christ's body is *truth* itself: this pledge we do hold mystically, until we come to the *truth* itself, and then there is an end of the *pledge*." *Sax. Hom. on Easter-day*, pp. 7, 8.

*Ibid.* l. 10. "the western parts appear to have retained just ideas of "the holy Eucharist." ] Yet Paulus Diaconus (who died in 801) is an exception, in what he says in his *Life of Gregory*. And one may reasonably judge that transubstantiation was then first creeping in, by their feigning of *miracles* to support the novelty.

*Ibid.* l. 23. "the great variety of systems soon set up"] Vid. Guitmund. *de Verit. Euchar.* l. 1. pp. 441, 442. *Bibl. PP.* tom. xviii. l. 3. p. 460. *Algerus*, tom. xxi. p. 251.

P. 205. note *s*, *Read*, *Sacram.* part 2. p. 6. About A.D. 1060.

*Ibid.* l. 15. "impanation, a name following the analogy of the word *incarnation*" ] A. D. 1070. circiter. Sic *Guitmundus*: "Quæ insania est, ut Christum, ut ita dixerim, sua autoritate *impanent* et *invinent*? Christum *incarnari* humanæ redemptionis ratio exposcebat: at *impanari* vel *invinari* Christum nulla expetit ratio." *Bibl. PP.* tom. xviii. p. 461. unde nova hæc *companatio*? *Ibid.* p. 461. lib. iii. conf. p. 464. 1130. *Algerus*, p. 251. tom. xxi. *Bibl. PP.* p. 260.

*Ibid.* After note *t*, add, "Ad hanc ipsis fanaticam credulitatem præivere veterum patrum scripta *non bene intellecta*, et recentiorum de realitate et præsentia corporis Christi dogma.

"Ex his duobus monstris *tertium* composuerunt de ista *hypostatica* unitate panis et divinitatis: quasi divinitas *assumpto* pane eum faceret *corpus* Christi, non mutata tamen nec destructa panis substantia." *Salmas.* p. 416.

*Ibid.* After note *u*, add, *Salmasius*, p. 390.

*Ibid.* After note *w*, add, Paris. tom. xii. *Colon.* t. xxi. Lugd. p. 221.

P. 206. "Quod *Sacramentum* est Augustino, Irenæo est *res terrena*: quod huic *res celestis* illi est *res sacramenti*, sive *corpus Christi*.—Hæc *res sacramenti* et *virtus* sacramenti,—etiam *veritas* sacramenti dicitur, et *spiritus*, et *gratia* nempe *spiritalis*, et *corpus Christi*, *spiritalis* scilicet." *Salmas.* pp. 163. 165. The body considered as *corporally* present in heaven, is *corpus naturale* et *sensibile*, but considered as *spiritually* present in the Eucharist, is *corpus spiritale*, *intelligibile*.

*Ibid.* note *y*, for *φθόρας* read *φθορᾶς*.

*Ibid.* in fine add, *Cranmer*, b. iv. p. 276.

*Ibid.* After note *b*, add, Conf. ejusdem Remigii *Exposit. Missæ*, *Bibl. PP.* tom. xvi. p. 957. sive de celebratione missæ.

P. 207. l. 18, for "resolves" read resolved.

P. 207. note c. *Add*, p. 287. ed. Hittorp.

Ibid. l. 37. See *Cranmer*, p. 356; above, [vol. v.] p. 192; *Review*, vol. iv. p. 691. et seqq.

P. 208. l. 9. "to the *worthy* only."] "Ea igitur *communio* spiritus et panis, spiritus et vini, quam Patres in his sacramentis fieri dicunt, non in ipso *pane* fit, neque in ipso calice, sed in *corde* sumentis per fidem." *Salmasius*, p. 429. See below, [vol. v.] pp. 210, 211. and compare *Pfaffius*, pp. 414. 431. 432. 446.

"Ex istis apparet totidem exortas fuisse hæreses circa *præsentiam* corporis Christi in eucharistia quot olim fuere circa *verbi incarnationem* in eo mysterio: cum alii κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν eam extitisse dicerent, alii κατὰ μετακίνησιν, alii κατὰ περιλασμόν. Huic postremæ par est *Lutheranorum* sententia." *Salmas.* p. 422.

"Non sanctificatur ut sit tam magnum *Sacramentum*, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei." Augustin. *de Trin.* l. iii. c. 4.

Ibid. l. 15. "bread-sacrifice"] "Ne forte ob hoc censeamur indigni, si non satis discernimus illud, nec intelligimus, mysticum Christi corpus et sanguis quanta polleat dignitate, quantaque præmineat virtute, et discernatur a corporeo gustu, ut sit *præstantius* omni sacrificio veteris testamenti." *Paschal. Radbert.* c. 2. Opp. p. 1559. *Algerus*, 268.

"Christi caro est, quæ pro mundi vita adhuc hodie offertur." 555. When bread was once supposed to be literally *that body* which was *sacrificed*, it must of course be thought a sacrifice: hence *bread-sacrifice*.

P. 209. note h, for "Chemier" read Chamier, and *add*, See below, [vol. v.] p. 226. "Quomodo, dicente Bernardo, confertur Canonicatus per dationem libri, Abbatis præfectura per *baculum*, Episcopatus per *anulum*: quomodo de consensu contrahentium per traditionem *authentici instrumenti* confertur hæreditas, quomodo etiam ex *nummo uno* fit *arrha*, quæ valet ad solutionem mille nummorum; sic ex pacto et conventionione inter Deum et hominem, ad *dignam* sacramentorum perceptionem *gratia* divina confertur, et cælestis hæreditatis *arrha*. Quæ est sententia non *nostræ* duntaxat *ecclesiæ*, sed et primorum *Romanensium*, tum veterum *Halensis, Gandavensis, Bonaventuræ, Scoti*; tum etiam multorum recentium, Cani, Vasquesii." *Ward*, p. 44.

Ibid. l. 7. "in his hands"] *Read*, into his hands.

Ibid. l. 11. "into his mouth."] "His body and blood are by this Sacrament *assured* to be no less *ours* than *his*—He hath made himself all *ours*. Ours his *passions*, ours his *merits*, ours his *victory*, ours his *glory*. And therefore he giveth *himself* and *all his* in this sacrament wholly up to us." Archbishop Sandys, *Serm.* XV. p. 134. See *Review*, vol. iv. p. 567.

Ibid. note i. "were the *same*"] A. D. 89c. *Ratram* opposed transub-

stant. A. D. 1035. circit. *Berengarius* began to oppose that doctrine: condemned in several Councils, 1050. 1053. 1055. 1059. 1078. 1079. He died A. D. 1088.

P. 209. "the elements are that"] *Read*, the elements literally are that.

*Ibid.* in fin. *Add*, The Anglo-Saxon Church retained the old distinctions till the close of the 10th century, as appears from Ælfrick's *Saxon Homily on Easter-day*, p. 7. He was Abp. of Cant. 993. and died A. D. 1006.

P. 210. l. 11. *Dele* "eleventh or".

*Ibid.* l. 13. *For* "Arnoldus" *read* Arnaldus.

*Ibid.* l. 14. *For* "1140" *read* 1162.

*Ibid.* l. 17. "1." "Invocatio illa Dei et benedictio non *illigat* Spiritum pani, nec *includit*; sed panem *sanctificat*, ut possit ab eo qui fidem habet, et mundus est, *digne* et cum *efficacia*, non solum sacramentaliter, sed etiam spiritaliter participari." *Salmas.* p. 428.

"Nos non dicimus Sacramenta conferre gratiam per ullam illis *inditam* aut vim aut qualitatem, sive naturalem sive supernaturalem, quod est gratiam conferre per modum causæ physicæ: sed dicuntur ex nostræ Ecclesiæ sententia", &c. Ward, *Determ.* p. 44. See below, [vol. v.] p. 226.

"Cum patres hæc conjuncta esse asserunt, et Sacramentum a sua virtute minime sejungi dicunt, non intelligunt eum spiritum, sive spiritalem gratiam, pani ipsi *inseparabiliter* adhærere, sed in *ipso corde* ipsius *accipientis* eam unitatem effici per *fidem*: quam qui non præstat, is non communicat *corpori*, sed sacramentum, hoc est, *nudum signum* accipit, non *virtutem* sacramenti: *signum* non *rem* signi percipit." *Salmasius*, 427. See above, [vol. v.] p. 207. below, 227, and *Pfaffus*, 414. 431. 432. 446.

P. 210. *After* note *q*, *add*, Compare *Cranmer*, pp. 34. 56. 58. 74. 141. 172. 192. 208. 211. 212. 327. 413.

*Ibid.* note *q*, l. 13. *for* "speech" *read* speaking.

*Ibid.* l. 18. *For* "made" *read* ordained.

P. 211. note *r*, l. pen. *After* "p. 102." *insert*, *Discuss. Dialysis*, p. 78.

*Ibid.* *After* note *r*, *add*, "Here you grant that Christ's *body* was made of bread. And then it must follow, that either Christ had *two bodies*, (the one made of *flesh* of the Virgin Mary, the other of *bread*), or else that the selfsame body was made of two diverse matters, and at diverse and sondry times." *Cranmer*, 297.

P. 212. l. 5. "the notion of two true bodies of Christ"] See *Cranmer*, p. 267.

*Ibid.* l. 10. "that momentous principle"] See *Review*, vol. iv. pp. 587. 590. 600. 604. 606. 607. 608.

*Ibid.* l. 30. *For* "it" *read* them.

P. 213. l. 10. "the system which he had before formed in his "mind"] "Patrum multitudine putavit Harchius suum illud commentum aperte confirmari; illis certe non dissimilis quibus si specillis vindicibus utantur *viridia* omnia apparent." *Beza*, 182. fol. edit.

P. 214. l. 9. "Dat ergo nobis Christus in hoc Sacramento duplicem spiritum suum, existens verus *Elias*. In pane quidem spiritum proprium *verbum* ipsum et Dei *sapientiam*: in vino spiritum qui a Patre *procedit* et Filio: in utroque vero *essentiam* totius beatæ *Trinitatis*." Harch. p. 182. *Patr. Consens.*

P. 216. l. 28. "and with them"] Yet he blames the Papists in strong terms, p. 232 of the same treatise, of 1576. "Veritatem ipsam pro *imagine* prætendunt, et *signum* adorant simpliciter pro *signato*. Et cum *corpus Christi* (quod est *ecclesia* per eucharistiæ panem figurata) debuisent et commendasse et *obtulisse* Deo patri, per Christum, *ipsum Christum* Deo patri commendant, et eum pro *proprio* et *novo* Ecclesiæ sacrificio, se in manibus tenere, hic in terra vere *carneum*, *cruentum*, *osseumque*, et *ore* comedere persuadent: parum memores illius *Origenis* in Leviticum dicentis: jejunans debes adire pontificem Christum, qui utique non in terra quærendus est, sed *in celo*, et *per ipsum* debes offerre Deo hostiam." Harch. *Patr. Consens.* p. 232.

"*Christus spiritualis* offertur mente et manu re vera: at *Christus homo carneus* et *animatus* offertur sola mente, per ipsius symbola, panem et vinum." p. 240.

"Quemve non reddet Deo Patri propitium *unigenitus* Dei *Filius* in hoc pane præsens et oblatus?" p. 264.

P. 218. note a. For "reportarem" read reportarim.

P. 220. After note o, add, Chamier. *Panstrat.* vol. iv. pp. 91. 93. *Hooker*, book v. n. 57. 67.

Ibid. After note s, add, *Sadeel*, pp. 145. 203. 421.

P. 221. After note y, add, 172. *Rivet.* t. ii. 136. *Hooker*, book v. n. 67. *Towerson*, 245.

P. 222. l. 4. "distinction between external and internal eating"] The same distinction was observed for the same purpose. *G. Paschal. Radbert.* p. 1568.

Ibid. l. 20. "joining together incompatible ideas"] "Duplex est homo, qui comedit, *externus* et *internus*: duplex *manducatio*, qua comeditur, *externa* et *interna*: duplex etiam *cibus* qui comeditur, *externus* et *internus*: *externus* cibus ab externo homine, *externa* manducatione comeditur: *internus* ab interno *interna* manducatione participatur." *Salmasius*, p. 426.

P. 224. l. 5. "the great question between the Romanists and us.]" "Missa, sicubi a sacerdote celebrari solet, neque sacrificium *propitians* est, neque *laudis* aut *gratiarum actionis*, neque Deo *accepta* aut *probata*, sed *horribilis* et *detestabilis* res, de qua Servatoris illud verissime dici

poterit, Quod celsum est coram hominibus, id *abominandum* est coram Deo." Cranmer, *Defens. Doctrin. de Sacramento*, p. 150.

P. 225. After note *n*, add, Davenant. *Determ.* p. 108. *Salmasius*, p. 429, &c. Ward, *Determ.* p. 62. *Spalatensis*, 910. after " *Sadeelis*, p. 382." read p. 362.

Ibid. note *q*. Before " *Alanus*" insert, ad quascunque sanitates producendas : cum ipsæ qualitates sanativas actu *inhærentes* atque *stabiles* non habent.

P. 226. After note *s*, add, Conf. Davenant. *Determin.* 23. pp. 108, 109. Ward, *Determ.* pp. 62. 44.

Ibid. note *t* in fin. read, 382. and add, " Nos non dicimus sacramenta conferre gratiam per unam illis *inditam* aut vim aut qualitatem (sive naturalem, sive supernaturalem) quod est gratiam conferre per modum *causæ physicae* : sed dicuntur, ex nostræ Ecclesiæ sententia, *efficacia gratiæ signa*, quia *divina virtus* hisce sacramentis ad producendum gratiæ effectum, certo et infallibiliter ex tenore fœderis et Christi promissione, *assistit*, ut viz. rationem habeant causæ *sine qua non*, vel potius causæ instrumentalis, generaliter dictæ, instrumentum *morale* vocant." Sam. Ward, *Determ.* p. 44.

P. 227. l. 25. " to enrich the elements with *grace-giving*, or *life-giving* powers." ] " Ea igitur *commixtio* spiritus et panis quam patres in his sacramentis fieri dicunt, non in ipso pane fit, neque in ipso calice, sed in *corde* sumentis per fidem." *Salmas.* 429. see above, [vol. v.] pp. 207, 208. Compare *Pfaffius*, 414. 431. 432. 446. " Neither the bread nor the water giveth life—but only the might and power of Christ that is *in them* : and yet not *in them* reserved, but in the *action* and ministrations : as is manifest from his (Epiphanius's) words." *Cranmer*, p. 327.

P. 228. l. 5. " Christian. But" ] Read, Christian : and

Ibid. After note *b*, add, Conf. *Salmas.* pp. 26. 27.

P. 230. l. 4. " a Melchisedekian sacrifice." ] " Si fuit in cœna sacerdos, ut volunt, juxta ordinem *Melchisedech*, in cruentum offerendo sacrificium, qualis in cruce sacerdos fuit, ubi sanguis est effusus ? Nil deest ad illorum stultitiam ecclesiæ propinandam, nisi ut dicant (quemadmodum insipidissimus *rabula Smythæus* aliquando scripsit, et postea publice Londini A. D. 1549, ad crucem D. Pauli recantavit) Christum in cruce tantum fuisse sacerdotem secundum ordinem *Aaronis*." Pet. Mart. *contr. Gardin.* p. 60. conf. Fulke in *Hebr.* vii. pp. 748, 749. *Heskins* (1566.) b. i. c. 13. p. 28. c. 28. p. 70. *Vasquez.* 533. *Alanus*, 534. Append. 41. 54. 28.



# ADDITIONAL NOTES

ON THE SEVENTH CHARGE,

ENTITLED,

DISTINCTIONS OF SACRIFICE.

[See vol. v. pp. 231-296.]

---

P. 285. l. 4. col. 1. note, *for* "ut nihil sit," *read*, ut nihil hic sit.  
Line 6, *after* "usum eorum" *insert* a comma.

P. 286. l. 5. "Lord, or God, or the like,"]

Καὶ σὺ, τάλαν, παλάμησι τεαῖς ἢ μύστιν ἔδωδῃν

Δέξη θαρσαλέως, ἢ θεὸν ἀγκαλίσεις

Χεῖρεσιν, αἷς διόρυξας ἐμὸν τάφον;

Nazianz. *Epigr.* p. 151. in *Anecd. Græc. Murator*: A.D. 1709.

Ibid. note *s*, l. 13. *after* "celebration of his death," *insert*, and the applying it to the present and future necessities of the Church, as we are capable, by a ministry like to his in heaven. Line 15, *after* "Taylor, Great Exempl." *for* "p. 407." *read* p. 497.

P. 288. l. 23. *For* "the days" *read* those days.

P. 296. l. 2. *For* "rursum" *read* rursus.

Ibid. l. 3. *Between* "resipiscentiæ, pœnitentiæ," *omit* the comma, *and insert* ac.

Ibid. l. 5. *For* "Deo" *read* in Deum.

# INDEX OF TEXTS

## EXPLAINED OR REFERRED TO.

### Ch. Ver. GENESIS.

1. 1. vol. i. page 380. ii. 88 n. 628.  
 1. 2. iv. 676 n. 678 n. vi. 376.  
 1. 7, 11, 12, 22, 29. vi. 376. 377.  
 1. 26. i. 385. 530. ii. 62. 88 n. iii. 276. 303.  
 1. 27. iii. 303.  
 2. 2, 3. iv. 292 n.  
 2. 7. ii. 472.  
 2. 19. vindicated, iv. 171.  
 2. 24. iv. 160 n. 162.  
 3. 1. vind. iv. 172.  
 3. 5. ii. 88 n.  
 3. 6, 7. vind. iv. 178.  
 3. 8. i. 291. ii. 129. 485. 489. iv. 178 n. vind. iv. 179.  
 3. 9. i. 291. ii. 485. 489.  
 3. 10. iv. 176 n.  
 3. 13. iv. 174 n.  
 3. 15. iv. 162.  
 3. 21. v. 233 n. vind. iv. 179.  
 3. 22. ii. 188 n. iii. 276.  
 4. iv. 160 n.  
 4. 1. i. 311.  
 4. 3, 4. iv. 292 n. v. 233 n. 243 n.  
 4. 25. i. 314 n.  
 6. 3. ii. 99. v. 691 n.  
 6. 6. vind. iv. 179.  
 6. 7. ii. 99.  
 6. 18. iv. 703 n.  
 8. 9. i. 298.  
 8. 21. ii. 99. iv. 576 n. v. 738. vind. iv. 181.  
 9. 4. iv. 575 n.  
 9. 6. ii. 99.  
 9. 9—18. iv. 703 n.  
 9. 13. vind. iv. 181.  
 9. 22, 23. iv. 332 n.  
 10. 25—32. iv. 186 n.  
 11. 2. iv. 160 n.  
 11. 7. ii. 88 n. iii. 276. vind. iv. 185.  
 11. 29, 31. iv. 187 n.  
 12. 2. ii. 98 n. iv. 290 n. iv. 703 n.  
 12. 3. ii. 98 n. iv. 703 n.  
 12. 13. vind. iv. 186.  
 13. 8. iv. 187 n.  
 13. 16. iv. 290 n.  
 13. 17. ii. 98 n.  
 14. 16. iv. 187 n.  
 14. 18. v. 166 n.  
 15. 2. i. 310.  
 15. 5. iv. 290 n.  
 15. 6. iv. 575 n.  
 15. 7. i. 310. ii. 114.  
 15. 8. vind. iv. 190 n.  
 15. 16. v. 360 n. vi. 26.  
 15. 18. iv. 703 n.  
 17. 1. i. 291. ii. 488.  
 17. 2. i. 291. ii. 488. iv. 290 n.  
 17. 2—22. iv. 703 n.  
 17. 4—6. iv. 290 n.  
 17. 7. iv. 577 n. 705 n.  
 17. 9—14. iv. 704 n.  
 17. 10. iv. 102 n. 497 n. 577 n. 708 n. vind. iv. 191.  
 17. 11. iv. 102 n. 497 n.  
 17. 13. iv. 497 n. 577 n.  
 17. 14. iv. 72 n. 577 n.  
 18. ii. 492.  
 18. 1, 13. i. 291. ii. 481. 489. 491.  
 18. 18. ii. 98 n.  
 18. 19. v. 18 n.  
 18. 23. iv. 200.  
 19. ii. 492. iv. 160 n.  
 19. 24. i. 291. ii. 481. 487. 489.  
 19. 27. i. 291. ii. 481. 489.  
 20. 2. ii. 488.  
 20. 6. iv. 197 n. 198 n. 313 n.  
 20. 13. ii. 88 n.  
 20. 17. vind. iv. 197.  
 21. ii. 492.  
 21. 2. iii. 55. iv. 703 n.  
 21. 12. i. 291. 298. ii. 481. vind. iv. 198.  
 12. 33. ii. 38 n.  
 22. 10. vind. iv. 199.  
 22. 16. iv. 240 n.  
 22. 17. iv. 290 n.  
 25. 3. v. 18 n.  
 25. 23. iv. 206 n.  
 26. 2, 3. iv. 703 n.  
 26. 4. iv. 290 n.  
 26. 7. iv. 187 n.  
 26. 21. iv. 160 n.  
 26. 28—31. iv. 722 n.  
 27. 19. vind. iv. 205.  
 27. 33. iv. 206 n.  
 28. 13. i. 292. ii. 138. 481. 488. iv. 703 n.  
 28. 14. iv. 290 n. 703 n.  
 28. 20. iv. 709 n.  
 28. 20, 21, 22. iv. 703 n.  
 29. 31, 32. vi. 329. 333.  
 31. ii. 492.  
 31. 13. i. 292. 298. ii. 481. 488. 491.  
 31. 30. ii. 657 n.  
 31. 43—55. iv. 722 n.  
 31. 49, 53. ii. 657 n.  
 32. 12. iv. 290 n.  
 34. 14. iv. 194 n.  
 35. 1. i. 293. ii. 481. 490.  
 35. 7. ii. 88 n.  
 35. 9. iv. 703 n.  
 36. 12. iv. 264 n.  
 38. 13, &c. vind. iv. 209.  
 39. 9. v. 640 n.  
 40. 15. ii. 108 n.  
 45. 8. iv. 343 n.  
 48. 19, 26. ii. 98 n.  
 49. 4, 8. ii. 98 n.

### EXODUS.

1. 7, 9. iv. 290 n.  
 2. 12. vind. iv. 215.

3. 2. iv. 530 n.  
 3. 4. i. 292. ii. 481, 488, 489, 490, 491.  
 3. 5. iv. 528 n.  
 3. 6. i. 292, 295. ii. 481, 487, 489, 490, 491. v. 667.  
 3. 8. ii. 488.  
 3. 14. i. 292, 310, 312 n. ii. 37 n. 130, 481, 488, 489. iii. 289 n.  
 3. 15. i. 310, 312 n. ii. 481, 488.  
 3. 16. i. 292. ii. 237.  
 3. 18. vind. iv. 217.  
 3. 21. iv. 219 n.  
 3. 22. iv. 219 n. 220.  
 4. iv. 160 n.  
 4. 24, 25, 26. vi. 104.  
 4. 28. iv. 703 n.  
 5. 3. iv. 217 n.  
 5. 11, 12, 13. v. 262 n.  
 6. 2, 3, &c. i. 310, 312.  
 6. 3. ii. 481.  
 6. 4—7. iv. 703 n.  
 6. 5. i. 292.  
 6. 7. ii. 115.  
 6. 29. i. 311.  
 7. 1. i. 302. iv. 575 n.  
 7. 5. iv. 294 n.  
 9. 16. iv. 294 n.  
 11. 2. iv. 220 n.  
 12. 9. iv. 603 n.  
 12. 11, 12, 13. iv. 577 n.  
 12. 12. i. 311. ii. 44.  
 12. 13. iv. 497 n.  
 12. 14. iv. 510 n.  
 12. 15. iv. 160 n. 495 n. 781 n.  
 12. 17. iv. 160 n.  
 12. 19. iv. 781 n.  
 12. 21. iv. 714 n.  
 12. 23. iv. 313.  
 12. 24. iv. 511 n.  
 12. 26, 27. iv. 511 n. v. 249 n.  
 12. 33. iv. 220 n.  
 12. 35, 36. vind. iv. 219.  
 12. 43—48. iv. 495 n.  
 12. 48. iv. 104 n. vi. 93.  
 13. 5, 7. ii. 98 n.  
 13. 9. ii. 98 n. iv. 103 n. 494 n. 511 n. 706 n.  
 13. 11, 13. ii. 98 n.  
 13. 16. iv. 103 n. 706 n.  
 14. 4. iv. 294 n.  
 15. 2. ii. 117.  
 16. 1. vi. 224 n.  
 16. 8. iv. 343 n.  
 17. 8. iv. 263 n.  
 17. 16. iv. 264 n.  
 19. 3. iv. 703.  
 19. 5. v. 277.  
 19. 6. v. 24 n. 277 n.  
 19. 8. vind. iv. 709 n.  
 20. 2. i. 292, 295. ii. 115, 130.

20. 3. i. 407, 411. ii. 115, 653. iii. 287.  
 20. 5. i. 408. iii. 288. vind. iv. 222.  
 22. 20. i. 411.  
 23. 18. iv. 738 n.  
 24. 3, 7. iv. 709 n.  
 24. 8. iv. 103, 250 n. 703 n. 708 n.  
 24. 10. i. 292.  
 29. 18. iv. 576 n.  
 29. 20. v. 273 n.  
 29. 40. v. 262 n.  
 30. 7. iv. 744 n.  
 30. 12, 13. iv. 226 n.  
 32. 13. iv. 240 n. 290 n.  
 34. 6, 7. iv. 222 n.  
 34. 14. iii. 288 n.  
 34. 19, 20. iv. 227 n.  
 34. 25. iv. 738 n.  
 34. 29. iv. 160 n.  
 34. 34. ii. 123 n. iv. 31 n.

## LEVITICUS.

1. 2. iv. 228 n. v. 234 n.  
 1. 4. iv. 576 n.  
 1. 9. iv. 71 n.  
 1. 10, 14. iv. 228 n.  
 2. 4. v. 262 n.  
 3. 11. iv. 576 n.  
 6. 30. iv. 715 n.  
 6. 35. iv. 220 n.  
 7. 18. iv. 576 n. 626 n.  
 8. vi. 92.  
 8. 14, 15. iv. 576 n.  
 10. 6. vi. 92.  
 10. 17. iv. 576 n.  
 16. 4. iv. 345 n.  
 16. 13. iv. 782 n.  
 16. 21. iv. 510 n. 576 n.  
 16. 22. iv. 576 n.  
 17. 10, 11. iv. 575 n.  
 18. 4. iv. 361 n.  
 18. 5. iv. 73 n. 361 n.  
 18. 6. i. 311.  
 19. 18. iv. 325 n.  
 19. 23. iv. 194 n.  
 19. 34. iv. 325 n.  
 21. 6, 8, 17, 21. iv. 576 n.  
 21. 22. iv. 576 n. vi. 93.  
 21. 23. vi. 93.  
 21. 25. iv. 576 n.  
 24. 7. iv. 509 n. 739 n. 756 n.  
 26. 11, 12. iv. 575 n.  
 26. 41. iv. 577 n.  
 27. 21. iv. 226 n.  
 27. 28. iv. 201.  
 27. 28, 29. vind. iv. 226.  
 3. 15. vi. 91.  
 3. 45, 46. iv. 228 n.  
 4. iv. 224 n.  
 4. 15. vi. 99. 152 n.  
 6. 23—27. v. 126 n.  
 8. 16, 19. iv. 228 n.  
 8. 24. vi. 224 n.  
 9. 6, 10. iv. 495 n.  
 9. 13. iv. 495 n. 781 n.  
 9. 14. ii. 87.  
 10. 9. vi. 99.  
 10. 21. iv. 509 n.  
 14. 15. iv. 245 n. 294 n.  
 14. 21. ii. 141 n. iv. 241 n. 245 n.  
 14. 23. vi. 91, 92.  
 14. 28. iv. 241 n.  
 14. 29. vi. 91, 92.  
 14. 30—34. vind. iv. 229.  
 15. 32. iv. 66 n.  
 16. v. 573 n.  
 16. 3. v. 59 n.  
 16. 30. vi. 152 n.  
 18. 14. iv. 228 n.  
 18. 15, 16. iv. 201 n.  
 21. 2, 3. iv. 227 n. vind. iv. 232.  
 21. 5, 6, 7. i. 316.  
 21. 8, 9. iv. 159. vi. 27 n.  
 22. 5. ii. 98 n.  
 22. 6. ii. 98 n. v. 748 n.  
 22. 8. v. 748 n.  
 22. 10, 11, 12. sermon upon, v. 747.  
 22. 12, 13. iv. 237 n.  
 22. 18. v. 750 n.  
 22. 20. iv. 238 n.  
 22. 28. vind. iv. 236.  
 22. v. 762 n.  
 23. 8. iv. 326 n.  
 23. 9. ii. 98 n.  
 23. 10. iv. 290 n.  
 23. 19. iv. 180 n.  
 23. 24. iv. 552.  
 24. 2. v. 757 n.  
 24. 20. iv. 263 n.  
 25. 12, 13. iv. 703 n.  
 26. 62, 64, 65. vi. 92.  
 27. 13, 14. v. 262 n.  
 28. 1. vi. 92.  
 28. 2, 24. iv. 576 n.  
 31. 8. v. 754 n.  
 31. 16. iv. 239 n.  
 31. 50. v. 284 n.  
 32. 11. vi. 92.  
 33. 38. vi. 91.

## DEUTERONOMY.

1. 10, 11. iv. 290 n.  
 1. 21, 31. ii. 98 n.  
 1. 34. vind. iv. 239.  
 3. 24. ii. 37 n.  
 4. 5. v. 15 n.  
 4. 6. iv. 294. v. 15 n.  
 4. 7. ii. 37 n. 88 n.

## NUMBERS.

1. 1. vi. 224 n.  
 1. 40, 47. vi. 91.  
 3. vi. 223 n.  
 3. 9. iv. 228 n.

4. 9, 10. ii. 98 n.  
 4. 27, 28. iv. 363 n.  
 5. 5. iv. 703 n.  
 5. 27. iv. 709 n.  
 5. 31. vi. 274.  
 6. 4. ii. 64, 84, 88. iii. 287.  
 6. 6, 7. iv. 301 n.  
 6. 13. i. 408.  
 7. 19. ii. 37 n.  
 7. 27. iv. 715 n.  
 8. 3. ii. 99.  
 9. 4. iv. 233.  
 9. 6. v. 649 n.  
 10. 8. v. 126 n.  
 10. 16. iv. 577 n. 705 n.  
 10. 17. ii. 37 n. iv. 328 n.  
 10. 20. i. 408.  
 11. 15. ii. 98 n.  
 11. 26. iv. 325 n.  
 13. 1. 2. i. 408. iv. 336 n.  
 13. 3. i. 408.  
 16. 1. iv. 103 n.  
 16. 2. iv. 103 n. 506 n.  
 16. 3. iv. 506 n. 511 n.  
 18. 2. ii. 98 n.  
 20. 2. vi. 99.  
 20. 10, 11. iv. 245 n.  
 21. 5. v. 126 n.  
 21. 23. v. 630 n.  
 23. 3, 4. v. 748 n. 754 n.  
 23. 5. v. 749 n.  
 23. 14. iv. 575 n.  
 24. 16. iv. 225 n.  
 25. 4. iii. 693 n. iv. 160.  
 25. 17. iv. 263 n.  
 25. 18, 19. iv. 264 n.  
 26. 3. iv. 518 n.  
 26. 17, 18. i. 312 n.  
 27. 9. vi. 274.  
 27. 26. iv. 361 n.  
 28. 36, 37. iv. 363 n.  
 29. 12. iv. 723 n.  
 30. 1. iv. 325 n.  
 30. 6. iv. 577 n. 705 n.  
 30. 12. iv. 160 n.  
 30. 19. iv. 325 n.  
 32. 17. iv. 633.  
 32. 35. iv. 775 n. v. 598 n.  
 32. 39. ii. 37 n. 95.  
 33. 27. ii. 37 n.

## JOSHUA.

2. 4. vind. iv. 242.  
 2. 9, 11. iv. 243 n. 244 n.  
 3. 10. iv. 251 n.  
 5. 2—9. iv. 192 n. 194 n.  
 5. 4, 6. vi. 91.  
 6. 17. iv. 227 n.  
 9. 14, 15. iv. 722 n.  
 9. 23. iv. 270 n.  
 9. 24. iv. 245 n.  
 10. 12. vind. iv. 244.  
 13. 6. iv. 251 n.  
 13. 22. v. 754 n.  
 16. 10. vind. iv. 257.

17. 12. iv. 252.  
 17. 15. ii. 98 n.  
 17. 18. iv. 251 n.  
 23. 13. iv. 252 n.  
 24. 2. ii. 656 n.  
 24. 10. v. 750 n.  
 24. 14—25. iv. 703 n.  
 24. 19. ii. 88 n.  
 24. 21, 24, 25. iv. 708 n.

## JUDGES.

1. 19. iv. 252.  
 2. 1, 2, 3. iv. 252 n.  
 2. 21. iv. 252.  
 3. 13. iv. 264 n.  
 3. 15. iv. 253 n.  
 3. 20, 21. vind. iv. 253.  
 4. 9. iv. 255 n.  
 4. 21. vind. iv. 254.  
 5. 23. iv. 254 n. 319 n.  
 5. 24. iv. 254 n.  
 6. 3, 33. iv. 264 n.  
 7. 12. iv. 264 n.  
 9. 8. iv. 155 n.  
 9. 13. vind. iv. 256.  
 10. 12. iv. 264 n.  
 11. 30. vind. iv. 257.  
 11. 40. iv. 259 n.  
 14. 3. iv. 194 n.  
 21. 5. iv. 227 n.

## I SAMUEL.

2. 12. v. 64 n.  
 2. 25—28. iv. 227 n.  
 3. 19, 20. iv. 361.  
 6. 7. iv. 527 n.  
 6. 19. iv. 527 n. vind. iv. 259.  
 7. 3. iv. 765 n.  
 8. 7. vind. iv. 260.  
 10. 8. vi. 99.  
 11. 8. iv. 272 n.  
 13. 9—14. iv. 457 n.  
 14. 6. iv. 194 n.  
 14. 18, 19. vi. 99.  
 14. 24. iv. 227 n.  
 14. 36. vi. 99.  
 15. 3. ii. 98 n.  
 15. 20. v. 679 n.  
 15. 22. iv. 70 n. 343 n. iv. 741 n.  
 15. 23. iv. 66 n.  
 15. 29. iv. 180 n.  
 16. 1. iv. 266 n.  
 16. 5. iv. 265 n.  
 16. 7. ii. 99.  
 16. 12, 13. iv. 266 n.  
 17. 26. iv. 227 n.  
 19. 24. iv. 332 n.  
 21. 2. iv. 267 n.  
 21. 6. iv. 119 n.  
 23. 17. iv. 266 n.  
 24. 20. iv. 266 n.  
 25. vind. iv. 265 n.  
 25. 16. iv. 266.

27. 8. iv. 267 n.  
 28. 12—16. v. 762 n.  
 28. 15, 16. sermon upon, v. 759.  
 28. 17, 18. iv. 66 n.  
 28. 19. v. 761.

## 2 SAMUEL.

1. 20. iv. 194 n.  
 5. 2, 3. v. 321 n.  
 6. 7. iv. 456 n. 527 n.  
 6. 20. iv. 332 n.  
 7. 24. iv. 706 n.  
 12. iv. 335 n.  
 12. 1. iv. 155 n.  
 12. 7. v. 679 n.  
 12. 11, 12. v. 359 n.  
 12. 13. iv. 642 n.  
 12. 18. iv. 225 n.  
 12. 24. iv. 103 n.  
 12. 31. iv. 322 n.  
 15. 11. v. 318 n.  
 16. 7, 8. v. 506 n.  
 16. 10, 11. iv. 268 n. v. 359 n. 492 n.  
 16. 12. iv. 268 n.  
 16. 22. v. 359 n.  
 18. 23. iv. 312 n.  
 19. 9, 11, 12, 14, 15. v. 313. 314.  
 19. 22, 23. iv. 268 n.  
 19. 41, 42, 43. v. 314.  
 20. 1, 2. sermon upon, v. 313.  
 20. 3, 4, 6, 7, 14, 15. v. 316.  
 21. 1. vind. iv. 269.  
 22. 47. ii. 117.  
 24. 1. vind. iv. 271.  
 24. 9. iv. 272 n.  
 24. 24. v. 155.

## I KINGS.

2. 5, 6, 8. iv. 268 n.  
 2. 9. iv. 268 n.  
 3. 11. v. 600 n.  
 4. 25. v. 325 n.  
 4. 31. iv. 317 n.  
 5. 7. iv. 295 n.  
 8. 39. i. 326. ii. 92. 155. 555.  
 8. 41, 42, 43. iv. 295 n.  
 8. 46. v. 638 n. 649 n.  
 8. 64. iv. 527.  
 10. 9. iv. 295 n.  
 11. 12, 33. v. 319 n.  
 12. 19. v. 319 n.  
 12. 27, 28, 29. iv. 311 n.  
 13. vind. iv. 274.  
 13. 2, 3. iv. 336 n.  
 13. 4. iv. 327 n.  
 13. 14. iv. 274 n.  
 14. 9. ii. 656.  
 14. 25, 26, 27. iv. 317 n.  
 17. 1. vind. iv. 277.  
 18. 4, 13, 19. iv. 312 n.

18. 39. iv. 703 n.  
 19. 10, 14. iv. 312 n.  
 19. 15. iv. 279 n. 280 n.  
 21. 29. v. 610 n.  
 22. iv. 336 n. 353 n.  
 22. 6, 7. iv. 311 n.  
 22. 8. iv. 309 n.  
 22. 11, 12. iv. 311 n.  
 22. 18. iv. 309 n.  
 22. 19. iv. 155 n.  
 22. 22. iv. 311 n.  
 22. 23. iv. 311 n. 313 n.  
 22. 24. iv. 311 n.  
 22. 26, 27. iv. 309 n.

## 2 KINGS.

1. v. 762 n.  
 1. 9. vind. iv. 277.  
 2. 12. iv. 639 n.  
 2. 17. iv. 313 n.  
 2. 23, 24. vind. iv. 321 n.  
 iv. 278 n.  
 3. 27. iv. 368 n.  
 5. 14. iv. 669 n.  
 5. 27. iv. 280 n.  
 7. 2, 17. iv. 327 n.  
 8. iv. 280 n.  
 8. 8, 9. iv. 280 n.  
 8. 10. vind. iv. 279 n.  
 8. 13. v. 317 n.  
 14. 5, 6. iv. 225 n.  
 16. 3. iv. 368 n.  
 19. 14. v. 275 n.  
 19. 15. i. 209 n. ii. 37 n. 74.  
 iii. 288, 293, 421 n.  
 19. 35. iv. 319 n.  
 20. 7. iv. 669 n.  
 22. 20. iv. 313 n.  
 23. 3. iv. 704 n.  
 23. 26. iv. 224 n.

## 1 CHRONICLES.

6. 33. vi. 99.  
 10. 13. v. 763 n.  
 13. 9, 10. iv. 456 n. 527 n.  
 14. 17. iv. 295 n.  
 15. 17, 19. iv. 317 n.  
 20. 3. iv. 322 n.  
 21. 1. iv. 271 n.  
 21. 5. iv. 272 n.  
 25. 1—5. iv. 317 n.  
 29. 11. ii. 37 n.

## 2 CHRONICLES.

2. 12. iv. 295 n.  
 6. 36. v. 638 n.  
 9. 23. iv. 295.  
 12. 2, 3. iv. 317 n.  
 13. 11. ii. 656.  
 15. 12. iv. 703 n.  
 15. 14. iv. 709 n. 723 n.  
 15. 15. iv. 709 n.  
 16. 1. iv. 313 n.  
 18. 5, 6. iv. 311 n.  
 18. 17. iv. 309 n.

18. 10, 11. iv. 311 n.  
 18. 18—22. vind. iv. 309.  
 18. 21. iv. 311 n.  
 18. 22. iv. 311 n. 313 n.  
 18. 23. iv. 311 n.  
 18. 25, 26. iv. 309 n.  
 19. 7. iv. 328 n.  
 23. 16. iv. 703 n. 709 n.  
 26. 16. vi. 152 n.  
 28. 3. iv. 368 n.  
 29. 10. iv. 704 n. 709 n.  
 30. 1. iv. 781 n.  
 30. 11. ii. 108 n.  
 30. 16. iv. 738 n.  
 30. 18. iv. 495 n.  
 30. 27. iv. 741 n.  
 32. v. 573 n.  
 33. 26. iv. 346 n.  
 34. 28. vind. iv. 313.  
 34. 31. iv. 704 n. 709 n.  
 34. 32. iv. 704 n.  
 35. 3—6. iv. 181 n.  
 35. 6. iv. 765 n.  
 35. 11. iv. 738 n.  
 36. 15, 16. iv. 327 n.  
 36. 22, 23. iv. 296 n. v. 18 n.

## EZRA.

1. 1, 2. iv. 296 n. v. 18 n.  
 6. 10. iv. 296 n. v. 18 n.  
 7. 12, 13. iv. 297 n. v. 18 n.  
 8. 20. iv. 227 n.  
 10. 3. iv. 709 n.  
 10. 5. iv. 723 n.

## NEHEMIAH.

9. 6. i. 380. ii. 628.  
 9. 38. iv. 709 n.  
 10. 28. iv. 709 n.  
 10. 29. iv. 709 n. 723 n.  
 10. 34. v. 153 n.  
 10. 39. iv. 709 n.  
 13. 1. v. 755 n.  
 13. 31. v. 153 n.

## ESTHER.

7. v. 573 n.

## JOB.

1. 6. iv. 314.  
 2. 1. vind. iv. 314.  
 2. 10. v. 480 n.  
 4. 17. ii. 99.  
 4. 18. v. 649 n.  
 5. 7. ii. 99.  
 9. 4. ii. 37 n.  
 9. 8. i. 290.  
 12. 16. ii. 37 n.  
 14. 1. iv. 432 n.  
 15. 14. iv. 432 n. v. 649 n.  
 15. 15. v. 649 n.  
 16. 2. v. 510 n.  
 22. 2, 3. v. 647 n.  
 22. 6. iv. 332 n.

25. 4. iv. 432 n.  
 25. 5. v. 649 n.  
 26. 7—13. ii. 74. iii. 293.  
 26. 12. iv. 318 n.  
 27. 5, 6. v. 586 n.  
 31. 24. iv. 639.  
 33. 10. iv. 230.  
 35. 7. v. 647 n.  
 36. 4, 26. ii. 37 n.  
 37. 16. ii. 37 n.  
 38. ii. 37 n.  
 41. 9. iv. 350 n.  
 42. 2. ii. 37 n.

## PSALMS.

2. 7. iv. 26.  
 2. 8. ii. 171.  
 3. iv. 317 n.  
 4. iv. 160 n.  
 4. 5. iv. 730 n.  
 7. iv. 317 n.  
 8. 4. ii. 37 n.  
 14. vi. 312, 327, 342, 345,  
 358, 362.  
 14. 1. iv. 358 n.  
 14. 3. v. 647 n.  
 14. 5, 6, 7. vi. 339.  
 16. 2. v. 647 n.  
 16. 10. iv. 313 n.  
 18. 46. ii. 117.  
 19. iv. 160 n.  
 19. 1. ii. 74. iii. 294.  
 19. 12. iv. 436 n. v. 535.  
 19. 13. sermon upon, v. 538.  
 21. 13. ii. 117.  
 24. 8. i. 292. ii. 481, 482,  
 490.  
 24. 10. i. 292, 538 n. ii. 142.  
 143, 481, 482, 490.  
 32. 1. iv. 660.  
 33. 6. ii. 62.  
 33. 9. ii. 63.  
 34. 8. ii. 520.  
 36. 10. iv. 350 n.  
 35. 35. ii. 549.  
 38. 18. iv. 518 n.  
 42. iv. 317 n.  
 43. iv. 317 n.  
 45. vi. 36 n.  
 45. 7. iii. 264.  
 46. 10. i. 292. ii. 490.  
 47. 2. ii. 529.  
 47. 5. i. 292. ii. 481, 529.  
 50. 1. i. 292. ii. 137, 489,  
 491.  
 50. 3. i. 292. ii. 491.  
 50. 12. iv. 738 n.  
 50. 13. iv. 738 n. v. 261.  
 50. 14. iv. 730 n. 740 n.  
 50. 15. iv. 730 n.  
 50. 23. v. 261.  
 51. 2. iv. 436 n.  
 51. 3. vi. 329, 332.  
 51. 10. ii. 642. iv. 436 n.  
 v. 694 n.

51. 17. iv. 730 n. 732,  
740 n. 749. v. 124 n.  
745 n.  
51. 19. v. 153.  
53. 1. iv. 358 n.  
55. iv. 317 n.  
55. 19. ii. 147 n.  
56. 11. ii. 99.  
68. i. 293. ii. 491.  
68. 4. i. 293.  
68. 18. iii. 268.  
69. 31. iv. 730 n.  
73. 13. iv. 436 n.  
76. 1. i. 293. ii. 487.  
77. 17. iv. 179 n.  
78. 35. ii. 99.  
81. 11, 12. iv. 363 n.  
82. 1. i. 293, 302, 487, 491,  
492.  
82. 2. ii. 481.  
82. 6. i. 307.  
82. 18. ii. 168 n.  
83. 18. i. 312 n. ii. 92.  
86. 10. ii. 97 n.  
87. 4. iv. 318 n.  
87. 5. ii. 168 n.  
89. 11, 12. ii. 74. iii. 294.  
89. 35. iv. 241 n.  
89. 39—49. vind. iv. 316.  
89. 49. iv. 241 n.  
90. 2. i. 340. ii. 147 n.  
90. 3. ii. 99.  
90. 100. vi. 91.  
93. 2. i. 340. ii. 37 n. 147 n.  
94. iv. 328, 331.  
95. vi. 342.  
96. 3. iv. 295 n.  
96. 4. v. 29.  
96. 5. ii. 74. iii. 294. v. 29.  
96. 9. ii. 117 n.  
97. i. 428.  
98. 2. v. 29.  
99. 1. i. 293. ii. 481, 487.  
v. 493 n.  
99. 6. vi. 99.  
101. 19. ii. 642.  
102. 15. v. 29.  
102. 25. i. 308. ii. 59-75.  
iii. 288.  
102. 26. ii. 75.  
102. 27. ii. 59.  
105. 9. iv. 703 n.  
106. 21. ii. 656.  
106. 33. v. 523 n.  
109. ii. 501. vind. iv. 318.  
110. 1. ii. 88.  
110. 4. v. 107 n.  
116. 12—15. iv. 750.  
116. 17. iv. 730 n.  
118. 6, 8. ii. 99.  
118. 28. ii. 117.  
119. 9. iv. 436 n.  
119. 18. v. 688 n.  
132. 11. iv. 241 n.  
135. 35. iii. 266.

137. 3. iv. 323 n.  
137. 8, 9. vind. iv. 322.  
138. 6. v. 611 n.  
139. 2. iii. 407.  
139. 7. ii. 37 n.  
139. 8. v. 432 n.  
141. 2. iv. 509 n. 730 n.  
748.  
143. 7, 12. iv. 30 n.  
148. 5. ii. 63, 77 n.  
148. 7—13. ii. 70.

## PROVERBS.

1. 24, 25, 28. v. 766 n.  
3. 34. v. 572 n. 607 n. 611 n.  
4. 23. v. 237 n. sermon  
upon, 463.  
4. 27. v. 653 n.  
6. 11. v. 571 n.  
6. 17. v. 572 n.  
8. ii. 415.  
8. 22. i. 340. ii. 148. shewn  
not to make the Son a  
creature, ii. 633, 635. how  
explained by Dionysius  
of Rome, 633. by Euse-  
bius, 635, 642. by Ana-  
stasius, 636. and by  
Faustinus, 64.  
9. 2. iv. 511.  
11. 14. iii. 626 n. v. 572 n.  
13. 10. v. 425 n.  
13. 24. v. 375 n.  
15. 8. iv. 793.  
15. 25. v. 572 n.  
15. 33. v. 575 n.  
16. 3. v. 489 n.  
16. 4. two sermons upon,  
v. 479, 488.  
16. 5. v. 572 n.  
16. 18. sermon upon, v. 568.  
16. 33. v. 482 n.  
17. 14. v. 318 n.  
18. 12. v. 575 n.  
18. 14. sermon upon, v. 549.  
19. 14. v. 446.  
19. 17. iv. 741, 743.  
19. 18. v. 375 n.  
19. 21. v. 484.  
20. 9. v. 649 n.  
22. 15. v. 375 n.  
22. 16. sermon upon, v. 369.  
23. 9. iv. 71 n.  
24. 6. v. 572 n.  
24. 21. v. 344 n.  
24. 34. v. 571 n.

## ECCLESIASTES.

5. 1, 2. iv. 765 n.  
7. 14. sermon upon, v. 356.  
7. 19. iv. 162 n.  
7. 20. v. 638 n. 649 n.  
12. 1. ii. 88 n.  
12. 7. v. 674 n.

## ISAIAH.

1. 11. iv. 71 n. 327 n. 738 n.  
747. v. 261.  
1. 12. iv. 71 n. 327 n.  
1. 13, 14. iv. 327 n.  
1. 15. iv. 793 n.  
1. 16. iv. 72 n. 327 n.  
436 n. 730 n. vi. 17.  
1. 17. iv. 72 n. 327 n.  
1. 18. i. 295. vind. iv. 326.  
1. 20. vi. 17.  
1. 26, 27. iv. 329 n.  
2. 11. ii. 92, 117.  
2. 17. ii. 117.  
4. 6. v. 261.  
5. 19. iv. 359 n.  
5. 26. vind. iv. 329.  
6. i. 467. iii. 288.  
6. 1. ii. 43. iii. 278.  
6. 2. ii. 43.  
6. 3. ii. 43, 143. iii. 276,  
303.  
6. 5. i. 538 n. ii. 143.  
6. 8. ii. 88 n. iii. 276, 303.  
6. 9. ii. 123 n. iii. 278. iv.  
31 n.  
7. 14. iv. 37 n.  
7. 18. iv. 330, 331.  
8. 18. iv. 336 n. v. 280 n.  
8. 20. iv. 455 n.  
9. 6. i. 326. ii. 137, 555,  
565. iii. 289. iv. 502 n.  
9. 7. iii. 304.  
9. 9. ii. 565.  
10. 12, 15. v. 486 n.  
10. 21. i. 326. ii. 137, 555.  
11. 6. iv. 152.  
12. 2. i. 47. ii. 487.  
13. 16. iv. 324 n.  
16. 8. iv. 722 n.  
20. 2, 3. iv. 332 n.  
20. 3, 4. vind. iv. 331.  
26. 4. ii. 37 n.  
29. 13. iii. 559 n.  
30. 10. iv. 310 n.  
34. 4. iv. 157 n.  
35. 4. i. 47. ii. 487, 489,  
491, 492.  
37. v. 573 n.  
38. 14. v. 275 n.  
38. 21. iv. 699.  
40. i. 409 n. iii. 421 n.  
40. 3. i. 308. iii. 288.  
40. 9, 10, &c. iii. 288.  
40. 10, 11. ii. 129.  
40. 12. i. 380 n. ii. 74. iii. 294.  
40. 13, 18—21, &c. i. 380 n.  
40. 22. i. 293.  
40. 26. ii. 74. iii. 294.  
41. 4. ii. 143, 144 n. iii. 289.  
41. 23. iii. 449 n.  
42. 5. i. 380 n. ii. 37 n.  
iii. 294.  
42. 8. i. 311, 312 n. 317,  
319, 380 n. ii. 44. 503.

526, 530. iii. 287, 288, 289.  
 43. 1. i. 293-380 n. ii. 53, 74, 116, 175. iii. 294.  
 43. 10. i. 275, 281, 340, 380 n. 408. ii. 144 n. 404. iii. 287.  
 43. 11. ii. 92.  
 43. 25. v. 649 n.  
 44. 6. i. 293, 326, 340. ii. 97 n. 143, 144 n. 493. 555. iii. 289.  
 44. 7. ii. 144 n.  
 44. 8. i. 275, 317. ii. 144 n. 404. iii. 287.  
 44. 24. i. 290, 293. ii. 91, 97 n.  
 44. 25. iv. 336 n. 360 n.  
 44. 26. iv. 361 n.  
 45. 1. iv. 280 n.  
 45. 5. i. 275, 282, 317, 409 n. ii. 75, 404. iii. 287, 288, 294, 521 n.  
 45. 6. i. 409 n. ii. 45, 75. iii. 288, 294, 421 n. iv. 297 n.  
 45. 7. i. 409 n. ii. 37 n. 45, 75. iii. 288, 421 n. v. 359 n. 480 n.  
 45. 12. ii. 75.  
 45. 14, 15. i. 293. ii. 97, 489, 491, 493, 498.  
 45. 18. ii. 37 n.  
 45. 21. ii. 45. iii. 287, 289.  
 45. 22. i. 316. iii. 277. vi. 27 n.  
 45. 23. i. 316. iii. 277. iv. 240 n.  
 46. 9. i. 275. ii. 404.  
 47. 6. iv. 323 n.  
 48. 9. v. 649 n.  
 48. 11. i. 317, 319. ii. 526, 530. iii. 288.  
 48. 12. ii. 144 n. iii. 289.  
 48. 16. ii. 123 n.  
 48. 19. iv. 290 n.  
 49. 15. ii. 108 n.  
 49. 18. iv. 241 n.  
 50. 16, 17. iv. 741 n.  
 51. 9. iv. 318 n.  
 52. 1. iv. 194 n.  
 53. 4. iii. 267.  
 53. 4—12. iv. 573 n. v. 176 n.  
 53. 8. iii. 71, 264.  
 53. 10, 11, 12. v. 133 n. 177 n.  
 54. 5. vi. 36 n.  
 54. 13. i. 314.  
 56. 20. iv. 731 n.  
 57. 15. ii. 37 n. iv. 730 n.  
 58. 4—7. iv. 343 n.  
 58. 11. iv. 350.  
 62. 8. iv. 241 n.  
 63. 17. vind. iv. 339.  
 71. 1. iii. 264.

## JEREMIAH.

1. 6, 7. iv. 351.  
 1. 17. iv. 241 n.  
 2. 13. iv. 350 n.  
 3. 13. v. 93 n.  
 4. 4. iv. 577 n. 705 n.  
 4. 7. iv. 340 n.  
 4. 10. vind. iv. 340.  
 4. 18. iv. 341 n.  
 5. 31. iv. 310 n.  
 6. 14. iv. 310 n.  
 7. 22, 23. vind. iv. 741 n. iv. 342.  
 10. 10. i. 380 n. 409 n. iii. 288, 421 n.  
 10. 11. i. 316 n. 380 n. 409 n. ii. 75, 89. iii. 288, 294, 421 n.  
 10. 12. i. 380 n. 409 n. ii. 37 n. 75. iii. 294, 421 n.  
 13. 4. vind. iv. 345.  
 13. 4, 5, 6. iv. 347 n.  
 14. 13. iv. 310 n. 457 n.  
 14. 14, 15. iv. 457 n.  
 15. 4. iv. 224 n.  
 15. 18. vind. iv. 349.  
 15. 19, 20, 21. iv. 350 n.  
 16. 13. iv. 363 n.  
 17. 10. i. 326. ii. 155, 555.  
 17. 13. iv. 350 n.  
 20. 7. vind. iv. 350.  
 22. 5. iv. 240 n.  
 22. 30. iv. 280 n.  
 23. 6. vi. 36 n.  
 23. 15. iv. 310 n.  
 23. 16. iv. 310 n. 342 n.  
 23. 17. iv. 342 n.  
 23. 21. iv. 310 n. 457 n.  
 23. 22. iv. 457 n.  
 23. 23, 24. ii. 37 n.  
 23. 25, 30. iv. 310 n.  
 24. 7. iv. 436 n.  
 25. 15, &c. iv. 356 n. 352.  
 27. 2. iv. 159 n.  
 27. 2, 3. vind. iv. 351 n.  
 27. 9. iv. 310 n.  
 27. 14, 15. iv. 310 n. 457 n.  
 28. 10, 11, 12. iv. 352.  
 28. 15, 16, 17. iv. 359 n.  
 29. 7. iv. 323 n.  
 29. 9. iv. 457 n.  
 29. 21, 22. iv. 359 n.  
 31. 29, 30. iv. 224 n.  
 31. 31, 32. iv. 359 n.  
 31. 34. iv. 510 n.  
 32. 27. ii. 45.  
 33. 22. iv. 290 n.  
 44. 26. iv. 241 n.  
 51. 14. iv. 241 n.  
 51. 34, 35. iv. 241 n.  
 51. 61, 63. iv. 346 n.

## LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMIAH.

2. 6. iv. 70 n.

3. 37, 38. v. 480 n.  
 5. iv. 224 n.

## EZEKIEL.

1. 1, 2. iv. 357 n.  
 3. 1, 2. iv. 356 n.  
 3. 22, 23. iv. 356.  
 4. 1, &c. vind. iv. 353.  
 5. 1. iv. 456 n.  
 8. 1. iv. 357.  
 8. 8. iv. 338 n.  
 11. 3. iv. 359 n.  
 11. 19. iv. 436 n.  
 12. 3—7. iv. 357.  
 12. 6. iv. 336 n.  
 12. 8. iv. 337 n. 357 n.  
 12. 9. iv. 357 n.  
 12. 11. iv. 336 n.  
 12. 21, 22. vind. iv. 358.  
 13. 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 16, 17. iv. 359 n.  
 13. 18. iv. 310 n.  
 14. 4. iv. 223 n.  
 14. 9. vind. iv. 359.  
 16. 7. iv. 290 n.  
 18. 2. iv. 224 n.  
 18. 20. iv. 222 n.  
 18. 30. v. 694 n.  
 18. 31. iv. 436 n. v. 694 n.  
 20. 9. iv. 297 n. v. 649 n.  
 20. 11. iv. 362.  
 20. 13. iv. 72 n. 362.  
 20. 14. iv. 297 n. v. 649 n.  
 20. 16. iv. 72 n.  
 20. 18. iv. 362.  
 20. 22. iv. 297 n. v. 649 n.  
 20. 24. iv. 72 n.  
 20. 25. vind. iv. 361.  
 20. 26, 31. iv. 362.  
 20. 39. iv. 363 n.  
 20. 44. v. 649 n.  
 22. 8. iv. 71 n.  
 23. 38. iv. 72 n.  
 24. 24. iv. 336 n.  
 28. 2. i. 305.  
 36. 22, 23. iv. 297 n.  
 36. 26. iv. 297 n. 436 n.  
 41. 22. iv. 576 n.  
 44. 7—16. iv. 576 n.

## DANIEL.

2. 11. i. 304.  
 2. 20. ii. 37 n.  
 2. 47. ii. 530.  
 3. 29. iv. 296 n. v. 18 n.  
 4. 1, 2. iv. 296 n. v. 18 n.  
 4. 34. ii. 117 n.  
 4. 36. iii. 299.  
 6. 7. ii. 25.  
 6. 25, 26. iv. 296 n. v. 18 n.  
 7. 13. ii. 548, 662.  
 7. 14. ii. 662.  
 7. 16. v. 263 n.  
 8. iv. 70 n.  
 8. 17, 18. v. 684 n.  
 9. 24. iv. 497 n.

10. 9. v. 684 n.  
12. 3. v. 339 n.  
12. 13. iii. 304.

**HOSEA.**

1. 2. vind. iv. 364.  
1. 6. i. 308.  
1. 7. i. 293, 308, 309. ii.  
130. iii. 289.  
2. 18, 19. vi. 36 n.  
2. 23. ii. 123 n.  
4. 8. iv. 576 n.  
6. 6. iv. 69 n. 70, 343 n.  
741 n. v. 127.  
11. 9. i. 294. ii. 99, 491.  
12. 5. i. 312 n.  
14. 2. iv. 73 n. v. 264 n.

**JOEL.**

3. ii. 492.  
3. 16. i. 293. ii. 487.

**AMOS.**

1. ii. 492.  
1. 2. i. 293. ii. 487,  
3. 6. v. 359, 480 n.  
4. 2. iv. 241 n.  
4. 13. ii. 642.  
5. 18. iv. 359 n.  
8. 7. iv. 241 n.  
8. 11. iv. 302 n.

**JONAH.**

1. 17. iv. 154.  
3. 5, 8, 9. v. 19 n.

**MICAH.**

1. 1. iv. 368 n.  
1. 14. iv. 350 n.  
2. 11. iv. 310 n.  
5. 2. ii. 147.  
6. 6, 7. iv. 738 n.  
6. 7. vind. iv. 368.  
7. 18. i. 294, 295. ii. 97 n.  
487.

**HABAKKUK.**

1. 12. ii. 147 n.  
1. 13. v. 649 n.  
3. 3. i. 294. ii. 487.

**ZACHARIAH.**

1. 15. iv. 323 n.  
2. 8. i. 538 n. ii. 492.  
3. 1, 2. vind. iv. 370.  
6. 12, 13. iii. 679 n.  
7. 5. iv. 343 n.  
10. 8. iv. 329 n. 330.  
10. 12. i. 294. ii. 491.  
11. 12. iv. 289.  
11. 13. i. 308.  
12. 5. ii. 143.  
12. 10. i. 308. ii. 44, 143.  
iii. 289, 426 n.  
13. 2. ii. 86 n.

14. 9. ii. 86.

**MALACHI.**

1. 7. iv. 576 n.  
1. 10. v. 261.  
1. 11. iv. 509 n. 730, 741 n.  
1. 12. iv. 576 n.  
2. 15. vi. 118.  
3. 1. ii. 129.  
3. 4, 5. iv. 730 n.  
3. 6. i. 311. ii. 37 n. 45,  
154. iii. 289.

**TOBIT.**

3. 16. iv. 741 n.  
4. 8, 9. v. 563 n.  
12. 12. iv. 741 n.  
12. 15. iv. 698 n.

**WISD. OF SOLOMON.**

2. 24. iv. 172 n.  
3. 1. v. 674 n.  
7. 25, 26. ii. 104 n.  
9. 8. iv. 741 n.  
9. 16. iv. 348 n.  
12. 10. iv. 346 n.

**ECCLESIASTICUS.**

3. 30. v. 281 n.  
10. 9, 18. v. 573 n.  
22. 22. v. 532 n.  
35. 2. iv. 730 n. v. 281 n.  
35. 12. iv. 328 n.  
44. 20, 22, 23. iv. 703 n.  
45. 7, 15. iv. 703 n.  
46. 20. v. 763 n.  
47. 11. iv. 642 n.

**BARUCH.**

3. 35. i. 294. ii. 97 n. 491,  
493.  
4. 7. iv. 633 n.

**I MACCABEES.**

1. 63. vi. 105.  
2. 41. iv. 119 n.  
12. 21. iv. 294 n.

**2 MACCABEES.**

6. 18, 20. iv. 119 n.

**ST. MATTHEW.**

1. 18. vi. 309, 310.  
1. 19. vi. 377.  
1. 23. ii. 128. iv. 37 n.  
502 n.  
1. 25. vi. 377.  
3. 2. vi. 325, 329, 332.  
3. 3. iv. 676 n.  
3. 4. vi. 368.  
3. 16. ii. 120.

4. 1. ii. 123 n.  
4. 4. ii. 98 n.  
4. 10. i. 407, 411. ii. 653.  
iii. 288, 421 n.  
5. 13. v. 550 n.  
5. 16. sermon upon, v. 331.  
5. 19. iii. 470.  
5. 23, 24. iv. 271 n.  
5. 44. iv. 321. v. 602 n.  
5. 45. v. 602 n. 605 n.  
5. 48. ii. 154.  
6. 2. v. 700 n.  
6. 24. ii. 18.  
6. 31. v. 495 n.  
6. 33. iv. 58 n. vi. 4.  
7. 12. iii. 409 n. 410 n.  
7. 22. v. 758 n.  
7. 23. iv. 276 n. v. 758 n.  
8. 15. iii. 481 n.  
8. 32. iv. 313 n.  
9. 11. iv. 69.  
9. 13. iv. 58 n. 69 n. 343 n.  
v. 590 n.  
9. 22. vi. 27 n.  
10. 14, 15. iv. 701 n.  
10. 20. ii. 120.  
10. 23. vi. 365.  
10. 32. v. 339 n.  
10. 33. iv. 58 n.  
10. 34, 35, 36. v. 422 n.  
10. 35. iii. 514 n.  
10. 38. iv. 58 n.  
11. 11. iv. 432 n.  
11. 27. ii. 90, 405, 413.  
11. 28. v. 556.  
12. 3, 4. iv. 119 n.  
12. 7. iv. 69. vi. 133.  
12. 18. ii. 123 n. iii. 55.  
12. 24. v. 706 n.  
12. 26, 27. v. 707 n.  
12. 28. v. 712 n.  
12. 31. ii. 123 n.  
12. 31, 32. sermon upon, v.  
706.  
12. 32. ii. 123 n. iv. 58 n.  
12. 36. iii. 489 n. v. 709 n.  
12. 40. iv. 154 n.  
12. 41. v. 19 n.  
12. 50. iv. 639 n.  
15. 4—9. iii. 481 n.  
15. 11. iv. 531 n.  
15. 18, 19. v. 238 n.  
16. 12. i. 441.  
16. 19. iv. 642 n.  
16. 24. iv. 58 n.  
16. 27. ii. 43, 134.  
17. 3. v. 762 n.  
17. 12. iv. 575 n.  
18. 14. v. 588 n.  
18. 16, 17, 18. iv. 642 n.  
18. 20. ii. 164. iv. 520 n.  
542 n. 607 n. 774 n.  
19. 9. iii. 637.  
19. 28. ii. 43. iv. 432 n.  
20. 16. sermon upon, v. 617.



20. 28. iv. 513 n. v. 133.  
 21. 31. v. 573 n. 609 n.  
 21. 41, 43. iv. 302 n.  
 22. 7. iv. 701 n.  
 22. 31. i. 279. v. 667 n.  
 22. 32. i. 279.  
 22. 33. v. 672 n.  
 22. 39. sermon upon, v. 436.  
 22. 44. ii. 87.  
 23. 12. v. 575.  
 23. 17. iv. 528 n.  
 23. 19. iv. 528 n. v. 742 n.  
 23. 35, 36. iv. 223 n.  
 24. 6. ii. 108 n.  
 24. 24. iii. 481 n.  
 24. 36. i. 332. ii. 162, 557.  
 24. 37, 39. ii. 162.  
 25. 24. iv. 782 n.  
 25. 30. v. 646 n.  
 25. 31. ii. 43.  
 25. 36. iv. 332 n.  
 25. 40. v. 134 n. 444 n.  
 25. 41, 42, 43. v. 530 n.  
 25. 45. v. 444 n.  
 25. 46. iii. 229, 244.  
 26. iv. 491.  
 26. 2. iv. 65 n.  
 26. 11. ii. 163.  
 26. 26. iv. 522 n.  
 26. 28. iv. 102, 514 n. 662 n.  
 26. 38. iii. 298.  
 26. 41. v. 640 n.  
 26. 41. two sermons upon, v. 518, 528.  
 27. 2. vi. 247.  
 27. 9, 10. i. 309. iii. 289.  
 27. 46. iii. 298.  
 28. 18. i. 329, 330, 434. ii. 680. iv. 27, 529 n.  
 28. 19. ii. 473 n. 518, 520. iv. 439 n. 529 n. vi. 64.  
 28. 20. ii. 163, 164. iv. 520 n. 542 n. 607 n. v. 354 n. 687 n.

## ST. MARK.

1. 3. i. 309. iii. 289. iv. 644 n.  
 1. 7. vi. 318, 320.  
 2. 5. iv. 643 n.  
 2. 7. iv. 642 n.  
 2. 9. iv. 643 n.  
 3. 30. v. 709 n. 712 n.  
 5. 30. v. 221 n.  
 5. 34. vi. 27 n.  
 6. 22. vi. 318, 320.  
 7. 15, 23. v. 238 n.  
 9. 13. ii. 108 n. iv. 575 n.  
 9. 22. ii. 108 n.  
 9. 50. v. 550 n.  
 10. 11. iii. 637 n.  
 10. 15. v. 465 n.  
 10. 43. ii. 108 n.  
 10. 45. v. 133 n.

10. 52. vi. 27 n.  
 12. 1. vi. 313, 320.  
 12. 26. v. 667 n.  
 12. 29. ii. 84, 528. iii. 287.  
 12. 32. ii. 738.  
 12. 36. ii. 87, 528.  
 12. 38. vi. 318, 320.  
 12. 43, 44. sermon upon, v. 559.  
 13. 7, 20. ii. 108 n.  
 13. 22. iii. 481 n.  
 13. 24. ii. 108 n.  
 13. 32. i. 332. ii. 162, 557.  
 13. 34. ii. 162.  
 13. 37. v. 640 n.  
 14. iv. 491.  
 14. 24. iv. 102.  
 14. 29. ii. 108 n.  
 14. 34. iii. 298.  
 14. 36. ii. 108 n.  
 14. 52. iv. 332 n.  
 15. 34. iii. 298.  
 16. 6. iii. 231.  
 16. 15. iii. 400 n.  
 16. 16. iii. 400 n. iv. 95 n. 438 n. 439 n. 706 n. v. 92. vi. 10 n.

## ST. LUKE.

1. 6. iv. 327 n. v. 531 n. 638 n. vi. 6 n.  
 1. 16, 17. i. 308, 128, 129. iii. 288. iv. 502 n.  
 1. 33. iii. 304. iv. 28.  
 1. 35. interpreted of the *Word* by the earliest fathers, iii. 571. v. 189, 198 n. two explanations of, iv. 25, 29. which *Waterland* prefers, 32.  
 1. 43. iv. 37.  
 1. 46. vi. 318.  
 1. 76. ii. 129, 168.  
 2. 7. iii. 144. vi. 318.  
 2. 11. i. 309. iii. 289.  
 2. 13, 14. iii. 680.  
 2. 52. i. 332. ii. 163. iii. 298.  
 3. 4. ii. 129.  
 5. 16. vi. 88 n.  
 3. 38. ii. 750.  
 4. 1. ii. 123 n.  
 4. 4. ii. 99.  
 4. 6. i. 408.  
 4. 8. i. 318. iv. 27.  
 4. 14. ii. 120.  
 5. 20. iv. 643 n.  
 5. 32. v. 639 n.  
 6. 19. v. 221 n.  
 6. 45. v. 463 n.  
 7. 28. iv. 432 n.  
 7. 34. iv. 457 n.  
 7. 50. vi. 27 n.  
 8. 46. v. 221 n.  
 8. 48. vi. 27 n.

9. 26. ii. 43.  
 9. 55. iv. 216, 321 n.  
 9. 56. iv. 216.  
 10. 7. v. 63 n.  
 10. 22. ii. 413 n.  
 11. 13. iv. 676 n.  
 12. 8. v. 339 n.  
 12. 48. v. 452.  
 13. 2, 3. two sermons upon, v. 497, 508.  
 13. 15. iv. 119 n.  
 14. 5. iv. 119 n.  
 14. 11. v. 575 n.  
 14. 21-24. iv. 701 n.  
 14. 34. v. 550 n.  
 15. 2. v. 589 n.  
 15. 6. v. 587 n.  
 15. 7. v. 639 n.  
 15. 7. sermon upon, v. 587 n.  
 15. 31. v. 591 n.  
 15. 32. v. 594 n.  
 16. 11. vi. 729 n.  
 16. 18. iii. 637 n.  
 16. 30. ii. 108 n.  
 17. 3, 4. iv. 774 n.  
 17. 10. iv. 90 n. sermon upon, v. 645.  
 17. 19. vi. 427 n.  
 18. 4. ii. 99.  
 18. 8. v. 600 n.  
 18. 11. iv. 455 n.  
 18. 13. iv. 794 n.  
 18. 14. iv. 794 n. v. 575 n. sermon upon, 606.  
 19. 20. iv. 782 n.  
 20. 36. iv. 26.  
 20. 37, 38. sermon upon, v. 667.  
 20. 39. v. 672 n.  
 21. 4. v. 560.  
 21. 9. ii. 108 n.  
 22. iv. 491.  
 22. 3. iv. 453 n.  
 22. 17. iv. 481 n.  
 22. 19. iv. 498 n. 708 n.  
 22. 20. iv. 103, 497 n. 649 n.  
 22. 44. iv. 298.  
 23. 34. iv. 8 n. v. 731 n.  
 23. 46. iv. 8 n. v. 133 n.  
 24. 26. iii. 55.  
 24. 30, 35. remark upon, iv. 472 n.  
 24. 49. vi. 88 n.  
 24. 51. iv. 8 n.  
 24. 52. i. 326. ii. 653. iv. 8 n.

## ST. JOHN.

1. 1. i. 275, 281, 313, 316, 317, 330, 430, 435, 492, 526. ii. 41, 96, 109, 156, 404, 410, 510, 516, 517, 551, 598, 680, 741. iii.

- 290, 296, 314, 414, 505, 650, 663. iv. 27. explained, ii. 524. common interpretation vindicated, iii. 312.
1. 1, 2. the Arian interpretation shewn to be of no force, iii. 666.
1. 1, 2, 3. iv. 502 n.
1. 1—16. explained, iii. 542—546.
1. 2. iii. 684. iv. 11.
1. 3. i. 313, 380, 383. ii. 34, 41, 48, 50, 61, 68, 147, 628. iii. 13, 290, 292. iv. 28 n.
1. 4. iii. 548. iv. 729 n.
1. 6. i. 314.
1. 8. ii. 34. iii. 315.
1. 9. iv. 729 n.
1. 10. i. 330, 383. ii. 34, 52, 147 n. iii. 290, 292. iv. 28 n.
1. 11. i. 330, 430. ii. 34, 52. iii. 292, 315.
1. 12. i. 314. iii. 315. iv. 432 n. 433 n.
1. 13. i. 314.
1. 14. ii. 34, 159. iii. 314, 315.
1. 15, 16. ii. 159.
1. 17. iv. 729 n.
1. 18. i. 314. ii. 599. iii. 55.
1. 19. iv. 103 n.
1. 20. i. 430.
1. 29. iv. 488 n. 513 n.
1. 30. ii. 57 n.
1. 32. ii. 123 n.
1. 47. sermon upon, v. 577.
2. 19. iv. 26 n.
2. 21. i. 440.
2. 24. i. 326. ii. 92 n. 155, 555.
2. 25. ii. 155.
3. 3. vi. 10 n.
3. 3, 4, 5. vi. 17.
3. 5. i. 138, 213. iv. 81, 90 n. 95, 438 n. 446 n. 563, 578 n. 644 n. 668 n. 706 n. vi. 9 n. 11 n. 16, 17, 48, 54, 98 n. 103, 106, 149 n. 150. how understood, iv. 428 n.
3. 8. ii. 120, 81 n.
3. 10. iv. 430 n.
3. 14. iv. 159 n. v. 741 n. vi. 27 n.
3. 15. iv. 159 n.
3. 16. iv. 422. v. 628 n. 631 n.
3. 16, 17, 18. vi. 470.
3. 19. iii. 486 n. iv. 169 n.
3. 23. ii. 132.
3. 34. ii. 122 n. v. 712 n.
3. 36. iii. 317, 400 n.
4. 9. iii. 422.
4. 23. iv. 747. v. 124 n.
4. 24. iii. 313, 317. v. 263 n.
5. 4. iv. 676 n.
5. 10—13. ii. 132.
5. 17. ii. 55, 80.
5. 18. i. 380, 464.
5. 19. i. 440, 441. ii. 55, 80, 125, 161. vindicated and explained, 686.
5. 20. i. 441.
5. 22. i. 431, 434. ii. 24, 531, 680. iv. 26.
5. 23. i. 351, 407, 422, 423, 434, 464. ii. 24, 653, 661, 664, 679, 680, 685. iii. 295. iv. 13 n. 58 n. explained, ii. 686.
5. 25. i. 439. iii. 317.
5. 26. iii. 317.
5. 28. ii. 554. iii. 229, 244.
5. 30. i. 301.
5. 40. iii. 317.
5. 45. iv. 343 n.
5. 46, 47. v. 43 n.
6. i. 157.
6. 27—63. spiritual eating and drinking explained, iv. 535. sentiments of the fathers with respect to this chapter, how misunderstood by some, 542, 543. their real sentiments, 543—564. many apply it to the eucharist, but do not interpret it of the eucharist primarily, 562. from the beginning of the fifth century it began to be understood directly of the eucharist, 563. opinions of the moderns concerning it, 564. the Romanists generally are for the sacramental construction, 565. the reformers generally have rejected that view, *ib.*
6. 32. iv. 159 n. 729 n.
6. 33. iii. 317. iv. 159 n.
6. 35, 36. explained, iv. 42.
6. 45. i. 313.
6. 48. iv. 538 n.
6. 51. iv. 536 n. 531 n. v. 195.
6. 51—58. iv. 625 n.
6. 53. i. 213. iv. 90 n. iv. *adv.* 536 n. vi. 48, 52, 54, 58, 60, 62 n. 64 n. 150.
6. 54. iv. 536 n. 588 n. 595.
6. 55. iv. 538 n.
6. 56. iv. 536 n. 542 n. 588 n. 604 n. 668 n. 674 n.
6. 57. iv. 538 n. vi. 58.
6. 63. iv. 716 n.
7. 17. v. 465 n.
7. 39. ii. 120.
8. ii. 74 n.
8. 12. iii. 317.
8. 16. iii. 416.
8. 28. ii. 161.
8. 36. iii. 593 n.
8. 44. iv. 162 n. 172 n. 373 n.
8. 54. i. 279.
8. 56. v. 650 n.
8. 58. i. 464.
9. 7. iv. 669.
9. 23, 24. iv. 729 n.
9. 41. v. 541.
10. 10. iii. 317.
10. 11. ii. 129. v. 133 n.
10. 15, 17. v. 133 n. 171 n.
10. 18. iv. 26 n. v. 133 n. 171 n.
10. 30. i. 301, 484, 538. ii. 125.
10. 34. i. 302.
10. 35. i. 302, 306.
10. 36. i. 306. iv. 25 n.
10. 38. iv. 34 n.
11. 11, 16. ii. 108 n.
11. 25. iii. 317.
11. 33. iii. 298.
11. 51, 52. iv. 513 n.
12. 8. iv. 65 n.
12. 24. iv. 561 n.
12. 27. iii. 298.
12. 32. v. 741 n.
12. 35. iii. 544 n.
12. 40. iii. 276, 278.
12. 41. i. 464, 467, 538. ii. 43, 143. iii. 276, 278, 289, 303.
13. 1. iv. 492 n. 493.
13. 2. iv. 452. v. 492 n. 493.
13. 21. iii. 298.
13. 23. iv. 776 n. v. 439 n.
13. 27. iv. 313 n. 453 n.
13. 31, 32. i. 422.
14. 9. i. 301. ii. 125.
14. 10. ii. 125, 157, 158. iv. 34.
14. 11. iii. 317. iv. 34.
14. 13. i. 422. ii. 655.
14. 14. ii. 655.
14. 15. iv. 451 n.
14. 16. iii. 432 n. iv. 29 n. 542 n. 588 n. v. 354 n. 686 n. 687 n.
14. 17. iv. 542 n. 88 n.
14. 20. iv. 34.
14. 23. iii. 432 n. iv. 34 n. 542 n. 588 n. v. 351 n. 354 n. 684 n. 687 n.

14. 26. iv. 34, 529 n.  
 15. 1. iv. 729 n.  
 15. 4. iv. 542 n.  
 15. 6. vi. 48.  
 15. 10. ii. 688.  
 15. 13. v. 133 n. 631 n.  
 15. 16. iv. 702 n.  
 16. 2. iii. 486 n. iv. 452 n.  
 16. 7. ii. 108 n. v. 354 n. 686 n.  
 16. 13. ii. 120. iii. 551 n. v. 687 n.  
 16. 14. ii. 121, 122.  
 16. 15. ii. 120 n. 145.  
 16. 16, 26. iv. 34 n.  
 16. 30. i. 326. ii. 92 n. 155, 555.  
 17. iii. 53.  
 17. 1. i. 422. ii. 670.  
 17. 3. i. 279. ii. 422, 427, 428, 477.  
 17. 4. i. 422.  
 17. 5. i. 422, 431. ii. 43, 125, 682.  
 17. 10. ii. 125, 401.  
 17. 11. ii. 163.  
 17. 19. iv. 752.  
 17. 20. v. 168.  
 17. 21. iv. 34 explained, iii. 305.  
 17. 21, 22, 23. ii. 586.  
 17. 23. iv. 34.  
 18. 28. iv. 492 n. 493.  
 19. 14. iv. 492 n. 493.  
 19. 26. iv. 639 n. 776 n. v. 439 n.  
 19. 27. iv. 639 n.  
 19. 34. ii. 143. iii. 550.  
 19. 36. iv. 103 n.  
 19. 37. i. 308. ii. 44, 143. iii. 289, 426 n.  
 20. 2. iv. 776 n. v. 439 n.  
 20. 21, 22, 23. vi. 88 n.  
 20. 22. iv. 642 n.  
 20. 23. iv. 642 n. 643 n.  
 20. 28. ii. 129. iii. 288. iv. 8 n. 26 n.  
 21. 7. iv. 332. n. 776 n. v. 439 n.  
 21. 17. ii. 155.  
 21. 20. iv. 776 n. v. 439 n.

## THE ACTS.

1. 2. ii. 123 n.  
 1. 5. v. 687. vi. 483.  
 1. 8. v. 687.  
 1. 16, 20. iv. 319 n.  
 1. 24. i. 326. ii. 92 n. 155, 555. iii. 291.  
 2. vi. 129.  
 2. 3. vi. 88 n.  
 2. 4. ii. 120, 123 n. iv. 30 n. vi. 88 v.  
 2. 13. v. 709 n.  
 2. 17, 18. iv. 30 n.

2. 31. iii. 55.  
 2. 33. ii. 122. iv. 30 n.  
 2. 38. ii. 173 n. iv. 87 n. 578 n. 644 n. vi. 11 n.  
 2. 42. iv. 472, 473, 782 n.  
 2. 45. ii. 123 n.  
 2. 46. ii. 123 n. iv. 473, 782 n. 414 n. common translation of, disappeared, iv. 473 n.  
 3. 12. i. 438.  
 3. 13. i. 279. ii. 423.  
 3. 17. v. 731 n.  
 3. 27. ii. 173 n.  
 4. 31. iv. 667 n. vi. 90.  
 4. 33. iv. 667 n.  
 5. 3, 4. ii. 123 n. iv. 32. 453 n.  
 5. 5. iv. 216 n.  
 5. 9. ii. 120.  
 5. 13. iii. 690 n.  
 6. 7. iii. 434 n.  
 7. 30. i. 538. iv. 530 n.  
 7. 31, 32. i. 538.  
 7. 42. iv. 363 n.  
 7. 43. i. 303.  
 7. 47. ii. 108 n.  
 7. 51. ii. 123 n. v. 690 n. 709 n. 712 n.  
 7. 53. iii. 55.  
 7. 59. i. 423 n. iii. 295. iv. 8 n.  
 7. 60. iv. 8 n.  
 8. 4. vi. 90.  
 8. 9. iv. 168 n. 446 n. v. 695 n.  
 8. 10. iv. 446 n. v. 695 n.  
 8. 11. iv. 168 n.  
 8. 12. ii. 186 n.  
 8. 16. ii. 173 n.  
 8. 18, 19. iv. 446 n. v. 695 n.  
 8. 22. iv. 444 n.  
 8. 29. ii. 120.  
 8. 37. ii. 186 n. iv. 439 n.  
 8. 39. ii. 120.  
 9. vi. 221 n.  
 9. 4, 5. sermon upon, v. 726.  
 9. 6. vi. 12 n.  
 9. 14. iii. 295.  
 9. 15. ii. 123 n. vi. 221 n.  
 9. 17, 20. vi. 90.  
 9. 21. v. 734.  
 10. iv. 355 n. 356.  
 10. 4. iv. 509 n. 730 n. 741 n. v. 264 n.  
 10. 10. iv. 335 n.  
 10. 12. iv. 312 n.  
 10. 14. iv. 356.  
 10. 15. iv. 86 n.  
 10. 17. iv. 335 n.  
 10. 19. ii. 120.  
 10. 36. i. 326. ii. 555.  
 10. 38. ii. 123 n. iv. 27.
10. 47. iv. 439 n.  
 10. 48. ii. 173 n. vi. 132.  
 11. 4, 5. iv. 335 n.  
 11. 14. iv. 86 n.  
 11. 16. vi. 483.  
 11. 19. vi. 89.  
 11. 42, 46. iv. 670 n.  
 12. 10. iv. 271 n.  
 12. 15. v. 670 n.  
 13. 2. ii. 123 n. iv. 31 n. vi. 89, 90, 221.  
 13. 3. vi. 89, 90, 221.  
 13. 8. iv. 168 n.  
 13. 11. iv. 216 n.  
 13. 33. iv. 26.  
 13. 39. iv. 643 n.  
 13. 43. iv. 666 n.  
 13. 46. iii. 463 n.  
 14. i. 414.  
 14. 11. i. 305. ii. 20.  
 14. 12. ii. 20.  
 14. 15. ii. 176.  
 14. 23. vi. 90.  
 14. 26. iv. 666 n.  
 15. v. 524.  
 15. 5. iii. 696 n.  
 15. 8. ii. 155.  
 15. 9. iv. 436 n.  
 15. 40. iv. 666 n.  
 16. 3. v. 75 n.  
 16. 7. ii. 120. iv. 38 n.  
 17. 6. iii. 514 n. v. 422 n.  
 17. 11. v. 656 n.  
 17. 14. v. 688 n.  
 17. 18. v. 654 n.  
 19. 5. ii. 173 n.  
 19. 11. ii. 60.  
 19. 16. iv. 332 n.  
 20. 7. iv. 472, 670 n. 782 n. vi. 90.  
 20. 24. iv. 666 n.  
 20. 28. i. 464. iii. 426 n. iv. 507 n.  
 20. 29, 30. iii. 481 n. 482 n.  
 21. 11. iv. 159 n. 352 n.  
 21. 21—26. v. 75 n.  
 22. 16. ii. 173 n. iv. 87 n. 578 n. 642 n. 645 n. vi. 12 n.  
 22. 25. v. 575 n.  
 23. 1. v. 678 n. 732 n.  
 23. 8. v. 668 n.  
 24. 16. v. 638 n. 678 n.  
 25. 8. v. 678 n.  
 26. 9. iii. 486 n. iv. 452 n. v. 730 n.  
 26. 16. vi. 221 n.  
 26. 19. v. 691 n.  
 27. 31. v. 490 n.  
 28. 25, 26. ii. 123 n. iii. 275, 278. iv. 31 n.

## ROMANS.

1. 3. ii. 138 n.

1. 4. ii. 138 n. iv. 27.  
455 n.  
1. 5. iii. 434 n. iv. 455 n.  
1. 7. iv. 8 n.  
1. 9. iii. 313.  
1. 14. iv. 455 n.  
1. 17. vi. 4 n. 23 n.  
1. 20. i. 341. ii. 73. 723.  
iii. 263, 293, 368.  
1. 21. i. 409.  
1. 23, 24, 25. iii. 373 n.  
1. 24. iv. 363 n.  
1. 25. ii. 23, 75, 138, 176.  
iii. 294.  
1. 28. iv. 302 n.  
2. 1. iii. 464 n.  
2. 14. ii. 723.  
2. 25, 26. explained, iv. 73.  
2. 27. ii. 723.  
2. 28. iv. 577 n.  
2. 29. iv. 577 n. 705 n. v.  
262 n.  
3. iv. 497 n.  
3. 5. vi. 4 n.  
3. 8. v. 705 n.  
3. 12. v. 647 n.  
3. 20. iv. 137.  
3. 21. vi. 4 n.  
3. 22. vi. 4 n. 23 n.  
3. 24. iv. 643 n.  
3. 25. iv. 514 n. 643 n. vi.  
4 n. 23 n. 26 n.  
3. 26. vi. 4 n.  
3. 27. vi. 37 n.  
3. 28. vi. 23 n.  
3. 29. v. 28.  
3. 30. vi. 4 n. 23 n.  
3. 31. vi. 29 n. 37 n.  
4. 1. v. 262 n.  
4. 2. vi. 23 n. 37 n.  
4. 3. iv. 575. vi. 23 n.  
4. 4. vi. 34 n. 37 n.  
4. 5. vi. 4 n.  
4. 6, 7, 8. vi. 20.  
4. 9. iv. 575.  
4. 11. iv. 102 n. 705 n. vi.  
103.  
4. 17, 18. iv. 202 n.  
4. 22. iv. 575.  
4. 23, 24. iv. 202 n.  
4. 25. iv. 202 n. 513. n. vi.  
4 n.  
5. 1. iv. 643 n.  
5. 2. vi. 23 n.  
5. 5. iv. 529 n.  
5. 6. iv. 513 n. 529 n. v.  
171 n.  
5. 7. v. 630 n.  
5. 8. v. 171 n. 630 n. vi.  
462.  
5. 9. iv. 514 n.  
5. 9, 10, 11. iv. 541 n.  
5. 10. iv. 514 n. v. 177 n.  
v. 631 n.  
5. 11. iv. 514 n. 643 n.

5. 13, 14. ii. 108.  
5. 18. vi. 4 n.  
6. 1. vi. 37 n.  
6. 2. vi. 480 n.  
6. 3. ii. 173 n. iv. 621 n. vi.  
12 n.  
6. 4. vi. 12 n.  
6. 4—8. iv. 577 n.  
6. 5. iv. 621 n.  
6. 5—8. iv. 541 n.  
6. 6. v. 264 n.  
6. 8, 9. iv. 577 n.  
6. 10, 11. iv. 439 n.  
6. 13. iv. 730 n.  
7. 6. v. 124 n. 262 n.  
7. 7. iv. 141 n.  
8. vi. 21.  
8. 1. iv. 455 n. v. 643 n.  
8. 2. v. 462 n.  
8. 9. ii. 120. iv. 38 n. 629  
n. 667 n.  
8. 10. iv. 667 n. 674 n.  
8. 11. iv. 674 n.  
8. 14. ii. 120. iv. 433 n.  
451 n. 667 n. v. 643 n.  
explained, 686.  
8. 15. iv. 432 n. 433 n.  
8. 16. vi. 485.  
8. 17. v. 687 n.  
8. 18. iv. 423 n.  
8. 26. v. 640 n. 689 n.  
8. 32. vi. 462.  
8. 33. iv. 615 n. 642 n. vi.  
4 n.  
8. 34. iv. 615 n.  
9. 1. ii. 123 n. iv. 8 n.  
9. 3. v. 454. explained, ib.  
sermon upon, 626.  
9. 4. ii. 54.  
9. 5. i. 275, 281, 317. ii.  
26, 54, 138, 168, 216,  
404, 413, 528, 555. iii.  
14, 28, 47, 290, 301,  
411 n. iv. 8 n. 24 n. 502  
n.  
9. 6. v. 112 n.  
9. 9. i. 326.  
9. 30. iii. 690 n. vi. 4 n.  
34 n.  
9. 30, 31, 32. vi. 26 n.  
9. 31. vi. 4 n. 34 n.  
9. 32. vi. 23 n. 34 n.  
10. iv. 160 n.  
10. 3. vi. 4 n.  
10. 5. iv. 361 n.  
10. 6. iv. 160 n.  
10. 12. i. 326. ii. 555.  
10. 13. i. 423 n.  
10. 13, 14, 15. vi. 10 n.  
10. 18. iv. 160 n.  
11. 6. vi. 34 n. 37 n.  
11. 24. ii. 723.  
11. 34. ii. 54.  
11. 35. ii. 54. iii. 428 n.  
11. 36. i. 382. ii. 51, 54,

56, 518, 519.  
12. 1. iv. 730 n. 750, 758 n.  
v. 124 n. 156 n. 263 n.  
745 n.  
12. 2. iv. 433 n.  
12. 14. iv. 321, 326 n.  
12. 18. sermon upon, v.  
417.  
12. 19. iv. 775 n. v. 598 n.  
12. 20. v. 600.  
12. 21. sermon upon, v. 596.  
13. 4. iv. 374 n. 775 n.  
13. 12. iv. 435 n.  
13. 14. iv. 435 n.  
14. iii. 403 n. v. 75 n.  
14. 9. ii. 114 n. v. 171 n.  
14. 10. iii. 276.  
14. 11. i. 316. iii. 276.  
14. 18. v. 638 n.  
14. 19. iv. 404.  
15. iii. 403 n. v. 75 n.  
15. 4. v. 88 n.  
15. 16. iv. 667 n. 730 n.  
731 n. v. 264 n.  
15. 18. iii. 434 n.  
15. 19. ii. 120, 123 n. iv.  
30 n.  
15. 30. ii. 120. iv. 8 n.  
16. 17. iii. 456 n. 482 n.  
515, 696.  
16. 18. iii. 456 n. 482 n.  
696.  
16. 19. iii. 434 n.  
16. 20, 24. iv. 8 n. 666 n.  
16. 25. iv. 703 n.  
16. 26. iii. 434 n.

## 1 CORINTHIANS.

1. 2. i. 423 n.  
1. 3. iv. 8 n.  
1. 4. iv. 666 n.  
1. 7. vi. 181.  
1. 9. iv. 627 n.  
1. 11, 12. iv. 769 n.  
1. 20. iv. 360 n.  
1. 23. iii. 475 n.  
1. 29. vi. 37 n.  
1. 30. vi. 4 n. 36 n.  
1. 31. vi. 37 n.  
2. 2. ii. 91. iv. 514 n. v.  
95 n.  
2. 4. ii. 120, 123 n. iv. 30  
n.  
2. 5. ii. 123 n. iv. 30 n.  
2. 8. ii. 143. iii. 426 n.  
2. 10. ii. 120, 123 n. iv. 30  
n. 38 n.  
2. 11. ii. 91, 120, 123 n.  
405. iv. 30 n. 38 n. v.  
350 n.  
3. 10. iv. 666 n. v. 88 n.  
3. 12, 15. v. 88 n.  
3. 16. ii. 120, 123 n. iv.  
33, 542 n. 588 n. 635 n.  
674 n. v. 686 n.

3. 17. iv. 58 n.  
 4. 1. v. 278 n.  
 4. 3, 4. 5. v. 679 n.  
 4. 4. ii. 528.  
 4. 11. iv. 332 n.  
 4. 21. iii. 472 n.  
 5. 3. iv. 607 n.  
 5. 5. iii. 442 n. 460 n. 472, 482 n. iv. 37 n.  
 5. 6. iii. 458 n.  
 5. 7. iii. 458 n. iv. 103 n. 160 n. 488 n. 514 n. 577 n. 770 n. v. 235 n.  
 5. 8. iv. 770 n.  
 5. 11, 12, 13. iv. 782 n.  
 6. 9, 10. v. 530.  
 6. 11. ii. 120. iv. 578 n. 643 n. 667 n. vi. 9 n. 15 n.  
 6. 15. iv. 768 n.  
 6. 15, 16, 17. iv. 629 n.  
 6. 15—20. iv. 635 n.  
 6. 16. iv. 575 n. 768 n.  
 6. 17. iv. 575 n. 667 n. 674 n. v. 350 n.  
 6. 19. ii. 123 n. iv. 33, 542 n. 588 n. 674 n. v. 687 n.  
 6. 20. ii. 114 n. iv. 514 n. v. 124 n.  
 7. 22, 23. ii. 114 n.  
 8. 4. i. 279, 280. iii. 28, 287.  
 8. 5. i. 279, 280. 491.  
 8. 6. i. 279, 280, 491. ii. 19, 51, 54, 61, 147 n. 422, 426, 566, 568, 692, 694, 697, 699, 701, 719, 766. iii. 28, 48, 53, 238, 292. iv. 28.  
 8. 11. v. 171 n.  
 8. 16. ii. 674.  
 9. 9. iii. 693 n.  
 9. 12. ii. 108.  
 9. 19—23. v. 75 n.  
 9. 27. iv. 275 n. v. 639 n.  
 10. iv. 103.  
 10. 1—4. iv. 705 n.  
 10. 3. iv. 570 n. v. 267 n.  
 10. 4. iv. 88 n. 570 n. 576 n. v. 192 n. 195 n. 267 n.  
 10. 7. iv. 612.  
 10. 9. i. 316.  
 10. 14. iv. 612, 721 n.  
 10. 15. iv. 612.  
 10. 16. iv. 87 n. 473 n. 522 n. 524 n. 525, 544, 546, 579 n. 582, 638, 648, 667, 669 n. 710, 717, 718. v. 183. explained, and vindicated from misconstructions, iv. 610. objections answered, 626. Puffendorf's interpretation, 638.  
 10. 16—21. i. 450. v. 235 n.  
 10. 17. iv. 549. 669 n. 671 n. 730. v. 183 n.  
 10. 18. iv. 87 n. 576 n.  
 10. 20. iv. 768 n.  
 10. 21. iv. 631 n. 632, 768 n.  
 10. 22. iv. 475.  
 11. iv. 491.  
 11. 4. iv. 86 n.  
 11. 14. explained, ii. 723.  
 11. 18. iv. 768 n.  
 11. 19. iii. 457 n. 465 n. 656. iv. 168 n. 768 n.  
 11. 20. iv. 474 n. 475.  
 11. 21. vi. 448.  
 11. 24. iv. 498 n. 649 n.  
 11. 25. iv. 103, 497 n. 498 n. 708 n.  
 11. 26. iv. 489, 495 n. 498 n. 518 n. 621 n. v. 134, 179 n.  
 11. 27. iv. 58 n. 466 n. 528 n. 616, 631 n. 767, 769. v. 157.  
 11. 27, 28, 29. iv. 495 n.  
 11. 28. iv. 653, 766 n. 767, 770 n.  
 11. 29. iv. 466 n. 538 n. 631 n. 766 n.  
 11. 30. iv. 104 n. 529 n.  
 11. 33, 34. iv. 768 n.  
 12. vi. 87, 93.  
 12. 3. iii. 481. iv. 673 n.  
 12. 3—11. iv. 668 n.  
 12. 4. ii. 123 n. iv. 30 n.  
 12. 4, 5, 6. iv. 529 n.  
 12. 5, 6. ii. 123 n.  
 12. 7. ii. 123 n. iv. 673 n.  
 12. 8. ii. 123 n. iv. 30 n.  
 12. 11. ii. 123 n. iv. 30 n. 31 n.  
 12. 13. i. 157. iv. 82, 438 n. 578 n. 604 n. 668 n. 673 n. vi. 9 n. 12 n.  
 12. 29. vi. 182 n.  
 12. 31. iv. 673 n.  
 13. 1—13. iv. 673 n.  
 13. 2. vi. 484.  
 13. 3. iv. 69 n.  
 13. 13. vi. 27 n.  
 14. ii. 302.  
 14. 2. ii. 123 n.  
 14. 16. iv. 484.  
 14. 33. v. 701 n.  
 15. iii. 402.  
 15. 3. v. 171 n.  
 15. 9. v. 730 n.  
 15. 10. iv. 666 n.  
 15. 14, 17. iii. 446 n.  
 15. 22. iv. 146 n.  
 15. 24. ii. 445, 662. iii. 304. explained, iv. 23.  
 15. 27. ii. 139, 412, 414. iv. 27.  
 15. 28. ii. 445. iv. 23.  
 15. 29. iv. 578 n.  
 15. 32. iv. 303 n.  
 15. 44. v. 267 n.  
 15. 51. iii. 244.  
 16. 2. v. 134 n.  
 16. 22. iv. 325 n.  
 16. 23. iv. 8 n. 666 n.

## 2 CORINTHIANS.

1. 2. iv. 8 n.  
 1. 12. iv. 666 n.  
 1. 21. iv. 530 n.  
 1. 22. iv. 530 n. 674 n.  
 1. 24. iii. 511 n.  
 2. 6, 7. iv. 782 n.  
 3. 2, 3. iv. 575 n.  
 3. 3. ii. 120.  
 3. 6. v. 262.  
 3. 7, 13, 14. iv. 160 n.  
 3. 17. ii. 120, 123 n. iv. 31 n.  
 3. 18. ii. 120.  
 4. 3. iii. 486 n.  
 4. 4. i. 305, 491. ii. 21, 42. iii. 486 n. iv. 454 n.  
 4. 14, 15, 16. iv. 629 n.  
 4. 16. iv. 434 n.  
 5. vi. 370.  
 5. 7. iv. 603 n.  
 5. 14. iv. 613 n.  
 5. 15. iv. 613 n. v. 171 n.  
 5. 16. ii. 108 n. v. 262 n.  
 5. 17. iv. 435 n.  
 5. 18, 19. iv. 514 n.  
 5. 21. iv. 613 n. 715 n. v. 630 n. vi. 4 n. 36 n.  
 6. 1. iv. 666 n.  
 6. 16. iv. 642 n. 588 n. 674 n.  
 7. 1. iv. 436 n.  
 7. 6. ii. 108 n.  
 8. 1. iv. 667 n.  
 10. 2. iv. 457 n.  
 11. 3. iv. 167 n. 172 n.  
 11. 5. v. 575 n.  
 11. 13. iii. 402.  
 11. 13, 14, 15. iii. 695 n. iv. 457 n. v. 702 n.  
 11. 14. iv. 315 n.  
 11. 31. ii. 138 n.  
 12. 7, 8, 9. iv. 8 n.  
 12. 9. iv. 667 n.  
 12. 11. v. 575 n. 654 n.  
 12. 16. ii. 108 n.  
 13. 5. iii. 401 n. iv. 635 n. 684 n.  
 13. 13. iv. 627.  
 13. 14. ii. 123 n. iii. 432 n. iv. 8 n. 530 n. 666 n. sermon upon, v. 344.

## GALATIANS.

1. 1. vi. 89, 221 n.  
 1. 3. iv. 8 n.

1. 4. iv. 513 n.  
 1. 6. iii. 401 n.  
 1. 6—9. v. 82 n.  
 1. 7. iii. 401 n. 457.  
 1. 7, 8, 9. v. 75 n. 95 n.  
 1. 8. iii. 281, 401 n. 457,  
 482 n. 696 n. iv. 325 n.  
 1. 9. iii. 457 n. 482 n. iv.  
 325 n.  
 1. 23, 24. v. 734 n.  
 2. 5. v. 75 n.  
 2. 16. vi. 23 n.  
 2. 20. iv. 605 n. vi. 23 n.  
 2. 21. iii. 401 n. 137. v. 75  
 n. 82 n. vi. 23 n.  
 3. 1. iv. 511 n.  
 3. 2. iii. 569 n. 617 n.  
 3. 3. v. 262 n.  
 3. 6. iv. 575 n. vi. 23 n.  
 3. 8. v. 650 n. vi. 4 n. 23 n.  
 3. 10. iv. 361 n.  
 3. 11. iv. 138 n. vi. 23 n.  
 3. 12. iv. 361 n.  
 3. 13. iv. 513 n. v. 630 n.  
 3. 14. vi. 23 n.  
 3. 19. iv. 703 n.  
 3. 21. iv. 138 n.  
 3. 22. iv. 138 n. vi. 23 n.  
 3. 24. vi. 23.  
 3. 26. iv. 7 n. vi. 13 n. 23 n.  
 3. 27. iv. 435 n. 439 n. 578  
 n. 604 n. 605 n. 669 n.  
 vi. 13 n. 23 n.  
 4. 1. i. 493.  
 4. 5. iv. 432 n.  
 4. 6. ii. 120. iv. 38 n.  
 4. 8. i. 409, 490, 491. ii.  
 23, 720, 722, 723, 724,  
 726. iii. 294, 373 n.  
 4. 17. iii. 695 n.  
 4. 19. iv. 445 n.  
 4. 22. iv. 160 n.  
 4. 23. v. 262 n.  
 4. 24. iv. 159 n.  
 4. 29. v. 262 n.  
 5. 2. iii. 401 n.  
 5. 2, 3, 4. iv. 541 n.  
 5. 3. iv. 74 n. 705.  
 5. 4. v. 93 n. 95 n.  
 5. 5. vi. 23 n.  
 5. 6. v. 652 n.  
 5. 9. iii. 458 n.  
 5. 10. iii. 458 n. 482 n.  
 5. 12. iii. 458 n. 482 n. v.  
 75 n.  
 5. 16, 18. iv. 455 n.  
 5. 19. iii. 402 n.  
 5. 19, 20, 21. v. 530 n.  
 5. 20. iii. 402 n. 465 n.  
 485 n.  
 5. 22. iv. 451 n. 673 n. 674  
 n. v. 693 n.  
 5. 23. iv. 451 n. v. 693 n.  
 5. 25. v. 693 n.  
 6. 6. iv. 620 n.

6. 7, 8. vi. 485.  
 6. 10. v. 438, 439 n. sermon  
 upon, v. 299.  
 6. 12. v. 721 n.  
 6. 14. v. 651.  
 6. 15. iv. 435 n.  
 6. 18. iv. 8 n. 666 n.

## EPHESIANS.

1. 2. iv. 8 n.  
 1. 3. v. 739 n.  
 1. 5. iv. 432 n.  
 1. 7. iv. 514 n.  
 1. 13, 14. iv. 674 n.  
 1. 17, 21. iv. 27, 529 n.  
 1. 22. i. 329, 330. ii. 412.  
 iv. 529 n.  
 1. 23. iv. 575 n.  
 2. 3, 4. vi. 480.  
 2. 9. vi. 37 n.  
 2. 10. v. 652 n. vi. 480.  
 2. 11. v. 764 n.  
 2. 12. iv. 139 n.  
 2. 13. iv. 541 n.  
 2. 16. iv. 79 n. 541 n. v.  
 177 n.  
 2. 20. v. 93 n.  
 2. 21, 22. ii. 123 n. iv. 674  
 n.  
 3. 7. iv. 666 n.  
 3. 9. ii. 55, 61, iii. 292, 627  
 n.  
 3. 14, 16. ii. 120.  
 3. 17. iv. 604 n.  
 3. 18, 19. iii. 424 n.  
 3. 20, 21. ii. 662.  
 4. vi. 87, 93.  
 4. 6. i. 279, 280. ii. 138,  
 422, 429, 431. iii. 15, 48,  
 51.  
 4. 11, 12, 13. v. 718 n.  
 4. 14. sermon upon, v. 717  
 n.  
 4. 23, 24. iv. 434 n.  
 4. 30. ii. 120. iv. 674 n.  
 v. 641 n. 687 n. 690 n.  
 709 n.  
 5. 1. iv. 716 n.  
 5. 1, 2. sermon upon, v.  
 736 n.  
 5. 2. iv. 182 n. 513 n. v.  
 264 n. 292 n.  
 5. 9. iv. 674 n.  
 5. 25. iv. 645 n. vi. 13 n.  
 5. 26. iv. 438 n. 578 n. 645  
 n. 668 n. vi. 13 n.  
 5. 30. iv. 601 n. 608 n. v.  
 115 n. 212 n.  
 5. 31, 32. iv. 160 n. 162 n.  
 vi. 24 n.  
 6. 14. iv. 435 n.  
 6. 23. iv. 8 n.

## PHILIPPIANS.

1. 2. iv. 8 n.

1. 19. ii. 120. iv. 38 n.  
 1. 27, 28. iii. 514.  
 2. 1. iv. 627 n.  
 2. 3. ii. 103, 118.  
 2. 4. ii. 103. vi. 465.  
 2. 5. v. 632 n.  
 2. 5—11. ii. 102.  
 2. 6. i. 275, 282, 284, 431.  
 ii. 297, 404, 548. v. 629  
 n. 632 n.  
 2. 6, 7, 8. iv. 508 n.  
 2. 7. iii. 66 n. v. 264, 629 n.  
 2. 8. v. 133 n. 741 n.  
 2. 9. i. 231. ii. 670. iii. 54.  
 2. 9, 10, 11. ii. 24. iv. 27.  
 2. 10. i. 316, 431, 434. ii.  
 680. iii. 277, 423 n. iv.  
 6.  
 2. 11. i. 422, 434. ii. 668  
 n. 680, 701. iii. 54 n.  
 277. iv. 6.  
 2. 12. v. 643 n. 683 n.  
 693 n.  
 2. 13. iii. 290 n. v. 643 n.  
 683 n. 688 n. vi. 480.  
 2. 17. iv. 730 n. v. 156 n.  
 264 n.  
 2. 19, 24. iv. 8 n.  
 3. 2. iii. 402.  
 3. 4. v. 262 n.  
 3. 8. v. 93 n. 95 n.  
 3. 9. v. 93 n. 95 n. vi. 4 n.  
 23 n.  
 3. 10. iv. 541 n. 627 n.  
 vi. 23 n.  
 3. 11. iv. 541 n.  
 3. 15, 16. v. 88 n.  
 3. 19. i. 304. iv. 639 n.  
 4. 15. iv. 620.  
 4. 18. iv. 730 n. 741, 743.  
 v. 264 n. 281 n.  
 4. 23. iv. 8 n. 666 n.

## COLOSSIANS.

1. 2. iv. 8 n.  
 1. 13. ii. 56.  
 1. 14. iv. 514 n.  
 1. 14—20. iv. 508 n.  
 1. 15. ii. 56, 103, 107, 139,  
 157, 519. iii. 268, 290.  
 677 n.  
 1. 15—12. iii. 544.  
 1. 16. i. 380, 383, 430, 434,  
 435. ii. 56, 61, 69, 107,  
 139, 147 n. 157, 628,  
 663, 679. iii. 13, 290,  
 292, 543 n.  
 1. 17. i. 380, 430, 434. ii.  
 56, 139, 157, 164, 223,  
 628, 679. iii. 13, 292.  
 1. 18. ii. 54 n. 157.  
 1. 19. ii. 157. iv. 22 n.  
 1. 20. v. 177 n.  
 1. 20, 21, 22. iv. 514 n.  
 1. 22. iv. 514 n.

1. 26. iv. 703 n.  
 2. 2—10. iii. 544.  
 2. 3. ii. 156.  
 2. 5. ii. 108 n.  
 2. 9. ii. 157, 158. iv. 22 n.  
 2. 11. iv. 102 n. 490 n. 706 n. vi. 103.  
 2. 11, 12, 13. iv. 87 n. 578 n. vi. 13 n.  
 2. 12. iv. 81, 102 n. 644 n. 706 n.  
 2. 13. iv. 578 n. 643 n.  
 2. 14. v. 740 n.  
 2. 16, 17. iii. 403 n. v. 75. n.  
 2. 18, 23. vi. 474.  
 3. 2. v. 558.  
 3. 3. iii. 317. iv. 58 n.  
 3. 5. v. 264 n.  
 3. 10. iv. 434 n.  
 3. 11. iv. 24 n.  
 3. 12. iv. 435 n.

## I THESSALONIANS.

1. 1. iv. 8 n.  
 3. 11. i. 423 n. 467. iv. 8 n.  
 4. 8. ii. 99.  
 5. 8. iv. 435 n.  
 5. 10. v. 171.  
 5. 14, 15. v. 438 n.  
 5. 17. iv. 58 n.  
 5. 19. iv. 58 n. v. 641 n. 709 n.  
 5. 21. v. 678 n. sermon upon, 655.  
 5. 28. iv. 8 n. 666 n.

## 2 THESSALONIANS.

1. 2. iv. 8 n.  
 2. 8. ii. 134.  
 2. 11. iii. 486 n. iv. 363.  
 2. 12. iii. 486 n.  
 2. 13. iv. 629 n. 667 n.  
 2. 14. iv. 639 n.  
 2. 16, 17. iv. 8 n.  
 3. 14. iii. 472 n.  
 3. 16. iv. 8 n.  
 3. 18. iv. 8. 666 n.

## I TIMOTHY.

1. 2. iv. 8 n. 666 n.  
 1. 5. v. 652 n.  
 1. 10. iii. 401 n.  
 1. 12. iv. 8 n.  
 1. 13. v. 731 n.  
 1. 15. v. 678 n. 729 n.  
 1. 16. ii. 108 n.  
 1. 19. iii. 482 n.  
 1. 20. iii. 402 n. 459 n. 482 n. iv. 168 n. v. 722 n.  
 2. 5. ii. 99, 701.  
 2. 6, 8. iv. 513 n.  
 2. 14. iv. 162 n.  
 3. vi. 259.  
 3. 2—12. vi. 164.

3. 9, 10. iii. 516 n.  
 3. 16. i. 464. ii. 158 n. iii. 550 n.  
 4. 1, 2, 3. iii. 482 n.  
 4. 5. iv. 527 n.  
 4. 6. iii. 401 n.  
 5. 20. iv. 271 n.  
 5. 22. iii. 516 n.  
 6. 2—5. iii. 459 n.  
 6. 3. v. 88 n.  
 6. 3, 4, 5. iii. 482 n.  
 6. 14. ii. 134 n.  
 6. 15. i. 326. ii. 143, 555.

## 2 TIMOTHY.

1. 2. iv. 8 n. 666 n.  
 1. 3. v. 454 n. 627 n.  
 1. 6. v. 641 n.  
 1. 9. vi. 480.  
 1. 10. ii. 134 n.  
 1. 12. ii. 108 n.  
 1. 23. iii. 401 n. v. 88 n.  
 2. 16, 17, 18. iii. 402 n. 459 n. 482 n.  
 2. 17, 18. iv. 168 n. v. 722 n.  
 2. 24. v. 439 n.  
 3. 1, 2. sermon upon, v. 446.  
 3. 1—9. iii. 482 n.  
 3. 5. v. 446.  
 3. 15. iv. 141 n.  
 3. 17. iv. 144 n.  
 4. 1. ii. 134 n.  
 4. 3. iii. 401 n.  
 4. 6. iv. 730 n. v. 156 n. 264 n.  
 4. 7. iv. 122 n. v. 680 n.  
 4. 8. ii. 134 n. v. 680 n.  
 4. 10. v. 722 n.  
 4. 14. iv. 168 n. 325 n. iv. 777 n. v. 600 n. 722 n.  
 4. 16. iv. 776 n.  
 4. 17, 18, 22. iv. 8.

## TITUS.

1. 1. v. 88 n. vi. 463.  
 1. 2. iv. 703 n. vi. 463.  
 1. 3. vi. 1 n.  
 1. 4. iv. 8 n. 666 n.  
 1. 6. vi. 164.  
 1. 10, 11. iii. 460 n. v. 721 n.  
 1. 13. iii. 401 n. 460 n. iv. 271 n.  
 2. 1, 2. iii. 401 n.  
 2. 11. iv. 666 n.  
 2. 13. ii. 134. iii. 489. iv. 502 n.  
 2. 14. ii. 134.  
 3. 2. v. 439 n.  
 3. 4. ii. 99, 528.  
 3. 4, 5, 6. iv. 529 n. how understood, iv. 724.  
 3. 5. iv. 81, 86 n. 436 n. 446 n. 578 n. 645 n. 668 n. vi. 480.  
 3. 5, 6, 7. vi. 9 n. 13 n.

3. 6. ii. 528.  
 3. 7. vi. 4 n.  
 3. 10. iii. 469 n. 482 n.  
 3. 10, 11. explained, iii. 461.  
 3. 11. iii. 482 n.

## PHILEMON.

25. iv. 8 n. 666 n.

## HEBREWS.

1. 2. i. 1428, 434. ii. 55, 58, 61, 104, 550. iii. 13, 292, 680 n. iv. 26, 27, 508 n.  
 1. 3. i. 275, 282, 285, 286, 428, 430, 434. ii. 58, 104, 151, 404, 502. iii. 677 n. iv. 514 n. 515 n.  
 1. 6. i. 407, 423, 428, 431. ii. 164 n. 653, 661. iii. 295. iv. 7, 9 n. 502 n.  
 1. 8. i. 275, 281, 307. ii. 404. iii. 290, 304. iv. 9 n.  
 1. 9. i. 307. ii. 661.  
 1. 10. i. 308, 329, 380, 383. i. 58, 69, 152, 628, 663, 680. iii. 289, 292, 505. iv. 9 n. 28 n. 502 n. the Arian interpretation shewn to be of no force, iii. 666, 674.  
 1. 11. ii. 85, 152. iv. 9 n.  
 1. 12. ii. 58, 351, 154. iv. 9 n.  
 1. 14. iv. 314 n. 677 n.  
 2. 4. ii. 123 n. iv. 30 n.  
 2. 9. iv. 513 n.  
 2. 10. ii. 51, 58, 518.  
 2. 11. ii. 58. iii. 680 n.  
 2. 12. ii. 58.  
 2. 17. iv. 515 n.  
 3. 2—6. iv. 502 n.  
 3. 4. ii. 72. iii. 293.  
 3. 6. ii. 72. iv. 26. v. 642 n.  
 3. 14. iv. 643 n. v. 642 n.  
 4. 3. iv. 160 n.  
 4. 12. ii. 92 n. 156. iii. 291.  
 4. 13. ii. 156.  
 5. 1. iv. 515 n. v. 739 n.  
 5. 6. v. 167 n.  
 5. 7. v. 147 n.  
 5. 8. v. 133.  
 5. 10, 11. v. 167 n.  
 6. 6. iv. 434 n.  
 6. 11, 12. v. 643 n.  
 6. 13. iv. 240 n.  
 6. 17, 18. iii. 627 n.  
 6. 20. v. 167 n.  
 7. 1—24. v. 167 n.  
 7. 3. ii. 151. v. 173 n. 235 n.  
 7. 9. iv. 575 n.  
 7. 11, 13, 14. v. 173 n.  
 7. 16. v. 173 n. 262 n.  
 7. 17. v. 173 n.  
 7. 19. iv. 141 n.  
 7. 25. iii. 59. iv. 515 n. v. 235 n.

7. 27. iv. 513 n.  
 8. 2. iv. 728 n.  
 8. 3. iv. 515 n.  
 8. 5. iv. 702 n. v. 127.  
 9. iv. 497 n.  
 9. 9. v. 124 n. 164 n.  
 9. 11. iv. 728 n.  
 9. 12. iv. 515 n. 715 n. v. 225 n.  
 9. 12, 13, 14. v. 177 n.  
 9. 13. iv. 508 n. v. 124 n. 164 n.  
 9. 14. iv. 508 n. 513 n. 515 n. v. 124 n. 130 n. 742 n. vi. 462.  
 9. 16, 17. iv. 708 n.  
 9. 22. iv. 514 n. v. 177 n.  
 9. 23. iv. 515 n.  
 9. 24. iv. 158 n. 515 n. 516 n. 728 n.  
 9. 25. iv. 515 n.  
 9. 26. iv. 513 n. 515 n.  
 9. 27. v. 168 n.  
 9. 28. iv. 513 n. 515 n. v. 177 n.  
 10. iv. 497 n.  
 10. 1. iv. 158 n. 514 n. 702 n.  
 10. 3. iv. 510 n.  
 10. 4. iii. 425 n. v. 164 n.  
 10. 12. iv. 513 n.  
 10. 19. iv. 514 n.  
 10. 21, 22, 23. vi. 14 n.  
 10. 22. iv. 578 n. 645 n.  
 10. 23, 24. v. 666 n.  
 10. 26—31. iii. 486 n.  
 10. 29. v. 168 n.  
 10. 30. iv. 775 n.  
 11. iv. 113.  
 11. 1. vi. 26 n.  
 11. 4. v. 53 n.  
 11. 13. v. 329 n. vi. 26 n.  
 11. 14. vi. 26 n.  
 11. 17. iv. 202 n.  
 11. 19. iv. 202 n. 575 n.  
 11. 26. v. 53 n. 453 n.  
 11. 31. iv. 242, 243.  
 12. 2. ii. 144. v. 53 n.  
 12. 6, 7, 8. v. 512 n.  
 12. 14. v. 438 n. 636 n. 654 n. vi. 7.  
 12. 16. iv. 208 n.  
 12. 22, 23, 24. iv. 765 n.  
 12. 24. iv. 514 n.  
 12. 28. iv. 667 n.  
 13. 8. ii. 153.  
 13. 10. ii. 23. iv. 637. v. 235 n. 268 n. explained, iv. 540 n.  
 13. 12. v. 168 n.  
 13. 15. iv. 730 n. 753 n. v. 147 n. 264 n. 644 n.  
 13. 16. iv. 730 n. v. 182 n. 264 n. 281 n. 645 n.  
 13. 21. ii. 26. iii. 290.

## ST. JAMES.

1. 6. v. 444 n.  
 1. 17. ii. 154.  
 1. 25. vi. 28.  
 1. 27. iv. 72 n.  
 2. 10. iv. 69 n.  
 2. 12. vi. 28.  
 2. 14—26. v. 652 n. vi. 28 n. 37 n.  
 2. 15. iv. 332 n.  
 2. 21, 22, 23. iv. 122 n.  
 2. 23. vi. 28.  
 2. 25. iv. 242.  
 2. 26. iv. 125 n.  
 3. 2. iv. 452 n. v. 523 n. 638 n. 680 n.  
 4. v. 425 n.  
 4. 6. iv. 667 n. v. 572 n. 607 n. 611 n.  
 4. 7. iv. 58 n. 72 n.  
 4. 8. iv. 436 n.  
 5. 14. iv. 73 n.  
 5. 15. iv. 73 n. 525 n.

## 1 ST. PETER.

1. 2. iv. 529 n. 666 n.  
 1. 3. iv. 432 n.  
 1. 11. ii. 120. iv. 38 n.  
 1. 18. iv. 103 n.  
 1. 19. ii. 114 n. iv. 513 n.  
 1. 20. iv. 703 n.  
 1. 22. iv. 436 n.  
 1. 23. iv. 432 n.  
 2. 3, 4. iv. 8 n.  
 2. 5. iv. 674 n. 730 n. 763 n. v. 124 n. 147 n. 263 n. 267 n. 744 n.  
 2. 9. iv. 730 n. 763 n. v. 277 n.  
 2. 11. v. 329 n.  
 2. 13. ii. 642. v. 701 n. vi. 325, 358, 378.  
 2. 14. iv. 374 n. vi. 378.  
 2. 16. v. 749 n.  
 2. 21. iv. 513.  
 2. 22. iv. 182 n.  
 2. 24. iv. 513 n. v. 176 n. 630 n. 741 n.  
 3. 9. v. 327 n.  
 3. 15. iv. 271 n. v. 656 n.  
 3. 18. iii. 550 n. iv. 513 n. v. 631 n.  
 3. 21. i. 148. ii. 186 n. iv. 87 n. 94 n. 439 n. 578 n. 645 n. 681 n. 706 n. vi. 15 n.  
 3. 22. iv. 439 n.  
 4. 1. iii. 550 n. iv. 513 n.  
 4. 6. vi. 310.  
 4. 10. iv. 666 n.  
 4. 11. ii. 26. iii. 290. iv. 8 n.  
 4. 14. ii. 120.  
 4. 17, 18. v. 516.  
 5. 5. v. 572 n. 607 n. 611.  
 5. 8. iv. 168 n. 314 n. 666 n.

## 2 ST. PETER.

1. 1. vi. 4 n.  
 1. 2. iv. 666 n.  
 1. 5, 6, 7. v. 445 n.  
 1. 5—10. vi. 37 n.  
 2. 1. iii. 326 n. 465 n. 482 n.  
 2. 2, 3. iii. 482 n.  
 2. 14. iv. 321 n.  
 2. 15. iv. 239 n. v. 721 n. 753 n.  
 2. 16. iv. 237 n. 239 n. v. 751 n.  
 2. 20. iii. 486 n.  
 2. 21. iii. 486 n. iv. 794 n.  
 2. 22. iii. 486 n.  
 3. 3. iv. 168 n. 359 n.  
 3. 4. iv. 359 n.  
 3. 14. ii. 108 n.  
 3. 16. iii. 316.  
 3. 18. i. 423 n. ii. 26. iii. 290. iv. 8 n. 667 n.

## 1 ST. JOHN.

1. 1. iii. 548 n. 550 n.  
 1. 2. i. 316. ii. 34, 130. iii. 548 n. 550 n.  
 1. 3. iv. 627 n.  
 1. 5. iii. 312, 545 n.  
 1. 7. iv. 90 n. 508 n. 514 n. vi. 462.  
 1. 8. v. 637 n. 649 n. 680 n.  
 1. 9. iv. 436 n.  
 1. 10. v. 637 n.  
 2. 1. iii. 59.  
 2. 2. iv. 514 n. 515 n.  
 2. 12. iv. 643 n.  
 2. 15. iv. 58 n.  
 2. 18. iii. 483 n. 548 n.  
 2. 19. iii. 548 n.  
 2. 22. iii. 483 n. 547 n. 548 n. 553 n.  
 2. 23. iii. 548 n. 553 n. 557 n.  
 2. 26. iii. 483 n.  
 3. vi. 310.  
 3. 3. iv. 636 n.  
 3. 7—10. vi. 37 n.  
 3. 8. iv. 162 n. 453 n. v. 531 n.  
 3. 9. iv. 432 n. 452 n. v. 531 n. 692 n. 703 n. vi. 483.  
 3. 9, 10. sermon upon, v. 635.  
 3. 10. iv. 452 n.  
 3. 16. v. 133 n. 171 n. 454 n. 632 n.  
 3. 21, 22. sermon upon, v. 676.  
 3. 23. iii. 549 n.  
 3. 24. v. 692.  
 4. 1. iii. 482 n. 483 n. v. 656. sermon upon, v. 695.  
 4. 2. iii. 481 n. 589 n.  
 4. 3. iii. 402 n. 481 n. 483 n.



- 547 n. 548 n. 589 n. v. 221 n.
4. 7. iv. 632 n.
4. 8. iii. 312.
4. 9. v. 628 n. 631 n.
4. 10. iv. 514 n. 702 n.
4. 15. iii. 549 n.
4. 16. iii. 312.
4. 17, 18. v. 683 n.
4. 19. i. 435. iv. 702 n. v. 450 n.
4. 20, 21. v. 444 n.
5. 1. iii. 549 n. iv. 432 n.
5. 4. iv. 432 n.
5. 5. iii. 549 n.
5. 6. iii. 549 n. 551 n.
5. 7. i. 18, 19, 255, 477. iii. 551 n. v. 350 n. vi. 312, 313, 327, 342, 344, 345, 358, 362, 412. has very many and very considerable appearances of being truly genuine, v. 350.
5. 8, 9, 11. iii. 551 n. 552 n.
5. 12, 13. ii. 132.
5. 16. iv. 776 n.
5. 18. iv. 432 n. v. 703 n.
5. 20. ii. 130, 429. iii. 289, 548 n. 552 n. iv. 502 n.
- 2 ST. JOHN.**
3. iv. 9 n. 666 n.
7. iii. 402 n. 483 n. 547 n. 548 n. 550 n.
9. iii. 402 n. 481 n. 696 n.
10. iii. 468 n. 481 n. 513 n. 696 n. iv. 782 n.
11. iii. 402 n. 468 n. 481 n. 485 n. 513 n.
19. v. 95 n.
- 3 ST. JOHN.**
1. v. 720 n.
9. iv. 475 n. v. 720 n.
10. iii. 513 n. iv. 475 n.
- ST. JUDE.**
2. v. 721 n.
3. iii. 401 n. 58 n.
4. iii. 520.
6. v. 744 n.
11. iv. 239 n. v. 753 n.

## REVELATIONS.

1. i. ii. 161.
1. 4. ii. 123 n. 141, 564. iv. 9 n. 666 n.
1. 5. i. 434. ii. 17, 26, 123 n. 662. iv. 9 n. 514 n.
1. 6. i. 434. ii. 24, 26, 662. iii. 290. iv. 763 n. vi. 164.
1. 7. ii. 141.
1. 8. i. 326, 339, 340, 537. ii. 141, 144 n. 146, 414, 555, 568, 754. iii. 47, 289. proofs of this text applying to the Son and not to the Father, ii. 562.
1. 11. ii. 141 n. 144 n.
1. 16. ii. 156.
1. 17. i. 326, 339. ii. 141, 143, 144 n. 555. iii. 289. v. 684.
1. 18. ii. 141 n. 144 n.
2. 3. i. 326. ii. 92 n. 555.
2. 4. ii. 108 n.
2. 5. iv. 302 n. 445 n.
2. 6. ii. 108 n.
2. 8. ii. 141 n. 144 n.
2. 12. ii. 156.
2. 14. iii. 513 n. iv. 238 n. v. 721, 753 n.
2. 15. iii. 513 n. iv. 238 n.
2. 16. ii. 156. iv. 445 n.
2. 20. iii. 513 n. iv. 445 n.
2. 21. iv. 445 n.
2. 23. ii. 156. iii. 290.
3. 3. iv. 445 n.
3. 14. ii. 53, 144 n.
3. 19. iv. 445 n. v. 512 n.
3. 21. iii. 679 n.
4. 8. ii. 142, 565.
4. 10. i. 316 n. ii. 519, 682.
4. 11. i. 316 n. ii. 519, 662, 682.
5. 6. iv. 515 n.
5. 8. i. 423 n. 434. ii. 165 n. iii. 295. iv. 508 n. 730 n. 741, 744 n. 748. v. 152 n. 263 n. 744 n.
5. 9. i. 434. ii. 662. iv. 514 n. v. 177 n.
5. 10. iv. 763 n.
5. 11, 12, 13. iii. 423 n. iv. 9 n.
5. 12. ii. 24, 26, 662. iii. 290.
5. 13. i. 423 n. ii. 26. iii. 295, 305. iv. 502 n.
5. 14. i. 434.
6. 9. iv. 540 n. v. 263 n.
7. 3. v. 280 n. vi. 108.
7. 10. i. 423 n. iii. 423 n.
7. 14. iv. 23 n. 514 n. v. 743 n.
8. 3. iv. 508 n. 730 n. 741 n. 744 n. v. 263 n. 268 n. 744 n.
8. 4. iv. 508 n. 730 n. v. 263 n. 744 n.
8. 5. iv. 711 n. 741 n. v. 268 n.
11. 1, 3. ii. 513.
12. 9. iv. 172 n.
12. 11, 12. iii. 680 n.
13. 16. ii. 144 n.
14. 12. iii. 401 n.
17. 14. i. 326. ii. 143, 555.
19. 1, 2. ii. 662.
19. 10. i. 318, 409. iii. 288, 421 n.
19. 11. ii. 135.
19. 12. ii. 91, 164, 405.
19. 13. ii. 34, 156. iii. 315.
19. 15. ii. 156.
19. 16. i. 326. ii. 135, 143, 555. iv. 23 n. 28.
19. 17. ii. 135.
19. 19. ii. 135.
20. 2. iv. 172 n.
20. 6. iv. 763 n. v. 277 n.
21. 6. ii. 141, 143, 144 n. iii. 289.
21. 8. iii. 400 n.
21. 22. ii. 94, 422. iv. 24 n. v. 350 n.
21. 23. ii. 94, 422. iv. 24 n.
22. 1. ii. 94, 422. iii. 679 n. iv. 24 n. v. 350 n.
22. 3. iv. 24 n.
22. 6. i. 308.
22. 9. i. 409. iii. 288, 421 n.
22. 12. ii. 129.
22. 13. i. 326, 339, 340. ii. 141, 143, 144 n. 555. iii. 289.
22. 16. i. 308.
22. 21. iv. 666 n.

# I N D E X.

- A BARBENEL**, (Abrabanel,) Isaac, iv. 343, 366.
- Abassine church**, has not even the Apostles' Creed from its ignorance of Latin forms, iii. 190.
- Abbadie, James**, II. 144 n. iii. 415 n.
- Abbo**, or **Albo**, Floriacensis, iii. 170 n. 184 n. 238 n. abbot of Fleury, or St. Benedict upon the Loire, 125. had some difference with Arnulphus, bishop of Orleans, *ib.* wrote an apology respecting it, *ib.* his testimony respecting the use of the Athanasian Creed, *ib.*
- Abbot, George**, archbishop of Canterbury, vi. 132, 481.
- Abbot, Robert**, bishop of Salisbury, v. 141.
- Abelard, Peter**, iii. 148, 233 n. 238. notice of his comment on the Athanasian Creed, 140.
- Abernethy, John**, iv. 415.
- Abrabanel**, see *Abarbenel*.
- Abraham**, I. 132. his intention of sacrificing his son, vindicated, iv. 201. bishop Cumberland's explanation, 202.
- Acacius**, ii. 371.
- Accursius, Mariangelus**, vi. 269.
- Achadeus**, see *Amadeus*.
- Achillas**, bishop of Alexandria, iii. 600.
- Acosta, Uriel**, v. 65 n. 101 n. vi. 460.
- Actions**, when formally good and perfect, iv. 133. in a strict sense, none but the divine actions have an exact conformity to the reasons of things, *ib.*
- Acts**, (divine,) nature of, hard to understand, ii. 624.
- Adalbertus**, made a bishop, iii. 124. his testimony of the general reception of the Athanasian Creed, *ib.*
- Adam**, i. 132.
- Adamantius**, iv. 687 n.
- Addison, Joseph**, iv. 404. v. 62 n.
- Adrian I.**, pope, iii. 156, 183, 185.
- Adults**, if fitly prepared, justified in baptism, v. 33.
- Ælfric**, archbishop of Canterbury, vi. 490, 493. his death, 195.
- Æneas**, bishop of Paris, iii. 109, 124, 171. wrote a treatise against the Greeks, *ib.*
- Æthiopia**, church of, St. Matthew its founder, vi. 272.
- Ætius**, an heretic, i. 382, 404, 480, ii. 504, 632. iii. 89, 638, 682.
- Affirmative prior** in order of nature to the negative, iii. 386.
- Agde**, council of, iv. 793, 797, 798. first obliged the laity to receive the communion thrice a year at least, 797.
- Agellius, Anthony**, a Novatian bishop, ii. 225 n. 374.
- ἀγέννητος**, and ἀγέννητος, used promiscuously, till the Arian controversy gave occasion for their being accurately distinguished, i. 363 n. an inquiry into the original meaning of ἀγέννητος, ii. 573. not used in the sense of ἀγέννητος, *ib.* used by the ancient philosophers to signify necessary existence, 575. applied by the fathers to what is supposed to have been produced or begotten, *ib.* though probably used in a higher sense when applied to the Father, 576, 577.
- ἀγέννητος**, an inquiry into the time when this term was first applied to the Son, ii. 573, 576. ἀγέννητος not previously used in the same sense, *ib.*
- Agens, unus intelligens**, and **unum intelligens Agens**, difference between, ii. 332.
- Agobardus**, archbishop of Lyons, wrote against Felix Orgelitanus, iii. 123.
- Agrippinus**, vi. 176.
- Ahyto**, see *Hatto*.
- Aikin, Dr.**, i. 262 n.
- Ainsworth, Henry**, iv. 576 n.
- Alberti, John**, vi. 427.
- Albertinus**, iv. 446 n. 475, 524 n. 528 n. 529, 534 n. 536 n. 537 n. 542 n. 545 n. 553 n. 565 n. 574 n. 580 n. 581 n. 587 n. 590 n. 591, 595 n. 596 n. 598 n. 629 n. 635 n. 636 n. 640 n. 678 n. 683 n. 688 n. 694 n. 757 n. 758 n. v. 115 n. 162 n. 165, 167 n. 189 n. 190 n. 191 n. 192 n. 193 n. 195, 198 n. 200 n.—203 n. 205 n.—208 n. 220 n. 225 n. 226 n. 228 n. 241 n. 256 n. 259 n. vi. 46 n. 71.
- Albertus Magnus**, iii. 340, 343. notice of.

- 327 n. 329. applied *necessity* in a sober but new sense to the Divine essence, 327 n. 329. considered the existence of the Deity not demonstrable *à priori*, 329. was the preceptor of Aquinas, *ib.*  
 Albo, see *Abbo*.  
 Alcuinus, iii. 259 n. 260 n. vi. 247. the book *de Divinis Officiis* falsely ascribed to him, v. 207.  
 Aldrich, Henry, iv. 695 n. his statement respecting the real presence in the eucharist, 607.  
 Aleph, John, vi. 305, 307, 321, 403. probably a feigned name, 384.  
 Alexander, v. 97. excommunicated by St. Paul for denial of a future resurrection, iii. 402.  
 Alexander Alensis, see *Alexander of Hales*.  
 Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, I. 287, 355, 358, 360 n. 393 n. 485, 487, 498 n. ii. 104 n. 149 n. 150, 151 n. 153 n. 369, 383 n. 417, 585 n. 586 n. 600, 615, 618, 675, 728. iii. 79 n. 555 n. 585. iv. 37. vi. 180. called the Father and the Son *ὄνο παράμυατα*, i. 285. distinguished between *eternal* and *self-existent*, 354. vindicated, ii. 420. his epistle inserted by Montfaucon in his edition of Athanasius's works, *ib.* asserts the necessary existence and supreme divinity of the Son, 421. express for his eternal generation, iii. 22. a defender of the catholic faith against his presbyter Arius, 88. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, *ib.* his testimony and that of his clergy respecting Christ's divinity, iii. 600.  
 Alexander Aphrodisiensis, a celebrated Peripatetic, iii. 325. when he flourished, *ib.* his opinion that the existence of a Deity cannot be proved *à priori*, 326.  
 Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, i. 285. iii. 585.  
 Alexander of Hales, (Alensis,) iii. 128, 246 n. v. 288 n. when he flourished, iii. 329. notice of his Comment on the Athanasian Creed in his *Summa*, 141. ascribes Gennadius's treatise *de Eccles. Dogmat.* to St. Austin, according to the common error of that time, *ib.* his opinion that the word *necessity* is improperly applied to the Deity, 327 n.  
 Alexander, Natalis, iii. 151, 182, 216 n. 632 n. 638 n. iv. 174 n. 176, 190 n. 192 n. 196 n. 203, 295. vi. 70 n. published an Ecclesiastical History, iii. 115. speaks respectfully of Antelmi's opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, but prefers Quesnel's hypothesis, *ib.* 117.  
 Alexander IV., pope, iii. 187 n.  
 Alexander, John, I. 242. iii. 529, 678 n. his *Essay on Irenæus* passed through Waterland's hands before it was printed, vi. 414. his *Essay* commended, iii. 572.  
 Alexandria, Athanasius presided in a synod there that compromised the dispute about *hypostasis*, ii. 711.  
 Alexandria, church of, iii. 203. St. Mark its founder, vi. 272.  
 Alexius IV., emperor of the east, iii. 171.  
 Alfred, king, translated the Bible into his native tongue, vi. 359.  
 Algazel, iii. 327.  
 Algerus, v. 288 n. vi. 493, 494.  
 ἄλλὰ, frequent in scripture instead of ἅλλ' ὄμως, signifying *howbeit*, or *nevertheless*, ii. 108. instances, *ib.* and n.  
 Allatius, Leo, ii. 426 n. iii. 128, 196 n. vi. 69 n. published his *Syntagma de Symbolo S. Athanasii*, in modern Greek, iii. 110. very scarce, *ib.* his opinion respecting the Creed, 117.  
 Allegorizing, see *Scripture*.  
 Allegory, how it differs from parable, iv. 159.  
 Allen, Edmund, vi. 389. translated Jude's Exposition of the Apocalypse from German into English, 384, 391.  
 Allen, William, cardinal, v. 225, 272 n. 284 n. 292. vi. 497. one of the Rhemish translators of the New Testament, 402.  
 Allix, Peter, ii. 148 n. 591 n. iii. 580 n. 590 n. iv. 292 n. 636, 790 n. v. 188 n. 195.  
 Almighty, the imperfect rendering of *παντοκράτωρ*, a divine title given to Christ in scripture, ii. 141.  
 Alogi, iii. 606 n. a branch of the Ebionites, 579. rejected St. John's Gospel, 673.  
 Alpha and Omega, a divine title given to Christ in scripture, ii. 143.  
 Alstedius, John Henry, iii. 182.  
 Altar, in the Christian church, what, v. 269. how so called, iv. 749.  
 Altimura, Stephan. de, i. e. *Le Quien*.  
 Amadeus, or Achadeus, count, iii. 157.  
 Amalaricus Trevirensis, vi. 247.  
 Ambition, what, v. 570.  
 Ambrose, St., i. 415, 548 n. ii. 13 n. 33 n. 43 n. 44 n. 60, 77 n. 87 n. 89 n. 109 n. 125 n. 133 n. 141 n. 142, 143, 151 n. 153 n. 156 n. 168 n. 173 n. 239 n. 428, 429, 498 n. 549, 563, 570 n. 602, 611 n. 746 n. iii. 91, 200, 202, 206 n. 226 n. 227 n. 234, 684 n. iv. 195, 561, 580 n. 653, 683, 691 n. 752 n. v. 13, 107 n. 175 n. 198 n. 275, 277 n. 283 n. his declaration respecting the *incarnation*, iii. 208. the first that applies the term of *mass* to the eucharist, iv. 490. the book *de Sacramentis* not justly ascribed to him, 683. conjectures respecting its date and author, *ib.* a passage of his touching the eucharistic elements, explained, v. 286. the Comment on St. Paul's Epistles under his name, perhaps written by Hilary the deacon, vi. 119, 181.

- Ambrosian Latin MS. of the Athanasian Creed, iii. 221 n.—229 n. 235 n. 243. notice of, 154. a copy of it published by Muratorius, *ib.* the MS. came from the monastery of Bobbio, *ib.*
- Ambrosian III. MS. Fortunatus's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, iii. 114, 134.
- Ambrosian library has two anonymous MS. comments on the Athanasian Creed, iii. 148.
- Ambrosian monks particularly venerated the Athanasian Creed, iii. 160.
- Amelius, said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 13, 16.
- Amerbachius, Vitus, iii. 168.
- Ames, Joseph, vi. 303 n.
- Ammonius, iv. 431 n.
- Ἀνάγκη* in Greek, or *necessitas* in Latin, had not the same sense as *necessity* bears, when we say that God exists by *necessity of nature*, ii. 13. which was expressed by *φύσει*, or *κατὰ φύσιν*, *ib.* in what sense the fathers used *ἀνάγκη φυσική* and *φύσεως ἀνάγκη*, *ib.* ii. 601, 603, 604. when first used, iii. 23.
- ἀνακαίνωσις*, used sometimes for regeneration, vi. 480.
- ἀνάμνησις*, notice of the two places where it occurs in the New Testament, iv. 499, 510.
- Ἀναρχος*, applied by the ancients to the Son, iii. 79.
- Anastasius I., pope, ii. 377. iii. 219. v. 196 n. 203. vi. 490, 491. impugned Origen's doctrines, ii. 641. Le Quien inclinable to ascribe the Athanasian Creed to him, iii. 115.
- Anastasius instead of Athanasius commonly found in the German copies of the Athanasian Creed, for five or six hundred years upwards, iii. 160. how probably the error arose, *ib.*
- Anastasius II., pope, iii. 202.
- Anastasius, monk of mount Sinai, iii. 440 n. 673. v. 194. wrote against the Gaianites, 194. observations on his confused notions respecting the consecrated elements of the eucharist, 194, 204. among the first who threw off the distinctions between the symbolical and true body, 197.
- ἀνάθεμα εἶναι*, what it often means, v. 617.
- Anathemas, observations respecting, iii. 442.
- Anaxagoras, said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 13.
- Ancient doctrine best kept up by adhering to ancient language, v. 204.
- Ancients, see *Fathers*.
- Ancyra, council of, iv. 474, 790 n. 791 n.
- Andreas Cæsariensis, i. 538 n. ii. 563.
- Andrews, Lancelot, bishop of Winchester, ii. 346. v. 293 n. vi. 5 n. notice and explanation of his notion of the sacrament's being a sacrifice, v. 136.
- Angel, or messenger, applied to the Son, concerns only his office, not his nature, iii. 304.
- Angel, what may be the sense of the word in Acts xxiii. 8. v. 670.
- Angels, creation of, a proof of Christ's divinity, ii. 71. conceived by Manichæans to be of God's substance, 471. in what one great part of their perfection probably consists, iv. 142. the ancients gave angels names according to their supposed offices, 676 n. instances, 677 n.
- Angers, library of the church of, iii. 120.
- Anglo-Saxon, advantages of the knowledge of, vi. 434.
- Anguish, what, v. 551.
- Anicetus, iii. 615 n.
- Anne, wife of Richard II., vi. 367.
- Anomæans, a sect of Arians, i. 404.
- Anselarius, iii. 183, 184. monk of Corbey, and afterwards archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, 124. his life written by Rembertus, his successor in the see, *ib.* and by Gualdo, in verse, 126.
- Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, iii. 381. iv. 540 n. v. 165 n. vi. 243, 464. his opinion that the word *necessity* is improperly applied to the Deity, iii. 327 n.
- Anselm, (sive Herveus Dolensis,) v. 275 n.
- Antelmi, Anthelmi, Joseph, iii. 117, 153, 161, 205 n. 211 n. 212 n. 213, 214 n. 215. a learned Paris divine, first attacked Quesnel's opinions respecting the Athanasian Creed, 114. considers Vincentius Lirinensis its author, *ib.* his work commended by Tillemont and Natalis Alexander, who however incline rather to Quesnel's opinions, *ib.* 115. spoken favourably of by Muratori, 115.
- Ante-Nicene Fathers, see *Fathers*.
- Ante-oblation in the eucharist, what, v. 182.
- Ante tempus*, meaning of, as applied by the ancient writers to God the Son, i. 355.
- Antinomians, iv. 99, 100.
- Antioch, church of, St. Peter its founder, vi. 273.
- Antioch, notice of the debate begun there about *hypostases*, ii. 711. how settled, *ib.*
- Antioch, ii. 605, 618, 630 n. 631. iv. 785. council of, cleared from misrepresentation, 716. number of bishops at this council, *ib.*
- Antiochian fathers, ii. 498 n. iii. 87. time of their writing, ii. 491. texts respecting God, applied by them to Christ, *ib.* objections answered, *ib.*
- Antiochus Epiphanes, iv. 70.

- Antiquity, ecclesiastical, see *Fathers*.  
 Antisthenes, said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 9.  
 Antoninus, Marcus, iv. 413. v. 16.  
 Antonius, Nicolaus, iii. 147 n.  
 Apelles, ii. 612. iii. 606 n. his execrable tenets, v. 101.  
 Apocalypse, see *Napier*.  
 Apollinarian heresy, date of, iii. 199.  
 Athanasian Creed minute and particular against it, *ib.*  
 Apollinarians, iii. 241, 254. held a doctrine very near akin to that which was afterwards called Eutychian, 206. charged the catholics with the opposite extreme, afterwards called Nestorian, *ib.* their opinion of the human nature of Christ, 242, 243. the absorption of Christ's manhood in his Godhead proved against them by St. Chrysostom from the eucharist, v. 114.  
 Apollinaris, Apollinarius, ii. 395, 553. iii. 211, 265, 694. iv. 430. v. 273.  
 Apologue, what, iv. 156.  
 à *posteriori* demonstration, what, iii. 336 n.  
 à *posteriori* demonstration of the Deity vindicated, 382.  
 Apostles' Creed, iii. 243, 244. why so called, 219. iv. 19. notice respecting it, 19. the Roman Creed, why so called, ii. 191. is neither so old, taken altogether, nor of so great authority as the Nicene Creed, 192. not of more credit than other creeds, *ib.* is diametrically opposite to the Arian principles, *ib.* held by the Latin church to be really written by them, and therefore of as great authority as the inspired writings, iii. 119. its being composed by the apostles a vulgar error derived from the fifth century, iv. 19. suspected by Valla and Erasmus, *ib.* proved by Vossius, *ib.* the English reformers, owing to this error, paid it probably more respect than they otherwise would have done, *ib.* this Creed why less explicit than others, *ib.* has not been admitted, scarce known, in Africa, and but little in Asia, except among the Armenians, iii. 196. notice of Bishop Taylor's false suppositions respecting it, 252. when brought to its present entire form, *ib.* nothing else but the baptismal Creed of the church of Rome, iii. 252. form of the old Roman (or Apostles') Creed, *ib.* n. observations on its shorter form published by Usher, 526. shewn to teach the doctrine of the Trinity, 533, 536. meaning of the word *Father* in the beginning of it, iv. 21. and *Almighty*, 23. and *Son*, 27. and *Lord*, 27, 28.  
 Apostolical Constitutions, ii. 57 n. 637. iii. 69. iv. 477 n. 698 n. 741 n. 753 n. 767 n. 72, 785 n. 787, 791 n. v. 285 n. vi. 65 n. 68 n. 109, 150 n. 160 n. 274. patched, spurious, and interpolated, ii. 590. Fabricius's judgment upon Whiston's attempt about them, 591 n. their probable age, iv. 684 n. their declaration against lay baptism, vi. 190.  
 Appearing, see 'Επιφάνεια.  
 à *priori* demonstration, what, iii. 336 n. see *Deity*.  
 Apuleius, said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 16.  
 Aquarians, a sect, why so called, v. 111.  
 Aquila of Pontus, iii. 569, 570. iv. 708 n.  
 Aquileia, Creed of, iii. 243.  
 Aquinas, Thomas, ii. 713 n. iii. 187, 215, 337, 341, 343, 381. iv. 432 n. 541. v. 133, 165 n. 175 n. 275. vi. 488. pupil of Albertus Magnus, but died in 1274. before him, iii. 329. surnamed the Angelical Doctor, *ib.* Duns Scotus his rival, 332. his remark on the form of the Athanasian Creed, 129. considered the existence of the Deity not demonstrable à *priori*, 329. his explanation of the eucharist being a sacrifice, v. 292.  
 Arabs, circumcised at about thirteen years of age, iv. 195.  
 'Αρχή, its meaning in Rev. iii. 14. as applied to Christ, ii. 53. how interpreted in the beginning of Genesis by Methodius, 223, 224. in what sense used by the ancients, 635.  
 Archelaus, iii. 690.  
 Archer, —, i. 22.  
 Arcudius, iv. 692. v. 143 n. vi. 64 n. 68 n. 69 n. 70 n.  
 Aretius, Benedictus, v. 228 n.  
 Arian subscription, circumstances that induced Waterland to consider the subject, ii. 261. the general principles of the modern Arians concerning subscription to our public forms, 264. viz. that every expression in our public forms is capable of a sense consistent with the new scheme, 266. that their being capable of such a sense is enough, without regard to the more plain and natural signification of the words themselves, or to the intentions of those who first compiled them, or who now impose them, *ib.* in answer, it is shewn that the sense of the compilers and imposers, when certainly known, is to be religiously observed by every subscriber, even though the words were capable of another sense, 267. which is proved from the case of oaths, *ib.* from the ends and purposes intended by requiring subscription, 268. and from the scandal and pernicious influence of such fraudulent practice, 269. to the plea that protestant churches require men to comply with their forms in such sense only wherein they are agreeable to scripture, it is answered, that no

person is required to subscribe against his conscience, that is, in a sense he thinks not agreeable to scripture, but if he does subscribe, he is required to do it in the sense intended by the church, 270, 271. to the plea that no man can be bound to *understand*, or to *receive* forms in a sense differing from scripture, it is answered, that two distinct things, the rule for *understanding*, and the rule for *receiving* any forms, are confounded together, and consequently an illogical inference drawn, 272. the same answer is given to the plea that the sense in which any form appears to a man's self, and not the presumed meaning of the compilers, is to be the rule of his understanding it, 273. the plea that the church has no legislative power in matters of doctrine similar to the legislative power in civil matters, shewn to be futile, 274. to the plea that every man who (for the sake of peace and order) assents to any form, is bound to reconcile it to his own sense of scripture, it is answered, that if the form in its *obvious* and *intended* sense appears to him not consistent with scripture, he is bound not to assent to it at all, 275. to the plea that the church in the Articles themselves requires nothing to be received but what is agreeable to scripture, it is answered, that for this very reason she requires subscription in her own sense, because she judges no other sense to be agreeable to scripture: if any judge otherwise, let them not subscribe, 276, 354, 355. to the plea that where expressions look different ways, (as many do in our public forms,) it is allowable to interpret what is obscure by what seems more plain and scriptural, it is answered, that there is nothing obscure in our public forms with regard to Arianism, and that therefore this plea is a misrepresentation of fact. If by *obscure* be meant *mysterious*, then it is answered, that then the plea comes to this, that when any church imposes the belief of mysteries, a subscriber may honestly substitute what he pleases instead of the mystery, or may make no mystery of it, 277. the plea that the article of the Trinity is capable of four senses, disproved, 301. the sum of the plea that there are many expressions in our public forms, which, in their obvious sense, contradict the received doctrine of the Trinity, denied, and the seeming contradiction accounted for by the explanation that such expressions imply only *subordination of order* in the Trinity, 279, 280. to the plea that there are in

our public forms one hundred and eighty-six passages favourable to the Arian side, and only twenty-seven against it, it is answered that, allowing the numbers to be true, (shewn not to be so, 304, 305,) yet that there are passages capable of different views, according to what they happen to be joined with, and such therefore as may be used either by Arian or catholic, but as they stand in our forms in company with other passages express and full for the catholic doctrine, they can reasonably bear no other than the catholic meaning: so that the true question is this, whether one hundred and eighty-six passages, which might (if the compilers and imposers had not intended them in a catholic sense) have been indifferently claimed by either catholic or Arian, should yield to twenty-seven, which are utterly repugnant to Arianism, or the twenty-seven to them, 283. to the plea that the article in the Creed of Christ's descent into hell, is now understood differently from what the composers intended, it is answered, that it is uncertain in what sense it was understood by the composers, and that in this instance our church has left that article at large, intending a latitude, 284. to the plea that the damnatory clauses in the Athanasian Creed are now by few understood in that sense in which, in all probability, the compiler intended, it is answered, that the same reasons that would shew what sense it is most reasonable to understand them in, would also serve to prove that that was the sense of the compiler, and that the compiler's sense being doubtful, and the imposers having left those clauses without any exposition, the subscriber is at liberty to understand them in such sense as the words will bear, and such as best answers the main intent of the Creed, and is agreeable to scripture and reason, 285. to the plea that the procession of the Holy Ghost set forth in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, in one sense, is by Dr. Beunet shewn to be now understood by many in a different sense, it is answered, that this is only *argumentum ad hominem*, and moreover does not come up to the point in hand, for that Dr. Bennet was of opinion that our church had determined nothing in the matter, otherwise he would not presume to interpret the procession in his own way, *ib.* to the plea that the doctrines of predestination and original sin are now understood differently from what the composers

meant to teach, it is answered, that the pretence that the composers intended them in a Calvinistic sense has been often and abundantly confuted, and moreover that a distinction should be made between such articles as being formed in general terms, leave a latitude for private opinions, and such, as being otherwise formed, leave no such latitude; and that it is ridiculous to pretend that because *some* articles are general and indefinite, and may admit of different explanations, therefore *all* may, 286, 287. the plea that the article in the Nicene Creed, of *one substance with the Father*, is now taken otherwise than the council meant, little more than a cavil upon the double meaning of the word *individual*, and that the doctrine of the Nicene council is rightly enough understood by modern Christians, 289. to the plea that it becomes a sincere man (especially if he varies from notions commonly received) to declare plainly in what sense he understands any words of human institution, it is answered, that if the subscription contended for be in itself fraudulent, as elusive of the law, a man's declaring, or giving notice of it, does not alter its nature, or make it legal, and that it cannot be pretended that there is any presumed consent to such evasion, 290. it is shewn, in the second place, that several expressions in our public forms are really not capable of a sense consistent with the Arian scheme, 294—305. summary of the whole case, 337. Waterland's *Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription considered*, &c. 311. our church vindicated from such latitude of expression respecting the Trinity as to admit of Arian subscription, 318. an exemplification of an Arian's real sentiments, together with his professions in the words of our church, and his evasions to satisfy his conscience in the sacred engagement of subscription, 326, &c. other persons may have signed the Articles in different senses, because their opinions may have varied on points left undetermined and at large, the Arians cannot do the same because the doctrine of the Trinity is determined and limited, 330, 331. the church may require subscription to its own sense of particular passages of scripture, because subscription is not a term of lay-communion, but of ministerial conformity, or acceptance of trusts and privileges, 330. why an Arian cannot honestly subscribe to the doctrine of the Trinity, 331. nothing can be more particular and explicit than the church

doctrine of the Trinity, 334. and none can honestly subscribe to any proposition in a sense he knows was not the sense of its framer or imposer, 335, 336. how far Waterland's and Bennet's views of subscription differ, 359. Whiston's censure of Dr. Clarke's method of subscription, 360.

Arian congregations in England became Unitarian, and are now, for the most part, Socinian, i. 101 n.

Arianism, differences among the dissenting teachers at Exeter respecting, i. 99. difficulties of the modern Arian scheme, iii. 5. is but the dupe to deism, and that to atheism or popery, iv. 50.

Arians, iii. 241, 242, 254. equivocated upon certain words retaining the catholic expressions, but eluding the catholic sense, i. 346, 355, 393, 394. evaded the eternity of the *Δόγος* by the invention of a *twofold Δόγος*, 368. in ascribing creation to a *creature* they innovated in the faith of Christ, 386. why even when predominant, they did not venture expressly to call the Son of God a creature, 393. their real tenets, 394. have more difficulties to get over than the catholics, 372, 374, 377, 406, 482. what is the very essence and characteristic of Arianism, 398. what concession would have satisfied the Arians, 401. positions of some or other of them in respect of the Son, 402. the methods used to propagate their heresy, 403. observations on them, *ib.* the main strength of Arianism lay in logical and metaphysical subtilities, 449. the catholic doctrine misrepresented by Dr. Clarke, 451. controversy between the catholics and Arians, managed upon the foot of mere reason, terminates at length in that single question, whether the essence of God be above comprehension, or no, 453. Arianism and Sabellianism how near akin, 480, 481. where they differ, 482. Arianism more pious than Sabellianism, but Sabellianism more consistent, *ib.* the Arian or Semi-Arian scheme can never tolerably support itself without taking in the catholic principle of a *human* soul to join with the Word, 483. supposing Christ's divinity doubtful, the catholic view of the question is safer than the Arian, 551. what it is requisite to prove, to defend their scheme, 556. one considerable objection against the Arian scheme is, that it stands in opposition to the first commandment, and against the unanimous sense of the church, ii. 17. the Arians are chargeable with ditheism, or idolatry, 20. their notion of worship refuted, 23. the Arian construction of the beginning

of St. John's Gospel, with observations on it, 36, 49, 58, 59. first propagated in the beginning of the fourth century, *ib.* never was a sect so divided, various, and unsettled as the Arians, 36, 49. and why, 36. their idea of two Creators even condemned by Socinians and Sabellians, 76. as there was no way of avoiding this tenet, but either by making the Father and the Son one Creator, or else denying the Son to be Creator at all, they chose the latter, *ib.* perplexed about creation being ascribed to the Son, 77, 79. their inconsistency about *exclusive* terms, 100. their method of managing controversy, 194, 367, 368. the doctrine of the Trinity according to Arians contrasted with the same doctrine according to the church of England, 318. inferences drawn therefrom, 324, 325. opinions entertained by the catholics respecting Arianism, from its first beginning, 369. the Arians ordered to be called Porphyrians by the emperor Constantine, and why, 370. notice of the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians declining the challenge of the catholics to refer the matter in dispute between them to the concurring judgment of the writers who lived before the controversy began, 373, 374. Waterland's objections against a scheme to determine the controversy by scripture alone, laying aside not only antiquity, but also those texts of scripture that are disputed, 379. his account of the grounds of difference between the orthodox and Arians respecting Christ's divinity, 383—386. metaphysics their last resort, 384, 432, 465, 692, 699, 738, 753, 755, 759. instances of their false metaphysics, 751. Waterland's justification of his application of the terms *Arians* and *Arianism*, 389. the Arian attempt to charge the council of Nice with Arianism, on Dr. Waterland's principles, disproved, *ib.* according to their principles the worship of inferior deities would have been allowable to the Jews, 405—408. their unfair method of claiming the ancients on their side, 451. confound coequality with coordination, 456. by eluding the proof of the Son's eternity, they have scarce left any for the eternity of the Father, 565. their argument to prove the Son a creature, 601. their sense of *necessity*, *ib.* their cause not served by attempting to prove *necessary existence* to be the same as *self-existence*, and why, 610, 648. their sense of *begetting* and *acting*, not the same as that of scripture and antiquity, 611. their doctrines traced up to the old Gnostics by bishop Bull, *ib.* deny the

substance of God to be God, 689. their fundamental error, 699. their meaning of *hypostasis*, 711. patronised by, and triumphant under the emperor Constantius, 715. their method of managing their controversy, iii. 37, 92. their error respecting the Trinity, 232. their pretences of tradition refuted by Athanasius, 659, 661. the divinity of Christ proved from the form of baptism against them, v. 112. their baptisms admitted by the church, vi. 175.

Ariminum, council of, ii. 717. some particulars respecting, i. 547, 548. vainly opposed by the Arians to the council of Nice, *ib.* comparison between it and that of Nice, iii. 587. overawed by the emperor Constantius, *ib.* how many in this council were Arians, *ib.* the catholics imposed upon, *ib.*

Aristides, ii. 748.

Aristobulus, v. 7 n. 20. an Alexandrian Jew, a Peripatetic philosopher, and preceptor to Ptolemy Philometor, 5. maintained that Pythagoras and Plato copied many things from Moses's law, *ib.* and that others had borrowed from the scriptures, *ib.* the genuineness of his writings doubted by some, 6.

Aristophanes, iv. 413.

Aristotle, i. 345. ii. 575. iii. 327. iv. 413. his philosophy revived by Avicenna and Averroes, iii. 327 n. some of his works translated by Boetius, *ib.* said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 7, 9, 17.

Arius, i. 356, 367, 393, 394, 398, 446, 498. ii. 214, 371, 389, 392 n. 395, 403, 420, 504, 678, 715, 755. iii. 88, 211, 600, 621, 623 n. 651, 675, 682. iv. 35. vi. 471. his heresy, i. 469. iii. 260, 261, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, the first champion of the catholic cause against him, i. 285. pretended that God was once no Father, and that the Logos was produced in time, 358. the strict eternity or coeternity of the Son was the principal thing that stuck with him, 400. the different positions he at times maintained in respect of the Son, 402, 403, 404. he did not believe any medium between God and creature, but at once degraded Christ to the latter, 428. in order to avoid tritheism, and to preserve the unity of the Godhead, 469. maintaining that two real persons cannot be one being or substance, 481. notice of his being received again into communion with the catholic church, 547. maintained that the Father rules over the Son, as being his God, and having existed before him, iii. 89, 91. denied that the Son was of like substance with the Father, ii. 420. condemned by the council of Nice, iii.



586. his construction of John i. 1., 673.
- Arles, council of, iv. 474 vi. 176, 196, 208. when held, 179. by how many bishops, *ib.* its canon touching the rebaptization of heretics, *ib.*
- Armenians, said to receive the Apostles' Creed, iii. 196.
- Arnobius, ii. 494 n. 725 n. iii. 88. iv. 306 n. v. 41, 46, 140 n. 167 n. 243 n. 255 n.
- Arnoldus, iii. 127. vi. 495. wrote the piece *de Cena*, ascribed to Cyprian, v. 210.
- Arnulphus, bishop of Orleans, iii. 125.
- ἀρπαγμα* different from *ἀρπαγμὸς*, ii. 107.
- Arriaga, Rodericus de, iii. 364 n. when he flourished, 343. proved the divine existence not to be demonstrable *a priori*, *ib.*
- Arrogance, what, v. 570.
- Arroque, M. l', iv. 477 n. 488 n. 529 n. 599 n. 636 n. 800 n. v. 143 n. 198 n. 200 n. 203 n.
- Artaxerxes Longimanus, iv. 297 n. v. 18.
- Artemas, ii. 728.
- Artemon, called also Artemas, iii. 581. a disciple of Theodotus, *ib.* notice respecting him, *ib.*
- Artemonians, their pretence of tradition refuted, iii. 659.
- Artemonius, iii. 564 n. 582, 585. 606 n. 663. see *N. Crellius*.
- Article *δ* before *Θεός*, its addition or omission does not alter the sense of the word, i. 314, 315. ii. 42.
- Article I. on the Trinity, shewn to have one sense only, and not four, according to an Arian explanation, ii. 278.
- Article III. on Christ's descent into hell, left at large by our church intending a latitude, ii. 284.
- Article XVII. on predestination, unanswerably vindicated from a Calvinistic sense by bishop Bull, ii. 287. remarks on its meaning, 350.
- Articles, the, passed and ratified in 1562, in Latin only, ii. 316. revised by the convocation of 1571, *ib.* an authentic English translation made by the same convocation, *ib.* and the Articles in both languages published by royal authority, *ib.* subscription required the same year to the English Articles, called the Articles of 1562, by the act of the 13th of Elizabeth, *ib.* both being therefore equally authentic, either may be used to explain the other, 317. how the proceedings at Cambridge against Barret for Anti-Calvinism go to prove that the Articles were not considered Calvinistic by archbishop Whitgift and others, 342—345. if the Articles were considered Calvinistic, why were the Lambeth Articles drawn up, since on that supposition the old ones could have prevented Anti-Calvinism, 345. and why, on the same supposition, when Calvinism prevailed in Ireland, were the Thirty-nine Articles rejected, and the Lambeth Articles inserted in the confession that was then drawn up, 346. no proof that archbishop Usher considered the Articles Calvinistic, *ib.* reasons why the Articles were not Calvinistical in their origin, *ib.* the Calvinists themselves complained of the Articles, 347, 349. and at the Hampton-Court conference proposed that they should be altered, and that the Lambeth Articles might be taken in, 348. Charles I.'s declaration confining persons to the plain and full meaning of the Articles complained against by the Calvinists, but why so, if Calvinism had been before incorporated into our Articles, or if it were not a new sense, and beside their plain and full meaning, 349. the advantages to be derived from stopping the Arian practice of subscribing, 356. the Articles made to speak popish sentiments in a work by à Sancta Clara, iii. 517. Clarke's vindication of the 11th, 12th, and 13th, against the charge of favouring the solidian doctrine, v. 392. the Articles drawn up upon the plan of the Augustan Confession, 393.
- Arundel, lord, i. 33.
- Arundel, Thomas, archbishop of York, and chancellor of England, vi. 359.
- Aseity, the schools' term for self-existence, ii. 696. its meaning, 696 n.
- Ashton, Charles, master of Jesus college, Cambridge, his death, vi. 450 n. his literary character, *ib.* had been chaplain to bishop Patrick, *ib.*
- Ashurim, whether the founder of the Assyrians, v. 18.
- Ashwell, George, vi. 467. his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, iii. 110, 117.
- Askew, Dr., i. 233.
- Assembly, iv. 351.
- Assyrians, a question respecting their origin, v. 18.
- Asterius, his wanton suggestion that the Son learnt the art of creating, by being bred up under the Father, ii. 49.
- Asterius Amasenus, the author of the treatise *de Penitentia*, ascribed to Gregory Nysse, v. 251.
- Athanasian Creed, the best exposition of the Trinity and incarnation to be met with any where, ii. 285. whatever reasons (if good) will serve to shew what sense it is most reasonable to understand the damnatory clauses in, the same reasons would serve to shew that that was the sense of the compiler, *ib.* the compiler's sense being doubtful, and

the imposers having left those clauses without any exposition, the subscriber is at liberty to understand them in such sense as the words will bear, and such as best answers the main intent of the Creed, and is most agreeable to sense and reason, *ib.* the very lowest sense and import of these damnatory clauses, 294. some clauses of this Creed shewn not to be susceptible of an Arian sense, 295—305. notice of Waterland's Critical History of the Athanasian Creed, i. 81. two editions of it, *ib.* the object of it, *ib.* iii. 105. the method of it, i. 82. iii. 106. the opinions of the learned moderns concerning this Creed, 109—117. G. Vossius led the way in a strict and critical inquiry into it, 109. the result of his inquiries, *ib.* Quesnel almost drew the learned world after him in considering Vigilius Tapsensis as the author, 111. notice of Tentzelius's *Judicia Eruditorum de Symb. Athanas.* 113. Quesnel's opinions first attacked by Antelmi, 114. who ascribed the Creed to Vincencius Lirinensis, *ib.* the opinions of the moderns shewn in one view in a table, 117. ancient testimonies respecting this Creed, 118—133. that of the Autun council the oldest, 118. Papebrochius's opinion that the expression *faith of Athanasius*, in the Autun Confession, means the Nicene Creed, opposed, 119. had peculiarly the title of *fides catholica* among the ancients, 121. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, the first writer that gave this Creed the name it bears at this day, 124. Adalbertus (A. D. 871.) speaks of this Creed as *received with great veneration by the catholic church*, or being of *customary and venerable use* in it, *ib.* Abbo's testimony of its being sung in alternate verses in France and England, 125. Honorius (A. D. 1130.) and Paululus (1178.) state that it *was daily* repeated at the *prime*, 126. Otho, bishop of Frisinghen, the first who pretends to name the place where Athanasius is supposed to have made his Creed, *ib.* Antelmi's conjecture of the grounds of this supposition, *ib.* Beleth the oldest writer that takes notice of its being commonly ascribed to Anastasius, though he himself ascribes it to Athanasius, 127. observations on the testimony of Hydruntinus as to a Greek copy of this Creed, *ib.* how it came to have the name of a creed, though not anciently usually called so, 128. the assertions of the famed legates of Gregory IX. respecting it, *ib.* formerly in England commonly called a psalm or hymn, 129. 130. a table of the recited ancient authors, and the titles given by them

to the Creed, 133. ancient commentators and paraphrasts upon it, 134—149. notice of an English Comment, and Waterland's reasons for ascribing it to Wickliff, 143. a summary table of the commentators, &c. and the titles of the Creed, 149. notice of the Latin MSS. of this Creed, 150—166. which was undoubtedly written in Latin, 150. the German copies of this Creed, for five or six hundred years upwards, have most commonly Anastasius, instead of Athanasius, 160. how probably it occurred, *ib.* modern MSS. of this Creed innumerable, 161. why the Creed is to be found in the Roman and Gallican, but not in the Italic and Hebraic psalters, 165. a table of the MSS. recited, with their age, title, &c., 166. some account of the ancient versions of this Creed, printed or manuscript, 167—178. French versions, 167. German, 169. Anglo-Saxon, *ib.* translated from the Latin only, 170. Greek versions, *ib.* why a more full account of them is given, 171. neither many nor ancient, *ib.* a list of them, 172. and of the printed editions, 176. mention of other versions, 178. of the reception of this Creed in the Christian churches, 178—197. France, or Gaul, 178. Spain, 180. Germany, 183. England, 184. Italy, 185. Rome, 186. whether the Greek and oriental churches received it, 189. as generally received as any creed, except the Nicene, 196. is more ancient, if considered as an entire form, than either the Apostles' or the Nicene Creed, 197. of the time when and place where the Creed was composed, 197—213. its external evidence, 198. its internal characters, *ib.* why it is not earlier than the Apollinarian heresy, 199. nor later than the Eutychian times, and council of Chalcedon, 201. therefore not composed by Vigilius Tapsensis, 204. earlier even than the times of Nestorius, 205. probably between 420 and 430, 211. reasons for believing that it was made in Gaul, *ib.* further reasons for supposing it to have been composed between 426 and 430, 212. of the author of the Creed, 213—220. reasons in favour of Hilary, bishop of Arles, 213. an Exposition of the Creed, a more proper title for it than Symbolum, or Creed, 214. rarely called Symbolum by the ancients, *ib.* objections against Hilary's being the author considered, 216. reasons for his concealing his name, 217. how the name of Athanasius might become affixed to this Creed, 218. sum of Waterland's opinion on the subject, 219. a Commentary on the Creed, 230. its various titles in

- English Service books, 230 n. and how often appointed to be used, *ib.* a conjectural emendation of Waterland's, 236. the church of England vindicated, both as to the receiving and retaining this Creed, 245. this Creed called by Luther a bulwark to the Apostles' Creed, 246. Baxter's high opinion of it, 251. notice respecting Fortunatus's Comment upon it, 257. the Comment itself, 259. Waterland's letter to Lewis concerning his Critical History of the Creed, vi. 137.
- Athanasius, St., i. 280 n. 285, 287, 290 n. 324 n. 347 n. 348 n. 354, 355 n. 357 n. 358 n. 360 n. 367 n. 368 n. 383 n. 384 n. 386 n. 393 n. 400 n. 402 n. 415, 467 n. 469 n. 470 n. 471 n. 478, 479 n. 488 n. 498 n. 499 n. 500, 502, 513 n. 514 n. 518 n. 523 n. 524 n. 527 n. 528 n. 530 n. 538 n. 542, 545 n. 546, 547 n. 548, 549 n. 562. ii. 13 n. 31 n. 32 n. 33 n. 40 n. 43 n. 44 n. 55 n. 57 n. 60 n. 62 n. 63 n. 65, 79 n. 80 n. 82, 104 n. 105 n. 112 n. 113 n. 124 n. 125 n. 133 n. 137 n. 141 n. 147 n. 149 n. 151 n. 153 n. 156 n. 159 n. 162, 168 n. 185 n. 203, 212, 214, 223, 231, 239, 249 n. 250 n. 257 n. 369 n. 370, 371, 372, 383 n. 392 n. 393 n. 410, 418, 419 n. 420 n. 426—429, 430, n. 439, 441, 446 n. 456, 464, 469 n. 495 n. 498 n. 504, 535, 538 n. 563, 570 n. 572, 574, 577, 578 n. 581 n. 585 n. 516 n. 587 n. 590 n. 591 n. 592 n. 601, 602, 603 n. 604, 607 n. 611, 612 n. 615 n. 634, 635, 636, 639, 674 n. 675, 679, 683, 688, 689 n. 702, 719 n. 722 n. 728, 738, 739, 740. iii. 16, 23, 79 n. 86, 89, 175, 176, 199, 206 n. 218, 219, 482, 534, 582, 585 n. 586 n. 587 n. 590 n. 598 n. 601, 602, 673 n. 678 n. iv. 297 n. 536, 545 n. 660 n. v. 13, 24, 110 n. 112, 108 n. 207 n. 251. vi. 126, 180, 209, 446, 464, 484. vindicated and explained, ii. 430 n. 431, 702, 703, 747, 748 n. iii. 29. time of his flourishing, 89. his reasoning that the Word is comprehended in Job ix. 8. and Isaiah xliv. 24., i. 290. resolved the unity (with respect to the Father and the Son) into Sonship, or unity of principle, 323, 324 n. makes *κοινητης* to signify more than *τεχνιτης*, 383 n. a passage of his, pretended to make the Son a creature, explained, 390, 391. considered that the Son was worshipped by Abraham, Moses, &c. and the Jewish church, 432. falsely charged by Dr. Whitty of believing one individual hypostasis, 507. instances of his being misinterpreted by him, 513, 523, 524, 528. always distinguished between *δμοούσιον* and *δμοιοούσιον*, 513. what churches, according to him, maintained the Nicene faith after the synod of Ariminum, 548, 549. his description of the Son's concern in the creation, ii. 80 n. his works carefully preserved, 418. his opinion of Eusebius's Arianism, 495. was condemned by the false Sardican council, 604. argued strenuously for the Son's eternal generation, 617. on what ground, *ib.* vindicated Origen's doctrine, 639. presided in the synod at Alexandria, that compromised the dispute about *hypostasis*, 711. summary of Gregory Nazianzen's panegyric upon him, 714, 715. a passage therein considered by Whiston as making Athanasius the inventor of the divinity of the Son, vindicated and explained, 715, 716, 717. in what sense he uses the word *μορφοχλια*, iii. 77 n. wrote against Arius, 89. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, *ib.* opinions of learned moderns for and against his being the author of the Athanasian Creed, 108—117. and of ancients, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127—131. notice of various MSS. of the Athanasian Creed, with titles ascribing the Creed to him, 150—160. probable reason for his name becoming affixed to the Athanasian Creed, 217. refuted the Arian pretence of tradition, 659. his Comment on John vi. vii., iv. 556, 557. commended, *ib.* time of his death, iii. 197. Eusebius of Vercueil his great friend, 176.
- Athanasius, Brief Notes on the Creed of, a Socinian pamphlet answered by dean Sherlock, i. 32.*
- Athanasius, bishop of Spire, iii. 219. conjectured by Sandius to be the author of the Athanasian Creed, 111.
- Athelard, archbishop, iii. 185.
- Athelstan, king, iii. 169, 184.
- Athelstan's psalter, iii. 153. notice of, 154.
- Athenæus, v. 38 n.
- Athenagoras, i. 287, 323, 352, 363 n. 364, 365 n. 366 n. 384 n. 389 n. 443 n. 472, 489, 499 n. ii. 31 n. 46, 51 n. 57 n. 77 n. 122 n. 148 n. 149 n. 150, 192 n. 220, 221, 223, 224 n. 228, 243, 534, 537, 598, 643, 666, 671, 710. iii. 35 n. 609, 662, 676. iv. 739. v. 131 n. 243 n. 246, 254, 255 n. vi. 445. time of his writing, ii. 439, 580. considered the Son to be included in the one God, i. 289. ii. 88. vindicated, 89. resolved the unity into communion of substance, i. 322, 323. in the hypothesis of the temporal generation of the Son, 359. iii. 22. yet allows the eternal generation of the *Λόγος* by implication, ii. 441, 442. declared that the Son was not made at his procession or generation, but had existed in the Father, as the Logos, from all eternity, i. 362. speaks

- of no higher generation than the procession, ii. 597. supposed the procession to be after the creating of the unformed mass of things, i. 366. held the necessary existence of the Word, ii. 580, 581, 597. is express for a difference of order among the divine persons, but not of dominion or worship, 442. his declaration that the Creator alone is to be worshipped, i. 418. but this includes the Son, 423. vindicated from Dr. Whitby's misinterpretations, 511, 514. ii. 243. his declaration respecting the Trinity, 178. iii. 594. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, 82. vindicated from Barbeyrac's charges against him, 637.
- Atonement** by Christ's blood, a fundamental doctrine, v. 82.
- Atterbury, Francis**, iv. 411.
- Atterbury, Lewis**, iv. 411.
- Atticus**, said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 13.
- Attributes**, what, iii. 378.
- Attributes**, divine, ascribed to Christ in scripture, i. 326, 327. ii. 145. Eternity, 146. Immutability, 152. Omniscience, 155. Omnipresence, 164.
- Auctoritas**, often no more than *paternitas* in the Latin fathers, ii. 399.
- Audians**, iv. 786.
- Audley**, lord, founder of Magdalene college, Cambridge, vi. 429. sir T. Pope one of his executors, *ib.* two others, *ib.*
- Audley, lady**, vi. 429.
- Audley End**, Essex, the possessor of this estate appoints the master of Magdalene college, Cambridge, i. 8 n. and is visitor of the college, *ib.* the estate is now in the possession of lord Braybrooke, *ib.*
- Augsburg**, church of, iii. 159.
- Augustan Confession** drawn up by Melancthon, v. 393. the Articles of the church of England followed its plan, *ib.*
- Augustin**, see *Austin*.
- Augustine**, the monk, iii. 193.
- Aurelian**, Walt., vi. 63 n.
- Aurelius**, bishop of Carthage, iii. 213. iv. 9.
- Austin**, Augustin, St., i. 285, 290, 329 n. 347 n. 415, 439, 468, 488 n. 490 n. 542, 544 n. 548 n. 549 n. ii. 13 n. 49 n. 58 n. 60, 100 n. 109 n. 111 n. 125 n. 133 n. 135, 136 n. 141 n. 173 n. 376, 391 n. 418 n. 428, 429, 433, 457 n. 466, 479 n. 563, 591 n. 602, 608, 609, 630 n. 687, 697, 712 n. 723 n. iii. 57, 60, 115, 118, 141, 162 n. 200, 202, 204, 208, 209, 212 n. 214, 218, 220, 221, 228, 229, 234, 238, 257, 268 n. 479 n. 527 n. 543 n. 550 n. 555 n. 577 n. 585 n. 620. iv. 10, 39, 40 n. 180 n. 190 n. 211 n. 221 n. 306 n. 366 n. 428 n. 430 n. 432 n. 434 n. 438 n. 440 n. — 443 n. 448 n. 487, 490 n. 512 n. 536 n. 537 n. 545 n. 563, 570 n. 577 n. 580 n. 589, 598 n. 629 n. 653, 723 n. 730, 731 n. 733, 736 n. 741 n. 745 n. 753, 759 n. 760, 773, 796, 797. v. 13, 19 n. 111 n. 125, 126 n. 127, 128, 131 n. 156 n. 167 n. 175 n. 184 n. 191 n. 192 n. 194 n. 198 n. 203 n. 205, 208 n. 223 n. 234 n. 236 n. 239 n. 240 n. 247, 248 n. 252, 257, 259, 262, 265 n. 270 n. 273 n. 274, 275, 277, 282, 283, 285 n. 396, 400, 404, 405, 412, 413, 414, 710. vi. 6 n. 8 n. 16 n. 17 n. 30 n. 34 n. 38 n. 58, 61, 64, 68 n. 70 n. 71, 100, 114, 171, 176, 179, 185, 193, 201, 202, 203, 207, 208, 243, 272, 464, 479—484, 485, 487, 494. his declaration that either Father and Son are one Lord God, or else that Christ is not Lord God at all, i. 278. his opinion as to the generation of the Son being by the Father's will, 348. his argument for Christ being uncreated, 389. his defence of the Trinity in Unity, 480 n. 488 n. 502. a proof how far he was from Sabellianism, which some have weakly pretended to charge him with, 544 n. vii. vindicated from a censure of Dr. Clarke's, 561. his comment on the word *name*, in the form of baptism, being in the singular number, ii. 176 n. rather against considering Origen as orthodox, 641. Gennadius's treatise *de Eccles. Dogmat.* formerly commonly ascribed to him, iii. 141. asserted and cleared *the procession from the Son*, 201. supposed to have drawn up the recantation treatise (*Libellus, Satisfactorius*) of Leporius, 209, 213. Hilary, archbishop of Arles, a great admirer and follower of him, 215. notice respecting his allegorizing scripture, 692. a proper allegorist, iv. 164. greatly admired and followed by Fulgentius, 564. his definition of sacrifice, 728. v. 124 n. Bellarmine's artful contrivance to evade it, refuted, 130. his sentiments as to gospel sacrifices, iv. 760. view respecting visible sacrifices explained, v. 240. why his treatise *de Civitate Dei* may be considered his masterpiece, iv. 760. imposed upon by the Manichees, v. 40. his opinion of the need and efficacy of baptism, vi. 21, 42—48, 50. what he meant by his famed maxim that good works follow after justification, 21. uses the words *good works* in two senses, 30 n. his sentiments as to infant communion considered, 43. calls the Lord's Prayer a quotidian baptism, 51. the Hypognostricon, sometimes ascribed to him, belongs to Mercator, 59. his opinion respecting children that die unbaptized, 107. and touching lay-baptism,

122, 196, 197. his controversy with the Donatists about schismatical clergy, 171, 194. confuted St. Cyprian's opinion, 172. when he died, iv. 761.

Author and Governor of the universe, whosoever is so, is, in the Arian notion, allowed to be God, i. 317.

*Authority* sometimes signifies *paternity*, ii. 417. often used without reference to dominion, iii. 60.

Authorized version of the scriptures too often follows the Geneva version, iv. 341. a very good one, and upon the whole scarce inferior to any, yet capable of very great improvement, *ib.*

Autun, council of, iii. 113, 136. iv. 798. held under Leodegarius, iii. 118. probably when, *ib.* its words probably respecting the Athanasian Creed, *ib.* Papebrochius's opinion to the contrary opposed, *ib.* objections against the council considered, 120. its canons, by whom published, and where from, *ib.*

Autun, see of, next in dignity to the metropolitan see of Lyons, iii. 120.

Avarice, reflections upon, v. 458.

Averroes, iii. 327.

Avicen, iii. 327.

Avitus, bishop of Vienne, iii. 211, 219, 235. *ἀξίωμα*, in what sense used by Basil, ii. 638.

Axioms and first principles perceivable by intuition, not demonstration, iii. 387.

Ayliffe, —, vi. 371.

Ayscough, —, of Corpus Christi college, Oxford, notice respecting, vi. 421.

B.

Baber, —, vi. 435.

*Bachiaris fides*, in a MS. at Treves, iii. 154 n.

Backneth, Balthasar, vi. 351, 403.

Bacon, Francis, earl of Verulam, i. 196. v. 73. vi. 463.

Bacon, Roger, of the order of Friars Minors, when he flourished, iii. 330. his character, 331. styled the admirable Doctor, *ib.*

Badger, vi. 428 n.

Badius, Conradus, vi. 325, 404.

Bagford, John, vi. 368.

Baifius, Lazarus, Francis I.'s legate at Venice, iii. 174, 177 and n. 233 n. 236 n.

Baker, —, of St. John's college, Cambridge, i. 254. vi. 308, 310, 325, 329, 343, 351, 352, 353, 356, 360, 361, 374, 382, 426, 432, 439, 443.

Baker, —, life, iv. 413.

Balaam, sermon on the history and character of, v. 747.

Balaamites and Nicolaitans, their same meaning, iv. 239.

Balbus, see *Januensis*.

Baldensal, or Boldesale, William of, a German knight, the first writer that ascribes the Athanasian Creed to Eu-

sebius, bishop of Verceil, along with Athanasius, iii. 131. the probable reason. *ib.* his treatise, the History of Piedmont, unpublished, *ib.* the MS. in the duke of Savoy's library, *ib.*

Bale, John, bishop of Ossory, iii. 143—145. iv. 196. vi. 270, 302, 307, 368, 370, 372, 376, 383, 384, 389, 390. an error of his respecting Trevisa noticed, iii. 145 n.

Balguy, —, iv. 415.

Ball, John, notice of a tract of his in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, iii. 523.

Balliol college library, Oxford, has a MS. of S. Bruno's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, iii. 139.

Balsamon, Theodore, iv. 788. vi. 112 n. 126, 210.

Baltus, John Francis, iii. 639 n. 642 n. v. 12 n. 16 n. confuted the pretences of Le Clerc against the opinion that pagan writers borrowed from the Jews, 14.

Baluzius, Stephen, iii. 121, 122. vi. 63 n.

Bancroft, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 690 n. iv. 603. vi. 82, 124, 127, 128.

Baptism, form of, an argument for Christ's divinity, ii. 171. proof that this form was used in the primitive church, 172. the import of this form shewn first from the nature and reason of the thing, 174, 175. secondly, from the testimonies of the ancients, 177. the form being changed and corrupted by heretics, a further argument, 187. used by the Jews, in the admission of proselytes to their religion, 173. a profession of faith required in the primitive church previous to baptism, 186, 187. understood by the texts, Titus iii. 4, 5, 6. iv. 427. and John iii. 5, 428. without baptism a person is not regenerate, 438. titles applied to baptism by the ancients, 446 n. disparaged by being considered merely as a positive duty instead of a religious rite, 468. a proof that it is not a bare duty, 469. notice of its being called a sacrament, 482. the water, how supposed by the ancients to be sanctified, 530. consideration of the scripture phrases respecting baptism, 577. its spiritual graces according to St. Paul, 578. remission of sins ordinarily conferred in baptism, 644. considered by St. Austin and the schoolmen not only to look backward to sins past, but forwards also to future sins, 646. difference of the remission in baptism and in the eucharist, 652. what the ancients taught concerning the illapse of the Holy Spirit in baptism, 675. two or three forms of invocation for the Holy Spirit in baptism, 683. when this prac-

- tice commenced, 686. a federal rite, 705. remissness respecting baptism began in the fourth century, 785. catechumens kept back till duly qualified, 789. form of baptism altered by the Eunomians, as supporting the divinity of Christ, v. 112. contains a sort of oblation, 182. why considered by the ancients a sort of sacrifice, 184. anciently reckoned the grand absolution, 282. St. Austin's opinions of its efficacy, vi. 43—48, 50. ordinarily the necessary outward mean or instrument of justification, vi. 10, 32. proved from scripture, *ib.* and the ancients, 16. the fathers had an idea that the application of water in baptism secured the body to an happy resurrection, while the Spirit more immediately secured the soul, 14. some moderns have considered justification as antecedent to baptism, 22. real statement respecting justification in baptism, 33. not so absolutely necessary to salvation as some have pretended, 213. the word *baptism* used for baptismal state, 480. see *Lay-baptism*, *Regeneration*, and *Sacraments*.
- Baptizing**, in the name of Christ Jesus, how to be understood, ii. 172, 173. in the name of the Trinity, what it imports, 174, 175.
- Barbeyrac, John**, iv. 109, 112 n. 287, 300 n. v. 401. professor of civil law at Groningen, iii. 634. translated Puffendorf and Grotius into French, *ib.* attacked the fathers in his prefatory discourse to his French translation of Puffendorf *de Jure Naturæ et Gentium*, and in his *Traité de la Morale des Pères de l'Église*, i. 95. iii. 635 n. answered by Ceillier, 635. animadverted upon by Buddæus, *ib.* observations on his charges, 636, 639. specimens of his manner, 636. part of his French preface published in English under the title of *the Spirit of Ecclesiastics in all Ages*, i. 95. iii. 635. answered by Dr. Grey, 635. his attack on the fathers censured by Waterland, vi. 445 n. on whose observations he animadverted with great asperity, *ib.* his invective answered by Dr. Grey, *ib.*
- Barker, Christopher**, vi. 359, 351, 352, 356, 392, 401, 402, 404.
- Barker, John**, i. 8 n.
- Barker, Robert**, vi. 352, 402, 404.
- Barker, Samuel**, tutor of Magdalene college, Cambridge. i. 8. was the son of John Barker, 8 n. admitted as sizer, in Magdalene college, *ib.* his rise in college, *ib.*
- Barlow, Thomas**, i. 99. iii. 368 n. 372 n. fellow of Queen's college, Oxford, and afterwards bishop of Lincoln, when he flourished, 344. character of his Meta-
- physical Exercises, *ib.* his opinion against the Divine existence being demonstrable *à priori*, *ib.* his censure of Suarez for considering it possible in some sort, 345. scrupulous in admitting that any of the Divine attributes might be proved *à priori*, 347.
- Barlow, William**, published a relation of the Hampton-Court conference, iv. 603 n. made bishop of Rochester, *ib.* translated to Lincoln, *ib.* his death, *ib.* his sentiments respecting the eucharistic elements, 603. observations thereupon, 605.
- Barnabas, St.**, i. 329 n. ii. 207, 630 n. iv. 732. v. 175, 237. his epistle misrepresented by Dr. Whitby, i. 513. his opinion of the need and efficacy of baptism, vi. 16.
- Barnes, John**, a moderate Romanist, who met with hard usage for speaking the truth respecting the eucharist, v. 236.
- Barnes, Joseph**, v. 57 n.
- Baro, Dr. Peter**, ii. 342, 343. notice of his explanation of the Lambeth Articles, 344. proceedings against him at Cambridge for Anti-Calvinism, stopped by lord Burghley, 345.
- Baronius, Cæsar**, ii. 495. iii. 111, 114, 190. iv. 496 n.
- Barradas, Sebastian**, v. 165 n.
- Barret, —**, proceedings against him at Cambridge as an Anti-Calvinist, ii. 342.
- Barrow, Isaac**, i. 165. iii. 351. iv. 378, 415.
- Barthelet, Thomas**, vi. 302, 331, 344, 403.
- Bartholinus**, iv. 409, 410.
- Bartylmew, —**, *de Proprietatibus Rerum*, translated into English by Trevisa, iii. 145.
- Basil, St.**, i. 287, 290, 348, 382, 393 n. 415, 470 n. 471, 489, 514, 530 n. 542. ii. 13 n. 31 n. 33 n. 43 n. 44 n. 58 n. 62 n. 63 n. 65, 133 n. 135, 216 n. 231, 234, 239 n. 250, 251, 372, 420, 425, 429, 464, 468 n. 504, 540 n. 541 n. 545 n. 559, 575 n. 597, 605, 606, 607, 609, 611 n. 618, 625, 632, 636 n. 639, 702, 713 n. 741, 723 n. iii. 23, 35 n. 76, 91, 438, 455 n. 568 n. 590 n. 601, 602, 603, 643 n. 670 n. 678 n. 680 n. 682 n. iv. 354, 366, 438 n. 476, 680, 687 n. 707 n. 757 n. 785 n. 788, 790 n. 791 n. v. 113 n. 131 n. 135 n. 156 n. 175 n. 198 n. 245. vi. 114—119, 171, 175, 272, 339, 446 n. 471, 476. explained and defended, ii. 751. resolved the unity (with respect to the Father and the Son) into Sonship, or unity of principle, i. 324. his explanation of Matth. xxiv. 36. and Mark xiii. 32., 337. vindicated from the misrepresentations of Dr. Whitby, 513, 518, 525, 531, 532. his opinion of the Son's ne-

- cessary existence vindicated and explained, ii. 605, 606. a friend of Origen, 639. his opinion of his orthodoxy, *ib.* in what sense he used ἀλήθεια, 646. refuted the pretence of tradition claimed by the Macedonians, iii. 659. by what names he calls the eucharist, iv. 474. how he understood John vi., 560. Gregory Nyssen his younger brother, 682. a Commentary upon Isaiah ascribed to him by some critics, disallowed by others, 759. his opinion of the need and efficacy of baptism, vi. 20. and touching lay-baptism, 186. his epistle received by the Greek church, 178.
- Basil library, has a MS. of Bruno's, with Hampole's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, iii. 141.
- Basilides, ii. 383. iii. 550, 691. taught that this world was made by angels, ii. 76. his error about the crucifixion, iii. 550. his pretence of tradition refuted, 658. disbelieved the resurrection of the body, v. 110 n.
- Basnage, Samuel, iii. 611 n. 685 n. iv. 192 n. 475 n. 477 n. 548 n. 726 n. 753 n. 779 n. v. 17 n. 20 n. 143 n. 278 n. vi. 470. a very learned Calvinist, iv. 726.
- Bates, Dr. Wm., a nonconformist, iii. 399.
- Baxter, Richard, iii. 399. his high opinion of the Athanasian Creed, 251.
- Bayle, Peter, ii. 378. iii. 480 n. 490 n. 609, 646 n. iv. 187 n. 189, 287. v. 35 n. 36 n. 38 n. 43 n. 44 n. 45 n. 53 n. 57 n. 210 n. 217 n. 224. vi. 269. convicted of a fallacy, iii. 503 n.
- Bayus, —, v. 240 n.
- Beauchamp, lady, i. 251.
- Beauchamp, Lewis, i. 251.
- Beaumont, Joseph, regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, iv. 436 n.
- Becke, Edmund, vi. 306, 312, 313, 362, 378, 381, 403. notice of his impression of the Bible, 332.
- Becket, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, iii. 157.
- Beck, venerable, iv. 570 n. 798. v. 165 n. 283 n. vi. 58, 62 n. 63 n. 67, 241 n. 243, 268, 303, 356, 491. "translated the Bible into Saxon," 359.
- Bedell, William, bishop of Kilmore, recommended the revival of infant communion, v. 403. vi. 421.
- Bedford, Arthur, i. 236. iv. 203, 247 n. 258, 271 n. 273, 292 n. 317, 324 n. 346 n. 367. v. 233 n.
- Begetting, its meaning, as applied to the Deity, ii. 611.
- Beginning and the Ending, a divine title given to Christ in scripture, ii. 141.
- Being, may signify either simply what exists, or what exists separately, i. 371, 465. Being and Person, how they differ when applied to the Trinity, 465. the precise difference between divine intelligent Being, and divine Person, iii. 278.
- Beleth, —, vi. 338. a celebrated Paris divine, iii. 127. the oldest writer that takes notice of the Athanasian Creed's being commonly ascribed to Anastasius, though he himself ascribes it to Athanasius, *ib.*
- Bellarmino, Robert, cardinal, ii. 672. iii. 440. iv. 665. v. 123, 125, 126, 142 n. 143 n. 226, 256 n. 261 n. 266, 282 n. 284, 408. vi. 34 n. his reasonings against spiritual sacrifice being true sacrifice, confuted, v. 127. his artful contrivance to evade the old definitions of sacrifice, 130. his definition of sacrifice, 132 n. irreconcilable with the sacrifice of the cross, 133.
- Bene't college library, Cambridge, iii. 160. vi. 301, 303, 313, 317, 318, 367, 373, 379, 385, 402. notice of a MS. Commentary there of the Psalms and Hymns of the church, and of the Athanasian Creed, iii. 145, 146. has a MS. of Gregory's Psalter, 151. notice of its Latin MSS. of the Athanasian Creed, 156, 157, 158, 222 n. 227 n. has a MS. of the Gallican Psalter, 163 n.
- Benignus, St., of Dijon, library of the monastery of, iii. 120.
- Benjamin, the Jew, v. 256.
- Bennet, Thomas, i. 48 n. 64, 306 n. ii. 163 n. 285, 286, 316 n. 330, 341, 353, 358, 359, 360, 412. iii. 680. iv. 132 n. 406, 412, 449 n. 454 n. v. 397 n. vi. 162, 165, 166, 169, 182, 213, 215, 231.
- Benson, —, vi. 319 n.
- Bentley, Richard, i. 17 n. 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 236, 254. iv. 410. master of Trinity college, Cambridge, the thanks of the senate unanimously voted to him for his reply to Collins's Discourse on Free-Thinking, i. 11. which he had answered under the name of *Phile-leutherus Lipsiensis*, *ib.* preached his celebrated sermon against popery, 14. framed the University address to George I. on the suppression of the rebellion, *ib.* and assisted in carrying it through the Caput, where it had been stopped once, *ib.* his allusion to this occurrence in one of his letters, 15. advised that the supporters of the Brunswick interests in Cambridge should be patronised by the crown, 16. made regius professor of divinity, 18. Waterland probably prevented from trying to obtain the post, out of esteem for him, *ib.* anecdote of an observation of Waterland on his prelection on 1 John v. 7., *ib.* the correctness of this anecdote questionable, and why, 19. what perhaps was his and Waterland's opinion on the subject, *ib.* his extraordinary claim of a large additional fee

- for presenting certain doctors to their degrees brought on a controversy, 20, 21. suspended for it by the vice-chancellor, and degraded by the senate, i. 21. at last restored again, 22.
- Berengarius**, vi. 495.
- Berengaud**, ii. 53.
- Bergius**, C., vi. 476.
- Berkley**, Thomas lord, iii. 144 n. 145 n. vi. 338, 402.
- Bernard**, St., ii. 623. iii. 685, 686. iv. 571. vi. 494.
- Berno**, Augiensis, iii. 165.
- Berriman**, Dr. John, i. 51 n. 236. a friend of Waterland's, 190 n. much aided by Waterland in his Moyer's Lectures, 241.
- Berriman**, William, i. 236, 241. iii. 437 n. 438 n. 525 n. 530 n. 555 n. 585 n. 587 n. 588 n. 617 n. 685 n. iv. 9 n. 27 n. 36 n. 39 n. supposed to have been the author of *A seasonable Review of Mr. Whiston's Account of primitive Doxologies*, and of *A second Review in answer to Mr. Whiston's second Letter*, i. 50 n.
- Bertram**, (Ratram), monk of Corbey, iii. 109, 124, 171. iv. 570 n. vi. 494. his opinion respecting the eucharistic elements, v. 206.
- Beryllus**, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, ii. 553. his notion respecting Christ's divinity, iii. 582, 584. set right by Origen, 584. his honesty in retracting his error, *ib.*
- Bessarion**, John, iv. 691.
- Beughem**, Cornelius à, Embricensis, vi. 269.
- Beveridge**, William, bishop of St. Asaph, iii. 622 n. 632 n. 648 n. 652 n. iv. 411. 415, 428 n. 435 n. 472 n. 481 n. 784 n. 786 n. 788 n. v. 112 n. his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, iii. 113.
- Beza**, Theodore, iii. 55. iv. 472 n. 601 n. 668 n. 706, 800. v. 134 n. 206 n. 209 n. vi. 393, 405, 444, 496. notices of his confutation of Harchius's scheme respecting the eucharist, v. 218.
- Bible**, Wharton was of opinion that the version commonly ascribed to Wickliff was really done by Trevisa, iii. 144. his reasons unsatisfactory to others, and in part confuted, *ib.* Waterland's observations on the subject, 145. said to be translated into Sclavonian by Cyrill and Methodius, 193. Waterland's letters to Lewis touching a history of the English translations of the Bible, vi. 300—405.
- Biddell**, see *Bydell*.
- Biddle**, John, i. 29, 33, 35, 119.
- Biel**, Gabriel, considered that the unity of God was not demonstrable from natural reason, iii. 374 n.
- Bigotry**, its common acceptation, v. 45. shew'd to belong more to infidels than to Christians, *ib.*
- Bill**, John, vi. 404.
- Bilson**, Thomas, bishop of Winchester, v. 133, 162 n. 167 n. 176, 193 n. 198 n. 203 n. 223 n. 261 n. vi. 124, 129.
- Bingham**, Joseph, i. 225, 229, 424, 425 n. ii. 173 n. 186 n. 189 n. 467, 675 n. iii. 121, 458 n. 460 n. 516 n. 525 n. 587 n. 639 n. iv. 9 n. 10 n. 87 n. 414, 431 n. 438 n. *adv.* 477 n. 479 n. 481 n. 490 n. 534 n. 563 n. 597 n. 650, 651 n. 652, 659 n. 660 n. 680 n. 686 n. 688 n. 694 n. 695 n. 707 n. 748 n. 767 n. 770 n. 774 n. 777 n. 779 n. 785 n. 789 n. 790 n. 793 n. 800 n. 801 n. v. 75 n. 112 n. 408 n. 410, 411 n. 412. vi. 6 n. 17 n. 19 n. 43 n. 46 n. 63 n. 64 n. 69 n. 71 n. 76, 96, 109, 110, 111, 114, 121, 122, 123, 125, 132, 147, 174, 178, 180, 199, 204, 208, 209, 214, 216, 218 n. 233, 480. encomium on his *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, iii. 115. considers Vigilius Tapsensis as the author of the Athanasian Creed, *ib.* 117. his opinion respecting the commencement of infant communion, v. 404. his reputation injured by the second part of his *Scholastical History of Lay-Baptism*, vi. 196.
- Binius**, Severin, vi. 83 n.
- Biographia Britannica*, an error in, i. 251 n.
- Biscoe**, Richard, i. 236. vi. 423.
- Bishop**, Dr., iii. 419 n. 552 n. 594. vi. 423. abridged bishop Pearson's Exposition of the Creed for the use of common readers, iv. 35.
- Bishops**, when independent bishops were accountable to other bishops in the ancient church, and where they were not, iii. 599.
- Bishops' Bible**, notice of, vi. 337.
- Bisterfield**, —, i. 307 n. vi. 476.
- Blackburne**, Francis, archdeacon of Cleveland, i. 64.
- Blackhall**, Offspring, bishop of Exeter, iv. 407, 409, 423, 452 n.
- Blackwall**, Anthony, iv. 341. vi. 13 n.
- Blair**, James, i. 253 n. iv. 415, 771 n. some notice of him, 417. born and bred in Scotland, *ib.* prevailed on by bishop Compton to go as missionary into Virginia, *ib.* made by that bishop his commissary there, 418. the original projector and first president of William and Mary college there, *ib.* notice of his Discourses on the Sermon on the Mount, 419. by whom encouraged to print them, *ib.* the second edition, *ib.* character and style of the work, 420. specimens, 421. Waterland's preface to the second edition, 416.
- Blanc**, M. le, iv. 625 n. v. 225 n. vi. 27 n.



- when he flourished, iii. 349. declares against the possibility of proving the Divine existence *à priori*, ib.
- Blastares, —, vi. 126.
- Blessed, title of, always used by the Jews to express the one God of Israel, ii. 138.
- Blessing, a considerable part of the Aaronical priesthood, v. 126 n.
- Blount, Charles, iv. 161, 178, 179. v. 49 n.
- Bobbio, monastery of, in High Lombardy, founded by Columbanus, iii. 154.
- Bochart, Samuel, iv. 161, 173 n. 174 n. 176 n. 203, 238 n. 260, 272, 273 n. 278 n. 330 n. 345, 346, 347, 354, 356 n. 705 n.
- Bodleian library, Oxford, i. 5, 167, 231, 233. iii. 146 n. 160, 265 n. vi. 336, 348, 360, 391, 433 n. MS. Junius, N<sup>o</sup>. xxv. (Fortunatus's Comment on the Athanasian Creed,) iii. 135, 271. has two editions and two MSS. of S. Bruno's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, 137, 138. has two MSS. of Neckham's Comment on the same, 140. notice of its MS. of the Athanasian Creed, 160, 224 n. 229 n.
- Body, the fathers had an idea that its resurrection was secured by the application of water in baptism, vi. 427.
- Body of our Lord, four senses of, iv. 588.
- Boetius, translated certain of Aristotle's works, iii. 327 n.
- Boistallerius, Joannes Huraltus, iii. 174 n.
- Bokynham, John, bishop of Lincoln, vi. 366 n.
- Boldesale, see *Baldensal*.
- Bona, John, cardinal, iii. 131, 160, 163 n. 164 n. 180, 185, 186 n. 187 n. 189 n. 192 n. iv. 793 n. v. 285 n. 405, 410. vi. 70 n. 338. his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, iii. 110, 117.
- Bonaventura, —, vi. 494.
- Boniface IV., pope, vi. 293.
- Boniface, bishop of Mentz, iii. 219. died anno 754., 121.
- Book of Common Prayer, the *reading psalms* therein taken from the Gallican Psalter, iii. 164.
- Booth, —, dean of Windsor, i. 238.
- Borromæo, Frederic, cardinal, iii. 154 n.
- Bos, Lambert, iii. 544, 689, 690.
- Bossu, Rene le, iv. 708.
- Bossuet, James, bishop of Meaux, ii. 378. iii. 604. vi. 427.
- Bouchery, —, vi. 378, 391.
- Bourignon, —, vi. 487.
- Bourignon, Mrs., vi. 484, 487.
- Bowels, —, vi. 399.
- Boyle, Robert, iii. 649. iv. 287 n. v. 54 n.
- Boyle, Roger, bishop of Clogher, v. 100 n. vi. 464, 471, 472. his four species of infidelity, vi. 477.
- Boyse, Joseph, ii. 163 n. iii. 282.
- Braccara, council of, iv. 798.
- Brachet, see *Militiere*.
- Bradford, John, iv. 603, 606.
- Bradwardine, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, iii. 355 n. 368 n. 386 n.
- Bragg, —, iv. 415.
- Bramhall, John, archbishop of Armagh, v. 138. vi. 133.
- Bray, Thomas, iv. 419.
- Braybrooke, lord, the present possessor of Audley End, Essex, i. 8 n. in right of which estate he has the right of appointing the master of Magdalene college, Cambridge, *ib.* and of being the visitor of the college, *ib.*
- Breaking of bread, notice respecting this title of the eucharist, iv. 472.
- Brewerwood, —, vi. 68 n.
- Brett, Thomas, i. 163, 207, 208, 226, 229, 231, 255. iv. 689. v. 150 n. 151 n. 170 n. 171 n. 172 n. 174 n. 179 n. vi. 80, 87 n. 88, 89, 115, 117, 118, 121, 123, 178, 180 n. 192, 193, 221, 336, 380. the celebrated non-juror, one of the most learned and acute theologians of his time, i. 166. Johnson his friend, *ib.* notice of the peculiarity of his discourse respecting the Communion, *ib.* notice of Waterland's MS. censures on this work, 167. published *Remarks on Dr. Waterland's Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, in defence of *Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice*, 204.
- Brevint, Daniel, dean of Lincoln, v. 132 n. 161 n. 162 n. 167 n. 173, 262 n. 282 n. 286 n. 293 n. vi. 179 n. his notion of the eucharistic sacrifice, v. 139. notice of his publications, 139 n. when made dean of Lincoln, *ib.* his death, *ib.*
- Brice, A., iii. 523 n.
- Bristow, Richard, one of the Rhemish translators of the New Testament, vi. 402, British Museum, vi. 442.
- Brochmand, v. 139 n.
- Brocklesby, ii. 514 n.
- Browne, John, i. 242. iii. 406 n. 415 n. vi. 464, 473. author of sermons at L. Moyer's lecture, and of a letter to Mr. Jackson on his *Plea of Human Reason*, 414 n. 415. his *Brief Animadversions on two pieces* passed through Waterland's hands before it was printed, 414.
- Bruno, bishop of Wurtzburgh, iii. 137, 148, 222 n. 224 n. 229 n. 257, 261 n. 262 n. vi. 247. wrote a Comment on the Athanasian Creed, iii. 137 n. the various editions of it, *ib.* notice of the various MSS. of it, 138. notice respecting certain paragraphs of Fortunatus's Comment being inserted in it, 139.
- Bruno's MS. of the Gallican Psalter, iii. 163 n.
- Brunswick, duke of, iii. 127.

- Bryan, Austin, i. 227. editor of Plutarch's Lives, *ib.* his death, *ib.*
- Bryling, Nicolas, a printer of Basil, iii. 174, 176, 177, 233 n. 235 n. 240 n. 244 n. vi. 239.
- Bucer, Martin, ii. 351 n. iv. 589 n. 698 n. 705 n. v. 223, 286 n. wrote under the feigned name of Felinus, vi. 384.
- Bucherus, iv. 494 n.—498 n. 524 n. 709 n. v. 20 n.
- Buckeridge, John, bishop of Ely, v. 293 n. his notion of the eucharistic sacrifice, 137.
- Buddæus, John Francis, i. 196. iii. 446 n. 458 n. 459 n. 483 n. 525 n. 527 n. 537 n. 538 n. 542 n. 543 n. 544 n. 546 n. 549 n. 552 n. 555 n. 564 n. 586 n. 615 n. 638 n. 643 n. 646 n. 692 n. 693 n. iv. 153, 158 n. 163 n. 165 n. 195 n. 239 n. 286 n. 604 n. 605 n. 640 n. 641 n. 684 n. 705 n. 716 n. 726 n. 727, 733 n. 742 n. v. 3 n. 15 n. 19 n.—21 n. 27 n. 53 n. 99 n. 108 n. 205 n. 261 n. 492 n. vi. 5 n. 461, 463, 469, 484, 485. his censure of those who denied the importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, iii. 398 n. observation on his rule of interpreting scripture, 630. animadverted upon Barbeyrac's attack upon the morality of the fathers, 635. briefly examined Le Clerc's treatise appended to Grotius *de Verit. Relig. Christ.* 644 n. his character, iv. 726. wrote against Dr. Grabe's view of the eucharist, *ib.* his praise of the fathers, v. 401.
- Bulgaria, part of Turkey, iii. 193. when it received Christianity, *ib.* the dispute whether it belonged to the bishop of Rome or Constantinople, ended in favour of the latter, *ib.* its language a dialect of the Slavonian, *ib.*
- Bull, —, of Queen's college, Cambridge, i. 11.
- Bull, George, bishop of St. David's, i. 34, 53—56, 64, 73, 87, 89, 92, 99, 119, 222, 271, 272, 285, 330 n. 342, 348, 352 n. 357, 359 n. 360, 362 n. 365 n. 366 n. 368 n. 369 n. 381 n. 386 n. 389, 390, 404 n. 425 n. 444 n. 498 n. 499 n. 509 n. 510 n. 514 n. 545 n. 546. ii. 116 n. 152 n. 165, 173 n. 177 n. 179 n. 190 n. 192, 207, 208, 211, 212, 214 n. 220, 221, 222, 230, 250, 251, 252, 253, 257 n. 258, 286, 287, 330, 340, 341, 368, 372, 377, 378, 392 n. 394 n. 419, 420 n. 422 n. 439 n. 441, 445 n. 449 n. 450, 452 n. 454, 455, 457, 460 n. 461, 464 n. 467, 475, 477, 482, 483 n. 484 n. 490 n. 492, 528, 535, 538, 552, 558, 580, 581, 587 n. 590, 595 n. 596, 597, 598 n. 599, 600, 612 n. 632, 635 n. 637, 638, 639, 642, 643, 672 n. 675 n. 677 n. 678 n. 700, 728 n. 744, 752, 756 n. 767, 768. iii. 12, 21 n. 56, 72, 80 n.—85 n. 86, 87 n. 88, 90 n. 398, 419 n. 421 n. 423 n. 424 n. 428 n. 434 n. 451 n. 454, 528 n. 530 n. 532 n. 535, 539 n. 542 n. 543 n. 545 n. 546 n. 548 n. 549 n. 552 n. 553 n. 555 n. 557 n. 558 n. 559, 564 n. 565, 566, 567, 575, 576 n. 578 n. 582 n. 590, 591, 594 n. 596 n. 597 n. 655 n. 660 n. 661 n. 678 n. 680 n. iv. 11, 25 n. 26, 27 n. 28 n. 37, 137 n. 139 n. 142 n. 177, 287 n. 299, 414, 421, 427 n. 432 n. 434 n. 438 n. 451 n. 508 n. 642, 644 n. 703 n. 726. v. 55 n. 190, 389, 390—397. vi. 5 n. 6 n. 8 n. 22 n. 30 n. 471, 480, 481, 485. vindicated, ii. 483, 484. took the lead in defence of the Trinity and of our Lord's divinity, i. 28. against whom he chiefly wrote his *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, *ib.* against whom his *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholica*, 20. and against whom his *Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio*, *ib.* his object in these works, *ib.* Waterland's statement of the method he pursued, 271. why he wrote in Latin, 273. why he took no public part in the warfare between the Tritheists and Nominalists, as they were called, 33. his *Discourse on the Doctrine of the Catholic Church for the first three ages of Christianity concerning the Trinity, in opposition to Sabellianism and Tritheism*, was written for private use, at the request of lord Arundel, *ib.* resolved the unity (with respect to the Father and the Son) into Sonship, or unity of principle, 323. exceptions against Heb. i. 10. being applied to Christ, confuted by him, 330 n. his reasons to shew, that if Irenæus attributed any ignorance to Christ, he did it in respect of his human nature, 333. effectually defended Origen's orthodoxy, 389. his observation on the Trinity, 434 n. unanswerably defended the Ante-Nicene fathers from the notion of their favouring the Arian scheme, 503, 509, 518, 541. vindicated against Dr. Whitby's misrepresentation, 507, 508, 509, 513, 518. ii. 200, 201, 205. why Whitby was not answered more particularly, 218. his sense of *oikonomia* vindicated, i. 518, 519. encomium on his Defence of the Nicene Creed, 520. the plain question between him and the Arians, 509. what he meant by the *specific* unity which he denied, and by the *numerical* unity which he maintained, 547, 548. unanswerably vindicated the church of England doctrines of predestination and original sin from a Calvinistic sense, ii. 286, 287. though a defender of Eusebius, yet makes no account of what he wrote before the Nicene council, 417. defended or excused Eusebius from the charge of Ari-

- anism, 495. his reasons for Theophilus's believing the Son to be a real person before the procession, 597. objections against them answered, 598. traced the Arian doctrines up to the old Gnostics, 612. never yet confuted, nor ever will be, *ib.* his sentiments, as to the worship of the Son, vindicated and explained, 677. notice of his reply to Episcopus, iii. 523. use made of it by Waterland, 524. his vindication and solutions of a passage in Justin, 559—563. remarks on Le Clerc's observations upon them, 564—566. Clarke's encomium on his *Harmonia Apostolica*, v. 388. his explanation of the bishop's opinion of the instrumentality of faith, v. 389. his distinction between regeneration and justification, vi. 480.
- Bullinger, Henry, iv. 591.
- Burchard, —, vi. 63 n.
- Burgundy, Johanna, duchess of, vi. 385.
- Burnet, Gilbert, bishop of Sarum, i. 229. ii. 317, 347 n. 351. iv. 41, 56 n. 86 n. 88, 126 n. 406, 412, 414, 418 n. 461, 482, 515 n. 517 n. 628. v. 397 n. vi. 75, 312 n.
- Burnet, Gilbert, son of the preceding, i. 232 n.
- Burnet, Thomas, master of the Charterhouse, ii. 693 n. iii. 413. iv. 161, 162, 178 n. 179 n. 411. an injudicious allegorist of scripture, 164.
- Burney, Dr., i. 15.
- Burton, —, vi. 446.
- Bury, Dr. Author, rector of Exeter college, Oxford, iv. 768 n. wrote *The Naked Gospel* in support of Anti-Trinitarianism, i. 29.
- Bury, John, vi. 248, 260, 262.
- Butler, Charles, i. 78 n. 79 n.
- Butler, Edward, president of Magdalen college, Oxford, vi. 427.
- Butler, Joseph, bishop of Durham, iv. 415. notice of his anonymous letters to Dr. Clarke, respecting his reasoning *à priori* to prove the being and attributes of God, i. 108. written whilst he was preparing himself for a dissenting teacher, 109 n.
- Butler, William, vi. 370.
- Buxtorf, John, iv. 271 n. 272, 273, 334. 473 n. 494, 495 n. 496 n. 497 n. 524. vi. 105 n.
- Bydell, John, vi. 331, 403.
- Bye, —, vi. 439.
- C.
- C., P., iii. 395 n. 451 n. 493 n.
- Cabasilas, Nicolaus, vi. 65 n. 68 n.
- Cabassutius, John, iii. 121. his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, 113.
- Cæsar, Julius, iv. 409.
- Cæsariensis, Andreas, ii. 53 n. 141 n.
- Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, iii. 211, 219, 222 n. 257. v. 167.
- Cagliari, formerly Caralis, vi. 191.
- Cainites, iii. 606 n.
- Caitif, *the pore*, vi. 241.
- Caius, a Roman presbyter, iii. 577, 578, 579, 581, 615.
- Caius college library, Cambridge, vi. 400, 401, 402.
- Cajetan, cardinal, iii. 347. v. 165 n.
- Calamities, two sermons on the case of passing judgment concerning them, v. 497, 508.
- Calamy, Edmund, ii. 412 n. iii. 250. iv. 407, 409. vi. 270 n. vindicated, ii. 765. and praised, 766. notice of his *Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity*, i. 101.
- Caleca, Manuel, a Latinizing Greek, iii. 131, 172, 173, 189 n.
- Calixtus, Georgius, v. 92 n. vi. 472.
- Callimachus, iv. 413.
- Calmet, Augustine, iv. 192 n. 317 n. 366.
- Calovius, Abraham, ii. 495. iii. 606 n. iv. 366 n. 466 n. 616 n.
- Calvin, John, ii. 351 n. iv. 367 n. 599 n. 600, 654, 668 n. 800. v. 125. vi. 94, 104, 143, 325, 484. notice of his opinion respecting the eucharistic elements, iv. 600. his sentiments respecting lay-baptism, vi. 95.
- Calvinism prevailed in Cambridge about the end of the sixteenth century, ii. 342. proceedings there against Mr. Barret as an Anti-Calvinist, *ib.* the condition of Calvinism in Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century, 346.
- Calvinists, more severely censured than Socinians by the Remonstrants, iii. 445.
- Calvinists and Lutherans differ more in words than in ideas as to the eucharist, iv. 638.
- Calvinists, considered lay-baptism invalid, vi. 93.
- Calvisius, Seth, iii. 181.
- Calvoer, Gaspar, iv. 779 n. 793 n. v. 255 n. vi. 64 n.
- Cambray, see *Fenelon*.
- Cambridge, archdeacon, i. 5.
- Cambridge, university of, Calvinism prevalent there about the end of the sixteenth century, ii. 342. proceedings there against Mr. Barret as an Anti-Calvinist, *ib.* usual for the heads of houses to apply for a degree by *mandamus*, i. 9. bishop Moore's library given to them by George I, 11. their address to him in consequence, 12 n. his answer, 13 n. their controversy with the college of physicians about university graduates in medicine, 12. political animosity raged with much fury in the university, 13. the Hanoverian succession at that time not being the prevailing sentiment, *ib.* their address to George I on the suppression of the rebellion, 15 n. supposed to have been

- framed by Dr. Bentley, 14. what opposition it met with, *ib.* Dr. Middleton's account of the business, 16 n.
- Cambridge university library, iii. 188. vi. 240, 249, 250, 321, 325, 328, 346, 347, 361, 364, 394, 401. notice of its MS. of the Roman Psalter with the Athanasian Creed, iii. 159.
- Camerarius, Joachimus, ii. 495. vi. 392.
- Campbell, George, v. 51 n.
- Cangius, (Charles du Cange du Fresne,) iv. 431 n. 490 n. v. 288 n.
- Canterbury, church of, used the Roman instead of the Gallican Psalter, and why, iii. 163.
- Cantilupe, Walter de, bishop of Worcester, iii. 129.
- Canus, Melchior, v. 127 n. vi. 494.
- Cappellus, Ludovicus, iv. 281, 494. vi. 481.
- Caralis, now Cagliari, vi. 191.
- Carlisle, bishop of, see *E. Law.*
- Carlisle, lord, iii. 191.
- Carmarden, Richard, vi. 326, 327, 404.
- Caroline, queen, consort of George I, i. 263. present at the conference (held at her desire) between Dr. Clarke and Dr. Hawarden respecting the Trinity, 78 n.
- Caroline, queen, consort of George II, iv. 387, 389.
- Caroline books, statement of, respecting the eucharistic elements, v. 203.
- Carpocrates, iii. 606 n. taught that this lower world was made by angels, ii. 76.
- Carpzovius, Benedict, iv. 162 n. 165, 273, 276 n. 278 n. 300 n. 315 n. 316 n. 320 n. 328 n. 339 n. 354 n. 360 n. 364 n. 365 n. v. 6 n. 14 n. 20 n. professor of divinity at Leipsic, iv. 365.
- Carranza, Bartholomew, iii. 148.
- Carrillus, Alphonsus, archbishop of Toledo, iii. 147.
- Cartes, Rene des, iii. 684. valued himself on inventing a new argument for the existence of God, which was afterwards found to be a paralogism, ancient, and to have been confuted by Aquinas, 380.
- Carthage, council of, iv. 430 n. 790 n.
- Carthage, third council of, iv. 476. when and by whom held, 10. notice of a direction about prayer, *ib.*
- Carthage, fourth council of, vi. 125.
- Carthusian monks particularly venerated the Athanasian Creed, iii. 160.
- Cartusianus, v. 165 n.
- Cartwright, —, vi. 451.
- Cartwright, Thomas, iv. 800. vi. 22 n. 104, 127, 402. Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, sowed the seeds of Calvinism there, ii. 342.
- Casalius, Gaspar, iii. 340. v. 143 n.
- Casaubon, Isaac, iii. 652 n. 654 n. iv. 473 n. 474 n. 490, 524, 545 n. 578 n. 591, 651 n. defended the protestants from Maldonate's attack for calling the eucharist a supper, 475.
- Casaubon, Meric, iv. 454 n.
- Cassander, George, v. 211, 212.
- Cassian, (St. John,) iii. 210.
- Cassin, (mount,) monks of, iii. 159.
- Cassiodorus, Marcus Aurelius, iv. 768 n. v. 167 n.
- Castalio, Sebastian, iv. 257, 271.
- Castro, Alphonsus à, v. 156 n. notice of a famous work of his, 125.
- Catullus, iv. 413.
- Catechumens, who so called in the ancient church, iv. 438.
- Cause, a true and proper, Dr. Clarke's notion of, ii. 321 n. in what sense the Father is the cause of the Son, 526.
- Causality, its old sense, iii. 35.
- Cave, William, i. 510 n. 513 n. 548. ii. 214 n. 378, 632. iii. 116, 577 n. 633 n. 634 n. 638, 639 n. 641 n. 645 n. iv. 414 n. 415, 472 n. v. 400 n. 404 n. vi. 97, 113, 124, 167, 275, 435, 438. praised for his knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity, i. 512. vindicated from Dr. Whitby's misrepresentation, 512, 513. ii. 224, 225, 226, 227. and proved to maintain the eternity of the Son, 225 n. defended or excused Eusebius from the charge of Arianism, 495. his opinion respecting the age, &c. of the Athanasian Creed, iii. 112, 117. inclines to ascribe it to Vigilius Tapensius, *ib.* his censure of Rufinus's history, vi. 181. his *Historia Literaria* published by Dr. Wharton, i. 242. Waterland contributed towards it, *ib.* many materials supplied by Mr. Loveday for this new edition, vi. 423 n. which was at first prepared under Waterland's superintendence, till he was obliged to put it into other hands, *ib.*
- Cawood, John, vi. 352, 358, 362, 405.
- Caxton, William, iii. 145. vi. 267, 268, 302, 357, 368. how far he continued Higden's Polychronicon, iii. 145.
- Cazanovius, a Polish knight, iii. 191, 193.
- Cecil, sir William, lord Burleigh, vi. 336, 338, 339, 352.
- Cellier, Remi, a Roman catholic, answered Barbeyrac's attack upon the morality of the fathers, iii. 635.
- Celsus, i. 410. iii. 610, 642. iv. 192. v. 40, 46.
- Cene, Charles le, iv. 257, 320 n. 333 n. 339 n. 340 n. 341 n. 360 n. 364, 366 n.
- Censures of heretics not to be forborne through fear of retaliation, iii. 512, 513. what cautions necessary, 516. popish persecutions not hereby sanctioned, 520. ecclesiastical censures distinct from civil penalties, *ib.*
- Cerdo, ii. 383. iii. 606 n. taught in reality that this lower world was made by

- angels, ii. 76. disbelieved the resurrection of the body, v. 110 n.
- Cerinthians, iii. 577, 589, 680. opposed the divinity of Christ, vi. 208.
- Cerinthus, ii. 30, 132, 432. iii. 548, 552, 553, 554, 577, 582, 583, 584, 590, 606 n. 681 n. vi. 471. believed the *Δημιουργός*, or *Creator*, to be separate and estranged from God, ii. 40. made a distinction between the upper and lower world, pretending they had not one author, 50. taught that this lower world was made by angels, 76. believed Christ to be a mere man, 132, 159. for what condemned by the ancients, 728. anecdote of St. John's retiring from a bath on meeting him there, iii. 468. when he lived, 537. his errors respecting Christ, 538. St. John wrote his Gospel and his first Epistle against him, 539, 547. was Ebion's master, 554.
- Certainty, (proper,) may exist without infallibility, iii. 495. Chillingworth's proof against papists, *ib.* Waterland's proof, 498. protestant certainty contrasted with popish infallibility, 500. the ground of this certainty is moral evidence, 501.
- Chafy, —, master of Sidney college, Cambridge, i. 5.
- Chalcedon, council of, iii. 202, 249.
- Chalcidius, ii. 570 n.
- Chalmers, Alexander, i. 3, 239 n. vi. 420 n.
- Chambers, Ephraim, iv. 413.
- Chamier, Daniel, ii. 495. iv. 558 n. 560 n. 568 n. 594 n. v. 192 n. 206 n. 208 n. 224 n. 225 n. 272 n. vi. 484, 496. encomium of his defence of the eucharist against the Romanists, v. 225.
- Chandler, Edward, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, i. 362. ii. 31. iv. 27 n. 334 n. 336 n. 338 n. 392. vi. 446.
- Chapman, John, i. 254. vi. 429, 435, 443. author of *Eusebius* in answer to the *Moral Philosopher*, i. 248. petty canon of Windsor, vi. 427. superintended the new edition of Cave's *Historia Literaria*, *ib.*
- Characteristics of the true God applied to the Son, i. 326.
- Characters appropriated to the one true God, applied to Christ, ii. 547. without limitations, *ib.*
- Charde, Thomas, vi. 356.
- Charismata*, what, iii. 617. how long they continued, *ib.*
- Charity, a sermon upon the true nature of, v. 559.
- Charity and kind offices the best conquest over an enemy, a sermon on this subject, v. 596.
- Charlemagne, iii. 119, 122, 184, 185. v. 203 n. 274. vi. 292, 293. founded the monastery of Mount Olivet in Jerusalem, iii. 185. had a great respect for the Athanasian Creed, 122, 185. had it presented in form to Adrian I, 122. notice of the MS. presented. 56. preserved in the library at Vienna, *ib.*
- Charles iii. 168.
- Charles the Bald, iii. 157.
- Charles I, ii. 271, 286, 288, 333, 349, 350.
- Charles II, iii. 191.
- Charles IX, iii. 174 n.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, vi. 25, 261, 290, 293.
- Chauvin, Stephen, iii. 336 n. 353 n. 354 n. 355 n.
- Checkley, John, some account of, vi. 438.
- Cheke, sir John, vi. 306, 313, 335, 379.
- Chemnitius, Martin, iv. 605, 719. v. 125 n. 162 n.
- Cheselden, William, i. 247, 248.
- Chester, bishop of, see *Lau.*
- Cheyne, George, iv. 409, 410.
- Chillingworth, William, i. 196. iii. 592, 517, 604 n. 624. iv. 129 n. 415. v. 73 n. 84 n. 89 n. 92 n. vi. 459, 460, 461, 466, 470, 471, 473, 475. notice of his scruples about the Fourth Commandment and Athanasian Creed, iii. 247. got over them, and subscribed, 248. became chancellor of Sarum, *ib.*
- Chosen, its meaning in the text, *Many are called, but few chosen*, v. 621.
- Chrastovius, v. 223 n. 261 n. 277 n. 278 n.
- Christ, his divinity how equivocally acknowledged by the Arians, i. 274. Christ is either supreme God, or no God at all, 277, 306. he is not excluded from our service or adoration among the *nominal* gods, 278. but all are excluded except the one supreme God, therefore Christ must be a partaker of the same undivided Godhead, *ib.* the Father is styled the only true God, *primarily* not *exclusively*, 279, 287. and may be called the *one* or *only* God without the least diminution of the Son's divinity, 280. the *priority* of order is also ascribed to him, 281. Christ never pretended to an *equality* with the Father in respect of his *original*, knowing himself to be *second* only in order, 282, 283. for had he and the Father been both equal in respect of original, both unbegotten, they had been two Gods, 283. Origen's reasoning on Heb. i. 3. favourable to Christ's divinity, 286. testimonies of the ancients, that those passages in scripture which assert the unity do not exclude the Son from being the one supreme God, 288. passages of the Old Testament relating to the God of the Jews applied to Christ by the Ante-Nicene fathers, 291. how they reasoned on them, 297. the Arian method of explaining them away, refuted, 295. according to the ancients, the Son was

God, and so called in his own Person, 302. that he was God in his own Person, as being God's Son, *ib.* and that he was God's Son, as having the divine substance communicated from the Father, *ib.* John x. 35, 36. and Heb. i. 8, 9. proved not to contradict Christ's divinity, 306, 307. his being sanctified by the Father also shewn not to contradict it, 308. proofs that Christ is not called God in a subordinate or improper sense, *ib.* among others the term Jehovah is applied to him in his own Person, and in his own right, 308, 309, 310. the admitting of a priority of order in the Father does not imply that the Son is a subordinate God, 316 n. the Arian definition of God, as the Author and Governor of the universe, proved not to answer their purpose, 317. in opposition to Dr. Clarke, it is proved that if there be a supreme and a subordinate God, they make two Gods, or else one of them is no God, contrary to his supposition, 326. it is further proved that the characteristics applied to the one true God are applied likewise to the Son, and moreover that the attributes applied to the Son are such as can belong to no creature, but to God only, 327. the Son's omniscience and eternity shewn to be one and the same with the Father's 332, 339, 340. if the Son be eternal, he is necessarily existing, but not therefore self-existent, 346. the Son may be by, or from, the will of the Father, and yet a necessary emanation, 348. his generation may be by necessity of nature, without excluding the concurrence of the will of the Father, 349. but if his generation be by the arbitrary will of the Father he is a creature, *ib.* the distinction of his threefold generation explained, 352. the Ante-Nicene writers sparing in speaking of his eternal generation, as to the term or phrase; not as to the thing itself, 353. all catholics agreed in ascribing a priority of nature to the Father over the Son, not of time or duration, 356. those who maintained a temporary generation, yet asserted the coeternity of the *Λόγος*, though not considered precisely under the formality of a Son, 359. proof that they did not mean by *Λόγος* any attribute, power, virtue, or operation of the Father, but a real, subsisting person, 360. all the ancients allowed the coeternity and consubstantiality of the *hypostasis* or person of the Son with the Father; the question with them was, what should be deemed the sonship or filiation, 366, 495. creative powers are in scripture ascribed to

the Son, but the title of Creator in scripture is the distinguishing character of the one supreme God; objections answered against the inference to be drawn from these truths, 380, 381. the Socinians endeavour to interpret these texts of a metaphorical creation, 386. proof of the Son being uncreated, 387. and that he must be either essentially God, or else a creature, 392. positions of some or other of the Arians in respect of the Son, 402, 403. religious worship proved to be appropriated to the one God, and to belong to him only, 408. and also to be equally due to Christ, and that therefore he is the one God, 421. also that worship and adoration were due to him before the commencing of his mediatorial kingdom, as Creator and Preserver, 429. John v. 23. explained in conformity with this statement, 436. the earliest catholic writers believed that distinct worship was paid to the Son long before his incarnation, 432. subordination, in some sense, of the Son to the Father not denied, 447, 501. Gal. iv. 8. decisive in favour of Christ's divinity, as it proves that Christ is by nature truly God, 491. not probable that the primitive Church should mistake in so material a point as Christ's divinity, or that the Christian writers should all mistake in their account of it, 540. supposing Christ's divinity doubtful, why it is safer to think too highly than too meanly of our blessed Saviour, rather to pay a modest deference to the judgment of the ancient and modern church, than to lean to one's own understanding, 551. nothing less than clear and evident demonstration, on the side of Arianism, ought to move a wise and good man against so great appearances of truth on the side of orthodoxy, from scripture, reason, and antiquity, 555. what presumption is in favour of Christ's divinity, ii. 5, 6. the attributes of the Father might be eluded by the same artifices that are used to elude the divinity of the Son, 6. the three only possible suppositions with regard to the Son, 8. further explanation respecting subordination, 11. we do not say that things of a lower kind are subordinate, but inferior, to those of an higher, 12. none of the ancients looked upon the Son as a precarious being, but asserted his necessary existence, 13. not indeed using the terms, but declaring the thing, *ib.* if some of the Ante-Nicene fathers supposed the generation, or *προέλευσις*, of the Son to be properly voluntary, yet all of them supposed his existence to be necessary,

(as we call it,) *ib.* 14 n. to make the Son a *creature*, or a *precarious* being, or not *necessarily existing*, is all one and the same thing, 14. Christ's mediatorial office cannot be the foundation of the worship paid to him, as the office will cease at the day of judgment, but the worship never will, 26. his divinity, personality, and incarnation established in chap. i. of St. John's Gospel, 30. which chapter has been the more tampered with for its very plainness, *ib.* four interpretations given to it, *ib.* observations on the Sabellian interpretation, 31. on the Socinian, 35. on the Arian, 36. the catholic, maintained and asserted, 37. *et seq.* St. John considered the Son as the true Jehovah, 42. the Son strictly and properly *efficient* cause and Creator of all things, 50. proved from the New Testament, *ib.* from the Old, 62. and from the suffrage of catholic antiquity, 63. how the Father and Son are both considered as one Creator, 61. Sustainer and Preserver included by Waterland in Creator, 69. creation, a proof of Christ's divinity, 68. from the reason of the thing, 69. as Creator of man, *ib.* of the earth, 70. of the heavens, *ib.* and of angels, 71. from scripture texts, 72. and from the sentiments of the ancients, 76. but if Creator then God, 78. the testimony of Eusebius, though inclined towards the Arians, in favour of the Son of God, 81. the catholic distinction between the Father and the Son as to creation, 82. the scripture notion of the Divine unity stated and cleared, 84. under what *salvos* we may reasonably understand the general doctrine of God the Father's being the only true God, or Lord, 88. objections against explaining those texts that assert him to be so, by supposing a supreme and inferior God, and supreme and inferior worship, 89. the other way of supposing that *one, only*, or the like, may admit of some latitude of construction, shewn at large, 90. the Son shewn not to be excluded by those texts that declared the Father to be the one God, 91. indeed the word *God* may perhaps be understood in an indefinite sense, (as applicable to the whole Trinity,) as often as the context or other circumstances do not confine its signification and extent to one person only, 93. why it was needless that a saving clause, such as, *except my Son and Holy Spirit*, should have been added to such texts, 94. why it might have been hurtful, 95. the primitive writers followed the same style with respect to the titles, *one* or *only* God, 96. Christ's

divinity proved from his coequality with the Father, 102. his being in the *form of God*, proved to mean, being God of God, or Son of God, 103. objections against its meaning, his personating God, acting in his name, 106. what is meant by, *thought it not robbery to be equal with God*, 107. differently interpreted by Origen, 109. by Novatian, *ib.* and by the churches of Lyons and Vienna, 110. how reconcilable with the catholic doctrine according to these interpretations, *ib.* 111. *wherefore God hath also highly exalted him*, this *exaltation* explained, 112. how generally understood by the ancients, *ib.* Hermas's interpretations, 113 n. what perhaps is the true meaning, 114, 116. divine titles ascribed to Christ in scripture, 120. the operations, gifts, and graces of the Spirit of God with the glory of them ascribed to him, 121. the inference therefrom, 124. he is styled *God*, 125. in what sense, 126, 127. *God with us*, or *Emmanuel*, 128. *Lord God*, which answers to *Jehovah Elohim*, *ib.* (often so styled by the ancient fathers, 129.) *True God*, 130. pretences against the usual construction of this text examined, *ib.* *Great God*, 134. reasons why the text, where this phrase occurs, Tit. ii. 13. should be understood of Christ, *ib.* was so understood by the ancients, 135. *Mighty God*, 136. *over all God blessed for ever*, 138. this title explained, *ib.* *Jehovah*, 139. in what sense, 140. *Almighty*, (the imperfect rendering of *παντοκράτωρ*.) 141. Rev. i. 8. where the word occurs, understood by all the ancients of the Son, *ib.* objections against this title answered, 141, 142. *Lord of glory*, 143. *King of kings*, and *Lord of lords*, *ib.* *First and Last*, *Alpha and Omega*, *the Beginning and the End*, *ib.* the Cerinthians and Ebnionites considered Christ as a mere man, 132. divine attributes ascribed to Christ in scripture, 145. *eternity*, 146. *immutability*, 152. (this and the former strictly imply one another, *ib.*) *omniscience*, 155. Dr. Clarke's objections answered, 160. *omnipresence*, 164. objections to the divine titles and attributes answered, 167, 169. Christ's divinity proved from the form of baptism, 171. first, from the nature and reason of the thing itself, 174. secondly, from the testimonies of the ancients, 177. *Son of God*, applied to Christ, declared him to be of the same nature with God the Father, according to the ancients, 192. in what sense Christ was denied to be *God over all*, 216. to deny the Son's necessary existence, implies that he is a creature, 321 n. all perfections

common to Father and Son, only not *coordinate*, 393. his subordination how consistent with his coequality, 400. proved to be God from John i. 1. Heb. i. 8. Rom. ix. 5. Phil. ii. 6. Heb. i. 3., 410, 412, 416. subject to the Father, in his human capacity, 414. to whom he prayed *οικονομικώς*, 415. the Father never *constituted* Christ a God, *ib.* *παντοκράτωρ*, applied to him by the fathers, does not necessarily prove him to be the Jehovah in the strict sense of that name, 416. the Son denied to be of like substance with the Father by Arius, 420. his necessary existence and supreme divinity declared by Alexander, 421. the Son is God in the same sense, but not in the same emphatical manner as the Father, 425. the Father, as he that sends, greater than the Son the person sent, 426. how he is Mediator both by nature and office, 431. idols, not the Son, excluded in the texts relating to the unity, in the opinion of the ancients, 434. Father and Son declared by the ancients to be one, or the same God, 438. Irenæus's argument that the Son is the true and only God from his forgiving sins, 448. declares that the Son has no God above him, 449. neither subordination nor ministration inconsistent with the Son being God, 465. how the Son is subordinate to the Father, *ib.* the Son an Angel and Messenger, not by nature, but by office, 479. considered by the fathers as passible only in his human nature, 483. the ancients applied such texts as belong to the one God supreme to God the Son, 478. this point vindicated, *ib.* proofs from the ancients, 481—494. certain Arian pretences against this evidence invalidated, 505. what the ancients resolve the Son's divinity into, 506. proofs, *ib.* it is a ruled case in antiquity that Christ is God by his *Sonship*, 507. the term God applied to the Son in the same sense as to the Father, 510. what his subordination only proves, 512. his acting a ministerial part is purely economical, 516. his supremacy, how inferred from his being God before the creation, 517, 518. he and the Father how both one Creator, 518. a difference of order, not of nature, between Father and Son allowed, 519. in what sense the Father is the cause of the Son, 526. why Christ rather than the Father is to execute judgment on man, 531, 552. characters appropriated to the one true God, applied to him, 547. without limitations, *ib.* universally held by the ancients that he had a human soul, 552. his omniscience defended, 556, 557. his eternity described in

the same terms as that of the Father, 562. Rev. i. 8. proved to apply to him, not to the Father, *ib.* by eluding the proof of his eternity, the Arians have scarce left any for the eternity of the Father, 565. his necessary existence believed by the ancients, 571, 609. his necessary generation or emanation, by whom taught, 590. how said to be generated by the *will* of the Father, *ib.* some of the fathers gave him the name of *Will*, or the *Father's Will*, 591. though he is a Son *κατὰ Βουλήν*, yet he is not God *κατὰ Βουλήν*, 594. explanation of the Father's being Lord of the Son, 595. though the same essentially before and after the generation, he was not the same in respect of operation, or manifestation, and outward economy, 598. the Arian argument to prove the Son a creature, 601. were necessary existence the same as self-existence, then the Arians could not prove from scripture and antiquity the Son not to be self-existent, 610. notice of the similitudes used by the ancients to denote the connection between the Father and the Son, 614. the meaning of the ancients was, that the Son so came out of the Father, as still to remain in him, it was an economical, not a real separation, 615, 616. the ancients were for some time pretty much divided about the Son's eternal generation, but not about his eternal existence, 617. why his eternal generation afterwards became the prevailing opinion, *ib.* divine powers, in what sense ascribed to him by modern Arians, 628. Prov. viii. 22. shewn not to make the Son a creature, 633. the text, how explained by Dionysius of Rome, 634. by Eusebius, 635, 642. by Anastasius, 635. and by Faustinus, 636. is supreme God, 644. the worship of Christ considered under the character of a mediator, 657. in what sense the ancients principally considered him a mediator, *ib.* in what sense mediatorial worship assigned to him by Arians, 658. why his worship, although terminating in the Father, cannot be an inferior worship, 669. why his worship may be considered as ultimately resting in the Father, *ib.* why prayers are generally to be offered rather *through* him than *to* him, 670. his perfections and those of the Father are equal, and the same in kind and in number, though differing in the manner of existing, 671. the power of judging not the foundation of his worship, 681. this was the Socinian idea, *ib.* the old Arian foundation for his worship, 684. Dr. Clarke pretends that his honour is



founded upon the power of judgment committed to him, 685. this opinion refuted, 685, 686. Novatian's notion of his divinity, explained, 744. observations respecting his subordination, 766—768. to deny his necessary existence, proved to make him precarious, iii. 67, 68. the epithet *ἀναρχος* applied to him by the ancients, 79. a summary view of the judgment of the ancients upon the question, whether God the Father be naturally ruler and governor over God the Son, 79—91. the Apollinarian notion of the human nature of the Son, 242, 243. why prayers in the oriental churches are frequently addressed to the Son, 256. Christ not guilty of equivocation in stating his ignorance of the day and hour of the last judgment, 281, 282. the scriptures and the Arians compared respecting the divinity of the Son, 287. the catholic notion of the nature of Christ, 288. exclusive terms, never intended in opposition to God the Son, but to idols or pretended deities, 302. the name of Angel or Messenger applied to the Son concerns only his office, not his nature, 304. John i. 1. vindicated in favour of Christ's divinity, 313. his divinity opposed by the Cerinthians, 528. the titles of Father and Son applied to the first and Second Persons of the Trinity, implied the divinity of the Son according to the ancients, 533—536. names and notice of the early impugnors of Christ's divinity, 537. Cerinthus, *ib.* Ebion, 554. [Luke i. 35. interpreted of the second Person in the Trinity by the earliest fathers, 571.] 572. Theodotus, 577. Artemon, 581. Beryllus, 582. Paul of Samosata, 585. Arius, *ib.* the impugnors of Christ's divinity anciently called *Judaizers*, 590. testimonies of the ancients in favour of Christ's divinity, 589—601. instances of worship being paid to the Son in the scriptures, iv. 8. proof that it was also offered by the primitive Christians, 9. although most prayers (but not all) are addressed to the Father, 10, 11. the Socinians even allow of the divine worship of the Son, 13. Dr. Clarke's explanation of the Sonship disproved, 24. the true explanation, 27. *δύναμις ἰσότητος*, a name of the Logos in the opinion of many of the ancients, 25. *the Word*, a name for the divine pre-existent nature of Christ, 27. if Christ were a creature he could not have purchased pardon for the world by the sacrifice of himself, 40. of the commemoration or remembrance of Christ in the communion, 498. what opinion was entertained of Christ by the Platonists, 501.

and by the Mahometans, *ib.* of the commemoration of the death of our Lord made in the holy communion, 512. his death an expiatory sacrifice, *ib.* four senses of our *Lord's body*, 588. Christ the author of salvation to all that have been saved from the beginning of the world, the doctrine of Clements of Rome, v. 25 n. his mediatorship and atonement, as God-man, fundamental doctrines, 81, 82. his divinity proved from the form of baptism against the ancient Arians, 112. the form altered by the Eunomians to evade the proof, 113. his real union with the Father proved from both the sacraments, *ib.* the absorption of his manhood in his Godhead, disproved from the eucharist, 114. also the division of the manhood from the Godhead, 115. Christ's sacrifice of himself explained in a sermon, 737. observations respecting the altar on which it might be considered to be offered, 741, 742. two reasons why this sacrifice might be requisite, 743. the Paulianists denied Christ's divinity, vi. 184. see *Logos*. Christ Church, Oxford, library of, i. 5, 225. vi. 300.

Christianity, the truth of, proved by the existence of the sacraments, v. 108. more than a republication of the original law of nature, iv. 143, 144. the objection noticed, of its not being necessary to all mankind, since it has not been published to all mankind, 146. defended from the charges of credulity, v. 41. of bigotry, 45. of superstition, 47. of enthusiasm, 51. of state-craft and priest-craft, 56, 58. and of imposture, 65. see *Established religion*.

Christodulus, patriarch of Alexandria, vi. 64. Chrysostom, St., i. 285, 290, 415, 439, 440, 453 n. 458 n. 525, 542. ii. 40 n. 60, 135, 687, 741. iii. 76, 608 n. 643 n. 680 n. 682 n. iv. 354, 428 n. 463 n. 487, 488, 525, 534, 536 n. 540 n. 544 n. 547, 578 n. 580 n. 581 n. 594 n. 596 n. 611, 635 n. 668 n. 678, 691, 707 n. 741 n. 752 n. 759, 768 n. 769, 770 n. 772, 788—793. v. 101 n. 126 n. 128, 131 n. 135 n. 156 n. 165 n. 167 n. 175 n. 189 n. 208 n. 238, 245, 249 n. 251, 252, 255, 258, 265 n. 275, 276 n. 408. vi. 13, 53 n. 96, 109, 161, 243, 272, 446 n. 461 n. 476, 480, 488. what he meant by *κατὰ δύναμις*, applied to the Son, i. 489, 560. bred up under Meletius, and never of the Eustathian party, ii. 641. a defender of Origen, *ib.* how he understood John vi., iv. 562 n. Isidorus his disciple, v. 238. what he considered to be spiritual sacrifices, 265. a passage of his explained touching Christ's sacrifice, 290.

- Chubb, Thomas, i. 119, 257. began his career as a defender of Arianism, 120. formed a theological debating club at Salisbury, 120 n. wrote *The Supremacy of the Father asserted* against Waterland, 121 n. became one of the coarsest and most virulent opponents of Christianity, 120. his discourse on Persecution answered by Dr. Webster, 245 n.
- Church, vi. 486.
- Church of England, when it received the Athanasian Creed, iii. 184. vindicated, both as to the receiving and retaining it, 245. defended for imposing creeds and articles, 509, 510. its regard for antiquity, 653. considers the ancient fathers the best comment on scripture, iv. 49. her judgment and practice with regard to lay-baptism, vi. 226. see *Liturgy*.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, ii. 574 n. iv. 285 n. 286 n. 298, 302 n. 303 n. 304 n. 402, 403, 407, 409, 412: v. 38 n. 57, 58 n. vi. 197. his opinion of the necessity of religion for the common good, iv. 377.
- Circumcision, cannot be proved to have been in use among the Egyptians before Abraham's time, iv. 192. even if it could be proved, it would not follow that the Hebrews had it from them, 193. it was most probably originally of Abraham, 195. and that the Egyptians borrowed it from thence, by the Arabian Ishmaelites, *ib.* the Arabs, Saracens, and Mahometans circumcised not before thirteen years of age, *ib.* circumcision a federal rite, 704. administration of it not confined to the Jewish priesthood, vi. 157.
- Civil penalties distinct from ecclesiastical censures, iii. 520. regard not only the demerits of the individual, but the necessities of the state, 522.
- Claggett, William, i. 196. iv. 82, 124 n. 411, 415, 449 n. 548 n. 670. v. 73 n. 81 n. 87 n. 262 n.
- Clark, John, vi. 114.
- Clarke, John, iii. 529 n. 572 n. master of the Hull grammar school, published an examination of Dr. Clarke's opinion concerning moral obligation, iv. 62 n. praised, 198.
- Clarke, Joseph, i. 3, 9, 216, 217, 263, 265. vi. 458. fellow of Magdalene college, Cambridge, a pupil of Dr. Waterland's, i. 216. who intrusted his papers to him to publish such as he thought proper, after his death, *ib.* he selected thirty-three sermons, and two tracts, one on justification, the other on infant communion, 217. his preface to them, v. 386. his explanation of bishop Bull's sentiments as to instrumentality of faith, 389. his vindication of the 11th, 12th, and 13th article, against the charge of favouring the solidian doctrine, 392.
- Clarke, Samuel, i. 15, 48, 49, 50, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79 n. 80, 81, 82, 85, 98, 101 n. 102, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 119, 120, 121 n. 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 153, 162, 231, 232, 234, 254, 259, 263, 269, 270, 284, 294 n. 296, 297, 302, 309, 319, 333, 335, 337, 344, 345, 348, 449, 369, 370, 373, 374, 378, 381, 396 n. 437, 445, 446, 456, 472, 484, 496, 499, 541, 555, 556, 558. ii. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 40 n. 43 n. 56 n. 60 n. 86 n. 100 n. 123 n. 126 n. 127 n. 128 n. 131 n. 133 n. 134 n. 135 n. 138 n. 139 n. 141 n. 142 n. 146 n. 150 n. 153 n. 156 n. 157 n. 158, 159 n. 160 n. 161 n. 162 n. 168 n. 177, 188 n. 193 n. 279, 282, 284, 285, 286, 315, 316, 319 n. 327 n. 337, 358, 359, 397, 412, 421, 430, 433, 477, 502, 510 n. 512, 525, 527, 532, 536, 539, 544, 546, 557, 560, 564, 568, 569, 574, 587, 601, 603—605, 607, 608, 609, 611, 619, 620, 625, 627, 628, 632, 633, 647, 648, 649, 650, 659, 685, 691, 692, 695, 700, 704, 705, 708, 718, 720, 721, 722, 723, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 736, 737, 738, 756, 759, 765, 767, 768. iii. 4, 44, 45, 46, 50, 61, 62, 290 n. 295 n. 296 n. 334 n. 356 n.—379 n. 503 n. 662 n. 679. iv. 109, 128, 130, 134 n. 136, 137 n. 139, 140, 141, 144, 146, 412, 657 n. v. 83 n. 94 n. 95 n. 397 n. vi. 38, 446, 461, 466, 468, 480. probably omitted a passage respecting subscription to the Articles in his second edition of his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, in consequence of Dr. Waterland's divinity act at Cambridge on Arian subscription, i. 10. Dr. W.'s notice of this omission, 270, 271. ii. 262. the passage offensive even to his friends, i. 58. Whiston's censure of it, ii. 360. his literary character, i. 34. disclaimed the character of an Anti-Trinitarian, 35. the professed design of his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, 35. the latitudinarian principles he introduced into it, *ib.* by whom this work was attacked, 36. and by whom defended, *ib.* notice of Dr. Wells's *Remarks* on his Introduction to his *Scripture Doctrine*, *ib.* of his reply, in which he shews himself averse from all church authority, 37. and of Dr. Wells's second letter, 38. what part Mr. Nelson took in this controversy, *ib.* notice of Dr. Knight's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* vindicated from the *Misrepresentations* of Dr. Clarke, *ib.* its charac-

ter, *ib.* answered by Dr. Clarke, 39. further maintained by Dr. K., *ib.* again answered by Dr. C., *ib.* notice of bishop Gastrell's *Remarks* on his Scripture Doctrine, *ib.* character of the answer he published to it, *ib.* notice of Dr. Edwards's *Brief Critical Remarks* on his reply to Mr. Nelson and Dr. Gastrell, *ib.* and of Mr. Welchman's tract, entitled, *Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity examined*, 40. one of the ablest answers was, Mr. Potter's *Vindication of our Blessed Saviour's Divinity, chiefly against Dr. Clarke*, 41. notice of this tract, *ib.* there is no answer extant, by Dr. C. to Mr. Potter, Welchman, or Dr. Edwards, 42 n. notice of Mr. R. Mayo's *Plain Argument against Dr. Clarke's Doctrine concerning the Trinity*, 42. answered by him, *ib.* what brought Waterland into the controversy, 43. Dr. C. bore a considerable part in Jackson's Answer to Waterland's Queries, 44. his reputation perceptibly declined on Waterland's taking the field, 45. his arrangement of scripture quotations inferior to Waterland's, 47. probably assisted Sykes in his *Modest Plea, &c.*, 48 n. notice of his tract, entitled, *The Modest Plea continued, or a brief Answer to Dr. Waterland's Queries relating to the Trinity*, 48. his system supposes a supreme and a subordinate God, 49. whether his pretence, that the authority of the Father and Son being one, though they are two distinct beings, makes them not to be two Gods, &c. be not trifling and inconsistent, 320. his criticisms on a passage of Clement of Alexandria answered, 338 n. whether *eternity* does not imply *necessary existence* of the Son, which is inconsistent with his scheme, 344. and whether he has not equivocated upon the word *will*, *ib.* the fallacy that runs through his performance is, that the Son cannot be truly and essentially God, unless he be *self-existent*, and *unoriginate* in every sense, 346 n. an instance of his mistranslation, 348 n. in what sense can he pretend that all divine powers, except absolute supremacy and independency, are communicated to the Son, 376, 378. whether, if by *divine* powers, he meant powers given by God, (in the same sense as angelical powers are divine powers,) it be not equivocating, and saying nothing, 379. his sense of a passage in Origen confuted, 389. whether by denying the consubstantiality of the Son, he does not affirm him to be a creature, *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*, 397. and whether he must not of consequence affirm

of the Son, that there was a time when he was not, 398. proved to be an Arian 399, 400. and that his attempt is vain to pretend to any middle way between the orthodox and the Arians, 399, 401. the inferences to be drawn from these circumstances, 405. whether he hath not given a partial account of John v. 23, 436. whether he need have cited three hundred texts, to prove what nobody denies, a *subordination*, in some sense, of the Son to the Father, could he have found but one plain text against his *eternity*, or *consubstantiality*, the points in question, 447. whether he be not forced to supply his want of scripture proof by very strained and remote inferences, 450. whether his whole performance, whenever he differs from catholics, be any thing more than the assertion, that *being* and *person* are the same, and that there is no *medium* between *tritheism* and *Sabellianism*, 463. he depends chiefly, not on scripture, nor on antiquity, but on a vain philosophical principle, 464. his system how chargeable with tritheism, 470. whether his notion of the Trinity be more clear and intelligible than the orthodox notion, 474, 480. the ground of his scheme is Sabellian, and the superstructure tritheistic, and the whole hangs loosely together, 483. instance of unfairly quoting Chrysostom, 489, 560. whether, notwithstanding his equivocation, Gal. iv. 8. is not decisive of the dispute, 490. whether he did not equivocate or prevaricate in saying, the generality of writers before the council of Nice were, on the whole, clearly on his side, 501. whether he may not be supposed to say, the fathers are on his side, with the same meaning and reserve that he pretends our church-forms to favour him, that is, provided he may interpret them as he pleases, 520. endeavours to lessen the esteem of the ancients, all the while that he presumes they are on his side, (a sure mark that he suspects them,) 521. instances of his perverting the sense of some of the Ante-Nicene writers, 523. his disingenuity with respect to what he considers concessions from these writers, 533. and his method altogether disapproved, 534. the object of his book according to Waterland, ii. 13. his objections against Christ's omniscience answered, 160. his pleas in favour of Arian subscription answered, 269, 271, 272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 284, 285, 287, 289, 290. his interpetations of passages in the Athanasian Creed, and other parts of the Liturgy against the true doctrine of the Trinity, confuted,

294—305. the doctrine of the Trinity, according to him and his followers, contrasted with the same doctrine according to the church of England, 218. how far he was concerned in Jackson's *Reply to Dr. Waterland's Defence of his Queries*, i. 68 n. his notion of individual substance, ii. 620. by denying the Son's necessary existence, he makes him a creature, 650. his notion of idol mediators, 656. doubtful as to the scriptural sense of God, 681. pretends that Christ's honour is founded upon the power of judgment committed to him, 685. this opinion refuted, *ib.* an error in his demonstration of the existence of a First Cause, 695. the cause of it, 696. denied that two persons could be one necessary being or substance, 698, 699. what propositions of his are contrary to the Ante-Nicene writers, 733. notice of his anonymous *Observations on Dr. Waterland's Second Defence*, i. 72. further particulars respecting it, 77. notice of Waterland's *Further Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, in reply to these *Observations*, 77—80. to which he made no reply, 81. Mr. Butler's account of his conference with Dr. Hawarden about the Trinity, held by desire of queen Caroline, consort of George I, 78 n. notice of his reasoning to prove the existence of God *à priori*, 106. and of his *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*, not generally approved of, 108. iii. 42. of bishop Butler's objections, i. 108, 109. and of Gretton's *Review of the Argument à priori, &c.*, 109. what he takes to be the reason why matter is incapable of thought, iii. 42. shewn to have made mistatements respecting the Athanasian Creed, 116. his objections against the use of it answered, 126. his *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, published the same year of his death by his own desire, i. 143. notice of Waterland's *Remarks* upon it, *ib.* which were answered by Dr. Sykes, 146. general observations on his *Exposition*, iv. 3. objections to his confining worship to the Father only, 5. to his withholding altogether the title of God from the Son and Holy Ghost, 14. to his method of judging of fundamentals, 15. to his explanation of the Creed, 21. in the titles, Father and Almighty, *ib.* 22. in his account of the Son, 24. and of the Holy Ghost, 29. objections to his explanation of the First Commandment, 35. and of the form of Baptism, 38. and of the Lord's Supper, 40, 54. no fault to be found with his morality, 48. objections to his distinction between moral duties and

positive institutions, 54. his opinion concerning moral obligation controverted by J. Clarke, 62. his Arian opinions took deep root among several communities of dissenters, i. 101. on good terms with Waterland notwithstanding their difference in religious points, 263. Claude, John, iv. 597 n. 609 n. v. 193 n. 195 n. 200 n. 201 n. 202 n. 203 n. 205 n. Claudianus Mamertus, iii. 204. Claudius Taurinensis, v. 165 n. Clayton, Dr., ii. 345. Cleanthes, said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 9. Clearchus, a disciple of Aristotle, v. 7, 9. Clemens Alexandrinus, i. 287, 290 n. 291 n. 292 n. 349 n. 351, 368 n. 420, 424, 455 n. 472, 513, 514, 518 n. ii. 33 n. 37 n. 46, 52, 54 n. 77 n. 97 n. 105 n. 108 n. 122 n. 130 n. 132 n. 136, 137, 142 n. 148 n. 157, 160, 165 n. 192 n. 229, 233, 253 n. 394, 411, 445 n. 447, 473 n. 478, 485, 507, 519, 521—523, 548 n. 553, 560, 573, 574, 591 n. 630 n. 635, 637, 657, 658 n. 660 n. 666, 672, 710, 727 n. 748 n. 754, 755. iii. 36 n. 64, 72, 73, 79 n. 483 n. 572 n. 581, 609, 611, 612, 658 n. 662, 676, 690 n. iv. 221 n. 484, 505, 524 n. 630 n. 660 n. 673 n. 675, 741 n. 766 n. 767, 783. v. 5. n. 6 n. 7 n. 13 n. 17 n. 20 n. 22 n. 111 n. 124 n. 126 n. 131 n. 140 n. 156 n. 167 n. 190 n. 191 n. 206, 207 n. 243 n. 246 n. 255 n. 257, 264 n. 268 n. 269 n. 276 n. 407, 454. vi. 479. explained, ii. 435. considered Exodus xx. 2. as spoken by Christ in his own person, i. 295. his observation upon the article *ὁ* before *Θεὸς* set in its true light, 314. his delaration of the Son's omniscience, 338. applied *προεθῶν* both to the Son's generation and manifestation, 368 n. styled the Son Creator, 384 n. his declaration that worship was due only to God the Creator, 419. therein including the Son, 424. a great admirer of the Septuagint, ii. 137. his declaration respecting the Trinity, 180. allowance must be made for him while he is adapting the Platonic to the Christian Trinity, if he uses the Platonic terms, though they may not quadrate exactly, 454. time of his writing, 451. his testimony as to the Father and Son being the only God, 452. vindicated, 451. texts mentioning God applied by him to Christ, 488. observation respecting his *Pedagogue*, *ib.* objections answered, *ib.* proof of his holding the necessary existence of the Son, 584. his opinion respecting the *procession* explained, 599. in what sense he used *τὸ* *Θεῖον*, 667. in the

- hypothesis of the temporal generation of the Son, iii. 23. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, 83. his opinion that the existence of a Deity cannot be proved *a priori*, 325. vindicated from Barbeyrac's charges against him, 637. a person of infinite reading, and of great reputation in the Christian church, iv. 586. his sentiments respecting the eucharistic elements, 587. his view of John vi. 547. his opinion of gospel sacrifices, 744. maintained that pagan writers borrowed from the scriptures, v. 9. what particular notions, 10. his opinion of the need and efficacy of baptism, vi. 17.
- Clemens Romanus, i. 509. ii. 112 n. 207, 214, 215, 250, 253, 376, 553. iii. 571 n. 615. iv. 733. v. 133 n. 175. vi. 160 n. 182, 471. the common date of his Epistle, iv. 476. the more probable date according to Lardner, 477. terms applied to him by the eucharist, *ib.* maintained that all that have been saved from the beginning of the world have been saved by Christ, v. 25 n. his interpretation of the doctrine of justifying faith, vi. 23.
- Clement, vi. 366.
- Clementine Liturgy, notice respecting, iv. 11. contains addresses to the Son and Holy Ghost as well as to the Father, *ib.* not thought ever to have been in public use, 653. the oldest extant, *ib.* its probable age, *ib.*
- Clendon, —, 35.
- Clerc, John le, i. 93, 510 n. ii. 214 n. 495, 672 n. 696 n. 722 n. iii. 566, 567, 576, 638, 647 n. 663 n. 686 n. 695 n. iv. 169 n. 177 n. 179 n. 191, 230, 238 n. 246 n. 255 n. 257—260, 264 n. 269 n. 271 n. 272 n. 273, 280, 281 n. 291 n. 313 n. 317 n. 319, 326, 330 n. 339 n. 368 n. 632 n. 633, 703 n. 705 n. 727 n. 768 n. v. 12 n. 108 n. vi. 41 n. 447. the *Historical Vindication of the Naked Gospel*, in support of Anti-Trinitarianism, ascribed to him, i. 29. his solving a difficulty as to the mentioning of the name Jehovah previous to Exodus vi. 2, 3. by a prolepsis, disapproved, 310 n. endeavoured to turn several passages, wherein the Jehovah is mentioned, to one particular sense in favour of the Sabellians, 311 n. adopted in part the Photinian notion of the Logos, ii. 33. remarks on his observations on bishop Bull's defence of a passage in Justin, iii. 564—567. censure of his treatise at the end of Grotius *de Verit. Relig. Christ.* 644, 645. the treatise briefly examined by Buddeus, 644, 645. his Comment on Psalm cxxxvii. 8. censured, iv. 324. as also that on Jer. iv. 10., 342. slighted the opinion that pagan writers borrowed from the Jews, v. 14. answered by Baltus, *ib.*
- Clergy defended for being paid, v. 63. not allowed to marry twice in the ancient church, vi. 164. bishop Peacock's statement touching divers orders of clergy, vi. 203. see *Minister*.
- Clergy, sons of, a sermon preached before, v. 331.
- Clarke, Gilbert, i. 29, 514, 519. ii. 244. Cloppenburg, —, v. 130 n. 272 n.
- Cobden, Edward, archdeacon of London, i. 239. vi. 413 n. his intended address for presenting Waterland as prolocutor of the convocation, i. 239 n.
- Cocceius, John, iv. 163 n. 350 n. vi. 484. Cochleus, Johannes, iii. 137.
- Coequality, how consistent with subordination, ii. 400. and with priority of order, 456. confounded with co-ordination by the Arians, *ib.*
- Coeternal, a word of a fixed and known sense in ecclesiastical writers: never used to signify any thing less than *absolute* eternity, without beginning, and without end, ii. 297.
- Coeternity of the Logos with the Father asserted by the ancient catholics, though not considered precisely under the formality of a Son, i. 359.
- Cohen, an Hebrew term, its signification, v. 279.
- Coint, Charles le, iii. 120.
- Coke, sir Edward, ii. 271 n.
- Colbatch, Dr., i. 21, 22.
- Colbert, MS. Athan. Creed, iii. 227 n. 228 n. 229 n. 230 n.
- Colbertine Latin MS. of the Athanasian Creed, notice of, iii. 153, 155. copied from the Treves MS., *ib.* notice of another in that library that belonged to Charles the Bald, 157.
- Cole, William, i. 4, 251 n. 252. vi. 442, 443 n.
- Colet, John, Dean of St. Paul's, iii. 686.
- College de propaganda Fide, iii. 110.
- Colliber, S., iv. 57 n. 126 n. 147 n. his opinion of the inferiority of positive duties to moral ones, controverted, 77.
- Collier, Jeremy, ii. 345 n. iii. 145 n. 410 n. iv. 404, 686 n. 695 n. v. 269 n.
- Collier, Thomas, iv. 448.
- Collins, Anthony, i. 119.
- Columbanus, founded the monastery of Bobbio in High Lombardy, iii. 154.
- Combe, Dr., i. 233.
- Combes, Francis, iii. 131, 171 n. 190 n. 200 n. 220 n.
- Comber, Thomas, Dean of Durham, iii. 151. his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, 113, 117.
- Comenius, ii. 378.
- Commandment, the First, what sort of

- polytheism it has chiefly respect to, ii. 20.
- Commandments, the Ten, in old English, from MS., vi. 242.
- Commemoration, notice respecting this title of the eucharist, iv. 486.
- Communion: proofs that communion ought not to be held with those who openly reject the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, iii. 456. from scripture texts, 456—470. from piety to God, 471. and charity towards men, 472. justice to our own souls, 473. objections removed, and some vulgar mistakes rectified, *ib.*
- Communion, church, terms of, somewhat stricter than the necessary terms of salvation, v. 78. and why, *ib.* see *Fundamentals*.
- Communion, notice respecting this title of the eucharist, iv. 473. an argument in favour of frequent neglect of the communion answered, 121. the exercise of the love of God, and of faith, hope, charity, and humility essentially requisite to its worthy reception, 128.
- Communion service in the English Liturgy, observations upon, iv. 696—698.
- Comparatives expressed by negatives in scripture, instances, iv. 343 n.
- Compton, Henry, bishop of London, i. 137. iv. 417.
- Conceitedness, what, v. 569.
- Concessions, effect of, iii. 475.
- Condé, Lewis de Bourbon, prince of, vi. 393.
- Conderius, iv. 430 n.
- Condignity, merit of, invented by Romanists, vi. 34. opposed to the true doctrine of justification, *ib.*
- Confucius, iii. 643.
- Congruity, merit of, invented by the schoolmen, vi. 34. opposed to the true doctrine of justification, *ib.*
- Conscience, see *Good life*.
- Consequential proof, little short of express text, v. 91.
- Conservation, near akin to creation, ii. 519. has been styled *continual creation*, *ib.*
- Consistentes*, the fourth order of penitents among the ancients, notice respecting them, iv. 791.
- Constans, vi. 293.
- Constantine, emperor, i. 352. ii. 591 n. 616 n. iv. 756. v. 191 n. 248. vi. 293. his declaration concerning the procession of the Son, i. 365. ordered the Arians to be called Porphyrians, and why, ii. 370. bishop Peacock's statement touching his donation to the see of Rome, vi. 292.
- Constantine Copronymus, emperor, v. 201, 202. held the council of Constantinople, 201.
- Constantinople, church of, whether it received the Athanasian Creed, iii. 194.
- Constantinople, council of, v. 208. vi. 273, 464. held under the emperor Constantine Copronymus, v. 201. inserted the words *πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων* into the Nicene Creed, iii. 21. intending thereby the eternal generation of the Son, *ib.* its reasoning against the use of images, v. 116. its opinion respecting the eucharistic elements, 201.
- Constantinopolitan Creed is the Nicene interpolated, iii. 249.
- Constantius, emperor, vi. 293. favoured the Arians, ii. 715. his death, *ib.*
- Constantius, presbyter, iii. 216.
- Consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, how eluded by the Arians, and asserted by the ancient catholics, i. 495.
- Consubstantiation, objections against, iv. 614. its rise, v. 205.
- Controversy, the difficulties in proving a point, or establishing a doctrine, ii. 6. why the objector's is an easier part, 7. the three requisites in controversy, *ib.* observations on each, *ib.* what would follow, if every thing controverted were to be set aside, 16. the use and value of ecclesiastical antiquity with respect to controversies of faith, iii. 601. objections answered, 624.
- Conybeare, John, bp. of Bristol, iv. 415.
- Cooke, —, i. 226.
- Coordination, confounded with coequality by Arians, ii. 456.
- Coordination and subordination respect order, iii. 34, 35.
- Corban, its meaning, v. 334 n.
- Corbet, John, a nonconformist, iii. 399.
- Cornelius Nepos, iv. 407.
- Cornwall, Folliot Herbert Walker, bishop of Worcester, i. 5.
- Corpus Christi college library, Oxford, vi. 300.
- Cosin, John, bishop of Durham, iv. 414, 570 n. 572 n. 579 n. 598 n. 601 n. v. 122 n. 193 n. 205 n. 211, 212.
- Cossart, Gabriel, iii. 177.
- Costerus, —, v. 101 n. vi. 460.
- Cotelerius, John Baptist, i. 348 n. 381 n. ii. 219, 220, 591 n. iv. 581 n. v. 408. vi. 474.
- Cotes, Roger, i. 11.
- Cotta, iv. 276 n. 286 n.
- Cotton Library, iii. 109. has the oldest known Latin MS. of the Athanasian Creed, according to archbishop Usher. 150, 151. not now to be found, 151. notice of Athelstan's Psalter there, 152, 154. notice of its MS. of the Gallican Psalter with the Athanasian Creed, 159, 163 n. and of the Roman Psalter with that Creed, 152, 159. notice of its French version of that Creed, 168.

- Cotton MS. of Athanasian Creed, iii. 222 n. 229 n.
- Courayer, Peter Francis, i. 78 n.
- Covel, John, iii. 196. iv. 534 n. 692 n. 694 n. 763 n. v. 192 n. 201 n. 203 n. 405. vi. 69 n.
- Covenant between God and man, observations respecting, iv. 701. definition of a covenant in its general nature, 702. Christian covenant includes the Founder and principal Covenanter, v. 80. a subject capable of being covenanted with, 81. a charter of foundation, *ib.* a Mediator, *ib.* conditions to be performed, 82. aids or means to enable to performance, *ib.* and sanctions to bind the covenant, and to secure obedience, 84. see *Fundamentals*.
- Covenanted mercies, when not denied to persons erring fundamentally, v. 103.
- Coverdale, Miles, iii. 164. vi. 305, 324, 325, 354, 357, 361, 373, 378, 381, 383, 384, 389, 403, 404.
- Coverdale's Bible, notice respecting, vi. 312, 326, 327, 341, 346, 362.
- Coverdale's New Testament Anglo-Lat., vi. 345.
- Coxe, Leonard, vi. 383, 384, 390.
- Crakenthorp, Dr. Richard, his notion of the eucharistic sacrifice, v. 142.
- Cranmer, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, i. 167, 196. iii. 189. iv. 530 n. 570 n. 610, 656 n. 689 n. 695 n. v. 209, 210, 264 n. 278 n. 281 n. 293 n. 296 n. vi. 338, 343, 348, 350, 357, 358, 362, 377, 378, 380, 381, 396, 403—405, 488, 490, 493—497. his sentiments against interpreting John vi. primarily of the eucharist, iv. 566 n. his opinion respecting the eucharistic elements, 601.
- Craven,—, master of Sidney college, i. 25.
- Creation, the ancients considered the Trinity to be concerned in concert in it, i. 365, 366, 381. ii. 629, 630. with what design, i. 382. attributed to the Son as much as to the Father, 381. Dr. Clarke's meaning of the word re-futed, 388. the ground and reason of religious worship in scripture, 430. proved to be an argument of Christ's divinity, from reason, ii. 69. from scripture, 72. from antiquity, 76. often insisted on by God himself as his peculiar characteristic, 73. and so ascribed to him in scripture, 74. considered by the ancients as an indisputable mark of a divine immutable nature, 77. the absurdity of attributing it to a creature, 79, 80.
- Creator, the Son strictly and properly efficient Cause and Creator of all things, ii. 50. proved from the New Testament, *ib.* from the Old, 62. and from the suffrage of antiquity, 63. Creator of the upper and lower world not one and the same, according to Cerinthus, 50. the Father is primarily Creator, the Son secondarily or subordinately, and both one Creator, 518. see *Δημιουργός*.
- Creature, no medium between being a creature and being essentially God, i. 395. ii. 76, 644, 645. the nature of a creature, v. 348.
- Creature-worship, looked upon as idolatry by the Jews before Christ, ii. 669. answers to certain arguments in its defence, iii. 420.
- Credulity, its true acceptation, v. 42. shewn to belong more to infidels than to Christians, *ib.*
- Creed, reserved by Waterland to be the rendering of *symbolism*, or *σύμβολον*, iii. 128.
- Creed of Jerusalem, probably the oldest extant, ii. 190.
- Creed, an old English, from a MS., vi. 241. see *Apostles' Creed*.
- Creeds at first designed only as hints and minutes of the main *credenda* in religion, ii. 188. at first used only in the office of baptism, 189. why consequently they were brief, *ib.* how they became gradually enlarged, *ib.* are not complete catalogues of fundamentals, but short summaries of the Christian faith, 190. the whole design and end of creeds, iii. 248, 252, 254. when and why enlarged in the primitive times, 249. creeds, of some shape or other, are favoured by all parties, 509, 688. the protestant churches vindicated for imposing creeds, 509, 510. ancient creeds always contained the doctrine of the Trinity, 524. notice concerning them, 525. all not equally explicit, 528. why, 531. shorter creeds generally more obscure and ambiguous, iv. 20. first set forth the *θεολογία*, and then the *οικονομία*, 28.
- Crellius, John, i. 40, 93. ii. 100 n. 162. iii. 567, 663. iv. 523, 617 n. 709 n. 722 n. 770 n. a great refiner of the Socinian system, 722.
- Crellius, Samuel, descended from John Crellius, iii. 567. wrote under the name of Artemonius and Lucas Melliernus, *ib.* his strange emendation of John i. 1., 567 n. how he tried to evade the force of John i. 1., 673.
- Crisp, Tobias, iv. 287 n.
- Critias, v. 57. an unworthy pupil of Socrates, 69. one of the thirty tyrants of Athens, *ib.*
- Cronus, probably Ham, iv. 192 n.
- Cross, the, how considered an altar, v. 741.
- Crousaz, John Peter de, iii. 677 n. 684.
- Crownfield, J., iii. 634 n. iv. 197 n. vi. 436.

- Crumwell, Thomas lord, vi. 346, 378.
- Cudworth, Ralph, i. 165, 345 n. 363 n. 378, 415, 543. ii. 22, 90 n. 497, 562, 574 n. 575, 578 n. 589 n. 626, 701. iii. 62, 325, 326. iv. 634, 637, 705 n. 712 n. 725, 737 n. 738 n. v. 52 n. 53 n. 57 n. 272 n. 289 n. 294 n. when he flourished, iii. 348. his character, *ib.* charged with giving too much countenance to the Arian hypothesis in his *Intellectual System*, i. 34. his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, iii. 111, 117. declares the demonstration of the Divine existence *à priori* to be impossible and contradictory, 348. what he means by *necessary schesis*, 355. his notion respecting the Lord's Supper defended, iv. 712, 721.
- Culmer, Richard, scholar of Magdalene college, Cambridge, vi. 311.
- Culverwell, Nathaniel, fellow of Emmanuel college, Cambridge, when he flourished, iii. 344. maintained the Divine existence not to be demonstrable *à priori*, *ib.* wrote a Discourse of the Light of Nature, *ib.*
- Cumberland, Richard, bishop of Peterborough, iv. 57, 109, 120, 186 n. 192 n. 202, 203, 204 n. 234 n. 264 n. 280 n. 293 n. v. 19 n. 67 n.
- Cumming, John, i. 100 n. iii. 498 n. v. 91 n.
- Curcellæus, Stephen de, i. 29. ii. 562. iv. 80.
- Curtius, —, iii. 638 n.
- Curtius, Quintus, iv. 413.
- Cyparissiota, Johannes, iii. 175. surnamed *the Wise*, 131. his Decads published in Latin, in the Bibliothèques of Turrianus's version, *ib.*
- Cyprian, St., i. 292 n.—294 n. 297, 306. ii. 87 n. 97 n. 105 n. 122 n. 128 n. 132 n. 137 n. 142 n. 172 n. 173, 426, 478, 498 n. 657, 668 n. 678. iii. 463 n. 484, 516, 525 n. 526 n. 571 n. 599. iv. 427 n. 474, 484, 485, 486 n. 511, 587, 597 n. 652, 675, 679, 691, 706 n. 707 n. 767, 772, 792. v. 126 n. 131 n. 156 n. 157 n. 165 n. 167 n. 190 n. 207 n. 260, 261, 267 n. 281, 285, 400, 403, 404, 405, 406.—409. vi. 58, 65, 113, 114, 115, 116, 167, 175, 176, 220, 230 n. 464, 480. time of his writing, ii. 467, 490. texts respecting God applied by him to Christ, 490, 491. objections answered, 491. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, iii. 85. his testimony respecting the doctrine of the Trinity, 596. what were his sentiments respecting John vi., 495. notice of his calling the eucharist the offering of Christ's body and blood, iv. 479. how explained, *ib.* notice of his applying the title of *sacrament* to the eucharist, 482. his sentiments respecting the eucharistic elements, 592. his opinion of gospel sacrifices, 749. observations thereupon, 750. why probably he styled the eucharist a sacrifice, 751. a particular passage of his considered, *ib.* a passage of his touching the eucharist explained, v. 269. the piece *de Cæna* ascribed to him, written by Arnoldus, 210. his Comment on the form of baptism, ii. 183. his opinion of the need and efficacy of baptism, vi. 19. his opinion against lay-baptism, 169. his argument that heresy and schism nullified orders, confuted by St. Austin, 172. how he differed from the church with relation to schismatics, 173.
- Cyril of Alexandria, i. 287, 364 n. 383 n. 415, 431 n. 439, 453 n. 471 n. 504 n. 542, 562. ii. 13 n. 33 n. 60, 80 n. 95 n. 113 n. 125 n. 151 n. 153 n. 156 n. 157, 186 n. 225 n. 239 n. 429, 464, 506 n. 571 n. 575, 580, 602 n. 606, 687. iii. 78, 210, 682 n. 690. iv. 173 n. 174 n. 192 n. 306 n. 332 n. 344, 366, 513 n. 540 n. 560 n. 589 n. 594 n. 595 n. 675, 707 n. 741 n. 752 n. 756, 760 n. v. 5 n. 13, 113 n. 115 n. 126 n. 135 n. 167 n. 195 n. 208 n. 252, 254, 255 n. 258. vi. 14 n. how he understood *οὐκ ἀπαργμὸν ἡγήσατο*, &c. as applied to Christ, ii. 110 n. how he explained John vi., iv. 562. his sentiments as to gospel sacrifices, 759. considered Christian sacrifices to be immaterial, v. 245. a passage of his about unbloody sacrifice explained, 252.
- Cyril of Jerusalem, i. 357 n. 371 n. 381 n. 406 n. 426 n. 443 n. 486, 488, 504 n. ii. 33 n. 43 n. 53, 55 n. 60, 63 n. 65, 97 n. 105 n. 125 n. 137 n. 147 n. 153 n. 186 n. 189, 394 n. 410, 466, 498 n. 585 n. 586 n. 630 n. 636, 672 n. 674, 675. iii. 79 n. 248 n. 253 n. 482 n. 525, 528, 534. iv. 21, 24 n. 28 n. 430 n. 436 n. 536 n. 653 n. 659 n. 660 n. 675, 680, 687 n. 688, 690, 693, 694, 758 n. 759 n. 764 n. 770 n. 772. v. 208 n. 277 n. 407. vi. 14 n. 489, 492. his declaration concerning the Trinity, ii. 121 n. his orthodoxy unquestionable, 636. always looked upon as a very moderate man, and not so vehement against the Arians as many others, iii. 90. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, *ib.* how he interpreted John vi., iv. 559. his sentiments respecting the eucharistic elements, 593. what he meant by unbloody service, v. 249. his opinion of the need and efficacy of baptism, vi. 19.
- Cyrill, a Greek, he and Methodius first planted Christianity in Servia, iii. 193. are said to have invented the Slavonian



letters, *ib.* and to have translated the scriptures into Slavonian, *ib.*  
Cyrus, iv. 296, 324. v. 18.  
Cyzicenus, ii. 495.

## D.

Dachselius, —, iv. 271.  
Daillé, (Dallaus,) John, iii. 620, 622, 633 n. 634 n. 652 n. 660 n. v. 91 n. 104 n. 143 n. 255 n. 268 n. 400, 406, 407, 410 n. 411 n. vi. 41 n. 45 n. 53 n. 54 n. 67 n. 447, 460. attacked the ancients in his treatise on *The right Use of the Fathers*, i. 95. his opinion of the use and value of the ancient fathers, iii. 619. answers to his charges of obscurity in them, 632.  
Δαιμόνιον, in the New Testament, generally signifies some evil spirit, iv. 632.  
Damascenus, John, i. 504 n. ii. 13 n. 222 n. 239, 240, 241 n. 541 n. 545 n. 571 n. 586, 614 n. iii. 206, 543 n. 577 n. 578 n. 585 n. 673 n. iv. 25, 432 n. 438 n. 545 n. 653 n. 668 n. 768 n. 769 n. v. 167 n. 189, 194 n. 198 n. 199 n. 202, 253 n. vi. 13 n. 14 n. 491, 492. surnamed Mansur, the father of the modern Greeks, and their great oracle, v. 197. his character, *ib.* observations on his erroneous opinions respecting the elements in the eucharist, 197, 204. his *Epist. ad Zachar.* probably genuine, 200. a new edition of his works published by Le Quien, iii. 115.  
Damasus, i. 549. iii. 163, 260 n. 262 n. 264 n. vi. 292.  
Damnation, held by Origen not to be eternal, iii. 244.  
Danæus, Lambert, iv. 483 n. 539 n. 564 n. 579 n. 655 n. vi. 444.  
Danhawerus, —, iii. 251 n. iv. 366 n.  
Darius, iv. 296. v. 13.  
Darkness, Magian notion of, iii. 544, 690, 691.  
Daubuz, —, iv. 157, 158 n.  
Davenant, John, bishop of Salisbury, v. 92 n. 141. vi. 497.  
David, iii. 667.  
Davidson, Thomas, printer at Edinburgh, vi. 364.  
Davies, John, president of Queen's college, Cambridge, i. 20. vi. 303.  
Dawes, sir William, archbishop of York, i. 4, 254. presented Waterland to the chancellorship of York, 237. his letter of thanks to him for his history of the Athanasian Creed, *ib.* Dr. Waterland's dedication of his Critical History of the Athanasian Creed to him, iii. 99.  
Dawson, Thomas, vi. 356.  
Day, John, printer, vi. 305, 332, 333, 359, 403, 404.  
Deacons, a disputed point among the ancients, whether they could baptize,

vi. 204. did not ordinarily do it, *ib.* looked upon as priests of the third order, *ib.*

Dealing of God with mankind, a sermon on the general rule of, v. 617.

Deceivers and deceived, the case of, considered in a sermon, v. 717.

Degrees, see *Lambeth*.

Deism, the dupe to atheism or popery, iv. 50. first or principally introduced into England by Hobbes, v. 34. notice of its rise abroad, 35. deism a more refined atheism, *ib.* motives to proselytism, 62 n. why no uniform system is adopted, 68 n.

Deity, existence of, cannot be proved *à priori* in the opinion of Clemens of Alexandria, iii. 325. and of Alexander Aphrodisiensis, 326. proof that the ancient fathers did not consider it demonstrable *à priori*, *ib.* testimonies of schoolmen and modern divines to the same effect, 329, &c. allowable, according to Richard of Middleton, to argue *à priori* from the Divine existence to attributes, or from attribute to attribute, 331. Puteanus's opinion to the same effect, 342. remarks on the concurrence of all these testimonies, 350. service of this historical view, 351. the supposed argument *à priori* shewn to be very loose and precarious, having nothing to stand upon but an abuse of equivocal terms, 352. amounts to little more than ringing changes on the word *necessity*, 353. the way of coming at it, 356. observations thereon, 357. shewn further to be manifestly absurd, 360. for the antecedent necessity cannot be a principle extrinsic, *ib.* nor the substance itself, 361. nor any attribute or property, *ib.* an examination of the several pleas or excuses for the argument *à priori*, 363. — 379. the hurtful tendency of insisting so much upon the pretended argument *à priori*, both with regard to religion and science, 380. tends rather to overturn the existence of a First Cause, 381. particularly unfavourable to the article of the Trinity, 383. metaphysical necessity imports immutable existence, proper to God only, 355. why it may be called modal necessity, *ib.* immutability of the Deity how proved, 369. notion of a Deity, probably descended by tradition to the pagans, iv. 300.

Dejected mind, a sermon on its misery, causes, and remedies, v. 549.

Delany, Dr. Patrick, his *Revelation examined with Candour*, translated into German by Lemker, vi. 452 n. 453.

Delarue, Charles, iv. 165 n.

Delaine, —, vi. 420.

Delaine, William, president of St. John's college, Oxford, i. 20 n. author of an

- excellent sermon on original sin, *ib.*  
published first singly, afterwards in a  
volume of discourses, *ib.*
- Delayne, Walter, vi. 306, 324, 361.
- Δημιουργός, or Creator, supposed by Ce-  
rinthus to be separate and estranged  
from God, ii. 40.
- Democritus, "founder of the atomical  
philosophy," iv. 377. "an atheistical  
scheme," *ib.*
- Demonstration, mischief often done by  
pretending to stricter demonstration  
than the subject-matter admits of, iii.  
371. not intended that moral or theo-  
logical matters should be governed by  
metaphysical or mathematical demon-  
strations, 374.
- Demophilus, bishop of Constantinople, an  
Arian, ii. 718.
- Demosthenes, iv. 403, 409.
- Denebert, bishop of Worcester, iii. 184.
- Derived and underved powers, observa-  
tions respecting, ii. 543, 556.
- Desaguliers, John Theophilus, iv. 410.
- Deyling, —, iv. 429 n. 435 n. 477 n. 479  
n. 490 n. 494, 496 n. 578 n. 586 n.  
597 n. 598 n. 640 n. 653 n. 686 n.  
696 n. 702 n. 705 n. 716 n. 721 n.  
727, 738 n. 740 n. 752 n. 758 n. 763 n.  
782 n. v. 130 n. 143 n. 255 n. 261 n.  
264 n. vi. 5 n. 488.
- διὰ, with a genitive after it, is frequently  
used, as well in scripture as in ecclesi-  
astical writers, to express the *efficient*  
cause, i. 382. the Arian pretence of its  
denoting inferiority when applied to  
the Son, refuted, ii. 51. notice respect-  
ing διὰ, 518, 519.
- Diagoras, story of his prosecution for  
atheism, iv. 377.
- διαθήκη signifies covenant rather than  
testament, iv. 708.
- Didymus, ii. 120 n. 121 n. 124 n. 125 n.  
133 n. 160 n. 161 n. 429. flourished  
about 370, 639. zealous for the ortho-  
dox doctrine of the Trinity. *ib.* zealous  
also for Origen, *ib.* his defence of the  
divinity of the Holy Ghost translated  
by Jerome, 640.
- Dignity, how ambiguously used by Ari-  
ans, ii. 399.
- δικαιοσύνη, its meaning in certain texts,  
vi. 4 n.
- δικαιώσις, observation respecting this  
word, vi. 4 n.
- Diodorus Siculus, iv. 192.
- Diogenes Laertius, ii. 573 n. 586 n. iv.  
412.
- Dionysius of Alexandria, i. 287, 356 n.  
358. 389 n. 499, 500. ii. 31 n. 104 n.  
137 n. 149 n. 150, 250, 372, 470, 549,  
586 n. 600, 615, 643. iii. 23, 79 n. 534,  
580, 659. iv. 784 n. explained, ii. 420.  
time of his writing, iii. 86. maintained  
that the Father was *always* Father, and  
*never* was without his Son, i. 357. and  
asserted the *eternal generation* in terms,  
*ib.* iii. 22, 24. his declaration concern-  
ing the Trinity, ii. 185. his orthodoxy  
as to the Trinity vindicated by bishop  
Bull, 638. a great admirer of Origen,  
*ib.* did not believe that the Father is  
*naturally* governor over the Son, iii.  
86. suspected in his writings against  
the Sabellians to lean too far the other  
way, 598. declares it to be uninten-  
tional, 599. anecdote of his sending the  
eucharist to Serapion at the point of  
death, iv. 652.
- Dionysius Exiguus, iv. 684 n. 787.
- Dionysius, bishop of Milan, iii. 175.
- Dionysius, Periegetes, iv. 407.
- Dionysius, bishop of Rome, i. 389 n. 485.  
ii. 149 n. 150, 223, 586 n. 600, 618,  
637, 638, 643, 702. iii. 36 n. 598.  
time of his writing, ii. 468. his decla-  
ration of the eternity of the Son, i.  
357. his sense as to tritheism, 470 n.  
his sentiments respecting the Trinity,  
ii. 184. only a small fragment of him  
preserved by Athanasius, 468. of ad-  
mirable use to prove the Trinity, *ib.*  
the four hypotheses intimated therein,  
*ib.* all condemned but the true one, *ib.*  
the Unity, how solved by him, 469.  
his explanation of Prov. viii. 22., 634.  
probably believed the eternal genera-  
tion of the Son, iii. 22. in what sense  
he uses the word *μωαρχία*, 76. did not  
believe that the Father is *naturally*  
governor over the Son, 86. his tes-  
timony respecting Christ's divinity,  
598.
- Dionysius, *episcopus Zienensis et Firmi-  
ensis*, iii. 177 n.
- Disney, Dr., i. 3, 48. 50, 64, 67, 146.
- Dissenters, Dr. Clarke's Arian opinion  
took deep root among several commu-  
nities, i. 101 n.
- Ditheism chargeable on modern Arians,  
ii. 527, 528, 529, 531, 532, 533.
- Ditton, Humphrey, iii. 501 n. v. 44 n.  
51 n. vi. 467. when he flourished, iii.  
350. a very good writer and close rea-  
soner, *ib.* wrote on the resurrection of  
Christ, 350 n.
- Divine attributes and powers attributed  
by Dr. Clarke to the Son in an equi-  
vocating sense, i. 376.
- Divine nature, abstracted from the consi-  
deration of the distinction of Persons,  
definition of, i. 494.
- Divinitas, meaning of, in Tertullian, i.  
324.
- Divinity, how absurdly ascribed to Christ  
by the Arians, i. 273, 274.
- Docetæ or Phantasiastæ, iii. 549, 550,  
584. v. 97. denied the humanity of  
Christ, ii. 159. iii. 401. St. John's  
censures of them, iii. 401, 402.

- followers of Simon Magus, 548. their error, *ib.*
- Dodd, William, i. 233.
- Dodwell, Henry, iii. 180, 181 n. 550 n. 568 n. 569 n. 580 n. 607 n. 614 n. 615 n. 617 n. 648 n. 650 n. 658 n. 684 n. 692. iv. 415, 509 n. 684 n. 685 n. 702 n. 704 n. 706 n. 722 n. 732, 741 n. 750, 764 n. v. 124 n. 243 n. 245 n. 250 n. 262 n. 264 n. 268 n. vi. 67 n. 111 n. 151 n. 152, 164, 166, 167, 203, 204, 474. his opinion respecting persons who die unbaptized, 107.
- Doing good, a sermon on the duty of, v. 299.
- Dolensis, Alexander, vi. 269.
- Dominion, the scripture notion of the word God, according to Dr. Clarke, i. 303, 492. disproved, 303. the true scripture notion of the word, 305, 306. a relative term, ii. 518. how it appertains to each Person in the Trinity, 734. why God could not be God merely in the sense of dominion, iii. 58.
- Dominion, supremacy of, why voluntary, and an extrinsic relation, iii. 11. how far it may be called natural and necessary, 12.
- Domnulus, iii. 216 n.
- Donatists, vi. 192, 193, 196. upon what they founded the validity of baptism, 193. St. Austin maintained against them that heresy did not vacate orders, 171, 194.
- Donatus, Aelius, vi. 268, 269, 270, 302. preceptor in grammar to St. Jerome, 269.
- Donatus, how it became a general name for a grammar, vi. 268.
- Dorrington, Miss, i. 252 n.
- Dorrington, Theophilus, translated Puffendorf's *Divine feudal Law*, iv. 638 n. his explanation of 1 Cor. x. 16. relating to the eucharist, 638.
- Douza, George, iii. 190 n.
- Douza, John, iii. 190 n.
- Dow, —, v. 269 n.
- Doway version of the Old Testament, date of, vi. 364, 402.
- Downing, —, iii. 413 n.
- Doxology in the singing psalms, attempted to be altered by the Arian party, i. 50. the alteration opposed by bishop Robinson, *ib.*
- Doxologies of the ancients, how to be understood, i. 426. catholic forms of doxologies how distinguishable from Arian, ii. 233.
- Doxologies, primitive, a seasonable Review of Mr. Whiston's Account of, and A second Review in answer to Mr. Whiston's second Letter*, were supposed to be written by Dr. W. Berri-man, i. 50 n.
- Drusius, John, iv. 367 n.
- Dubigny, —, vi. 385.
- Dublin College library, v. 243, 397.
- Ducarel, Andrew Coltee, vi. 352 n.
- Dudithius, an Anti-Trinitarian, iii. 112.
- dyvdyeis*, in what sense applied to the Trinity by the ancients, i. 285, 286.
- dyvdyus dyvdyrov*, a name of the Logos in the opinion of many of the ancients, iv. 25.
- Dunlop, William, v. 102 n.
- Dupin, see *du Pin*.
- Duplesis, —, v. 162 n.
- Durell, John, iii. 164.
- Durants, or Durandus, William, iii. 335. the elder, bishop of Menda, 130. notice and correction of his testimony as to the Athanasian Creed, *ib.*
- Duties do not flow from the relations, but from the *known* relations, iv. 143. distinction between duties and sacraments, 624. see *Moral duties*.

## E.

- E. H., iii. 597 n. 601 n.
- Earth, creation of, a proof of Christ's divinity, ii. 69.
- Easter-Sunday, the different time of keeping, in the year 577, vi. 440. which rule now followed in England, *ib.*
- Ebion, ii. 728. iii. 540, 541, 547, 548, 554, 577, 582, 586, 590, 606 n. for what condemned by the ancients, ii. 728. St. John wrote his First Epistle against him, iii. 547. the disciple of Cerinthus, 554. probable that there really was such a person, 555.
- Ebionites, iii. 577, 589. believed Christ to be a mere man, ii. 132, 159. the chief impiety of their heresy, 727. whether founded by Ebion, iii. 555. their errors respecting Christ, *ib.* censures of the Ante-Nicene fathers in order, against them, 556—575. received only St. Matthew's Gospel, and that curtailed, and rejected all St. Paul's writings, 561. why, 568. what difference of doctrine caused two sects among them, 574. the Alogi a branch of them, 579.
- Ecclesiastical antiquity, see *Fathers*.
- Echard, Laurence, iv. 402, 406.
- Economy of the divine nature, ii. 516.
- Edgar, king, iii. 158.
- Education, religious, a sermon upon. v. 370.
- Edward VI, vi. 324, 346, 353, 354, 356, 378, 381, 386, 387, 389.
- Edwards, John, ii. 722 n. iii. 230 n. iv. 448 n. notice of his *Brief critical Remarks* on Dr. Clarke's reply to Mr. Nelson and Dr. Gastrell, i. 39.
- Egyptians, v. 17. see *Circumcision*.
- Einem, Jo. Just. von, iv. 668 n.
- eis* often put for *ev*, iii. 55.

- Ἐκρίσε**, what its signification may be in Prov. viii. 22. ii. 634, 636, 642.  
**El**, in Hebrew, as Jerome observes, is for the most part the proper title of the one true God, ii. 136.  
**Elderfield**, —, iv. 429 n.  
**Eliberis**, see *Elvira*.  
**Eligius Noviomensis**, v. 285 n.  
**Elipandus**, council of Frankfort called against the heresy of Felix and him, iii. 121.  
**Elizabeth**, queen, iii. 230 n. vi. 324, 337, 340.  
**Elsner, James**, iii. 458 n. iv. 632, 698 n.  
**Elvira**, or *Eliberis*, council of, iv. 474, 785. vi. 112, 203. when held, 118, 176. by how many bishops, *ib.* observations on its decision touching lay-baptism, 176.  
**Emanation**, see *Generation*.  
**Emanuel**, or *God with us*, a divine title given to Christ in scripture, ii. 127.  
**Emanuel college library**, Cambridge, vi. 265, 395, 308, 310, 330, 344, 350, 353, 361, 364, 373, 394, 400, 401, 402, 404. has a MS. of Wickliff's Bible, iii. 144.  
**Emlyn, Thomas**, i. 35, 59, 63, 102, 119, 256, 383, 516 n. ii. 10, 163 n. 188 n. 625, 759. iii. 282, 291 n. 298 n. 299 n. iv. 5 n. vi. 412. cast of his writings, i. 120. his remark that the scriptures require no accurate philosophical notions of God's eternity, omnipresence, &c., 469. his reason why the pagan philosophers did not believe Christianity, confuted, 462. was for laying baptism aside among the posterity of baptized Christians, ii. 188 n.  
**Emperour, Marten**, vi. 307, 308, 323, 394, 396, 403.  
**Emphatical appellations**, how to be interpreted, ii. 19, 26.  
**Eucratite**, the, a sect, why so called, v. 111. why called also *Aquarians*, *ib.*  
**Endhoven, Christophall**, his widow printed Tindal's New Testament, 1535., vi. 396.  
**Endor**, see *Samuel*.  
**Enemy**, see *Charity*.  
**English language**, what languages an English etymologist ought to know, vi. 433.  
**Enjedine**, —, iii. 663.  
**Enthusiasm**, dangerous tendency of, iv. 422. its meaning, v. 51. shewn to belong more to infidels than to Christians, *ib.*  
**Ephesius, Marcus**, iii. 196 n.  
**Ephesus**, church of, St. John its founder, vi. 272.  
**Ephesus**, council of, vi. 464. its order respecting the Nicene Creed explained, iii. 249.  
**Ephræm. Antioch.** iv. 599 n.  
**Ephræm Syrus**, iv. 653. v. 208 n. 249 n. a passage of him explained, 258 n.  
**Epictetus**, iv. 413. v. 16 n.  
**Epicureans**, object and peculiarity of their tenets, iv. 285.  
**Epicurus**, v. 37, 38, 42, 46, 48, 66.  
**Ἐπιφάνεια**, *the appearing*, always, in the New Testament, ascribed to the Son alone, ii. 134. *ἐπιφάνεια τῆς δοξῆς* may properly signify *glorious appearance*, 135.  
**Epiphanius**, i. 324 n. 348 n. 355 n. 393 n. 404 n. 415, 453 n. 468, 485 n. 488, 538 n. ii. 13 n. 33 n. 34 n. 40 n. 43 n. 44 n. 49 n. 62 n. 135, 141 n. 147 n. 159 n. 187 n. 372, 373-387 n. 413, 463, 466, 495, 498 n. 540 n. 563, 589, 601, 641, 668 n. 688, 718 n. 719 n. iii. 23, 69, 79 n. 199, 202, 225 n. 438, 538, 539, 541, 543 n. 544 n. 550 n. 555, 556 n. 568 n. 572 n. 577 n. 578, 579 n. 580 n. 585 n. 590 n. 673 n. 681 n. 691. iv. 678. v. 111 n. 112 n. 167 n. 207 n. 271 n. vi. 114, 464, 470, 471. vindicated, ii. 428, 429. his declaration that Christ is God of God, i. 545 n. laid severe charges against Origen, ii. 640. his declaration respecting the *incarnation*, iii. 207. his works published by Petavius, 109.  
**Epipodius**, ii. 476 n.  
**Episcopal succession necessary to the indefectibility of the church**, vi. 85.  
**Episcopius, Simon**, i. 29, 87, 92. iii. 412 n. 452, 454 n. 524, 525, 561, 684. iv. 80, 411. vi. 484. the founder of the Remonstrants, who believed the doctrine of the Trinity, but denied the importance of it, iii. 397, 440. object of this view, 397. censures of this opinion, 398 n. his sentiments as to the doctrine of the Trinity, 440. chiefly hesitated about the anathema upon impugners, 441. shewn not to have dealt fairly and uprightly in the matter, 442. his rule for determining *necessaries* shewn to be fallacious, 445. denied the necessity of believing the divine prescience as to future contingents, 448. not much acquainted with the fathers, 454. answered by bishop Bull, 523. Limborch his kinsman and follower, 450.  
**Epistles of the New Testament**, objections against those who would set them aside as of no weight in deciding fundamentals, iv. 18.  
**Equality of Christ with the Father**, ii. 102.  
**Equality of nature**, what, ii. 512. consistent with supremacy of order or of office, 513.  
**Equality of supreme authority**, acknowledged by the ancients, ii. 417.  
**Erasmus**, ii. 138 n. iii. 312. vi. 307, 323, 344, 351, 403. smelt out that the Apostles' Creed was not composed by

- them, iv. 19. age of his saintship, vi. 303. notice of his Paraphrase in English on the New Testament, 381, 385.
- Errors in the church have mostly arisen from abuse of words, iv. 446.
- Esdras, iv. 496.
- Espeuceus, Claudius, vi. 23 n.
- Essence of God, whether above comprehension or no; the controversy between the catholics and Arians, managed upon the foot of mere reason, terminates at length in that single question, i. 453.
- Dr. Whitly's cavils respecting communication of essence answered, ii. 208.
- Essence of essence, always catholic doctrine, iii. 453.
- Established religion, arguments in favour of enforcing the law in its defence against infidel writers, iv. 374—392.
- Estius, William, iii. 349. iv. 484, 540 n. 541. vi. 23 n. when he flourished, iii. 341. his opinion that the Divine existence is not demonstrable *à priori*, ib.
- Estrange, Hamon P, iii. 151. v. 138. his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, iii. 110, 117.
- Eternal duration, a consequence of infinity of power, ii. 567.
- Eternal generation, what is implied by it in the ancient fathers, iii. 25.
- Eternity, idea of, not the same with that of necessity or self-existence, i. 344. its true idea, 345. ii. 300, 562. iii. 384. how proved to differ from that of necessary existence, i. 345. which however it may imply, *ib.*
- Eternity of the Son described in scripture in the same phrases as that of the Father, i. 340. ii. 146, 562. and therefore the scripture proof of the eternity of the Father given up by the Arians to avoid the Son's, i. 341. whether the Son's eternity be necessary to his office and character, 342. if *eternal*, then is he *necessarily existing*, 346.
- Ethiopian church has not even the Apostles' Creed, from its ignorance of Latin forms, iii. 190.
- Eucharist, why called a sacrifice according to bishop Burnet, iv. 41. the worthy receiving it an exercise of obedience, of faith, of worship, and of repentance, 45. called by the ancients the τὸ τέλειον, 87. of the two extremes of superstition and profaneness, it is safer to lean towards the former with respect to this sacrament, 466, 467. the natural temptation to diminish its importance, 467. it is disparaged by being considered merely as a positive duty instead of a religious rite, 468. the duty on our part in the sacrament is supposed to comprehend all duty, 470. of the most noted names under which the communion has been anciently spoken of in chronological order, 472. *breaking of bread*, *ib.* *communion*, 473. why so called, 474. *the Lord's supper*, *ib.* the love-feast and the eucharist, though distinct, were celebrated together, *ib.* so that anciently Lord's supper rather denoted the supper previous to the eucharist, 476. *oblation*, *ib.* for the two first centuries the phrase was oblation of gifts, or first fruits, or of bread, wine, or the like, 479. how understood, *ib.* then it became the offering Christ's body and blood, *ib.* how understood, *ib.* *sacrament*, 480. Socinians reject its invisible grace, 483. Romanists destroy its visible sign, *ib.* of consequence therefore to preserve the word *sacrament*, and to assert to it its true and full sense, *ib.* *eucharist*, 484. its real meaning, *ib.* proof of this title prevailing more than any other, *ib.* *sacrifice*, *ib.* how understood, 485. *commemoration*, *memorial*, 486. *oblation*, *sacrifice*, and *memorial*, as applied to the eucharist, in one particular point of view, are equivalent terms, 487. *passover*, 488. *mass*, 490. St. Ambrose the first who used *mass* in this sense, *ib.* of the institution of the communion, *ib.* three opinions as to our Lord's keeping the Jewish passover at the time he instituted the eucharist, 492. resembling circumstances between the passover and it, as to the things themselves, 494. as to the forms and phrases applied to both, 495. of the commemoration or remembrance of Christ in the communion, 498. the three renderings of εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, 499. in remembrance of me, *ib.* in commemoration of me, 505. for a memorial of me, or for my memorial, 509. of the commemoration of the death of our Lord made in the communion, 512. the objection answered, that the notion of remembrance or commemoration in this service is an argument against present receiving of benefits in, or by it, 519. this word remembrance does not supply arguments against transubstantiation, 520. of the consecration of the elements of bread and wine, 522. whether they are really blessed, consecrated, sanctified, and in what sense, *ib.* supposing they are blessed, &c. by whom or how they are so, 525. what the blessing or consecration amounts to, 527. the power of Christ and the Holy Spirit the efficient cause of consecration, 529. prayers, thanksgivings, benedictions, the conditional or instrumental cause, 531. the words of our Lord declarative of what then was, promissory of what should be always, 533. John vi. though applied by the earlier fathers to the eucharist,

yet not interpreted directly of it by them, 535—562, 565. from the beginning of the fifth century it began to be so interpreted, 563. and gave rise to infant communion, *ib.* and *adv.* concerning sacramental, or symbolical feeding in the eucharist, 570. consideration of the meaning of, *This is my body*, and *This is my blood*, 573. sentiments of the ancients on this head, 580—598. and of some moderns, 599—607. objections answered, 608. St. Paul's doctrine concerning the eucharist, 1 Cor. x. explained, 610. objections answered, 626. the Socinian scheme, 617. the spiritual privileges of the eucharist, 625. Lutherans and Calvinists differ more in words than in ideas as to the eucharist, 638. remission of sins conferred in the eucharist, 641. proved from scripture, 648. corroborated by the ancients, 651. taught by the reformers, 654. the judgment of the English church, 655. objections answered, 657. difference of the remission in baptism and in the eucharist, 659. of the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit conferred in the eucharist, 666. testimonies of the fathers to the point, 674. what the ancients taught concerning the descent or illapse of the Holy Spirit upon the symbols or upon the communicants, 675. commencement of the practice of invocation for the Holy Spirit in the eucharist, 686. some forms, 688. some general remarks upon these forms, 689. of the federal nature of the eucharist, 701, 707. Cudworth's opinion of the eucharist being a feast upon a sacrifice, and so of consequence a federal feast, defended, 712. its service considered in a sacrificial view, 725. sense of the fathers, 732. three corollaries, that this sacrificial view squares with the federal view—how Christians are priests unto God—the mischief of the Socinian view, 763, 764. of the preparation proper for the communion, 764. baptism, 765. a competent knowledge of what the communion means, 766. a sound and right faith, *ib.* repentance, 767. points insisted on by the ancients, 770. restitution, or reparation of wrongs, *ib.* forgiveness of offences, 774. a due regard to church unity and the public peace, 777. mercy and charity, *ib.* treatises of weekly preparations defended, 778. observations on the ancient practice of receiving fasting, 779. of the obligation to frequent communion, 780. practice in the first century, 782. in the second, 783. in the third, 784. proof of frequency in those centuries, *ib.* in the fourth, 785. proof of remissness, *ib.* notice respecting the communion

hymns, 781 n. in the fifth century, 795. in the sixth, 797. [the council of Agde first required the laity to receive the communion thrice a year at least, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, *ib.*] in the seventh century, 798. in the eighth, *ib.* its sacramental and sacrificial parts, v. 123. [see *Sacrifice*,] a summary view of the several oblations in the eucharist previous to the consecration, and subsequent, 182. of the ante-oblation, *ib.* of the post-oblation, otherwise called commemoration, 183. why the eucharist is particularly called a sacrifice, 184. the sacramental part of the eucharist explained, 187. the ancient notion of the eucharist explained by a passage from Macarius, 193. observations on Anastasius's confused notion respecting the elements, 194. who was among the first who threw off the distinctions between the symbolical and true body, 197. and on Damascen's, *ib.* the opinion of the council of Constantinople respecting the eucharistic elements, 201. and of the council of Nice, 202. statement of the Caroline books respecting them, 203. notice of the five ways that were taken to make it appear, that the elements once consecrated are no signs, but the very body and blood of Christ, 204. observations on the supposed ancient authorities to prove that the Holy Ghost made the elements the body and blood of Christ, 207. notice of various errors that sprung up respecting them, *ib.* difference of protestants at the reformation on the same subject, 208. a right view taken by the English reformers, 209. notice of bishop Poynet's principles on this point, 210. and of Harchius's, 212. and of Beza's confutation of it, 218. what the Romanists have commonly maintained since the Trent council, 225. a recapitulation, 227. the eucharist emphatically the sacrifice of the church, 282. what is meant by terming the eucharist a commemorative sacrifice, 292. Jewel's statement of the different opinions touching the work of the Holy Ghost upon the elements, vi. 489. disputed in the eleventh century, whether the consecrated elements were corruptible, 490, 491. see *Infant Communion*, *Sacraments*, and *Sacrifice*.

εὐχαριστέω, its sense, iv. 524.

Euclid, iv. 407.

Eudoxius, bp. of Constantinople, an Arian, ii. 372, 717.

Eugenius, ii. 429, 543 n.

εὐλογεῖν, its sense, iv. 524.

Eulogius, ii. 173 n. iv. 487 n.

Eunomians, their fundamental error,

- ii. 699. never scrupled to call Christ Creator, 731. denied the incomprehensibility of God's essence, iii. 37. altered the form of baptism, as supporting the divinity of Christ, v. 112.
- Eunomius, i. 404. ii. 58 n. 187, 395, 401, 402, 504, 606, 646, 719 n. 751, 755. iii. 89, 91, 438, 670 n. 682. iv. 35. the shrewdest and sharpest Arian of his age, ii. 373. encountered by Gregory Nysseus, *ib.*
- Euphronius, bishop of Autun, iii. 136.
- Euphronius, bishop of Tours, iii. 136.
- Euphronius, presbyter, iii. 136.
- Euplus, ii. 476 n.
- Euripides, iv. 411, 412. v. 57.
- Eusebius, i. 291 n.—294 n. 297, 314, 324 n. 349 n. 352, 367 n. 390 n. 453 n. 469, 472, 510 n. 511 n. 513, 524, 530 n. 538 n. 546, 547. ii. 33 n. 43 n. 60, 62 n. 63 n. 97 n. 105 n. 110, 111 n. 128 n. 129, 137, 142 n. 143, 147 n. 156 n. 219, 220, 223, 230, 234, 327, 370, 371, 378, 406, 407, 410, 417, 427, 446 n. 452, 478, 496, 497, 504, 509, 549, 553, 562, 563, 568, 573, 574, 611 n. 614 n. 618, 630, 632, 635, 675, 679, 681, 683, 684, 687, 688, 691, 700, 724, 740, 748 n. 755. iii. 21, 22, 79, 89, 469 n. 483 n. 484 n. 556 n. 577, 579 n. 581, 582 n. 584 n. 586 n. 608 n. 659 n. iv. 37, 228 n. 229 n. 306 n. 320 n. 332 n. 339 n. 487, 501 n. 536 n. 652, 653 n. 660 n. 691, 753 n. 765 n. 772. v. 5 n. 7 n. 22 n. 124 n. 126 n. 131 n. 135 n. 156 n. 167 n. 175 n. 233 n. 244, 254, 255 n. 261, 273, 275, 278 n. 289 n. 290 n. vi. 97, 471, 492. explained, iii. 77. time of his writing, ii. 475. had a tincture of Arianism, *ib.* especially before the council of Nice, *ib.* his testimony notwithstanding as to the Father and Son being one God, *ib.* 476. a passage of his against the Sabellians vindicated, i. 285. acknowledged one God in three Persons, 287. an apology for his bold and free expressions, thought by some favourable to the Arians, 324. his famed piece against Marcellus relates to the Sabellian controversy, 339. how he understood *κατὰ ὁμοίαν*, as applied to the Son, 349 n. his opinion as to the Creation, 381. styled Christ great Architect of the universe, 383, 384. considered that the Son was worshipped by Abraham, Moses, &c. and the Jewish church, 432. a passage of his explained, 547. *ὡς* a favourer of the Arians, (of the *men* at least, if not of their *cause*;) yet everywhere says many high and great things of the Son's creating and governing the whole universe, ii. 81. a passage to this effect, *ib.* if he was an Arian, he was the most inconsistent one that ever was, *ib.* of little authority in any controversy, 216. why difficult to know what judgment to make of him, 410. bishop Bull, though a defender of him, yet makes no account of what he wrote before the Nicene council, 417. diversity of opinion respecting his Arianism, 495. authors who have charged him with it, *ib.* those who have defended, or at least excused him, *ib.* a few strictures upon him, *ib.* objections answered or explained, *ib.* differed, perhaps, in the manner of expressing the Unity, still believing the essential divinity of the Son, 499. would not be difficult to acquit him of the charge of Arianism, at least after the Nicene council, 500. instances to that effect, *ib.* denied the Son to be *ἐκ τοῦ μη ὄντος*, 500, 501. in what sense only he probably denied him to be *ἄδιος*, 501. instances from his Commentary on the Psalms in favour of Christ's divinity, 502, 503. had a confused mixture of catholic and Arian tenets, such as could not stand with each other in true reasoning, 504. his charge against Marcellus, 522, 523. a great admirer of Origen, 549. no reconciling him perfectly with himself at different times, 600. Montfaucon's censure of him, as commonly wresting scripture, and the church's doctrine to his own private fancies, perhaps too severe, 614. his *Demonstratio Evangelica* of no consideration, 631. his interpretation of Prov. viii. 22., 635, 642. apologized for Origen, against the charges of Methodius, 638. orthodox himself at that time, 639. how he understood John vi., iv. 555. his statements respecting gospel sacrifices, 755. what he meant by unbloody sacrifices, v. 248. his explanation of the Aaronical and Melchizedekian sacrifices, 270. a passage of his explained touching a memorial being a sacrifice, 291. maintained that pagan writers borrowed from the scriptures, 12.
- Eusebius Emisenus, see *Faustus Reicensis*.
- Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, one of the chief promoters of the Arian cause, ii. 369 n. 371, 632. bishop of Constantinople, 717. quoted as evidence of the meaning of *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας*, 392 n.
- Eusebius, bishop of Verceil, iii. 175, 219. considered by Baldensal as coadjutor to Athanasius in composing the Athanasian Creed, 131. probably for what reason, *ib.* a great friend of Athanasius, 176.
- Eustathius, ii. 376, 585 n. 649, 723 n.
- Euthymius, v. 165 n. 167 n.
- Eutropius, iv. 413.
- Eutyches, i. 446. iii. 115, 201, 204, 209.

- 211, 411. maintained that two *natures* could not make one *person* in Christ, i. 481.
- Eutychians, iii. 203, 204, 254. charged with reviving the Apollinarian heresy, 206. why called Aphthartodocetæ, v. 194. and Gaianites, *ib.* Christ's manhood and godhead proved from the eucharist not to make one nature, against them, 115.
- Eutychianus, vi. 126, 210.
- Eutychius of Alexandria, vi. 247. his derivation of Pontius, 241 n.
- Evander, v. 57.
- Èveleigh, Josiah, i. 100 n. iii. 398.
- ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, the true signification of the phrase, ii. 500.
- Exaltation of Christ by the Father, Phil. ii. 9. what it means, ii. 112—117.
- Exclusive* terms, not to be interpreted with the utmost rigour, as may be proved by many instances in sacred and profane writings, ii. 91. little stress laid on these terms by the fathers, 97 n. may admit of *tacit* exceptions, 405, 424. instances, *ib.* rule for their interpretation, 424. how to be understood, 527. how used by the ancients, 665.
- Excommunication, observations respecting the nature of this punishment, iii. 460. delivering over to Satan an old form, 459, 684.
- Exeter, relation of some differences among the dissenting teachers there respecting Arianism, i. 99, 100. unitarians now abound there, 101 n.
- Exeter, synod of, iii. 130.
- Exoucontii, a set of Arians, i. 404.
- Expiation, resolves solely into the sacrifice of Christ, v. 148.
- Extension necessarily includes parts, ii. 620.
- F.
- Faber, George Stanley, i. 251 n.
- Fabian, pope, ii. 437, 589, 638. vi. 270.
- Fable, what, iv. 156.
- Fabricius, John Albert, i. 83, 331, 352 n. 365 n. 366 n. ii. 179 n. 378, 439 n. 463, 464, 495, 612 n. 632 n. iii. 87 n. 110, 121, 127 n. 176 n. 178, 325 n. 530 n. 555 n. 568 n. 639 n. 682 n. iv. 195 n. 205 n. 286 n. 300 n. 429 n. 653 n. 656 n. 683 n. 684 n. 689, 690 n. 696 n. 698 n. v. 5 n. 6 n. 15 n. 57 n. 114 n. 194 n. 195 n. 197 n. 200 n. 251 n. vi. 239, 273, 423, 429, 430, 433, 470, 473. his judgment of Whiston's attempt to substitute the larger for the smaller epistles of Ignatius, ii. 590 n. and also of his attempt about the Apostolical Constitutions, ii. 591 n. his *Bibliotheca Græca* highly valued by all men of letters, iii. 115. his opinion respect-
- ing the Athanasian Creed, *ib.* 117. encomium of him, vi. 434.
- Facundus Hermianensis, ii. 710. iv. 599 n. v. 278 n.
- Faith, Norris's explanation of, iii. 435. the will shewn to be concerned in it, 436. its twofold meaning, vi. 8 n. the instrument of reception of justification on man's part, 23, 26, 27 n. how faith as a condition differs from faith as the instrument of justification, vi. 29.
- Falkner, —, iv. 801 n.
- Fall of man, reasons against considering it fictitious, iv. 161.
- False prophets, observations respecting, iv. 310.
- Father, the first Person in the Trinity, styled the only true God, *primarily*, not *exclusively*, i. 279. a priority in order ascribed to him, 281. the term *ὁ Θεὸς* generally reserved to him, and why, 315. a *priority of nature*, not of *time* or *duration*, ascribed by all catholics to him over the Son, 356. how the Father and the Son are both considered as one Creator, ii. 21, 61, 518. why the titles *one* or *only* God, are mostly applied to him, 447. iii. 301. and why he *primarily* is considered as God, ii. 98. all perfections common to Father and Son, only not *coordinately*, 393. what supremacy he possesses over the Son, 400. headship or priority of order in him, always supposed by the ancients, 417. the Son and Holy Ghost are God in the same sense, but not in the same emphatical manner as the Father, 425. and he is therefore most frequently termed *God*, *ib.* the Father, as he that sends, greater than the Son, the Person sent, 426. the ancients, sometimes considered the Father the *Head* of both the other Persons, 430. Father used by certain of the ancients sometimes in a restrained sense, sometimes in a larger, 431. term of *Father* denotes a relation of order, and a particular manner of existing, 510, 511. not any difference in any essential perfection, 511. self-existence, as peculiar to him, is negative and relative, 545. scarce any proof of his eternity left by the Arians in eluding the proof of the Son's eternity, 565. why he was never said by the ancients to exist by necessity of nature, 570. this title applied to the first Person in the Trinity implied the divinity of the Son according to the ancients, iii. 533, 534, 535. its meaning in the Apostles' Creed, iv. 21.
- Fathers, applied various passages in the Old Testament relating to the God of the Jews to Christ, i. 291. how they reasoned on them, 297. the Arian method of explaining them away re-



futed, 295. the strict sense in which the ancients applied the word God to the Son, 299. according to the ancients, the Son was *God*, and so called in *his own person*, 302. also, that he was *God in his own person*, as being *God's Son*, *ib.* and that he was *God's Son*, as having the divine substance communicated from the Father, *ib.* the Ante-Nicene writers sparing in speaking of the *eternal generation*, that is, sparing as to the phrase, not as to the thing itself, 353. disown creature-worship, 418. several positions of theirs adverse to Arianism, 503. how perverted by Dr. Clarke, 521. of what authority in controversies, 538, 539, 541. the advantage of a cause supported by them, 540. if some of the Ante-Nicene fathers supposed the *generation*, or *προέλευσις*, of the Son to be properly *voluntary*, yet all of them supposed his *existence* to be *necessary*, ii. 14 n. for though these terms be not found in their writings, yet the thing will, 13. their interpretation of the beginning of St. John's Gospel asserted and maintained, 36. their doctrine, how the Trinity was concerned in the creation, 66, 76, 80. the only security against a plurality of Gods, or against Sabellianism, 83. they considered creation to be an indisputable mark of a divine immutable nature, 77. they considered the Trinity to be intimated in the Old Testament, 64. their arguments from some texts barely probable, 65. they followed the same style as the scriptures in using the titles *one*, or *only God*, 96. sometimes expressed themselves improperly and incautiously respecting the Trinity, according to Dr. Cave, 227. why their testimony is not to be disregarded in the Arian controversy, 380. have constantly denied the charge of tritheism, 434. considered the texts relating to the Unity as excluding idols, not the Son, *ib.* constantly denied *another God*, 436, 437, 438. and taught that Father and Son were one or the same God, 438, 439. applied such texts of the Old Testament as belong to the one God supreme, to God the Son, 478. this point vindicated, 479. assigned to the three Persons of the Godhead their several parts in the creation, 629, 630. not to be *too* rigorously interpreted, 629. what they meant by worship, 665, 666. made no distinction of supreme and inferior worship, 668. in what sense they used the expression *one God*, *ib.* proofs of this point, *ib.* their doctrine of the Trinity, 699, 700, 709. how far their testimonies are to

be admitted as proofs, 737. their opinion of the supremacy of the Father, 752, 753, 756. iii. 10. there may be some difficulty in their way of reconciling the supremacy of the Father with the equality of the Son, 11. many, or most of the Ante-Nicene fathers were in the hypothesis of the temporal generation of the Son, 22. though the difference between those who held the temporal, and those who held the eternal generation was verbal only, *ib.* what they implied by eternal generation, 25. what they thought of the reference of the Son to the Father as Head, 26, 40. use and value of ecclesiastical antiquity with respect to controversies of faith, iii. 601, 664, 665. objections answered, 624. answers to Daille's charges of obscurity in the fathers, 632. observations on the charges of errors against them, 634. vindicated from Barbeyrac's attack upon their morality, 635. at least those of the first three centuries, 642. Grotius had a great esteem for them, 643. observations on his censures on their scripture criticism, 648. their differing in matters of discipline adds to the weight of their unanimity in points of doctrine, 651. the church of England's regard for them, 653. iv. 49. a proof that the testimony of the fathers is generally considered of value, iii. 655. J. Clarke's defence of them, v. 401. had an idea that the resurrection of the body was secured by the application of water in baptism, vi. 14. necessary to distinguish between their own private judgment, and their testimony of the doctrine of the church, 162.

Faust, John, vi. 269.

Faustinus, i. 415. ii. 429, 712 n. iii. 200, 223, 234. a severe and rigid Homoousian, of the Eustathian party, and Luciferian sect, ii. 636. his interpretation of Prov. viii. 22., *ib.*

Faustus, the Manichee, iv. 448 n.

Faustus Reiensis, supposed to be the author that goes under the name of Eusebius Emisenus, vi. 60. when he flourished, *ib.*

Fayus, —, v. 43 n. 51 n. 57 n. 64 n.

Felckman, —, iii. 173, 177, 233 n.

Felden, Joannes à, wrote against Grotius's Treatise of Morality, iii. 646 n.

Felicianus, John Bernardine, iii. 238 n. vi. 193.

Felinus, a feigned name of Bucer, vi. 384.

Felix, the council of Frankfort called against the heresy of Elipandus and him, iii. 121.

Felix III, pope, iii. 202.

Felix Orgelitanus, wrote against by Agobardus, archbishop of Lyons, iii. 123.

- Fell, John, bishop of Oxford, ii. 190 n. iv. 587.
- Fellerus, Joachim, compiler of the catalogue of the Leipsic library, iii. 141.
- Felton, Henry, principal of Edmund-hall, Oxford, i. 241, 254. vi. 262, 263, 260. encomium on him, vi. 260.
- Fenelon, Francis, de Salignac de la Motte, archbishop of Cambrai, iv. 409, 410.
- Ferrandus, v. 165 n. vi. 61.
- Ferus, Joannes, a learned and moderate Romanist, v. 235 n. time of his death, *ib.* his notion of Christian sacrifices, *ib.*
- Fiddes, Dr. Richard, i. 280, 287, 299, 315 n. 369 n. 504. iii. 435 n. iv. 415, what assistance Waterland gave to his *Body of Divinity*, i. 243.
- Fides Catholica*, a peculiar title of the Athanasian Creed among the ancients, iii. 121.
- Fidus, an African bishop, v. 407.
- Field, Richard, dean of Gloucester, v. 129 n. 146 n. 156, 168 n. 223 n. 276, 286 n. 293 n. vi. 5 n. 22 n. 27 n. time of his completing his book of the church, and of his death, v. 136. considered the eucharist a true sacrifice, *ib.*
- Filiation, (eternal,) what was meant by it, ii. 592.
- Finkius, —, iv. 366 n.
- Fire, eternal, considered by Origen not to be eternal nor real, iii. 244.
- Firmilian, iii. 526. vi. 115, 116, 171, 175, 479.
- Firmin, Thomas, i. 29, 33, 35, 119.
- First and Last*, a divine title given to Christ in scripture, ii. 143.
- First-born of every creature*, Coloss. i. 15. in what sense the Son so called, ii. 57.
- First Cause, cannot be proved *à priori*, iii. 61, 62, 63. see *Deity*.
- Fisher, John, bishop of Rochester, iii. 233 n. v. 288 n. vi. 378.
- Fisher, John, a Jesuit, ii. 377.
- Fitness of things, antecedent to divine law, absurd, iv. 111.
- Fitz-Herrey, Robert, vi. 351.
- Fixed stars, perhaps suns, with their planets about them, ii. 71.
- Flavian, of Constantinople, ii. 678. iii. 202, 210.
- Fleetwood, —, iv. 415.
- Florentinus, ii. 495.
- Florus, iv. 413.
- Fogg, dean, iv. 569 n. vi. 5 n.
- Fogny, John, vi. 402, 403.
- Forbes, John, v. 132 n. 162 n. 281 n. vi. 192, 214.
- Forbes, William, v. 167 n. 281 n. vi. 5 n. 6 n. 8 n. 9 n. 23 n. 27 n. 30 n.
- Fordyce, David, iv. 411.
- Forgiveness of injuries, doctrine of, explained, iv. 774—777.
- Form of God, what it means as applied to Christ, ii. 103.
- Forms, scripture, the rule of truth, but not the rule of interpretation for church forms, iv. 15.
- Formularies of faith, Dr. Clarke maintained that a person might subscribe them, if he could reconcile them in *any sense at all* with scripture, i. 35. this position condemned by Waterland, i. 271.
- Fortitude, what, v. 551.
- Fortunatus, Venantius, i. 82. iii. 102, 148, 179, 180, 182, 211, 219, 221—229, 239. v. 175 n. an Italian, travelled into France and Germany, iii. 134. acquainted with the most eminent scholars, *ib.* became bishop of Poitiers, *ib.* a Comment on the Athanasian Creed, ascribed to him, the earliest to be met with, *ib.* published by Muratori in his *Anecdota* from the Ambrosian MSS. *ib.* 114. another MS. of it among Junius's MSS. in the Bodleian, 135. agreeing for the most part with the Ambrosian, *ib.* proofs that Fortunatus was really the author of this Comment, 134. its probable date, 135. Muratori conjectures he might have been the author of the Creed itself, 114, 115, 135. his conjecture groundless, 136. notices respecting his Comment upon the Athanasian Creed, 257. orthographical errors in the MS., *ib.* the Comment itself with various readings, 259.
- Foster, —, vi. 421.
- Fothergill, George, principal of St. Edmund hall, Oxford, iv. 415.
- Foulkes, —, vi. 444, 447, 449.
- Fowler, Edward, bishop of Gloucester, ii. 497. his method of explaining the Trinity, 477.
- Fox, John, vi. 359, 367, 372, 405.
- Foye, Francis, vi. 305, 307, 322, 403.
- France, language spoken there in the ninth century, iii. 168.
- France, church of, when it received the Athanasian Creed, iii. 178.
- Francis I, iii. 174, 177 n.
- Franciscus, S., iii. 187 n.
- Franciscus Bonæ Spei, when he flourished, iii. 348. maintained the divine existence not to be demonstrable *à priori*, *ib.*
- Franck, —, professor of Halle, iii. 413, 672, 678 n.
- Frankfort, council of, on what occasion called, iii. 121. its canon probably in favour of the Athanasian Creed, 122.
- Frassenius, Claudius, iii. 187 n.
- Free-will, notice of the seeming repugnance between it and prescience, ii. 692 n.
- Free-will, so far as to make man a moral agent, a fundamental doctrine, v. 81.

- Freigius, John, Thomas, iv. 403.  
 Fronto Ducaeus, iv. 476.  
 Froschover, Christopher, vi. 329, 363.  
 Frumentius, vi. 98, 151.  
 Fryth, John, iv. 567.  
 Fulgentius, i. 432 n. 490 n. ii. 403, 417, 429, 543 n. 646 n. 712 n. 746 n. iii. 203, 234, 259 n. 260 n. 527 n. 533. iv. 487 n. 605 n. v. 133 n. 165 n. 183 n. vi. 47, 464. notice of him, v. 183 n. a judicious man, and well instructed in the true and ancient principles of the church, particularly with regard to Christ's divinity, ii. 403. greatly admired and followed St. Austin, iv. 564. vi. 62. how he understood John vi., iv. 564. how he solved the question, whether the eucharist was necessary immediately after baptism, vi. 60. was the mouth, as it were, of all the African churches in his time, vi. 62.  
 Fulke, William, v. 223, 277 n. vi. 402, 497.  
 Fuller, Thomas, ii. 334. vi. 133.  
 Fullo, Petrus, vi. 66.  
 Fundamental article, Christ's divinity rightly so termed, ii. 393, &c. objections to Dr. Clarke's method of judging of them, iv. 15. a better method, 17. objections against those who would set aside the Epistles of the New Testament as of no weight in deciding fundamentals, 18. Bacon's notice respecting fundamentals, v. 73. by fundamentals is meant essentials, 74. the scriptures warrant the distinction of fundamentals and non-fundamentals, 75. the same distinction adopted by the primitive church, *ib.* why certain distinctions of fundamentals need not to be noticed, 76. the distinction between them in an abstract view, and in a relative view (as necessary to salvation) important to be observed, 77. the former are of a fixed determined nature, the latter variable according to circumstances, *ib.* the terms of church communion somewhat stricter than the necessary terms of salvation, 78. and why, *ib.* this distinction sometimes acknowledged by the Romanists, *ib.* and by the Remonstrants, 79. Sherlock's definition of a fundamental doctrine, *ib.* addition to it, *ib.* from a consideration of the Christian covenant, the following are proved to be fundamental doctrines; viz. the existence of a Deity, and of his perfections and attributes, acknowledging him as Jehovah, the God of Israel, and Father of Christ Jesus, 80. the doctrines of free-will, (sufficient to make man a moral agent,) and of the essential differences between moral good and evil, 81. the divine authority of sacred writ, *ib.* the belief of a divine Mediator, acknowledging the blessed Jesus to be such, *ib.* to this head belongs the atonement made by him, 82. the doctrines of repentance and a holy life, *ib.* the two sacraments, *ib.* the aid of the Holy Spirit, 83. and by consequence a belief of his divinity, and of the Trinity in Unity, *ib.* and the doctrines of a future state, and of a resurrection, and final judgment by Christ our Lord, and of heaven and hell, 84. a rule to judge of fundamentals by, is sufficient, without giving an exact catalogue of them, *ib.* what ought to decide in difficult cases, 85. notice of the rules of other writers, differing in words only, 86. the following rules for determining fundamentals, confuted; viz. the definition of the church, 87. every thing asserted in sacred writ, 88. every thing expressly taught in scripture, and nothing but what is so, 90. whatever scripture has expressly declared necessary, or commanded us to believe under pain of damnation, or of exclusion from Christian communion, 91. the Apostles' Creed, 92. Hebrews vi. 1. 2., 94. the confession that Jesus is the Messiah, with two or three concomitant articles, 96. universality of agreement among Christians, 98. universal agreement of the whole race of mankind, 99. a good life, to which some add faith in the divine promises, 100.  
 Future life, doctrine of, known among pagans probably by tradition, iv. 299. a fundamental doctrine, v. 84.  
 G.  
 Gabriel Sionita, vi. 68.  
 Gaianites, their opinion touching the eucharist, vi. 490.  
 Gaianus, a chief leader among the Euty-chians, v. 194.  
 Gale, Theophilus, v. 16 n. 22 n. vi. 479.  
 Galilæans, notice of the sect of, v. 497.  
 Gallican church, when it received the Nicene Creed, iii. 119.  
 Gallican Psalter, various MSS. of, iii. 155—158.  
 Gandavensis, vi. 494.  
 Gandavo, Henricus de, iii. 340.  
 Gangra, council of, iv. 787.  
 Gardiner, —, ii. 378, 477. iv. 423. vi. 464, 471.  
 Garmstone, Samuel, master of the free school at Lincoln, i. 7.  
 Gastrell, Francis, bishop of Chester, i. 23. v. 36 n. notice of his *Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, i. 39. character of the answer Dr. C. published to it, *ib.* notice of Dr. Edwards's *Remarks* upon it, *ib.*

- Gataker, —, iii. 547 n. iv. 271 n. 668, vi. 480.
- Gaudentius Brixiensis, iii. 118 n. iv. 675 n. v. 208 n. 257 n.
- Gaulonitis, Judas, v. 497.
- Gausen, Stephen, v. 74.
- Gavantus, Barthol., iii. 182.
- Gelasius Cyzicen., iv. 595 n.
- Gelasius, pope, i. 324. ii. 463, 495, 572, 587. v. 208 n. vi. 60, 70, 71.
- Gellius, Aulus, iv. 413.
- Genebrard, Gilbert, iii. 174, 175, 177, 188, 191, 193, 233 n. 610 n.
- Generation of the Son may be by *necessity of nature*, without excluding the concurrence of the will of the Father, i. 348. but if it be by the *arbitrary* will of the Father, the Son is only a *creature*, *ib.* the distinction of a *threefold generation* of the Son, as asserted by the ancients, explained, 352. the Ante-Nicene writers sparing in speaking of the *first*, the *eternal generation*, as to the term or phrase, not as to the thing itself, 353. generation, or prolation, used as equivalent words by Irenæus, *ib.* those who maintained a *temporary* generation, yet asserted the coeternity of the *Λόγος* though not considered precisely under the formality of a *Son*, 359. their names, *ib.* they did not mean by *Λόγος* an attribute, or such like, of the Father, but a real subsisting Person, 360. the eternal generation more insisted on after Arius arose, and why, 368. how far an explicit profession of it might have been dispensed with, *ib.* *generation*, in what sense used by the council of Nice, ii. 392. distinction to be made between temporal and eternal generation, 590. in what sense the ancients held eternal generation to be an act of the will, *ib.* 610. proof that a manifestation might be called a generation, 593. what the Post-Nicene fathers called eternal generation, 595. what fathers maintained the temporal generation, or procession, 592, &c. 616. the church's constant doctrine as to emanation, 612. the threefold distinction of generation defended, *ib.* the Arian idea that generation implies change, disproved, 613. the ancients for some time pretty much divided about eternal generation, 617. how it afterwards became the prevailing opinion, *ib.*
- γεννητός, its meaning, ii. 589 n. why rarely applied to Christ, 589.
- Geneva version of the scriptures too often followed in the authorized version, iv. 341. account of it, vi. 306, 349, 350, 356, 369.
- Gennadius Massiliensis, iii. 214, 228 n. 229 n. 230 n. 244. iv. 797. v. 404. vi. 66. his treatise *de Eccles. Dogmat.* formerly ascribed commonly to St. Austin, iii. 141. this treatise in a MS. at Treves, 154 n.
- Gentilly, synod of, iii. 171.
- Gentleman instructed, iv. 399.
- George I, i. 78 n. presented bishop Moore's library to the university of Cambridge, 11. their address to him in consequence, 12 n. his answer, 13 n. the address of the university of Cambridge to him upon the suppression of the rebellion, 15 n. supposed to have been framed by Dr. Bentley, 14. what opposition it met with in Cambridge, *ib.* Middleton's account of the business, 17 n. the king visits Cambridge, 19.
- George II. as prince of Wales, i. 14 n. 15 n.
- Gerhard, John, iv. 435 n. 437 n. 538 n. 635 n. 636 n. 655 n. 665, 668 n. 719. v. 272 n. vi. 10 n. 479 n. 481. considered the unity of God not demonstrable from natural reason, iii. 374.
- Germany, church of, when it received the Athanasian Creed, iii. 183.
- Genusus, iv. 366 n.
- Gibson, Edmund, bishop of London, i. 84, 137, 238, 254. iii. 475. iv. 131 n. 136 n. 137 n. 139 n. 141 n. 384, 419. animadverted on Tindal in his two Pastoral Letters, i. 124. to which Tindal published a reply, *ib.* presented Waterland to the archdeaconry of Middlesex, 189, 238.
- Gillius, Christopher, iii. 360 n. 368 n. 369 n. 374 n. 381 n. 386 n. a Spanish divine and Jesuit, when he flourished, 339. his character, *ib.* proved the Divine existence not to be demonstrable *à priori*, 340.
- Glanvil, Bartholomew, vi. 301.
- Glassius, Solomon, i. 133. iv. 153 n.—156 n. 158 n. 159, 165, 313 n. 320 n. 333, 340 n. 341 n. 566 n. v. 262 n. Waterland's pattern in his Dissertation on the Interpretation of Scripture, iv. 151.
- Glaucias, iii. 658.
- Gnostics, iii. 589. their conceit about the Word, ii. 583. certain of their errors alluded to in the poem of St. John's Gospel, iii. 543—546, 690. the creation of the visible world by God most high, proved against them from the eucharist, v. 109. and also the resurrection of the body, 110.
- Goar, James, iv. 654, 689 n. 790 n.
- Gobar, Stephen, iv. 752 n.
- God, the strict sense in which the word was applied by the ancients to the Son, i. 299. the Arians attempt to distinguish the word into supreme and subordinate God, 302. ii. 89. but the

- first and most general distinction of the senses of the word God should be into proper and improper, i. 302. according to Dr. Clarke, the proper scripture notion of God is *dominion*; and that therefore any person having dominion is, according to the scripture notion, truly and properly God, 303. his method of proof refuted, *ib.* how the word is partially applied to angels or men, or things inanimate, 304, 305. why the heathen idols are termed *gods* in scripture, at the same time that they are said to be no gods, 304. the true scripture notion of one that is truly and properly God, 305. ii. 37. so that the Arian distinction of a supreme and subordinate God resolves into a God and no God, i. 306. the nature of God affirmed by the Eunomians and some of the Arians to be comprehensible, 453. what notion the ancient Christians had of one that is truly and really God, ii. 38. the word *God* may perhaps be understood in an *indefinite* sense (as applicable to the whole Trinity) as often as the context or other circumstances do not confine its signification and intent to one Person only, 93, 99. why the Father is primarily considered as God, 98. not a word of office or dominion, but of nature and substance, 415. the Son and Holy Ghost are God in the same sense of the word, but not in the same emphatical manner as the Father, 425. *another* God constantly denied by the ancients, 437, 438. Father and Son declared by the ancients to be one, or the same God, 438, 439. a higher and lower sense of the word God admitted by Novatian, 476. to what extent, 477. adopted by certain moderns, *ib.* what this notion had to recommend it, *ib.* what charge it was liable to, 477, 478. the term *God* denotes absolute perfection, 510. applied in the same sense to Father and Son, *ib.* Tertullian's distinction between God and Lord, 518. the term *God*, not taken essentially but personally in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, 706. why God could not be God merely in the sense of dominion, iii. 58. the sense in which the word *God* is used in Scripture does not militate against the doctrine of the Trinity, 275. the Father sometimes styled, by way of eminence, the *one* or *only* God, 301. the term God only applied to angels and men in a loose, figurate, and *improper* sense, *ib.* see *Deity*.
- God's moral attributes are founded in his natural perfections, iii. 67.
- God, over all, blessed for ever*, a divine title given to Christ in scripture, ii. 138.
- God the Father*, Phil. ii. 11., accuracy of this expression, ii. 118.
- God with us, or Emmanuel*, a divine title given to Christ in scripture, ii. 128.
- Godolphin, —, provost of Eton and dean of St. Paul's, i. 236.
- Gomarus, Francis, vi. 484.
- Gooch, Dr., i. 22, 25.
- Good life, the surest title to a good conscience, a sermon on this subject, v. 676.
- Good works are necessary conditions, without which no man shall see God; but yet they have no proper efficacy in themselves for the justifying us, iv. 85. good works reckoned among Christian sacrifices, v. 276. Clarke's explanation of the Article upon Good Works, v. 394. may precede justification but not grace, 397. the scripture doctrine of the unprofitableness of man's best performance no excuse for slackness in good works, 645. good works, conditions of justification, vi. 29. why they have been objected to as conditions, 30.
- Goodall, —, provost of Eton, i. 5.
- Goodman, —, iv. 399.
- Gorionides, Josephus, iii. 177 n.
- Gorham, —, iii. 143.
- Gosset, Dr., i. 233.
- Gotha library has a MS. of Bruno's, with Hampole's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, iii. 141.
- Gothescalus, iii. 137.
- Gough, Richard, vi. 303 n.
- Government the (strength of any) lies more in the affections than in the consciences of the people, v. 321.
- Grabe, John Ernest, i. 136 n. 204, 329 n. ii. 138 n. 368, 377 n. 378, 412 n. 448 n. 455 n. 488 n. 552, 579 n. 580 n. 591 n. iii. 72, 155, 451 n. 525 n. 540, 591, 609 n. 655 n. 662 n. 691, 692. iv. 528 n. 545 n. 593, 686, 726, 727. v. 5 n. 158 n. 190 n. 636 n. vi. 6 n. 27 n. 488. when he published his *Ireneus*, iv. 726. his view of the eucharist written against by *Buddæus*, *ib.* his notion of the sacramental part of the eucharist refuted, v. 188.
- Grace, its various meanings, iv. 666. its limited sense, *ib.* instances in scripture, 667. doctrine of grace consistent with human liberty, 700. grace precedes good works, v. 397. its meaning in an emphatical sense, 688. its several kinds, *ib.*
- Gradius*, used in the sense of order by Tertullian, ii. 459.
- Grafton, Richard, vi. 268, 330, 341, 343, 344 n. 346, 362, 377, 380, 381, 396, 403.
- Grammatical figures, how many and what, iv. 153 n.

- Granger, —, vi. 360, 393, 395, 397, 398, 400.
- Gratian, v. 210. vi. 123, 492.
- Gray, John, iii. 395 n.
- Great God*, a divine title given to Christ in scripture, ii. 134.
- Greek church, notwithstanding its corruptions, retains the divinity of Christ, ii. 387. whether it received the Athanasian Creed, iii. 189. received the Nicene Council with the greatest veneration, 194. its opinion respecting the procession of the Holy Ghost, 437. not a fundamental mistake according to Sherlock, *ib.* its sentiments respecting the eucharist, iv. 609 n. *communicated* weekly in the seventh century, 798. gives the eucharist to infants, v. 405. received St. Basil's Epistle, v. 178.
- Green, —, i. 22.
- Greenwood, —, vi. 434.
- Gregorian sacramentary, vi. 67.
- Gregorius Bæticus, iii. 262 n. v. 190 n.
- Gregorius de Valentia, iii. 343, 347. v. 143 n. 165. when he flourished, iii. 335. wrote Commentaries on Aquinas's Sum, *ib.* declares the Divine existence not to be demonstrable *a priori*, *ib.*
- Gregory, —, iv. 412.
- Gregory I, pope, surnamed *the Great*, iii. 120, 125, 150, 153, 155, 257. iv. 684, 791 n. v. 126 n. 131 n. 156 n. 175, 248 n. 276 n. vi. 243, 492.
- Gregory IX, pope, iii. 108, 109, 112, 150, 240 n.
- Gregory, bishop of Alexandria, ii. 715.
- Gregory Nazianzen, i. 287, 290, 347 n. 360 n. 372, 393 n. 415, 478, 538 n. 542, 562. ii. 20 n. 31 n. 62 n. 141 n. 151 n. 153 n. 160 n. 222 n. 372, 417 n. 498 n. 504, 524 n. 538 n. 540 n. 541 n. 543 n. 544 n. 559, 560, 563, 599 n. 602 n. 687 n. 689 n. 711, 717, 746 n. 748 n. 749. iii. 36 n. 79 n. 87, 91, 118, 200 n. 202, 204, 222, 539 n. 641 n. 643 n. 682 n. iv. 432 n. 440 n. 489, 585 n. 621 n. 660 n. 682 n. 707 n. 741 n. 785 n. v. 131 n. 156 n. 189 n. 191 n. 207 n. 241 n. 249 n. 264 n. 276 n. 278 n. vi. 15 n. 18 n. 94 n. 121, 446 n. 492, 500. his idea of the unity of the Godhead vindicated from Dr. Clarke's misrepresentation, i. 529. a friend and admirer of Origen, ii. 639. iv. 489. defended his orthodoxy, ii. 639. summary of his panegyric on Athanasius, 714, 715, 716. a passage of his vindicated and explained, which had been considered by Whiston, as making Athanasius the inventor of the divinity of the Son, 714—717. his declaration respecting the *incarnation*, iii. 207. had a vast esteem for the council of Nice, iii. 641. St. Jerome his scholar, iv. 489. why called *the Divine*, 757. his sentiments as to gospel sacrifices, *ib.* what he meant by unbloody sacrifices, v. 251. his opinion respecting children that die unbaptized, vi. 107. his opinion touching the ministration of baptism, with observations thereupon, 188.
- Gregory of Neocæsarea, (commonly called Thaumaturgus, iii. 535.) i. 384, 518. ii. 250, 251, 372. iii. 91. his orthodoxy as to the Trinity vindicated by bishop Bull, ii. 638. a great admirer of Origen, *ib.* did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, iii. 87. his Creed considered by the best critics to be genuine, *ib.* 530 n. copy of it, *ib.*
- Gregory Nyssen, i. 287, 290, 348, 415, 443 n. 481, 488 n. 542. ii. 43 n. 44 n. 60 n. 113 n. 136 n. 151 n. 159 n. 239 n. 401, 402, 466 n. 580 n. 585 n. 609, 636 n. 637, 667, 719 n. 722 n. iii. 23, 77, 79 n. 87 n. 91, 206, 438, 530, 533, 590 n. iv. 306 n. 560, 596 n. 682 n. 694, 752 n. 756 n. 768 n. 785 n. v. 112 n. 207 n. vi. 14 n. 446 n. 464. wrote against Eunomius, the shrewdest and sharpest Arian of that age, ii. 373. his opinion of the Son's necessary existence vindicated and explained, 607. a defender of Origen, 641. Basil's younger brother, iv. 682. his *Oratio Catechetica* probably interpolated, v. 200. the treatise *de Penitentia* ascribed to him, written by Asterius Amasenus, 251.
- Gregory of Tours, iii. 136. iv. 792. vi. 66. introduced the Gallican Psalter into Gaul, iii. 163. died, 180.
- Gretton, Dr., i. 112, 114. iii. 364 n. 369 n. 370 n. 371 n. 373 n. 375 n. 377 n. 383 n. 386 n. his review of the argument *a priori* to prove the Divine existence commended, 363.
- Grey, Dr. Zachary, i. 4, 163, 221, 254. vi. 405, 451. published anonymously *The Spirit of Infidelity detected*, in answer to *The Spirit of Ecclesiasticks in all ages*, which was a translation of part of Barbeyrac's preface to his translation of Puffendorf *de Jure Naturæ et Gentium*, i. 95. defended Waterland from Barbeyrac's invective, in the preface to his *Spirit of Infidelity detected*, vi. 445 n. published an examination of three volumes of Neal's History of the Puritans, 446 n. also of the fourteenth chapter of sir Isaac Newton's observations on the Prophecies of Daniel, touching saint-worship, 448 n. Waterland's letters to him, 443.
- Grigg, —, master of Clare-hall, Cambridge, i. 20.
- Grostead, —, vi. 243.
- Grotius, Hugo, i. 284. ii. 138 n. iii. 55, 456 n. 481, 511 n. 616 n. 619 n. 634 n.

- 644 n. iv. 109, 163 n. 246 n. 299, 342 n. 411, 412, 414, 516 n. 668 n. 706, 707 n. v. 18 n. 20 n. 21 n. 25, 152 n. 191 n. 211 n. 286 n. vi. 463, 472, 474, 476, 477, 484. his Comment on Isaiah xlii. 8., i. 319. translated into French by Barbeyrac, iii. 634. had a great esteem for the fathers, 643. his treatise of Morality, by whom approved, by whom condemned, 646. wrote against by J. à Felden, *ib.*
- Gualdo, monk of Corbey, wrote the life of Ansharius, in verse, iii. 126. ascribed the Athanasian Creed to Athanasius, *ib.*
- Gualtier, Thomas, vi. 334.
- Guarin, Peter, iv. 313 n. 320 n. 333 n. 339 n. 341 n. 343 n.
- Guile, why so prevalent, v. 578.
- Guitmund, —, vi. 491, 493.
- Gundling, Wolfgang, iii. 174, 175—178, 190. wrote notes on Zialowski's piece relating to the religion of the Greek churches, 112. his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, 112, 117.
- Gurdon, —, i. 236.
- Gussetius, —, iv. 194 n.
- H.
- Hakewill, George, v. 132 n.
- Hakspanius, Theodore, or Thierry, iv. 367 n.
- Halensis, —, vi. 494.
- Hales, John, iv. 700 n. vi. 383, 390.
- Hales, Stephen, iv. 413.
- Hall, Edward, vi. 268.
- Hallet, Joseph, a dissenting teacher at Exeter, espoused the cause of the Arians, i. 99.
- Halloixius, Peter, iv. 545 n.
- Hamilton, R. and C., vi. 327.
- Hammond, Henry, i. 196, 273. iii. 463 n. 464 n. 468 n. 481, 511 n. 654 n. iv. 88, 317 n. 320 n. 408, 414, 668 n. v. 73, 407. vi. 22 n. 89, 91, 466, 484. his notion of the eucharistic sacrifice, v. 138.
- Hampole, Richard, Richard Rolle of Hampole, iii. 143, 146. vi. 300, 314, 357, 361, 433. a monk of the order of St. Austin, iii. 141. notice of his Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, 142. particular notice of a copy in Magdalen college library, Oxford, *ib.* whether a certain Commentary of the Psalms and Hymns of the Church, and of the Athanasian Creed, be his, 146. made a translation of the Psalms, vi. 300. particulars respecting it, 315.
- Hancock, Dr., v. 151.
- Harchius, Jodocus, v. 209, 227. v. 496. a German physician, notice of his system respecting the eucharist, 212, 213. and of Beza's confutation of it, 218.
- Hardening men's hearts*, its meaning, when God is said to do so, iv. 247.
- Harduin, John, iii. 121, 125. iv. 750 n. 762, 784, 785 n. 791 n. v. 114. vi. 63.
- Hardt, Hermannus van der, iv. 161 n.
- Hare, Francis, iii. 628 n. 684 n. 689 n. canon residentiary of St. Paul's, afterwards bishop of Chichester, i. 236.
- Harleian library, iii. 169. notice of its MS. of S. Bruno's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, modern, 139. a copy of the original MS., *ib.* notice of its MS. of the Gallican Psalter, with the Athanasian Creed, 158, 163 n. and of another MS. of the Athanasian Creed, 159. has a fine old Latin Bible, with the three versions of the Psalter, by Jerome, 165. see *Lord Oxford*.
- Harris, John, iii. 191 n. iv. 409. v. 168 n.
- Harrison, Richard, vi. 312, 344, 362, 405.
- Harsnet, Samuel, archbishop of York, ii. 343, 346, 347.
- Hartop, Peter, i. 51 n.
- Hastings, Francis, vi. 393.
- Hatto, otherwise called Hetto, and Ahyto, bishop of Basil, iii. 183, 189 n. notice of his Capitular, or book of Constitutions, 122.
- Hatton, lord viscount, v. 84 n.
- Haughtiness, what, v. 570.
- Hawarden, Dr., a Roman catholic clergyman, Mr. Butler's account of his conference with Dr. Clarke about the Trinity, held by the desire of queen Caroline, consort of George I, i. 79 n. this conference the cause of his publishing an *Answer to Dr. Clarke and Mr. Whiston*, &c., *ib.*
- Haymo, Halberst., iv. 540. v. 165 n. 275 n. one of Gregory IX.'s legates in the conferences with the Greeks at Constantinople, iii. 128.
- Haywood, Dr., of St. John's college, Oxford, iii. 135. vi. 262.
- Headship, or priority of order of the Father acknowledged by the ancients, ii. 417.
- Heald, —, i. 22.
- Hearne, Thomas, i. 233, 243, 254. vi. 261, 264, 265, 361, 424, 425, 426, 427, 430, 432. mistakes in his Glossary to Robert of Gloucester, vi. 261, 263, 265.
- Heart, a sermon on the duty of keeping the, v. 462. how the issues of life, in a religious aspect, depend upon the heart, 464.
- Heath, Nicholas, archbishop of York, iii. 164. vi. 305, 327, 343, 344, 357, 381.
- Heaven, a belief of, a fundamental doctrine, v. 84.
- Heavens, creation of, a proof of Christ's divinity, ii. 71.
- Hebrew language, notice of a common idiom of, iv. 271. when to be studied, 413.
- Hegesippus, iii. 611, 615.
- Heideggerus, Henricus, iv. 195 n. 196 n.

- 203, 208 n. his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, iii. 112, 117. wrote a running Commentary on it, 112.
- Hell, Christ's descent into, uncertain in what sense it was understood by the composers of the Apostles' Creed, ii. 284. our church has left that article at large, intending a latitude, *ib.* the belief of hell a fundamental doctrine, v. 84.
- Helvicus, Christopher, iii. 182.
- Hemmingius —, ii. 352 n.
- Henry VIII, vi. 374, 378.
- Henry, Matthew, vi. 424.
- Herbert, Edward lord, i. 119, 120. iii. 644. v. 99 n. 101. vi. 36 n. 461.
- Hereford, Nicholas, vi. 366.
- Heresy and infidelity, their common origin, i. 118. have often appeared together, 119.
- Heresy worse than immorality, iii. 478. bishop Taylor's opinion to the same effect, 687. further observations respecting it, 695.
- Heresy did not vacate holy orders, according to St. Austin, vi. 194.
- Heresies arose even in the time of the Apostles, some denying the divinity, others the humanity of our Lord, ii. 29, 30.
- Heretic, who to be considered such, iii. 461. objections to Dr. Whitby's addition to this definition, 461, 465. heretics not innocuous, 477. the plea of sincerity in their favour, considered, 485. censures of heretics not to be forbore for fear of retaliation, 512, 513. what cautions necessary, 516. popish persecutions not hereby sanctioned, 520.
- Hermantius, Godfredus, iii. 120.
- Hermas, i. 330. ii. 105 n. 445, 552, 554, 630 n. iii. 571 n. v. 190 n. his interpretation of the exaltation of Christ by the Father, Phil. ii. 9., 86 n. his opinion of the need and efficacy of baptism, vi. 16.
- Hermippus, the pagan biographer, v. 6, 10.
- Hermogenes, asserted matter to be *self-existent*, ii. 462.
- Herodian, iv. 413.
- Herodotus, iv. 192, 413.
- Herveus Dolensis, see *Anselm*.
- Hesiod, iv. 409. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 5, 9.
- Heskyns, —, vi. 497.
- Hester, Andrew, vi. 346, 363.
- Hesychius, iv. 487, 646 n. 752 n. v. 165 n. 224 n. vi. 50 n. notice of preparations for a new edition of his Lexicon, vi. 427.
- Hett, Richard, iii. 529 n. 572 n. vi. 414.
- Hetto, see *Hatto*.
- Heylin, Dr. Peter, ii. 341, 343, 345 n. 346 n. 347 n. 350. v. 144. vi. 8 n.
- Hickes, George, i. 204. iii. 152 n. 170, 196 n. 604 n. 654 n. 660 n. 713. v. 139 n. 168, 172 n. 278 n. 279 n. vi. 87 n. 152, 203, 219, 318 n. 319, 430. observation on his notions of the eucharistic sacrifices, v. 145, 146.
- Hickman, —, iv. 415.
- Hierocles, v. 40. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, 16.
- Higden, Ranulph, or Ralph, a monk of Chester, vi. 301, 368. his *Polychronicon* translated by Trevisa, iii. 143, 144 n.
- Hilary, bishop of Arles, i. 8. reasons in favour of his being the author of the Athanasian Creed, iii. 214, &c. his *Life* written by Honoratus, *ib.* though some doubt whether Ravennius, bishop of Arles, wrote it, 214 n. was a great admirer and follower of St. Austin, 215. had first been abbot of Lerin, *ib.* notice of his *Life* of the elder Honoratus, *ib.* objections against his being the author of the Athanasian Creed considered, 217. reasons for his concealing his name, *ib.* disapproved St. Austin's doctrines about grace, 218. sum of Waterland's opinion respecting this Creed, 219. his high opinion of it, 220. the original Creed, with parallel passages and various lections, 220—230.
- Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, i. 283, 287, 356 n. 393, 415, 439, 471, 482 n. 488 n. 489, 542, 545 n. 546, 548. ii. 13 n. 33 n. 34 n. 43 n. 55 n. 63 n. 88 n. 105 n. 109 n. 124 n. 157, 159 n. 371, 394 n. 410, 428 n. 429, 460 n. 464 n. 466, 498 n. 499, 504, 538 n. 602, 603, 604, 608 n. 609, 616 n. 617, 618, 636 n. 668 n. 687, 688, 695 n. 702, 703, 746 n. 747 n. 750 n. iii. 23, 53 n. 161, 219, 408, 533, 555 n. 579 n. 587 n. 603 n. 638. iv. 489, 752 n. 757 n. v. 126 n. 131 n. 156 n. 190 n. 191 n. vi. 14 n. 464, 469. his explanation of Heb. i. 8, 9. as not excluding Christ's divinity, i. 307. resolved the Unity into Sonship, or unity of principle, 323. considered *ante tempora* to be the same as *semper*, 355. his declaration as to the equality of the Son, 442. misinterpreted by Dr. Whitby, 526. his reasoning that the Word is a person, because it is said to be *with* God, not *in* God, as would have been said were it an attribute or quality only of the Father, ii. 34 n. one of the greatest bishops of the west, and may justly be called the western Athanasius, 371. charged Eusebius with Arianism, 495. once judged kindly of the council of Sir-mium, but afterwards altered his sentiments, 602. endeavoured to interpret the confession of the false Sardican



- council to a catholic sense, 604. forced to apologize for his well-meant endeavours, being in consequence suspected himself, 605. uses the expression *tres substantiæ*, 713. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, iii. 90. reasons against his being the author of the Athanasian Creed, 217. by what names he calls the eucharist, iv. 474. how he understood John vi., 559. proved the real union of the Father and the Son from the sacraments against the Arians, v. 113.
- Hilary, the deacon, iv. 668 n. 675 n. vi. 147, 206. his opinion of the need and efficacy of baptism, 20. perhaps the author of the Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, under the name of St. Ambrose, 119, 181. (see *Pseud-Ambrose*.) a stiff and rigid Luciferian, 181. whether he considered the office of baptizing and preaching separable, *ib*.
- Hildebertus Cenomanensis, iv. 599 n.
- Hildegarde, iii. 149. the celebrated abbess of St. Rupert's Mount near Bingen on the Rhine, wrote explications of St. Benedict's Rule, and the Athanasian Creed, 140. to be seen in Bibl. PP., *ib*.
- Hill, —, tutor of Magd. coll. Camb., i. 7 n.
- Hill, Nicolas, printer, vi. 352, 404.
- Hill, William, printer, vi. 349, 381, 403.
- Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, iii. 109, 119, 123, 124, 137, 167, 178, 211 n. 214, 240. the first writer that gave the Athanasian Creed the name it bears at this day, 123.
- Hippolytus, i. 280 n. 285 n. 293 n. 350, 352, 356 n. 360 n. 361 n. 364 n. 381 n. 389 n. 430 n. 465 n. 468 n. 472, 480, 499 n. 500, 504 n. 514, 516 n. 518 n. 538. ii. 31 n. 37 n. 52, 62 n. 63 n. 105 n. 112, 115 n. 122 n. 132 n. 136, 138 n. 141 n. 142 n. 149 n. 150, 165 n. 253 n. 411, 430 n. 438 n. 478, 498 n. 524 n. 528, 541 n. 542, 553, 563, 586 n. 591 n. 615, 630 n. 657, 710, 727 n. iii. 16, 23, 76, 572, 580. iv. 511. v. 112 n. 190 n. 273. vindicated, ii. 413, 414, 431. time of his writing, 462, 490. his declaration of the Trinity, i. 287 n. his Comment on Phil. ii. 9., 331. his book against Noetus still extant, 339. how he interpreted *κατὰ σάρκα*, as applied to the Son, 349 n. made the generation of the Son *temporary*, 359. ii. 595, 599. iii. 22. and supposed it to be posterior to the creation, i. 366. explaining this generation, however, by manifestation, 367. ii. 593. yet did not make the Word an attribute only before the procession, 599. considered the filiation not *completed* till he had run through the last sort of Sonship, in becoming man, i. 367. his belief that the one God consists of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, 469, 470. his doxology, 469 n. his declarations for Christ's divinity, 485 n. and against Sabellians, *ib*. comments upon them, 488. doubtful whether his piece *de Antichristo* be genuine, ii. 136 n. his declaration concerning the Trinity, 182. no doubt of his piece being genuine, at least in part, 463. how far interpolated, *ib*. his testimony as to the Father and Son being one God, 464. vindicated, *ib*. a text relative to creation applied by him to Christ, 490. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, iii. 84. the Appendix of Tertullian's book of Prescriptions supposed by some to be little else but an extract from Hippolytus's Treatise against Heresies, iii. 580. was a disciple of Irenæus, iv. 511.
- Historical Vindication of the Naked Gospel*, in support of Anti-Trinitarianism, ascribed to Le Clerc, i. 29.
- Hoady, Benjamin, bishop of Bangor, i. 61, 143, 164, 168, 203, 231, 255. ii. 270, 287. iv. 407, 409. notice of his *Plain Account of the Lord's Supper*, i. 161, 162. vi. 418, 419. lowers the importance of that sacrament, i. 83. by whom controverted, 163. vi. 448, 449. Waterland considered it as Socinianizing the sacrament, i. 163. gained celebrity by his writings against church-authority, 161.
- Hobbes, William, i. 119. iii. 643. iv. 262 n. v. 33, 42, 46, 49, 61, 65, 66 n. the first or principal man that introduced deism into England, v. 34. little more than a disciple of Epicurus, 46.
- Hodius, Humphrey, iii. 162 n.—165 n. 187 n. v. 5 n. 6 n. 12 n. 17 n. vi. 338.
- Holiness, relative, its meaning under the Old Testament, and the various degrees of it, iv. 527. the rabbins reckon ten degrees, 527 n.
- Hollybushe, John, vi. 345, 378, 403.
- Holstein, duke of, iii. 191 n.
- Holy*, the ancient spelling for *wholly*, iii. 230 n.
- Holy Ghost, consideration of his divinity waved, for if the Son's divinity be sufficiently cleared, the Holy Spirit's may be admitted without scruple, 467 n. ii. 121. supposed by the ancients to be implied in Gen. i. 26. Psal. xxxiii. 6, 9. and cxlviii. 5., 62, 63. various names of the Holy Ghost in scripture, 120. his operations, gifts, and graces, with the glory of them, ascribed to Christ, 121. his person, character, and offices, according to the scriptures, 122, 123. the procession of the Holy Ghost, whether temporal or eternal, left undecided by our church in the opinion of Dr. Ben-

- net, 286. Waterland considers that the church has determined it, *ib.* is God in the same sense, but not in the same emphatical manner as the Father, 425. instances of worship being paid to him in the scriptures, iv. 8. proof that it was also offered by the primitive Christians, 9. proofs of his personality and divinity, 30. observations on his operations in the two sacraments, 81, 82. v. 189, 191. his sanctifying grace conferred in the eucharist, iv. 666. testimonies of the fathers to the point, 675. what the ancients taught concerning the descent or illapse of the Holy Spirit upon the symbols, or upon the communicants, *ib.* two or three forms of invocation for the Holy Spirit in baptism, 683. when this practice commenced, 686. his divinity and assistance fundamental doctrines, v. 83. his divinity proved from the form of baptism, 113. what he is considered by the ancients to do to the eucharistic elements, 258. a sermon on the nature and manner in which the Holy Spirit may be supposed to operate upon us; and on the marks and tokens of such operation, 686. another on the springs and motives of false pretences to the Holy Spirit; with the rules and marks of trying and detecting them, 695. another on the precise nature of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, 706. see *Procession*.
- Homer**, iv. 241 n. 403, 411, 412, 413. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 5, 7, 9.
- Honoratus**, the elder, archbishop of Arles, his life written by Hilary, his successor, iii. 215.
- Honoratus of Marseilles**, wrote the life of Hilary bishop of Arles, iii. 214. though some doubt whether Ravennius, bishop of Arles, was the author, 214 n.
- Honorius**, v. 288 n. a scholastic divine of the church of Autun, iii. 126. notice of his *Pearl of the Soul*, *ib.* his testimony as to the use of the Athanasian Creed, *ib.* to whom he ascribes it, *ib.* a chronological error of his, *ib.*
- Honour**, how it differs from worship, ii. 663.
- Honours** to be proportionate to the excellency of the object, ii. 25.
- Hooker**, Richard, i. 168. ii. 343, 347. iv. 128, 428 n. 438 n. 439 n. 462 n. 530, 572 n. 600 n. 800 n. v. 209, 225. vi. 22 n. 27 n. 82, 104, 124, 127, 128, 468, 496. observation on his assertion that we have properly now no sacrifice, v. 140. see *Webster*.
- Huole**, Joseph, notice of, vi. 425, 428, 438.
- Hooper**, John, bishop of Gloucester, ii. 347. iv. 497 n.
- Hoornbeck**, John, i. 196. iv. 671 n. 672 n. 701 n. 705 n. v. 74 n. 75 n. 76 n. 78 n. 80 n. 82 n. 89 n. 91 n. 94 n. 99 n. 100 n. 102 n. vi. 464, 467—473, 484.
- Hophni**, v. 59, 64.
- Horace**, iv. 411.
- Horbery**, Matthew, fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, i. 242, 254. vi. 416 n. 435, 437. his theological writings of great excellence, *ib.* i. 116. notice of his promotion, 242. vi. 425. praise of his posthumous Sermons, i. 242 n. published a dissertation on the Eternity of future Punishments, *ib.* author of the *Animadversions on Jackson's Christian Liberty* asserted, 116. vi. 422. praise of his *Animadversions*, 417, 419.
- Hormisdas**, pope, iii. 202.
- Horneius**, Joannes, iii. 194 n.
- Hosius**, condemned by the false Sardican council, ii. 604.
- Hospinian**, Ralph, iv. 490. v. 162 n. 205 n. 212 n. 261 n. 278 n. 286 n. 405.
- Hottinger**, John Henry, iv. 705 n. vi. 484.
- Hours**, the old way of reckoning, vi. 430.
- Howe**, —, iii. 412.
- Huber**, Samuel, ii. 354.
- Huet**, Peter Daniel, bishop of Avranches, ii. 203, 254, 258, 377, 391 n. 588, 600, 641 n. iii. 564. iv. 195 n. 591 n. 678, 679 n. v. 5 n. 12 n. 20 n. 21 n. notice of a posthumous work of his, iii. 688. went too far in deducing all the heathen mythology from scripture history, v. 15.
- Hugh**, king of France, iii. 125.
- Hugo**, iv. 439 n.
- Hugo**, one of Gregory IX.'s legates in the conferences with the Greeks at Constantinople, iii. 128.
- Hugo**, cardinal, v. 165 n.
- Hulsemannus**, —, iii. 251 n.
- Human sacrifices**, by what learned men considered to have been before Abraham's time, iv. 203. who have been of a contrary opinion, *ib.* Waterland's view of the matter, *ib.*
- Human sacrifices**, by what countries offered, iv. 228.
- Humphrey**, Dr., iv. 418 n.
- Huntlaeus**, Gordon, v. 143 n.
- Hutcheson**, Dr. Francis, iv. 411, 412.
- Hutchings**, John, i. 251 n.
- Hutchinson**, bishop, vi. 434.
- Huygens**, Christian, iv. 410.
- Hyde**, Dr. Thomas, iv. 187, 203, 293 n. 296 n.
- Hydruntinus**, Nicholas, iii. 171, 195. native of Otranto, 127. sided with the Greeks, and wrote in Greek against the Latins, *ib.*
- Hymenæus**, v. 97. excommunicated by St. Paul for denial of a future resurrection, iii. 402.
- Hypostasis**, or Person of the Father and Son, one and the same, according to the

- Sabellian doctrine, i. 338, 339, 498. in what sense the catholics professed either three, or one only, i. 478, 497.
- Hypostasis signified *person* during the time of the Sabellian controversy, ii. 561. a debate respecting hypostasis begun at Antioch, 711. the Arian use of the phrase, *ib.* the Sabellian, *ib.* the difference, how compromised in a synod at Alexandria, *ib.* the phrase *τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις* long a bone of contention among the Greeks, but at last prevailed, 713. with what signification, *ib.* see *Substantia* and *ὑπόστασις*.
- I.
- Iberia, woman of, vi. 98, 151.
- Icellam, Laurence, vi. 402.
- Idatius Lemicensis, ii. 429.
- Idle words, in scripture phrase, what, v. 709.
- Idol-mediators, Dr. Clarke's notion of, disproved, ii. 656, 657.
- Idolatry, the true notion of, ii. 723.
- Ideais*, who are deemed such among protestants, v. 278.
- Ignatius, i. 356, 389 n. 463. ii. 33 n. 46, 55, 560, 576 n. 577, 643. iii. 69, 238, 483, 560, 608, 615. iv. 27, 37, 89, 669, 674, 686. v. 108 n. 110 n. 175, 207 n. 404. vi. 96, 110, 160, 462. time of his writing, ii. 572. ordained bishop of Antioch by St. John, iii. 556. when he probably died a martyr, *ib.* 483. Polycarp his scholar, *ib.* his smaller Epistles genuine, ii. 591. Fabricius's censure of Whiston's attempt to substitute the larger for the smaller, 590. his declaration of the Son's omniscience, i. 338. his assertion that "Christ is the Son of God, according to the will and power of God," explained, 349. styled the Son *ἀγέννητος*, 363. was the disciple of St. John, ii. 46, 572. iii. 313, 483. proof of his holding the necessary existence of the Son, ii. 572. reasons why the word he uses should be read *ἀγέννητος*, not *ἀγέννητος*, *ib.* in the hypothesis of the temporal generation of the son, iii. 22. what he understood by generation, ii. 591, 592. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, iii. 80. observations on a passage of his respecting heresies, 556, 557, 558. his testimony respecting Christ's divinity, 589. used the phrase *breaking bread* for the communion, iv. 473. the first that applied the term *eucharist* to the communion, 484. probably did not interpret John vi. of the eucharist, 544. his sentiments respecting the eucharistic elements, 580.
- Illustrations, see *Similitudes*.
- Image, a medium of worship, ii. 665. use of them disproved from the eucharist, v. 116. bishop Peacock's defence of them, vi. 281.
- Imbonatus, iii. 178 n.
- Immensus*, its sense in the Athanasian Creed, iii. 233.
- Immersion, observation respecting, v. 370.
- Immutability, a divine attribute ascribed to Christ in scripture, ii. 152.
- Impanation, what tenet respecting the eucharistic elements implied by this term, v. 205.
- Imposture, Prideaux's marks and characters of, v. 65 n. chargeable on infidels, 66.
- Imprecations in scripture, defence of, iv. 320, 325.
- Incarnation*, doctrine of, as expressed in catholic writers from 373 to 431., iii. 207.
- Incomprehensible, its sense in the Athanasian Creed, iii. 233.
- Incursion, sins of daily, what, v. 638.
- Indefectibility of the church cannot subsist without episcopal succession, vi. 85.
- Individual, whether any thing individual can be communicated, i. 374. Dr. Clarke's notion of individual substance, ii. 620. the school definition of individual, 622.
- Individuation, no certain principle of, ii. 206, 619.
- Infallibility, the papists maintain that without infallibility there can be no proper certainty, iii. 495. Chillingworth's answer, *ib.* popish infallibility contrasted with protestant certainty, 500.
- Infant communion, reason and time of its origin, iv. 563. and *adv.* Clarke's observations on Waterland's tract upon Infant Communion, v. 399. bishop Bedell recommended the revival of infant communion, 403. Mr. Peirce also published an essay in its favour, *ib.* opinions of learned moderns on this point, *ib.* practised in the Greek church, 405. view taken by the council of Trent, 406. what handle has been made of the ancients practising it, vi. 41. St. Austin's sentiments on the subject considered, 43. pope Innocent the First's, 57. Marius Mercator's, 58. Faustus Reiensis's, 60. Gelasius's, *ib.* Fulgentius's solution of the very case, when proposed to him, 61. the first rise of the doctrine of the strict necessity of infant communion, 63. archbishop Lanfranc disowned and argued against it, 64. modern Greeks in favour of it, *ib.* at what age the ancients admitted children to the communion, and why, 65. the question, whether infant communion be necessary at the present day, considered, 69. notice of the conduct of both Romanists and protestants with regard to the

- charge against the ancients on this point, 70.
- Infants, justified in baptism, vi. 32.
- Inferior worship, see *Worship*.
- Inferiority, and subordination, difference between, ii. 11, 12.
- Infidel writers, arguments in favour of enforcing the law against them, in defence of Christianity, iv. 374—392.
- Infidelity and heresy, their common origin, i. 118. have often appeared together, 119. four species of infidelity, according to Roger Boyle, vi. 477.
- Infinite powers, whether necessary to the work of redemption, ii. 567. imply eternal duration, *ib.*
- Infinity, remarks on the idea of, iii. 384.
- Infirmity, two sermons upon the nature and kinds of sins of, v. 518.
- Inhabitation, or *περιχώρησις*, its meaning, as applied to the Trinity, ii. 203.
- Innocent I, pope, iv. 751 n. v. 404, 405, 406, 411, 412, 413. vi. 70, 71. when made bishop of Rome, iv. 563. introduced the doctrine of infant communion, *ib.* his sentiments touching it, vi. 57.
- Innocent III, pope, iii. 171.
- Innocent V, pope, see *Tarentinus*.
- Inny, William, iii. 670 n. vi. 304, 414.
- Insincerity, why so prevalent, v. 578.
- Insolence, what, v. 570.
- Inspiration, used in a just and sober sense in the Liturgy, iv. 449.
- Integrity of manners, a sermon on the true wisdom of, v. 577.
- Intelligent Being, or Agent*, is with the Arians equivalent to *Person*, ii. 320 n. shewn not to be so, 650, 653. the true meaning, 707.
- Interpretation of scripture divided into literal, figurative, and mystical, iv. 152. literal interpretation, *ib.* subdivided into historical and doctrinal, *ib.* figurative interpretation, *ib.* different kinds of it, 153. mystical interpretation, 154. the words bear one sense, but the thing is expressive of something spiritual or sublime, *ib.* is distributed into parabolical, symbolical, typical, and allegorical, 155. parabolical, *ib.* symbolical, 157. particularly the language of prophecy, *ib.* hardly differs from parabolical, 158. a distinction between them, *ib.* typical interpretation, *ib.* allegorical, 159. examples, 160 n. distinguished into didactical, tropological, and anagogical, 160. their meaning, *ib.* to allegorize well a nice affair, 164. Waterland's opinion of it, *ib.* St. Austin and Vitringa proper allegorists, *ib.* Origen and Burnet injudicious, *ib.* a sketch of the several divisions and subdivisions of scripture interpretation, 165. literal interpretation, when preferable, 332, 345.
- Intuition, not demonstration, belongs to first principles and axioms, iii. 387.
- Irenæus, i. 280 n. 287, 288, 291 n. 292 n. 293 n. 294 n. 295 n. 297, 306 n. 325, 358, 381 n. 384, 385, 386 n. 389 n. 463, 472, 513, 530, 541. ii. 31 n. 37 n. 40 n. 46, 51 n. 52, 62 n. 63 n. 64 n. 65 n. 76 n. 77 n. 81 n. 87 n. 96 n. 108 n. 112 n. 114 n. 115 n. 122 n. 128 n. 129 n. 130 n. 131 n. 132 n. 137, 148 n. 155 n. 160 n. 162, 165 n. 172 n. 179, 180 n. 187 n. 216 n. 229, 230, 249, 378, 411, 430, 431, 435 n. 436, 440, 446, 447, 465, 473 n. 478, 524 n. 527, 552 n. 553, 554, 557, 558 n. 560, 576 n. 577, 582, 583, 584, 585, 613, 618, 629 n. 630 n. 643, 653 n. 657, 660 n. 667, 672 n. 673, 683, 697, 722, 727, 741, 749. iii. 16, 30, 71, 463 n. 469, 483, 484 n. 528, 529, 538, 539 n. 540, 542 n. 545 n. 546 n. 547, 550 n. 556 n. 560, 581, 608 n. 609—612, 615, 616, 617, 618 n. 662, 676. iv. 8, 9, 37, 366, 440 n. 447, 451 n. 475 n. 485, 524 n. 526 n. 531, 534, 545, 629 n. 674, 687, 741 n. 746, 753 n. 772. v. 109 n. 110 n. 111 n. 131 n. 133 n. 152 n. 182, 190, 191 n. 207 n. 216, 254, 260, 263 n. 264 n. 268 n. 273, 277 n. 281 n. 636 n. vi. 14 n. 464. vindicated and explained, ii. 430, 435, 436, 557—560. different supposed eras of his birth, iii. 692. the time of his writing, ii. 443, 487, 582. his Comment on Exod. iii. 6. which he understood as spoken by Christ, i. 295. vindication against his Comment on Matth. xxiv. 26. and Mark xiii. 22. about ignorance in Christ's being misinterpreted, 333, 334, 335. how he interpreted *κατὰ σάρκα*, as applied to the Son, 349 n. frequently asserted the eternity of the Word, and also the eternal generation, by necessary implication, 353. expressly styled the Son *ἀγέννητος*, 363. declared the whole Trinity to be concerned in the creation, 384 n. 385. his declaration that worship is due to God alone, 419. therein including the Son, 424. assigned the creation to the Word, 430 n. maintained that the *Logos* was worshipped of old, together with the Father, 432. his sentiments respecting the Son vindicated against Dr. Whitby and Mr. Emlyn, 515, 516. another passage of his cleared from misrepresentation, 525, 561. his notion of God, ii. 38. considered the Septuagint as an *inspired* performance, 137. his testimony as to the Father and Son being one God, 443. vindi-

- cated, 444. styles the Father *only God*, in opposition to the Valentinian *Æons*, never in opposition to the Son, 448. his argument that the Son is the true and only God from his forgiving sins, *ib.* declares that the Son has no God above him, 449, 450. texts mentioning God applied by him to Christ, 487. objections answered, *ib.* proof of his holding the necessary existence of the Son, 582. seems from hints to have asserted his eternal generation, 599. iii. 22, 24. reasons for reading *ἀγέννητος*, not *ἀγέννητος*, in a certain passage of his, ii. 750. the passage explained, *ib.* did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, iii. 82. his censure of the Ebionites, 568, 569, 570. miracles and prophecies had not ceased in his time, 569. Alexander's Essay on this father commended, 572. his testimony respecting Christ's divinity, 592. notice of his calling the eucharist an oblation, iv. 478. Hippolytus a disciple of his, 511. did not interpret John vi. of the eucharist, 546. his sentiments respecting the eucharistic elements, 582. his opinion of the gospel sacrifices, 740. his opinion of the need and efficacy of baptism, vi. 17.
- Isaiah, vi. 351.
- Isach, generally considered another name of Sarai, iv. 187.
- Ischyras, vi. 209, 210. usurped the office of presbyter, 209. called to account by Athanasius, *ib.* fled to the Eusebian faction, who made him bishop of Mareotis, *ib.* excommunicated by the Sardican council, *ib.* and why, *ib.*
- Isidorus Hispalensis, (of Seville,) iii. 111, 118, 260 n. 262 n. 265 n. 268 n. v. 167 n. vi. 96, 123. his definition of sacrifice explained, v. 288.
- Isidorus Mercator, iv. 787.
- Isidorus Pelusiota, iv. 489, 578 n. 594 n. 763, 781 n. v. 131 n. 165 n. 167 n. 252, 256, 277 n. vi. 476. was a disciple of Chrysostom, v. 238.
- Isocrates, iv. 409.
- Italy, church of, when it received the Athanasian Creed, iii. 185.
- Ittigius, Thomas, ii. 590 n. iii. 484 n. 555 n. 577 n. 591 n. iv. 545 n. 684 n. vi. 424, 484. a learned Lutheran, iv. 726.
- Ivo Carnotensis, iii. 257. vi. 63 n.
- J.
- Jackson, Cyril, dean of Christ Church, Oxford, i. 9 n.
- Jackson, John, i. 3, 56, 98, 102, 111, 112, 120, 225, 231, 255, 256. ii. 117 n. iii. 4, 45, 95, 288 n. 291 n. 292 n. 293 n. 298 n. 299 n. v. 167 n. 281 n. vi. 453 n. notice of his scurrilous invective under the title of "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Waterland, &c. by a Clergyman," i. 3. how he forced Waterland to take a public part in the Trinitarian controversy, 43, 44, 269, 270. Dr. Clarke bore a considerable part in his Answer to Waterland's Queries, 44, 45. notice of his Reply to Dr. Waterland's Defence of his Queries, 68. how far he was assisted in it by Dr. Clarke, 68 n. this Reply a more elaborate and able performance than his Answer, 70. answered by Waterland in his *Second Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, &c. *ib.* and considered by him to contain the whole strength of the Arian cause, ii. 367. put forth his *Remarks on Dr. Waterland's Second Defence of some Queries*, under the title of *Philaethes Cantabrigiensis*, i. 73. object of these Remarks, *ib.* how executed, 75. not noticed by Waterland, and why, 76, 77. put forth *Further Remarks* (under the same title) on Dr. Waterland's *Further Vindication*, 81. which Dr. Waterland did not answer, *ib.* publishes his *Christian Liberty asserted*, and his *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Waterland*, which were not answered by Waterland, 116. his *Christian Liberty* answered by Horbery, 116. vi. 422 n. Waterland's remarks on his *Christian Liberty*, 409, 414. his *Plea for Human Reason* answered by Browne, 414 n. list of his publications, 414.
- Jacobus, R., v. 293 n.
- Jamblichus, said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 16.
- James, St., founder of the church of Jerusalem, vi. 272.
- James I, king of Great Britain, ii. 271, 286. vi. 129, 398.
- James, —, regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, i. 9.
- James, Richard, vi. 249, 369.
- Jane, queen, vi. 361, 373.
- Jansenius, bishop of Ghent, v. 143 n. 163, 165 n.
- Januensis, Johannes, iii. 143, 246 n. sometimes styled Jo. Balbus, 129.
- Jarchi, Solomon, iv. 347.
- Jefferies, judge, iv. 380.
- Jehovah, meaning of the term, i. 308, 309, 310. ii. 44, 514, 515. applied to Christ in his own person, and in his own right, 308, 309. ii. 139. the Arian explanation of the word, 65. disproved, *ib.* Jehovah the incommunicable name of the one true God, 67. the Son of God considered as such by St. John, 42. instances of the one true God insisting upon his being Jehovah, 44.

- Jehovah*, the Hebrew for *Lord* in Deut. vi. 4., 85.
- Jehovah Elohim*, the incommunicable name of the one true God, ii. 128. the corresponding name in the New Testament, *Lord God*, given to Christ, *ib.*
- Jekyll, sir Joseph, master of the rolls, the Mortmain Act brought into parliament by him, vi. 449 n.
- Jenkins, Robert, i. 254. iii. 638 n. iv. 161 n. 205 n. 229 n. 246 n. 257 n. 273 n. 289, 292 n. 294 n. 295, 299 n. 300 n. 320 n. 338 n. 349 n. 355, 367 n. 412, 768 n. v. 5 n. 22 n. 24 n. vi. 472.
- Jeroboam, v. 58, 59.
- Jerome, i. 285, 290, 402 n. 530 n. 538 n. 548. ii. 43 n. 44 n. 132 n. 133 n. 136 n. 137, 141 n. 142, 143, 147 n. 189, 212, 257 n. 376, 413 n. 414 n. 429, 430 n. 498 n. 561, 563, 586 n. 589, 591 n. 637, 639, 640 n. 641 n. 695 n. 696, 710, 711 n. iii. 16, 206 n. 208, 268 n. 438 n. 463 n. 482 n. 517 n. 540, 541 n. 547, 555, 568 n. 584 n. 587, 588, 608 n. 639 n. 691. iv. 320 n. 332 n. 333 n. 338 n. 345 n. 347, 355, 359 n. 367, 428 n. 443 n. 580 n. 588 n. 616 n. 656 n. 708 n. 773, 796. v. 126 n. 131 n. 133 n. 165 n. 167 n. 175 n. 206, 257, 263 n. 272 277 n. 278 n. vi. 63 n. 87, 88, 97, 119, 121, 122, 144, 180, 181, 200, 203, 204 n. 206, 243, 353, 474, 479, 480, 483, 484, 487, 489. his proof that the Son is not excluded by 1 Cor. viii. 6. from being the one God, i. 280 n. his Comment on the form of baptism, ii. 176 n. charged Eusebius with Arianism, 495. translated Didymus in defence of the divinity of the Holy Ghost, 640. at first a great admirer and defender of Origen, *ib.* afterwards a vehement impugner, *ib.* concerned in the Roman, Gallican, and Hebraic Psalters, iii. 162, 163, 164. observations respecting a passage of his contradicting himself and all antiquity, 575. notice of the threefold method of commenting on scripture laid down by him, 694. how he interpreted John vi., iv. 561. his opinion of the Aaronical and Melchizedekian sacrifices, v. 272, 273. whether for or against lay-baptism, vi. 191. once a scholar of Gregory Nazianzen, iv. 489. taught grammar by Donatus, vi. 269.
- Jerusalem, church of, St. James its founder, vi. 272.
- Jerusalem, council of, notice of, i. 547.
- Jerusalem Creed, see *Creed of Jerusalem*.
- Jesse, bishop of Amiens, vi. 64.
- Jesus college library, Cambridge, vi. 401.
- Jewel, John, bishop of Salisbury, iv. 567 n. 570 n. 603, 752 n. v. 167 n. 191 n. 192 n. 193 n. 198 n. 201 n. 203 n. 206 n. 209, 210, 211 n. 223 n. 247 n. 261 n. 278 n. vi. 27 n. 35, 491. notice of his challenge to the Romanists, iii. 660. his statement of the different opinions touching the work of the Holy Ghost upon the elements in the eucharist, vi. 489.
- Jews, after Christ's time, corrupted some copies of the Septuagint, ii. 137. notice respecting their population, iv. 290. standing evidences of the truth of divine revelations, 302. notice of their being considered a contemptible people, v. 14. well vindicated by Josephus, *ib.*
- Job, book of, observation on its structure, iv. 315. Job himself probably the author of the main part, *ib.*
- Jobius, i. 437 n. ii. 43 n. 476 n. 767 n.
- John, St., the undoubted author of the Gospel that bears his name, ii. 29. was the youngest of the apostles, and survived the rest, *ib.* would have suffered in Domitian's persecution had he not been miraculously preserved, *ib.* banished to Patmos, where he was favoured with revelations, *ib.* spent the short remainder of his days, after his exile, at Ephesus, *ib.* for what purpose, and at whose request, he wrote his Gospel, 30, 132. his first chapter establishes the divinity, personality, and incarnation of the Son, *ib.* which chapter has been the more tampered with for its very plainness, *ib.* four interpretations given to it, 30. observations on the Sabellian interpretation, *ib.* reasons for the personality of the Logos, 33. the name expressly applied by St. John in Rev. xix. 13. to Christ, 34. observations on the Socinian interpretation, 35. and on the Arian, *ib.* the catholic construction, 36. asserted and maintained, 37. *et seq.* reasons for believing that St. John, in calling the Word God, meant one that is *truly* God, 39. considered the Son of God as the true Jehovah, 42. wrote his Epistle particularly against the error of Cerinthus, 132 n. anecdote of his retiring from a bath on meeting Cerinthus, iii. 469. and of his reclaiming a robber, 483. that he wrote his Gospel and his first Epistle against Cerinthus and Ebion, shewn to be probable from external evidence, 539, 540, 547. and from internal characters, 542, 548. founder of the church of Ephesus, vi. 272. his Gospel rejected by the Alogi, and by Theodotus, iii. 673.
- John, patriarch of Antioch, his Creed respecting the *incarnation*, iii. 210.
- John of Jerusalem, iii. 122. a defender of Origen, ii. 641.

- John II, pope, iii. 203.  
 Johnson, —, vi. 244.  
 Johnson, Dr. H. B., vi. 167.  
 Johnson, John, i. 163, 231, 555. iv. 42, 472 n. 477 n. 511 n. 539 n. 544 n. 545 n. 546 n. 549 n. 553 n. 556 n. 557 n. 558 n. 561 n. 562 n. 587 n. 590 n. 598 n. 609 n. 618 n. 652 n. 678 n. 679 n. 686, 707 n. 713 n. 714 n. 715 n. 732 n. 737 n. 739 n. 743 n. 749 n. 752 n. 753 n. 771 n. 800 n. v. 207 n. 222 n. 228 n. 241, 246 n. 248 n. 249 n. 251 n. 255 n. 261 n. 265 n. 266 n. 281 n. 287 n. 289 n. vi. 203, 430, 445, 447. the intimate friend of Dr. Brett, i. 166. notice of the peculiarities of his *Unbloody Sacrifice*, *ib.* and of Waterland's MS. censures on it, 167. his *Unbloody Sacrifice* defended by Dr. Brett against Waterland, 204. observation on his notion of the eucharistic sacrifice, v. 146. the excesses of his scheme in depreciating spiritual sacrifices, 151. in overvaluing material sacrifices, 155. some excesses in relation to our Lord's supposed sacrifice in the eucharist, 161. and in relation to the sacrifice of the cross, 172. a brief analysis of his system, 180.  
 Jones, Dr., vi. 423.  
 Jones, Jonathan, *Instructions to the Bishop of St. David's in Defence of Religious Liberty*, published under that name, probably assumed, i. 434. notice of the Instructions, and of Waterland's *Defence* of the bishop, in answer to it, *ib.*  
 Jones, John, i. 221.  
 Jortin, John, archdeacon of London, an intimate acquaintance of bishop Law, i. 113 n.  
 Josephus, iv. 195 n. 294 n. 300 n. v. 18 n. 20 n. 24, 763. vindicated the Jews from the charge of being contemptible, 14.  
 Jovian, emperor, ii. 715, 717.  
 Joye, G., fellow of Peter college, Cambridge, vi. 305—309, 314, 323, 351, 364, 394, 396, 403.  
 Judaizers, the impugners of Christ's divinity, anciently so called, iii. 590.  
 Judaizing Christians, their error, iii. 401. St. Paul's censure of them, *ib.*  
 Jude, Leo, his exposition of the Apocalypse, translated from German into English by E. Alen, vi. 384, 391.  
 Judgment committed to the Son not the sole foundation for the honour due to him, i. 436. the Socinian foundation for the worship of Christ, ii. 681. adopted by Dr. Clarke, 685. this opinion confuted, *ib.*  
 Judgment, why assigned peculiarly to Christ, ii. 552.  
 Juggé, Richard, vi. 313, 336, 341, 348, 358, 362, 363, 370, 381, 401, 404, 405.  
 Julian, emperor, ii. 186, 715. iii. 541, 610, 642. iv. 37, 192. v. 16, 46, 255. his death, *ib.* 715.  
 Julianus, cardinal, iii. 173.  
 Julius, condemned by the false Sardican council. ii. 609.  
 Julius, pope, iii. 131, 173, 199.  
 Julius Firmicus, v. 167 n. 207 n. 271 n.  
 Junius, Franciscus, iii. 236 n. 257. iv. 252 n. 339, 367 n. vi. 393, 433, 436.  
 Jurieu, Peter, iii. 532. v. 163 n.  
 Justification, bishop Van Mildert's observations on Waterland's tract upon, i. 221. Clarke's account of this treatise, v. 388. Waterland's explanation of the 11th, 12th, and 13th Articles touching justification, 392. good works may precede justification but not grace, 397. justification of sinners comes to the same with remission, iv. 642. distinction to be made between present and final justification, 643. what St. Paul meant by justification by faith, v. 649, 650. what the name imports, vi. 3. active and passive, *ib.* what the thing contains, 5. how distinguished from renovation and regeneration, 7. sanctification and justification near allied, but not the same thing, *ib.* distinction between them, *ib.* and between regeneration and justification, *ib.* concurring causes on God's part, and on man's, to produce and to preserve justification, 9. the Trinity, *ib.* baptism, 10. proved from scripture, *ib.* and the ancients, 16. some moderns have considered justification as antecedent to baptism, 22. faith, emphatically the instrument whereby we receive the grant of justification, *ib.* 26. conditions of justification, 28. faith, in an enlarged sense, *ib.* 29. good works, 30. why the latter have been objected to, as conditions, *ib.* extremes that have been run into respecting justification, 33. how the following have fallen into the proud extreme, as disdaining to accept the grace of God, or the merits of Christ; viz. pagans, *ib.* pharisaical Jews, 34. Pelagians, *ib.* schoolmen and Romanists, *ib.* Socinians, 35. deists, *ib.* all who boast of a sinless perfection in this life, *ib.* those who think their good deeds will atone for their evil deeds, *ib.* the libertine extreme, 33, 36, 37. Bull's distinction between it and regeneration, 480.  
 Justin, iv. 407.  
 Justin Martyr, i. 291 n. 292 n. 293 n. 356 n. 359, 389, 463, 465 n. 489, 498, 499 n. 514, 526, 529, 537 n. ii. 31 n. 51 n. 57 n. 60 n. 62 n. 64 n. 129 n. 137 n. 142 n. 148 n. 159 n. 160 n. 165 n. 172, 192 n. 213, 229, 249, 439, 465,

- 478, 527, 529, 553, 609, 611 n. 614 n. 615, 616 n. 630 n. 635, 660 n. 666, 703, 710, 727 n. 741, 742, 749, 755. iii. 23, 70, 482 n. 484 n. 545 n. 571 n. 581, 590, 609, 617, 661, 662, 676. iv. 9, 39, 89, 300 n. 484, 486, 496, 503, 504, 524 n. 525 n. 529 n. 531, 534, 539, 674, 687, 691, 707 n. 746, 767 n. v. 114 n. 124 n. 126 n. 131 n. 135 n. 182 n. 190, 207 n. 254, 255 n. 259, 276 n. 277 n. vi. 489. explained, ii. 436, 486. time of his writing, 438, 481. his declaration that Christ was the Lord and God who appeared to Moses, Abraham, and Jacob, i. 206. resolved his divinity into his Sonship, and his Sonship into communication of the same divine substance, 297, 323. to prove Christ's divinity was his avowed design throughout his dialogue, 297. the conclusion he draws from the whole, 298. his reading of Exodus vi. 3.. 311 n. in what sense he made the generation of the Son *voluntary*, 350. considered Christ to be a Son *κατὰ βούλην*, but not God *κατὰ βούλην*, 350 n. this passage vindicated from Whithy's misinterpretation, ii. 254. made the Son's generation *temporary*, i. 359. some passages cited from him, proving the *coeternity* of the Son, with observations on them, 362 n. 369. interpreted generation by *manifestation*, 367. his declaration that worship is due to God alone, 418. but then he maintains the Son to be God, and therefore also to be worshipped, 423. a passage of his respecting the God of Abraham, and the divinity of the Son, vindicated from Dr. Whithy's misinterpretation, 526. ii. 234. and another from Dr. Clarke's, i. 561. his notion of God, ii. 38. his Comment with respect to the Trinity, 177. his testimony as to Father and Son being one God, 438. texts of scripture belonging to the one God supreme, applied by him to God the Son, 481. objections answered, *ib.* his account and testimony of Christ's divinity, 506. iii. 591. proof of his holding the necessary existence of the Son, ii. 578. speaks of no generation higher than that voluntary antemundane generation, otherwise called manifestation, 593. vindicated from making the Son God by voluntary appointment, 593, 594. in what sense his words *κατὰ βούλην* may be understood, *ib.* his explanation of the Father's being Lord of the Son, 595. the Son proceeded, in time, according to him, *ib.* iii. 22. his maintaining the worship of the Son, defended and explained, ii. 672. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, iii. 81. a passage of his considered by some as proving that the impugnors of Christ's divinity were received as brethren by the primitive church, 558. bishop Bull's vindication of the passage, and solutions to objections, 560—564. remarks on Le Clerc's observations, 564—566. terms applied by him to the eucharist, iv. 477. Mede's explanation of *ἀνάμνησις* in a passage of his, disputed, 486. his sentiments respecting the eucharistic elements, 582. his opinion of gospel sacrifices, 734. an apparent inconsistency of his considered, 736—739. considered Christian sacrifices to be immaterial, v. 242. seems to have led the way in the distinction of bloody and unbloody sacrifice, 246. maintained that pagan writers borrowed from the scriptures, 7. his opinion of the need and efficacy of baptism, vi. 17. Tatian his scholar, v. 8.
- Justinian, emperor, ii. 377, 641. iii. 203. Juvenal, iv. 411.
- K.
- Kale, Richard, vi. 404.
- κατὰ φύσιν*, in what sense commonly used by the ancients, ii. 580.
- Kaye, John, bishop of Bristol, i. 4.
- Keach, Benjamin, vi. 420.
- Keill, John, iv. 161 n. 407—411.
- Kelsall, Edward, i. 225, 226, 228, 229. vi. 78, 79. his answer to Dr. Waterland's first letter against lay-baptism, 81. why inclined to consider lay-baptism a question only of discipline, not of doctrine, 97. summary of the defence of his opinion in favour of lay-baptism, 135. Waterland's second letter in reply to him, 138. objection to the method of his treatise, 141.
- Kempis, Thomas à, iv. 399.
- Kennett, Basil, of Corpus Christi college, Oxford, i. 229. iv. 402. vi. 75.
- Kettlewell, John, iv. 414.
- Key, Thomas, vi. 382, 389.
- Kidder, Richard, bishop of Bath and Wells, iv. 271 n. v. 132 n. 162 n. 167 n. 262 n.
- Kimchi, David, iv. 347, 357 n.
- King, —, of Pembroke hall, Cambridge, a Jacobite, i. 14.
- King, Peter, chancellor of England, iv. 412.
- King, William, archbishop of Dublin, his *Essay on the Origin of Evil*, translated by Law, vi. 453 n. his *Sermon on the Fall*, appended to the translation, *ib.* praise of the sermon, 453.
- King, John Tregonwell, i. 251 n.
- King of kings*, a divine title given to Christ in scripture, ii. 143.



- Kirkham, Walter de, bishop of Durham, iii. 127.
- Knapton, James, iii. 4. iv. 53, 288.
- Knapton, John, iv. 289.
- Knight, Dr. James, i. 101 n. 236. ii. 27, 630 n. iii. 617, 678. iv. 25 n. 30 n. 39 n. was the author of *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, vindicated from the Misrepresentations of Dr. Clarke*, i. 38. notice of it, *ib.* and its character, *ib.* replied to by Dr. Clarke, 39. further maintained by him, *ib.* again answered by Dr. Clarke, *ib.*
- Knighton, —, vi. 366, 372.
- Knyghtes*, its meaning in old English, vi. 366.
- Koburger, Antonius, iv. 137.
- κοινωνεῖν* and *μετέχειν*, distinction between, iv. 611.
- Korah, v. 59.
- Kortholtus, Christian, v. 42 n. 43 n. 49 n. 66 n. 100 n.
- Kromayerus, Jerome, iii. 251 n.
- Κόριος ὀνόματι*, and *Κόριος παντοκράτωρ*, used indifferently in the Septuagint for the same Hebrew words, ii. 142.
- Kynaston, sir Francis, vi. 337.
- L.
- Labbe, Philip, ii. 491 n. 630 n. iii. 111, 120, 177, 236 n.
- Lactantius, i. 287, 293 n. 294 n. 472. ii. 97 n. 132 n. 207, 226, 378, 391, 478, 498 n. 528, 570, 586 n. 607, 657 n. 695. iii. 571 n. iv. 287, 303 n. 305 n. 756 n. v. 37 n. 54 n. 131 n. 135 n. 154 n. 190 n. 223 n. 237 n. 238, 239, 243 n. 247, 254, 255 n. 259. vi. 303, 471. time of his writing, ii. 470, 493. asserted the Father and Son to be one substance and one God, i. 324. *κατὰ σάρκα*, how applied by him to the Son, 349 n. had absurd notions of the Deity, supposing God to have had a beginning, and to have made himself, 512. ii. 226, 473. his testimony as to the Father and Son being one God, 470. never laid much stress on by Waterland, on account of expressions hardly defensible, *ib.* an examination which side he most favours, 471. was a catechumen only, and not fully instructed, and therefore not altogether accordant with catholic principles, 474. little stress therefore to be laid on a few incautious expressions, 678. texts respecting God applied by him to Christ, 679. objections answered, 493. whether he believed that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, iii. 88. his opinion of gospel sacrifices, iv. 754. maintained that pagan writers borrowed from the scriptures, but only through corrupt tradition, v. 11. what has been thought of this opinion, 12. considered Christian sacrifices to be incorporeal, 244.
- Lælius, iii. 625.
- Lækemacher, —, iv. 264 n. 311 n. 320 n. 355 n. 365 n.
- Lambecius, Peter, iii. 130 n. 156, 169, 184 n. 222. drew up the catalogue of the Vienna library, 156.
- Lambert, —, master of St. John's college, Cambridge, i. 25.
- Lambeth Articles drawn up by Whitaker on the foot of Calvinism, ii. 344. of what use were these, if the Thirty-nine Articles were considered Calvinistic, 345. the Lambeth Articles were disliked by queen Elizabeth and the court, *ib.* were inserted in the Irish confession of 1615, 346.
- Lambeth degrees, an instance of their validity being objected to, i. 23. the objection overruled by the king's bench, *ib.*
- Lambeth library, iii. 169. vi. 243, 300, 369, 373. has a MS. Commentary on the first eighty-nine Psalms, iii. 145 n. notice of its MS. of the Gallican Psalter with the Athanasian Creed, 158, 163 n.
- Lampe, Fredericus Adolphus, iii. 537.
- Lampridius, Ælius, or Actius, iv. 501 n.
- Lamy, —, i. 245 n.
- Lancaster, —, iv. 157, 540 n.
- Lande, Peter le, iii. 120.
- Lanfranc, archbishop, disowned and argued against infant communion, vi. 64.
- Langbaine, Gerard, of Queen's college, Oxford, iii. 143. vi. 307, 428 n.
- Lany, —, master of Pembroke hall, Cambridge, i. 23, 24.
- Lany, bishop, iv. 744 n. v. 223 n. vi. 485, 486. a very learned divine, and of great acumen, v. 139. his notion of the eucharistic sacrifice, *ib.*
- Laodicea, council of, iv. 791 n.
- Lapide, Cornelius à, v. 146 n. vi. 92.
- Lardner, Nathaniel, iv. 476 n.
- Lateran council made transubstantiation an article of faith, iv. 599 n.
- Latimer, Hugh, bishop of Worcester, ii. 352 n. iv. 603. J. Olde obtained preferment at his request, vi. 384, 391.
- Latin church held the Apostles' Creed to be really written by them, and therefore of as great authority as the inspired writings, iii. 119.
- Laud, William, archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 286, 350. iv. 381. v. 293 n. observations on his notion of the eucharistic sacrifice, v. 137.
- Laughton, J., vi. 241 n.
- Laurence, —, author of *Lay-Baptism invalid*, i. 225, 226, 228. vi. 76, 79, 90, 92, 99, 103, 104, 110, 117, 118, 120, 130, 134, 141, 153, 158, 163, 180,

- 192, 193, 211, 216, 221, 222, 225, 227. vindicated, 141, 229.
- Laurentius, Gaspar, v. 225 n. 226 n.
- Law, —, bishop of Chester, i. 5. vi. 453.
- Law, arguments in favour of enforcing the law against infidel writers, iv. 374—392.
- Law, Edmund, i. 5, 243, 254. of Christ's college, Cambridge, afterwards master of Peter-house, and bishop of Carlisle, 230. an intimate friend of Waterland, Jortin, and Taylor, 113 n. Waterland's *Dissertation upon the argument à priori for proving the existence of a First Cause*, added anonymously to his *Enquiry*, &c., *ib.* translated archbishop King's Essay on the Origin of Evil, vi. 453. encomium of it, 454.
- Law, William, i. 163. vi. 453 n.
- Lay-baptism, Dr. Waterland's first letter on, vi. 75. scripture confines the administration of baptism to the clergy, 76. lay-baptism therefore invalid, 77. condemned also by antiquity, 78. but heretical, or schismatical baptisms, allowed to stand good, and why, *ib.* Mr. Kelsall's answer to this letter, 81. his arguments from reason in favour of lay baptism, 82. its non-admission would make ordination doubtful, 83. scripture considered with respect to it, 94. why, perhaps, a question only of discipline not of doctrine, 97, 133. the judgment and practice of the ancient church, 109. Tertullian's testimony considered, 110. the practice allowed to prevail in cases of necessity, in both the eastern and western churches, after St. Austin's time, 123. also practised in the modern Greek church, 124. practice of the church of England, 126. Kelsall's summary account of the defence of his opinion, 135. Waterland's second letter in reply to Mr. Kelsall, 138. lay-baptism distinguished into authorized and unauthorized, 140. three cases of the latter, *ib.* the point at issue is, whether persons baptized by dissenting laymen are really and validly baptized or no, 142. Kelsall affirms it, Waterland denies it, *ib.* scripture proofs against such lay-baptism, *ib.* bishops only have the original power of baptizing, how they can delegate that power, 145, 160. the decision of the church not effective or operative upon disputed baptisms, but only declarative of what they were before, 146. lay-baptism not a question only of discipline, but of doctrine, 148. lay-baptism implicitly, virtually, or consequentially condemned by the church for more than three or four hundred years, 159. proofs, 162. Tertullian, *ib.* observations on his opinion produced in favour of it, 167. Cyprian, 169. council of Elvira, 176. of Arles, 179. and of Nice, *ib.* Hilary the deacon, 181. Pacian, 184. Basil, 186. Gregory Nazianzen, 188. Apostolical Constitutions, 190. Jerome, 191. Austin, 194. the evidence of the ancients summed up, 199. the doctrine of lay-baptism being valid, gradually crept into the western church from the time of St. Austin, 200. does not appear to have prevailed in the Greek church so early as the twelfth century, *ib.* no universal standing principle among the ancients whereon to found the validity of lay-baptism, *ib.* some general standing principles by consequence against it, 202. reasons against lay-baptism, 210. this doctrine does not necessarily condemn all that lived and died with only lay-baptism, 220. judgment and practice of the church of England, 226. Calvinists and Zuinglians considered it invalid, 93.
- Lay-praying, what, vi. 150.
- Lay-preaching, what, *ib.*
- Learning, notice of a bill brought into parliament for the encouragement of learning, but dropped, vi. 436.
- Lee, —, iv. 448 n.
- Leicester, Robert Dudley, earl of, vi. 336, 352.
- Liepsic library, its catalogue compiled by Fellerus, iii. 141. has a MS. of Bruno's, with Hampole's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, *ib.*
- Lemker, —, of Lunenburg, translated into German Delany's *Revelation examined with Candour*, vi. 452.
- Leo I, pope, surnamed *The Great*, iii. 202, 210, 217. iv. 430 n. v. 128, 167 n. 175 n. 189 n. 198 n. 277 n. 278 n. vi. 66, 479. his works published by Quesnel, iii. 111.
- Leo III, pope, iii. 122, 187.
- Leo X, pope, v. 64 n.
- Leodegarius, or St. Leger, bishop of Autun, held the council there in the seventh century, iii. 118, 120. objections against his having done so answered, 120.
- Leporius, a man of the same principles, in the main, as Nestorius, but some years before him, iii. 209, 213. obliged to fly from Gaul, 213. his recantation treatise supposed to be drawn up by St. Austin, 209, 213. an application made for permitting him to return, 213.
- Lepusculus, Sebastian, iii. 177.
- Leslie, Charles, i. 163, 203, 229. iv. 449. v. 172 n. vi. 485, 487.
- Leusden, John, iv. 281.
- Lewis, king of France and emperor, vi. 292.

- Lewis IX, iii. 159.  
 Lewis, John, i. 236, 241, 254. iii. 168. iv. 739 n. 771 n. v. 168. his literary productions, i. 229. what works he left unpublished, *ib.* Waterland's letters to him, vi. 337. met with ill treatment for his *Life of Wiclif*, 264. notice respecting his *History of our Liturgy*, which was never printed, 270 n. Waterland's observations upon it, 271. notice respecting his *MS. Antiquities of Favresham*, 303. had been under the tuition of Mr. Russell, 400 n. who introduced him to archbishop Tenison, who preferred him in the church, *ib.* notice respecting his *lives of Peacock and Wiclif*, 426. his *History of the English translations of the Bible* first prefixed to his edition of *Wiclif's New Testament*, 431. when published separately, 431 n.  
 Lhuys, Edward, the best etymologist next to G. Vossius, vi. 434, 436.  
 Libanius, iii. 642 n.  
 Liberius, pope, i. 548 n. iii. 131, 199, 220 n.  
 Liberty, human, consistent with the doctrine of grace, iv. 700.  
 Light, Magian notion of, iii. 544, 690.  
 Lightfoot, Dr. John, ii. 174 n. iv. 273, 338 n. 428 n. 496 n. 497 n. 498 n. 541 n. v. 263 n. 280 n.  
 Limborch, Philip, i. 111. iii. 684. iv. 80. one of the chief Dutch remonstrants, iii. 440. a kinsman and follower of Episcopius, 450. his opinion on the doctrine of the Trinity, *ib.* and on the necessity of believing it, 451. probably not well acquainted with the fathers, 454.  
 Lincoln cathedral, library of, vi. 439.  
 Lintot, B., iii. 363 n.  
 Linus, v. 18 n. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, 5, 9. perhaps through the Phœnicians, 18.  
 Lisle, Samuel, vi. 429, 435. chosen prolocutor of the lower house of convocation, 1735-, 413 n. when made bishop of St. Asaph, 429 n. when translated to Norwich, *ib.* his death, *ib.*  
 Litchfield and Coventry, bishop of, see *E. Chandler*.  
 Liturgy of the Church of England, owing to what mistake it probably pays so much respect to the Apostles' (or Roman) Creed, iv. 19. names of some ancient liturgies, 664. why called by the names of the Apostles' and Evangelists', vi. 272. their probable age, *ib.*  
 Livius, the poet, notice of, iii. 214.  
 Livy, iv. 412.  
 Lobb, —, a nonconformist, iii. 399, 449 n.  
 Locke, John, i. 111, 693 n. iii. 351, 383 n. iv. 101, 237, 283, 408, 409, 625 n. 668 n. 761 n. v. 90 n. 96 n. vi. 468.  
*Logos*, or *Word*, a name for the divine preexistent nature of Christ, iv. 27. the *coeternity* of the *Logos*, though not considered precisely under the formality of a *Son*, asserted by those who maintained a *temporary* generation, i. 359. proof that they did not mean by *Logos* any *attribute*, *power*, *virtue*, or *operation* of the Father, but a real subsisting person, 360. the eternity of the *Logos* evaded by the Arians by the invention of a *twofold Logos*, 368. the signification of *Logos*, ii. 31. what was the design of this name according to the catholic writers, *ib.* what they meant by *Logos ἐνδιδέρτος*, and *Logos προφορετός*, 32. how they conceived the *Logos* to be both eternal and in time, *ib.* their notion abused by the Sabellians, *ib.* reasons for the personality of the *Logos*, 33. the name expressly applied by St. John, in Rev. xix. 13., to Christ, 34. the Socinian notion of the *Logos*, 35. the Arian, *ib.* the catholic, 36. reasons for believing that St. John, in calling the *Word* God, meant one that is *truly* God, 38, 58. dominion, or vicegerency, will not account for his being so called, 41. a Gnostic conceit respecting the *Word*, 584. implied by *δύναμις ὑψίστου* in the opinion of many of the ancients, iv. 25.  
 Lollards, vi. 257. bishop Peacock's censure of, 253, 255.  
 Lombard, Peter, v. 292 n.  
 Lombardy, long corrupted with Arianism, iii. 186.  
 London, archdeacon of, — Pott. v. 228.  
 London, bishop of, see *E. Gibson*.  
 Long, James le, iii. 138, 162 n. 165 n. 167 n. 169. vi. 300, 356, 360. notice of an error of his, iii. 138.  
 Longinianus, iii. 642 n.  
 Longinus, iv. 413.  
 Lord; Tertullian's distinction between Lord and God, ii. 518. meaning of the title as applied to Christ, iv. 27, 28.  
*Lord God*, *Lord of glory*, *Lord of lords*, divine titles given to Christ in scripture, ii. 128, 143.  
*The Lord our God is one Lord*, Mark xii. 29. Deut. vi. 4., ii. 84, 85. *Jehovah* is the Hebrew for *Lord* in Deut., 85. three constructions of this sentence, *ib.* the true one, 87.  
 Lord's Prayer, when to be used, iv. 8. observation respecting it, 771. called by St. Austin a *quotidian baptism*, vi. 50.  
*Lord's Supper*, notice respecting this title of the eucharist, iv. 474. see *Eucharist*.  
 Love of desire, and love of good-will, distinction between, v. 450.

- Love-feast and the eucharist, though distinct, were both celebrated at one meeting, iv. 474.
- Loveday, —, fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, i. 4. vi. 407.
- Loveday, John, of Magdalen college, Oxford, i. 163. vi. 407. notice of Dr. Waterland's correspondence with him, i. 4. supplied many materials for a new edition of Dr. Cave's *Historia Literaria*, iv. 423 n.
- Lowth, William, bishop of London, iii. 21 n. iv. 330 n. 351 n. 354 n. 359 n. 364 n. 365 n. 366. v. 19 n.
- Luca, council of, iv. 798.
- Lucanus, iv. 413.
- Lucas, Richard, iv. 414, 415.
- Lucian, i. 356, 463 n. 469 n. ii. 179, 373, 697. iii. 81, 606 n. 610. iv. 407. time of his writing, ii. 439.
- Lucifer, bishop of Caralis, head of the Luciferian schism, vi. 191.
- Luciferians, vi. 202. why so called, 191. reason of their separation from the catholic church, *ib.* St. Jerome wrote against them, *ib.*
- Lucretius, iv. 285 n. 286 n. 300, 413. v. 41 n.
- Ludolph, Job, iii. 190, 196 n. 255 n. iv. 195 n. 295.
- Ludolphus, Saxo, a Carthusian, iii. 130, 246.
- Lunn, —, i. 247.
- Lupton, —, iv. 410.
- Lupus of Troyes, iii. 136.
- Luther, Martin, ii. 351 n. iv. 654. v. 144 n. vi. 29. called the Athanasian Creed a bulwark to the Apostles' Creed, iii. 246. how far he discarded transubstantiation, iv. 599.
- Lutheran and reformed churches, distinction of these terms, i. 186 n.
- Lutheran notion of the eucharist, observations upon, iv. 586 n.
- Lutherans and Calvinists, differ more in words than in ideas as to the eucharist, iv. 638.
- Lycurgus's laws borrowed in part from the scriptures, v. 9.
- Lyra, Nicholas de, or Lyranus, iii. 143, 340. iv. 366 n. vi. 373.
- M.
- Mabillon, John, iii. 156, 163 n. 180, 183. iv. 651 n. 654, 656 n. 685 n. 689, 752 n. 779, 792 n. 793 n. vi. 238.
- Macarius, archbishop of Antioch, iv. 560. v. 193, 407.
- Macedonians, iii. 254, 681 n. their pretence of tradition refuted by St. Basil, iii. 659. why called Pneumatomachi, v. 113. their baptisms admitted by the church, vi. 175.
- Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, an Arian, ii. 17.
- Maclaurin, Colin, iv. 408.
- Madox, Isaac, bishop of Worcester, published an examination of Neal's first volume of his *History of the Puritans*, vi. 446 n.
- Maffei, Scipio, iv. 687 n.
- Magdalen college library, Oxford, iii. 143. particular notice of its copy of Hampole's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, 142. the catalogue ascribes it to Januensis, owing to what, *ib.*
- Magdalene college, Cambridge, the mastership of, is in the gift of the possessor of the estate at Audley End, Essex, who is also visitor of the college, i. 8 n. lord Braybrooke now possesses the estates, *ib.* founded by lord Audley, vi. 429. its statutes chiefly drawn up by sir T. Pope his executor, *ib.* has Pepys's library, 244, 264.
- Magdalene college library, Cambridge, iii. 170. vi. 368, 398, 400, 401, 402, 439. see *Pepys*.
- Magian notion of light and darkness, iii. 690.
- Magistrates not appointed to dispense vengeance, iv. 775.
- Magnes, v. 195 n.
- Mahometans do not circumcise earlier than at thirteen years of age, iv. 195. what opinion they entertained of Christ, 501.
- Maimbourgh, Louis, iii. 416 n. his *History of Arianism*, translated by Dr. Webster, i. 244.
- Maimonides, Moses, iv. 238, 334, 335, 338, 347 n. 355, 367. v. 751.
- Malbranch, —, vi. 468.
- Maldonate, John, a Jesuit, iv. 428, 476. v. 143 n. 165 n. 405, 409, 410. vi. 23 n. 71. attacked the protestants for calling the eucharist a supper, answered by Casaubon, iv. 475.
- Mallet, Francis, vi. 382, 384, 388.
- Man, the creation of, a proof of Christ's divinity, ii. 69. his state before the fall, according to bishop Bull, iv. 177.
- Manby, R., v. 385 n.
- Mandamus*, usual for the heads of houses in Cambridge to apply for a degree by *mandamus*, i. 9.
- Mangey, Thomas, iv. 9 n.
- Manichæus, i. 446. iii. 606 n.
- Manichees, imposed upon St. Austin, v. 40. some of their absurd tenets, 41.
- Manifestation, voluntary antemundane generation, so called, ii. 592. proof that a manifestation might be called a generation, 593.
- Manilius, Marcus, iv. 413.
- Mankind, see *Dealing*.
- Manton, Dr. Thomas, a nonconformist, iii. 399.
- Mapletoft, John, iv. 711 n.
- Marcellus, i. 315 n. ii. 370, 375, 406. Eusebius's work against him very cele-

- brated, i. 339. too scrupulous about admitting three hypostases, ii. 370. strengthened the Arian cause by his injudicious solution of the Homoousian doctrine, 504. Eusebius's charge against him, 522.
- Marcellus, Julius, iii. 178 n.
- Marcion, ii. 383. iii. 598, 606 n. iv. 250 n. vi. 471. thought to have taught in reality that this lower world was made by angels, ii. 76. maintained the doctrine of two principles, 703. held the soul to be the substance of its Creator, iii. 74. anecdote of Polycarp's retiring upon meeting him, iii. 469 n. disbelieved the resurrection of the body, v. 109 n.
- Marcionites, assert three absolute, original, coordinate divinities, i. 467. ii. 468. their pretence of tradition refuted, iii. 658. the humanity of Christ proved against them from the eucharist, v. 111.
- Marckius, John, iv. 186 n. 430 n.
- Marcus, Ephesus, vi. 491.
- Marcus, Moses, iv. 273 n.
- Maresius, —, iv. 670 n. 672 n. vi. 484.
- Marius Mercator, his sentiments touching infant communion, vi. 58. the Hypognosticon, sometimes ascribed to St. Austin, now believed to belong to him, 59.
- Marius Victorinus, i. 280 n. 348, 549 n. ii. 464, 498 n. 592 n. 609. iii. 16, 23. vi. 492. an obscure and perplexed writer, ii. 605. his opinion of the Son's generation explained, *ib.*
- Mark, St., founder of the church of Alexandria, vi. 272.
- Marriage ceremony, whether necessary to be performed by a minister, vi. 100, 154, 157.
- Marriage, a second, unqualified a man for holy orders in the ancient church, vi. 112. Tertullian's arguments against it, 164.
- Marsh, Herbert, bishop of Peterborough, i. 5.
- Marshall, —, iv. 660 n. v. 407.
- Marsham, sir John, iv. 192, 203, 227 n. v. 12 n. 20 n. slighted the opinion that pagan writers borrowed from the Jews, 16. answered by Witsius, *ib.*
- Martene, Edmund, iii. 239 n. iv. 779 n. vi. 63 n. 67 n. 68 n.
- Marter, Anthony, vi. 345.
- Martial, iv. 413.
- Martiany, John, vi. 238. editor of Jerome, iii. 162.
- Martin, —, vi. 412.
- Martin, David, ii. 134 n. 135 n.
- Martin, George, one of the Rhemish translators of the New Testament, vi. 402.
- Martinus, Braccarenensis, iv. 798.
- Martyr, Peter, iv. 542 n. 640 n. 668 n. v. 146 n. 167 n. 228 n. 261 n. 278 n. 281 n. vi. 497. how he understood John vi., iv. 568.
- Marvell, Andrew, iii. 506.
- Mary II, iv. 418.
- Mary, princess, vi. 383, 384, 387, 388.
- Mascon, second council of, iv. 789.
- Masius, Andrew, or Dumas, vi. 92.
- Mason, Francis, v. 137 n. 142, 152, 162 n. 167 n. 261 n. 268 n.
- Mass, notice respecting this title of the eucharist, iv. 490. its original meaning, *ib.*
- Masse Crede, title of, of some antiquity, vi. 247.
- Massuet, René, ii. 378, 436 n. 558, 584 n. 613. iii. 71 n. 72 n. 691, 692.
- Masters, Robert, i. 3. vi. 270 n. 399 n. 400 n. 426 n.
- Mathematics, how far they admit reasoning *a priori*, iii. 377.
- Matilda, vi. 292.
- Matter, why incapable of thought, according to Dr. Clarke, iii. 42 n.
- Matthew, St., founder of the church of Æthiopia, vi. 272.
- Matthew, Thomas, vi. 305, 312, 313, 314, 324, 332, 333, 354, 357, 361, 362, 373, 376, 380, 381, 394, 395, 403, 404. notice respecting his Bible, 312, 329, 349. this Bible most pleased the puritans till the Geneva Bible succeeded in its room, *ib.*
- Matthias, St., iii. 658.
- Maunsell, —, vi. 307, 335, 346, 351, 352, 382, 383, 384, 389.
- Mawson, Matthias, bishop of Ely, i. 25, 245.
- Maximin, ii. 136, 662 n. iii. 60.
- Maximus, Madaurensis, iii. 642 n.
- Maximus, Taurinensis, ii. 466 n. 467 n. iv. 683 n. 687.
- Maximus Tyrius, said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 16.
- Mayler, John, vi. 324.
- Mayo, Richard, notice of his *Plain Argument against Dr. Clarke's Doctrine concerning the Trinity*, i. 42.
- Mede, Joseph, i. 165, 196, 204. ii. 701. iv. 103, 259, 472 n. 529, 570 n. 704, 722 n. 725 n. 726, 752, 771. v. 74 n. 87, 285 n. 289 n. his explanation of ἀνάμνησις, in a passage of Justin, disputed, iv. 486. observations on his scheme of considering the eucharist a material sacrifice, v. 143.
- Mediator, considered two ways, by nature, or by office, ii. 431, 657. how Christ is both, *ib.*
- Mediatorial office of Christ, why no ground of worship, ii. 24, 26. his mediatorship, as God-man, a fundamental doctrine, v. 81.
- Mediatorial worship considered at large, ii. 654. in what sense assigned by Arians to Christ, 658.

- Medium of worship explained**, ii. 655. its four senses, *ib.*
- Megasthenes**, a pagan writer, v. 5, 9.
- Meisner**, Balth., iv. 366 n. 506 n.
- Melancholy**, see *Religious Melancholy*.
- Melancthon**, Philip, ii. 351 n. 352 n. 726. v. 125 n. 281 n. his definition of God, i. 394. drew up the Augustan Confession, v. 393.
- Melchizedekians**, iii. 581.
- Meletius**, iii. 190 n. vi. 491. Chrysostom bred up under him, ii. 641.
- Melito**, i. 356 n. 504 n. ii. 524 n. 553, 637, 657. iii. 581.
- Mellierus**, Lucas, see *S. Crellius*.
- Memorial**, notice respecting this title of the eucharist, iv. 486. v. 295.
- Menander**, taught that this lower world was made by angels, ii. 76.
- Menandrians**, iii. 550.
- Menardus**, Nich. Hugues, iv. 688 n. 733.
- Menophantus**, ii. 371.
- Mentz**, Carthusian monks of, iii. 160.
- Mersennus**, —, vi. 476.
- Merton college library**, Oxford, has a MS. of S. Bruno's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, iii. 138.
- Messenger**, or angel, applied to the Son, concerns only his office, not his nature, iii. 304.
- Metaphysics**, true use of, in revealed religion, i. 258. the catholics falsely charged with the abuse of them, 449, 461. the last resort of the Arians, ii. 385, 432, 433, 465, 626, 692, 699, 738, 753, 755, 760. instances of their false metaphysics, 384. true metaphysics, true divinity, 385. first brought in by heretics, 755. used by the catholics in necessity and in self-defence, iii. 438, 439.
- μετέχειν and κοινωνεῖν**, distinction between, iv. 611.
- Methodius**, i. 389 n. ii. 222, 230, 417, 586 n. 593, 600, 618, 635, 643. iii. 27, 87, 268 n. used *θεὸς ὑνάμεις*, with respect to the Father and the Son, meaning two Persons, i. 286. his Comment on Psalm ii. 7., 357, 367, 511. what he meant by calling the Father *ἄναρχος ἀρχή*, ii. 222. how he interpreted *ἐν ἀρχῇ* in the beginning of Genesis, 223. his *Symposion* considered by Photius to be very much corrupted and adulterated, 600. a man of orthodox principles, 638. the first that began to impugn some of Origen's doctrines, *ib.* express for the eternal generation of the Son, iii. 22, 24.
- Methodius**, a Greek, he and Cyrill first planted Christianity in Servia, iii. 193. are said to have invented the Slavonian letters, *ib.* and to have translated the scriptures into Slavonian, *ib.*
- Metrophanes Critopulus**, iii. 194.
- Meyer**, —, v. 20 n.
- Michaelis**, Henricus, iv. 353 n.
- Middleton**, Dr. Conyers, i. 22, 23, 231, 247, 250, 255, 256. his unworthy insinuations on Waterland being appointed a chaplain to the king, 16, 17 n. the origin of his hostility to him uncertain, 16 n. bore a personal ill-will to Waterland, from his being his too successful competitor in literature and public esteem, 124. notice of his rash anonymous letter to Dr. Waterland, containing Remarks on his *Scripture Vindicated*, *ib.* considers the Mosaic account of the fall as a mystical fable, 125. circumcision not to rest upon divine authority, *ib.* qualifies the divine origin of the Jewish religion, *ib.* gives up the account of the confusion at Babel, *ib.* his plan of answering Tindal, *ib.* Dr. Pearce (anonymously) the first who published a reply to this letter, 126. against which he published a Defence, to which Pearce put forth a reply, 127. upon which he published *Some Remarks*, *ib.* notice of them, *ib.* holds the scriptures are not of absolute and universal inspiration, 128. his views, *ib.* he also published *Remarks on some Observations* addressed to him by some other writer, 130.
- Middleton**, Mrs., i. 78.
- Mighty God**, a divine title given to Christ in scripture, ii. 136.
- Milevis**, council of, vi. 57.
- Militiere**, alias Brachet, v. 224.
- Mill**, John, ii. 120 n. 138 n. 158 n. 216 n. 463. iii. 426 n. iv. 507 n. 595 n. 672 n. vi. 465.
- Millius**, David, iv. 195 n. 501 n.
- Millington**, —, tutor of Magdalene college, Cambridge, i. 8 n.
- Milnes**, —, iv. 409, 410.
- Miltiades**, iii. 581.
- Mincha**, its meaning, v. 234 n.
- Mind**, see *Dejected Mind*.
- Minister**, his part in the marriage ceremony not essential, vi. 154—157. see *Clergy*.
- Minos's laws** borrowed in part from the scriptures, v. 9.
- Minucius Felix**, iv. 748. v. 131 n. 244 n. 255 n. 281 n. maintained that pagan writers borrowed from the scriptures, 10 n.
- Miracles** had not ceased in the church in the time of Irenæus, iii. 569. lasted for three centuries, 642. how to be distinguished, iv. 235.
- Myrror of Chastite**, vi. 240.
- Mode**, one remove further off than attribute from substance, iii. 378.
- Modes of existing**, as applied to the Trinity, what it was designed to denote, ii. 204.

*Modest Plea*, i. 61. ii. 46, 86 n. 95 n. 130 n. 133 n. 135 n. 138 n. 139 n. 140 n. 146 n. 150 n. 153 n. 283, 295 n. 305. ii. 318, 319, 321, 322.

*Modest Plea continued, or An Answer to Dr. Waterland's Queries*, ii. 144 n. Waterland's strictures upon, 8, 56 n. 58 n. what he considers the sentiments of its author, 8, 9.

Molina, Lewis, iii. 343.

*Μοναρχία*, in what sense used by pope Dionysius, iii. 76. and by Athanasius, 77 n.

Monk, —, dean of Peterborough, i. 4.

*μονογενής*, the divinity of Christ implied by this title, iii. 535.

Montague, Richard, bishop of Chichester, ii. 341, 348. v. 129 n. 132 n. 162 n. 223 n. his notion of the eucharistic sacrifice, 138.

Montanists, their baptisms rejected by the church, vi. 175.

Montanus, iv. 448 n. vi. 471.

Montanus, Benedict Arias, vi. 430.

Montfaucon, Bernard de, i. 363 n. 548. ii. 378, 420, 478, 495, 499, 500, 501, 516 n. 578 n. 728 n. iii. 117, 121, 139, 151, 154, 156, 157, 160, 161, 169, 171, 174 n. 175, 176, 182, 205 n. 212 n. 236 n. iv. 708 n. vi. 239. his censure of Eusebius, ii. 614. perhaps too severe, *ib.* edited Athanasius, iii. 114. high character of his Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed, *ib.* his opinions respecting the Creed, *ib.* 117.

Moore, John, bishop of Ely, vi. 306, 311, 335, 349, 355, 364, 373, 377, 401, 402. his library presented by George I to the university of Cambridge, i. 11. consisted of about 30,000 volumes, bought for 6000 guineas, 11 n.

Moral good and evil constituted by the divine law, iv. 61.

Moral evidence, observations respecting, iii. 501.

Moral proofs, if not so strictly demonstrative as metaphysical, are yet better suited to common capacities, iii. 382.

Moral probabilities have sometimes an irresistible strength little short of the strictest demonstration, ii. 69, 72.

Moral goodness, some thoughts upon, vi. 453.

Moral obligation, see *Obligation*.

Moral virtues and positive institutions, a comparison between, iv. 46. should not be opposed, *ib.* distinction between moral virtues and moral duties, 54, 55. and between moral and positive duties, 56. the terms not the most proper, 57. the meaning of moral law in a restrained sense, *ib.* and of positive divine law, *ib.* doubtful whether some laws in scripture should be called natural or positive, *ib.* a better division would be

into natural and supernatural, 58. in what sense, *ib.* subdividing supernatural into constant and occasional, *ib.* or into moral and positive, 59. in what sense, *ib.* difference of supernatural moral duties considered materially and formally, *ib.* instances of transient and permanent positive precepts or duties, *ib.* under the permanent may be classed the Christian sacraments, *ib.* positive precepts, though considered merely as prescribed, yet are always founded on reasons, though perhaps but partially known to us, *ib.* 77. of the comparative value, excellency, or obligation of moral and positive precepts or duties, *ib.* what constitutes an action morally good, 60. in positive duties, though the matter in itself considered is indifferent, yet the obedience is moral, *ib.* positive commands of God are as strictly obligatory as any other commands for the time being, 61. there may be as great virtue (or greater) in obeying positive precepts, as in obeying moral ones, 63. there may be as great, or greater, iniquity and impiety in disobeying positive precepts, than in disobeying moral ones, 65. the comparative value of any duties, above other duties, depends not upon their positive or moral nature, but upon their relation to and connection with the general good of the whole intelligent system, considered in its largest compass, both of extent and duration, 66. any pretence of setting up moral duties in opposition to religious duties, is undermining morality instead of serving it, 68. objections to the foregoing principles from scripture answered, *ib.* those also from the nature or reason of the thing answered, 74. it is begging the question to say, that all positive duties are instrumental parts only of religion, 75. they may be as direct religion, or even more direct religion, than any moral performances, *ib.* of the two sacraments considered as positive institutions, 78. the occasion and rise of this famed distinction between moral and positive duties, 98. deism sprang from thence, 99. moral and positive duties both spring from God's command, 116, 117. but in moral duties we see the reasons first, and then come at the knowledge of the law; in positive duties, we know the laws themselves first, and afterwards the reasons, so far as we at all know them, 117. God's liberty is greater in matters of a positive than of a moral nature, ours is not, *ib.* necessity sometimes alters both moral and positive precepts, 118. the disobeying a positive precept is immoral, as well as the dis-

obeying a moral one, 119. the question of preference depends not upon the moral or positive nature of the precepts, but upon the time and other circumstances, 120. positive precepts may in certain cases be greater virtue, though not more truly virtue, than moral duties, 123. obedience to God in positive instances shewn to be moral, 124. virtuous practices want Christ's expiation, 130. pagan virtues not so valuable as evangelical, 131. what sort of virtues pagan virtues are, 132. the mischief of depreciating positive duties, 147.

**Morality** can never subsist in practice, but upon a scripture foot, iv. 100. cannot subsist without God, 114, 148. morality without religion, on the whole, does more harm than good, 121. the best part of pagan morality probably derived from tradition, 301.

**Morality improved after Christianity appeared**, v. 16.

**More, Dr. Henry**, iv. 454. vi. 486.

**Morgan**, —, i. 102, 119, 120, 257. iii. 298.

**Morinus**, —, iv. 652 n. 659 n.

**Morland**, —, vi. 428.

**Morneus**, —, v. 162 n. 223 n.

**Mortmain act**, by whom brought into parliament, vi. 449 n. account of its passing, *ib.* Waterland's notice of it, 450.

**Morton, Thomas**, bishop of Durham, iv. 541 n. 560 n. 570 n. 580 n. 595 n. 694 n. 672 n. v. 132 n. 137 n. 162 n. 165 n. 167 n. 281 n. 282 n. 293 n. his distinction respecting the eucharistic sacrifice, 142.

**Mosheim, John Laurence**, iii. 555 n. 556, 564 n. 570 n. 576 n. 594 n. 595, 608, 615, 661 n. iv. 501 n. 632 n. 705 n. 717 n. 718 n. 720 n. 721 n. 722 n. 727 n. his explanation of 1 Cor. x. 16, &c. censured, 634—638. his objection to Cudworth's notion of the Lord's supper considered, 717, 719.

**Moulin, Peter du**, ii. 495. v. 228 n. 261 n.

**Mount Olivet**, Latin monks of, notice of their Apologetical Letter to pope Leo III, iii. 122.

**Moyer, lady Rebecca**, i. 235. of the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, extract of her will, founding the lectures named after her, 50 n. consulted the bishop of London for a fit lecturer, who recommended Dr. Waterland, 51.

**Moyer, Eliza**, i. 50 n.

**Moyer, Lydia**, i. 51 n.

**Moyno, Stephen le**, ii. 348, 420 n. 439 n. 443 n. 477, 586 n. 643, 672 n. v. 114 n.

**Mullerus, Matthæus**, iv. 314 n.

**Munich library**, part of the Palatine library transferred to it, iii. 173.

**Muratori, Lewis Anthony**, i. 82. iii. 117, 119, 120. 148, 151, 154, 182, 190, 212 n. 257. iv. 746, 747 n. published

Anecdota out of the Ambrosian library at Milan, iii. 114. and therein an ancient Comment on the Athanasian Creed, ascribed to Venantius Fortunatus, *ib.* 134. whom he conjectures might have been the author of the Creed itself, *ib.* his conjecture groundless, 135. disapproves of Quesnel's persuasion, but speaks favourably of Antelmi's, 114. when he published Tertullian's Book of Prayer, iv. 747.

**Musæus**, vi. 126, 210. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 9.

**Muscovite and Russian church**, notice of its divine service, iii. 191, 192. received the Athanasian Creed, 191. without the article of the procession from the Son, 192. its rule respecting the age for receiving the communion, vi. 68.

**Musschenbroeck, Peter de**, iv. 413.

**Mysteries**, what meant by the term, iii. 406. what meant by believing them, i. 453. reduced to seven cases, 454. and illustrated, 457.

## N.

**Naked Gospel**, written by Dr. Bury in favour of Anti-Trinitarianism, i. 29.

**Napier, John**, notice of his two Treatises on the Apocalypse, vi. 349.

**Nary, Cornelius**, made a popish translation of the Bible after the Doway version, vi. 398.

**Narcissus**, ii. 371. condemned as an enemy to the Nicene faith, vi. 209.

**Nation**, —, iii. 395 n.

**National visitations** are for the most part chastisements for national sins, v. 360.

**Natural religion** unable to teach *how* God is to be worshipped, iv. 136. or reconciled to man, *ib.* or to prove the certainty of a future state of rewards and punishments, 139. or to shew the duties we are to practise to one another, 140. reason insufficient to be a guide in matters of religion, 141. the religion of nature imperfect, *ib.* men were never left to the mere law of nature, no not in paradise, *ib.* Christianity more than a republication of the original law of nature, 143. cannot subsist in any vigour without revealed, 167. set up to rival supernatural, both by ancient and modern infidels, v. 4. apologists maintain that it borrows from divine revelation, *ib.* viz. Aristobulus the Jew, 5. Josephus, 6. Justin Martyr, 7. Tatian, 8. Theophilus, *ib.* Clemens of Alexandria, 9. Tertullian, 10. Minucius Felix, *ib.* Origen, *ib.* Lactantius, 11. Eusebius, 12. Theodoret, 13. in what instances it has borrowed, 7—10, 19, 20. notice of those who have too much slighted this opinion, 14. a fair state-



- ment of the case, 15. the various ways through which the pagans might derive supernatural notices and revealed light, *ib.* by reading of the scriptures, 16. by conversing with Jews, 17. or with those that had conversed with them, *ib.* or by public edicts, 18. or by tradition from Abraham, *ib.* or from Noah, 19. the insufficiency of natural light, 22, 56 n. revelations not considered needless by pagans, 23. the old and well tried principles of the ancient apologists, *ib.*
- Nazaræans, uncertain who or what they were, iii. 565.
- Neal, Daniel, vi. 420 n. an Examination of the first volume of his History of the Puritans published by Dr. Madox, 446. and of the rest by Dr. Grey, *ib.*
- Neander, Michael, iii. 177.
- Nebuchadnezzar, iv. 295. v. 18.
- Necessaries distinguished from fundamentals, v. 77.
- Necessary acts, called acts by the ancients, ii. 393.
- Necessary agents, no absurdity, i. 370.
- Necessary doctrines, a phrase, why disapproved of by Waterland, iii. 399. how to be ascertained, 445, 450, 455.
- Necessary existence, what, iii. 386. not the same as self-existence or as eternity, i. 344. how proved not to be the same as that of eternity, *ib.* but may be implied in it, 345. necessary existence essential to God, 491. how expressed by the ancients, ii. 13. (*necessary existence* being a school term, and none of the most proper, *ib.*) how asserted of the Son, by the catholics, 13, 155 n. 571, 572. denied by the Arians, ii. 12. distinct from unoriginateness, 511. signified by ἀγέννητος by the ancient philosophers, 575. also by φῶσει, or κατὰ φύσιν, 580. if the same as self-existence it could not serve the Arian cause, 610. no medium between it and creature, 644.
- Necessary generation how expressed by the fathers, ii. 13.
- Necessitas, see Ἀνάγκη.
- Necessity, its meaning among the fathers, ii. 569, 570. the very name rejected by the ancient fathers, as not applicable to the Deity at all, understanding it constantly in its ancient *compulsive* sense, iii. 326. when the word first came into use, 327. the various acceptations of this word, 353. divided into logical, moral, physical, and metaphysical, *ib.* logical necessity, *ib.* *necessitas consequentis* to be referred to this head, 354. moral necessity, *ib.* is conditional or hypothetical, *ib.* physical necessity, *ib.* often called *absolute* necessity, *ib.* in what sense, 356. when called causal, 354.
- what meant by necessity antecedent, or à priori, and à posteriori, *ib.* metaphysical necessity imports immutable existence proper to God only, 355. sometimes called by Cudworth a *necessary schesis*, *ib.* why it may be called modal necessity, *ib.* in what sense it may be termed *absolute*, 356. difference between *modal* and *causal* necessity, 355. observations on these different kinds, *ib.*
- Necessity of nature, why neither the Father nor the Son were ever said by the ancients to exist by necessity of nature, ii. 569, 570.
- Neckham, Alexander, abbot of Cirencester, iii. 140. two MSS. of his Comment on the Athanasian Creed in the Bodleian, *ib.*
- Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, ii. 225 n. 374.
- Needham, Peter, preached a sermon at Cambridge against popery, which was printed at Waterland's desire, i. 14. edited Theophrastus, *ib.*
- Negative, subsequent in order of nature to the affirmative, iii. 386.
- Negatives put for comparatives in scripture, instances, iv. 343 n.
- Neighbour, a sermon on the duty of loving our neighbour as ourselves, v. 436. what neighbour means, 437. what this love is, 439.
- Nelson, Robert, i. 29. ii. 258 n. 269, 362, 377 n. 378 n. 512, 768 n. iii. 451 n. 564 n. 604 n. 399, 414, 667 n. what part he took in the controversy with Dr. Clarke, i. 38.
- Ness, most of our abstract words, which now terminate in *ness*, anciently had the termination of *hede*, vi. 261, 317.
- Nestorian heresy, catholics charged with tenets similar to it by the Apollinarians, iii. 206.
- Nestorians, iii. 249, 254. the division of Christ's manhood from the Godhead disproved against them from the eucharist, v. 115.
- Nestorius, i. 446. iii. 115, 205, 209, 211, 411. vi. 59. maintained that two *natures* could not make one *person* in Christ, i. 481.
- Neumannus, Georgius, iv. 156 n. 157 n.
- Neville, Hon. George, master of Magdalene college, Cambridge, i. 4, 8 n. 231, 234 n. 238 n.
- New Testament, objections against those who would set aside the Epistles as of no weight in deciding fundamentals, iv. 18 n.
- Newton, sir Isaac, iv. 157, 292 n. 296 n. 412, 413. vi. 446, 450 n. his observations on the prophecies of Daniel censured, 447, 450. the fourteenth chapter answered by Dr. Grey, 448 n.
- Nice, council of, iv. 474, 595 n. 790 n.

- 791 n. vi. 176, 196, 208, 491. notice of this council, i. 546, 547, 549, 550. when held, vi. 179. by how many bishops, *ib.* the Arian attempt to prove this council chargeable with Arianism on Waterland's principles, disproved, ii. 390. it may be questioned, whether it maintained the eternal generation of the Son, iii. 21. received by the Greeks with the greatest veneration, 194. condemned Arius, 586. comparison between this council and that of Ariminum, *ib.* vastly esteemed by Gregory Nazianzen, 641. its opinion respecting the eucharistic elements, v. 202, 204. its canon touching the Novatian clergy, vi. 179. and the Paulianists, 180.
- Nice, second council of, ii. 495. iv. 599 n. v. 253 n. its method of eluding the argument drawn from the eucharist against the use of images, 116. gave rise to transubstantiation, 117.
- Nicene Creed, *πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων* inserted in that Creed by the Constantinopolitan council, iii. 21. intending thereby the eternal generation of the Son, *ib.* Papebrochius's opinion that the expression *faith of Athanasius*, in the confession of the Autun council, means the Nicene Creed, opposed, 119. this Creed prevailed in the east, and the Apostolical or Roman Creed in the west, *ib.* when received into France, *ib.* the only general Creed common to all the churches, 197. order of the council of Ephesus concerning it explained, 249. the Constantinopolitan Creed is the Nicene interpolated, *ib.* see *Creed of the Apostles*.
- Nicephorus, ii. 495. v. 202, 405. vi. 491.
- Nicetas Serron, iv. 432 n.
- Nicholls, Dr., rector of St. Giles, Cripplegate, i. 225.
- Nicholls, John, i. 3, 221, 242 n. 256. vi. 303 n. 351 n. 400.
- Nicholls, William, iii. 250. iv. 161 n. 177 n. 179 n. 183 n. 291 n. 299 n. 300 n. 413. v. 22 n. 33 n. 49 n. 51 n. his censure of those who denied the importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, iii. 398. his defence of the church of England, shewing wherein it differs from the remonstrants, commended, iv. 80. observation on his notion of a sacrifice, v. 143.
- Nicolaitans, iii. 695. v. 97. the same as Balaamites, iv. 239. import of their name, v. 753. notice of them, 721. some of their false tenets, iii. 470, 483.
- Nicolson, James, vi. 345.
- Nicolson, Wm., bishop of Carlisle, vi. 270.
- Nimpell, —, of Bruslaw, vi. 427, 428 n.
- Ninevites, observation on their repentance, as recorded in scripture, v. 18, 19.
- Nisselius, Georgius, iii. 173, 178 n.
- Nithardus, iii. 168.
- Noah, i. 132.
- Noëtians, iii. 580. v. 111.
- Noëtus, i. 289, 446, 478. ii. 395, 541, 542, 563, 710. iii. 579, 582. iv. 35. Hippolytus's book against him still extant, i. 339. maintained there was only one hypostasis, 450, 468, 478. and charged the catholics with tritheism, 468. asserted that the Logos was not a distinct Person from the Father, ii. 33, 413, 414.
- Noldius, Christian, iv. 252 n. 320 n. 333 n. 337 n. 349.
- Nominal God, Christ not excluded from worship as such, i. 278.
- Nominalists, or nominal Trinitarians, to which party in the Trinitarian controversy applied, i. 33.
- Noon, J., iii. 3, 425 n. iv. 95 n.
- Norfolk library, now belongs to the Royal Society, iii. 158. notice of its MSS. of the Gallican Psalter with the Athanasian Creed, 158, 159.
- Norfolk MS. of the Gospels in English; Wharton is positive this version is by Wickliff, iii. 144, 169.
- Norris, John, ii. 495. iii. 313, 317, 318, 406 n. iv. 56 n. 411, 412, 415. vi. 29 n. 70 n. 487. his explanation of faith, iii. 435. sometimes trifies in what relates to his World of Ideas, iv. 412.
- North, lord, vi. 429.
- Nottingham, lord chancellor, i. 24 n.
- Nottingham, earl of, i. 71, 235. ii. 379, 380, 755 n. wrote two tracts in defence of the Trinity, in answer to Whiston, i. 24. for which he received a vote of thanks from the university of Cambridge, *ib.* was the son of lord chancellor Nottingham, 24 n. why he himself declined the post of lord high chancellor, *ib.* was appointed one of the principal secretaries of state, *ib.*
- Nourry, Nicholas le, ii. 378, 457, 461, 472, 473, 474, 490 n. 494, 643, 672 n. 755 n. iii. 72, 81 n. 82 n. 88 n. 594 n. 638 n. iv. 699 n. v. 5 n. 12 n.
- Novatian, i. 282, 283, 284, 291 n. 292 n. 293 n. 297, 332 n. 350, 358, 432 n. 463 n. ii. 52 n. 53, 57 n. 81 n. 104 n. 105 n. 122 n. 128 n. 130 n. 132 n. 165 n. 192 n. 416, 426, 478, 505, 509, 526, 554 n. 586 n. 600, 618, 657, 668 n. 678, 687, 697, 703, 727 n. iii. 76, 401 n. 536, 550, 563 n. 571 n. 590, 631 n. v. 190 n. 191 n. vi. 471. presbyter of Rome, ii. 476. vindicated, 427. time of his writing, 492. his remark on John xvii. 3., i. 279. considered Christ not excluded by Isaiah xlv. 5. from being the one God, 282. his proof of Christ's divinity, *ib.* his Comment on Phil. ii. 6. vindicated from misinterpretation, 282. his reasons for interpreting the angel that appeared to Agar, Gen. xvi., of

- Christ, 295, 296. resolves the divinity of Christ into his Sonship, and Sonship into communication of the same divine substance, 297. applied *God* to the Son, in its strict sense, 299. resolved the Unity into communion of substance, 323. how he interpreted *κατὰ σάρκα*, applied to the Son, 349 n. his reason why the Son must have *always* existed in the Father, as properly understood, 354—356. asserted a temporary and eternal *generation*, 359. considered the *Logos* to have existed in, before he proceeded from, the Father, 361. distinguished between *procession* and *creation*, 362. his reasoning that Christ could not be a mere man, having made the world, 430 n. his Comment on Gen. xxxi. in proof of Christ's divinity, 433 n. his arguments for Christ's divinity, and against Sabellians, 485. Comment on them, 486. vindicated from Dr. Whitby's misrepresentation, 526. his interpretation of *ὄχι ἀπαργμὸν ἤγησασα*, &c. as applied to Christ, ii. 109. how reconcilable with the catholic sense, he and Novatus began the Novatian schism in the year 251, 477. orthodox, in the main, as to the Trinity, *ib.* admitted an higher and lower sense of the word *God*, *ib.* to what extent, *ib.* texts respecting God applied by him to Christ, 492. not consistent with his own principles in solving the Unity, yet orthodox as to the Son's essential divinity, *ib.* was none of the most judicious, nor without his singularities, *ib.* objections answered, 493. his account of Christ's divinity, 507, 743, 744. iii. 597. a schismatic, and of no considerable authority, ii. 509. defended from misrepresentation, 552. notice of his principles, 743. loved to imitate Tertullian in many things, 747. probably believed the eternal generation of the Son, iii. 22. probably did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, 85. how he understood John vi., iv. 555.
- Novatians, v. 710. orthodox in the doctrine of the Trinity, iii. 597.
- Novatus of Carthage, he and Novatian began the Novatian schism, ii. 476.
- Novel, Alexander, vi. 27 n.
- Numa, v. 57, 58. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 9.
- Numbers are purely intellectual, and beyond all imagery, iii. 406.
- Numenius, a Pythagorean, v. 9, 10, 13. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, 13, 16.
- Numerical, in the phrase *one numerical essence*, equivocal, iii. 452.
- Nursing, observations respecting, v. 371.
- Nye, —, ii. 76 n. v. 42 n. condemned the catholic scheme of the Trinity as tritheism, i. 473. and called the Arian heresy "a more absurd and less defensible tritheism," *ib.*
- O.
- ὁ (the article,) its addition or omission makes no alteration in the sense of the word *Θεός*, i. 314. ii. 42. why *ὁ Θεός* was generally applied to the Father only, i. 315.
- ὁ Θεός and *Θεός* in general not distinguished by the fathers, ii. 520, 523. how distinguished by Eusebius, 522.
- ὁ ὄν, what, ii. 515.
- Oaths, observations respecting, iv. 240. general definition of an oath, 241.
- Oblation, notice respecting this title of the eucharist, iv. 476.
- Obligation: the objection answered, that if obligation be resolved into the arbitrary will of God, he might have commanded vice instead of virtue, iv. 114. not antecedent to all law, but resolvable into some divine law, 61, 108.
- Ocellus Lucanus, ii. 574.
- Ockley, Simon, ii. 591 n.
- Oddy, Obadiah, vi. 428 n.
- Odo Cameracensis, v. 205. vi. 243.
- Œcumenius, i. 285. iii. 680 n. iv. 487 n. 540 n. 768 n. 769 n. v. 166 n. vi. 480.
- Offerte, its signification in church writers, when absolutely put, vi. 167.
- Orlearius, Gottofredus, a learned Lutheran of Leipsic, iii. 594 n. iv. 432 n. 632. v. 221 n.
- Old *Whig*, ill character of this periodical, i. 257.
- Olde, John, vi. 383, 384, 389, 390.
- Olivet, (Mount,) monastery of, in Jerusalem, founded by Charlemagne, iii. 185. notice of the Apologetical Letter of the monks to pope Leo III., respecting the procession of the Holy Ghost, 187.
- Omnipresence, a divine attribute ascribed to Christ in scripture, ii. 164.
- Omniscience of the Son, one and the same with the Father, i. 332. asserted by Ante-Nicene writers, 337. the absurdity of the distinction of *absolute* and *relative* omniscience, 332. a divine attribute ascribed to Christ in scripture, ii. 155. defended, 556, 557.
- ἰσοουσιον and ἰσοουσιον distinguished between by Athanasius, i. 514 n.
- ἰσοουσιος, as used by the Nicene fathers, expresses their sense of Christ's divinity, but not their whole sense, i. 543, 545.
- Onatus, ii. 394 n.
- One God, or only true God, not ascribed to the Father, in opposition to, or exclusive of the Son, either in scripture or by the ancients, i. 279, 287. in what sense to be understood, ii. 90, 92. iii. 25. the expressions used in the same manner by the primitive writers, ii.

96, 665, 666. why these titles are mostly applied to the Father, ii. 97.

*Only-begotten*, applied to Christ, declared him to be of the same nature with God the Father, according to the ancients, ii. 192.

Opitæ, iii. 606 n.

Optatus, bishop of Milevis, iv. 680. v. 208 n. 251, 269 n. 279 n. vi. 94, 120, 201, 203, 205 n. 207. his idea respecting baptism, 186.

*Oratores Græci*, iv. 413.

Order, the word, how used, iii. 35. its meaning, 36.

Orders, not vacated by heresy, according to St. Austin, vi. 195.

Ordination rendered doubtful in the opinion of some by the non-admission of lay-baptism, vi. 83. whether, null by a previous invalidity of baptism, 216.

Ordo Romanus, vi. 67.

Oriental churches, whether they received the Athanasian Creed, iii. 189, 190. why they frequently addressed their prayers to the Son, 255.

Origen, i. 285 n. 286, 287, 292 n. 314, 330, 331 n. 356 n. 358, 362 n. 366, 420, 424, 425, 443 n. 463, 472, 489, 499 n. 500, 504 n. 538. ii. 31 n. 32 n. 33 n. 40 n. 60, 62 n. 63 n. 64 n. 77 n. 81 n. 97 n. 104 n. 105 n. 108 n. 111 n. 112 n. 118 n. 122 n. 132 n. 136 n. 141 n. 142, 148 n. 149 n. 150, 151 n. 153 n. 155 n. 156 n. 157, 158, 160 n. 164 n. 165 n. 203, 227, 230, 257, 354, 372, 373, 376, 391 n. 394, 427, 478, 520, 522, 523, 524 n. 528 n. 549, 553, 560, 561, 563, 564, 591 n. 600, 615, 618, 630 n. 632, 633, 635, 643, 667, 689, 701, 752. iii. 22, 64, 163, 229, 260 n. 542 n. 556 n. 589 n. 611, 612, 659, 690. iv. 9, 37, 192 n. 195 n. 298 n. 606 n. 330 n. 427 n. 428 n. 432 n. 484, 487, 488, 504, 505 n. 516 n. 531, 532 n. 533 n. 534, 536 n. 580 n. 589, 651, 660 n. 675, 677, 678, 679 n. 687, 691, 741 n. 764 n. 767, 772. v. 24, 48 n. 126 n. 130 n. 131 n. 135 n. 156 n. 165 n. 167 n. 175 n. 184 n. 191 n. 195 n. 207 n. 237 n. 244 n. 247 n. 248 n. 254, 255 n. 256, 260 n. 264 n. 265, 268 n. 276, 277 n. 281 n. 283 n. 407, 710. vindicated and explained, ii. 419. iii. 75. time of his writing, ii. 465, 490, 586. his Comment on Heb. i. 3., i. 286. resolved the Unity into communion of Godhead, 323. using the word *Θεότης*, by which he generally, if not constantly, signifies *substance*, ib. asserted the Son's omniscience, 338. how he understood *κατὰ ὁράκα*, as applied to the Son, 349 n. his Comment on Psalm ii. 7. in favour of the Son's eternal generation, 353. styled the Son *ἀγέννητος*, 356 n. called both the Father

and the Son *Δημιουργός*, (with what distinction, 383 n. 384 n.) and yet denied there were more Creators than one, 384. his orthodoxy effectually defended by bishop Bull, 389. vindicated against the charge of reckoning the Son among the *δημιουργήματα*, 389, 390. another passage of his, wherein he distinguishes the Son from the *δημιουργήματα*, by ascribing worship to him, 419, 424, 425. his book against Celsus, the most valuable and uncorrupt of all his works, and almost the only one to be entirely depended on, as giving his own true sense, or that of the church in his time, 425. ii. 257, 436. the sum of his doctrine with regard to the Son's divinity, i. 425, 468 n. 485 n. 487. his distinct statement of the Sabellian notion, 478 n. his notion as to the Logos, ii. 31 n. seems to have indulged some fanciful conjectures, as to ascribing any part of creation to any creature, in some of his looser writings, if they be his: but in his more accurate and certainly genuine works nothing appears of it, but the contrary, 76 n. his interpretation of *οὐχ ἀπαγαμὸν ἡγήσατο*, &c. as applied to Christ, 109. how reconcilable with the catholic sense, 110. his observations on the form of baptism, 182. in what sense he denied Christ to be *God over all*, 216. his declaration respecting the Unity, 217. his book against Celsus proves him plainly to be Anti-Arian, 257. a remark on his opinion as to the Son being a second hypostasis, 370. one of the most learned and considerable writers of his age, 465. his testimony as to the Father and Son being one God vindicated, 466. his less accurate or interpolated writings of no weight, any further than they agree with his piece against Celsus, 467. the first writer now extant that makes mention of two or more *hypostases* in the Trinity, 468. two texts respecting God applied by him to Christ, 490. proof of his holding the necessary existence of the Son, 586. much clamoured against by the Eustathian party, and why, 589, 640. why, perhaps, he was obliged to purge himself to pope Fabian, *ib.* greatly admired by Eusebius, 549. and by Gregory Thaumaturgus and Dionysius of Alexandria, 638. and by Gregory Nazianzen, iv. 489. Methodius first began to impugn some of his doctrines, ii. 638. other assailants, 640, 641. Athanasius stood up for him, 639. his different apologists, 638, 639. Jerome at first his defender, afterward his impugner, 640. his faith in the Trinity proved to be correct by bishop Bull from his

- treatise against Celsus, 642. observations on his use of the word *δημιουργός*, 631. in what sense he uses τὸ Θεῖον, 667. and ἀγέννητον, 668. his assigning worship to the Son, defended, and explained, 673—677. his account of the Sabellian notion of the Father and Son, very distinct and accurate, 707. express for the eternal generation of the Son, iii. 22, 24. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, 84. considered damnation not to be eternal, 244. and its fire not to be real, *ib.* his censures of the Ebionites, 574. recovered Beryllus from his error respecting Christ's divinity, 584. —an injudicious allegorist of Scripture, iv. 164. his doctrine as to the consecration of the elements in the eucharist, 532, 633. what were his sentiments respecting John vi., 551. also respecting the eucharistic elements, 491. his opinion of gospel sacrifices, 748. maintained that pagan writers borrowed from the scriptures, v. 10. some account of that great man and his writings, and their hard fate in the world, ii. 638. his works much corrupted, 418. when he wrote his homilies on St. Matthew, iv. 532 n. and his book against Celsus, *ib.* when he died, *ib.*
- Original, unity of, why necessary in unity of Godhead as well as unity of substance, ii. 537.
- Original sin, proved from the ancient practice of baptizing infants, v. 115.
- Origination, what use made of, by the ancients, ii. 702.
- Orleans, council of, iv. 793.
- Orleans, F. J. d', v. 326 n.
- Orosius, Paul, iii. 244.
- Orpheus, v. 18 n. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, 5, 7, 9, 13.
- Osma, Peter, d', called in Latin Petrus de Osoma, or Petrus Oxomensis, or Uxomensis, iii. 147. notice of his Latin Comment on the Athanasian Creed, 147, 148. was professor of divinity at Salamanca, 147. one of the most learned and valuable men of his time, 148. fell under the censure of a provincial synod for certain positions against the corruptions of popery, *ib.* forced to submit, and abjure his positions, *ib.*
- Ostervald, John Frederic, iii. 645. iv. 415.
- Otfridus, iii. 130 n. 183. monk of Weissenberg, a MS. of his German version of the Athanasian Creed in the royal library at Vienna, 169.
- Otho, bishop of Frisinghen, iii. 126, 130. the first who pretends to name the place where Athanasius is supposed to have made his Creed, Triers, or Treves, 126. Antelmi's conjecture of the ground of this supposition, *ib.*
- Ottius, Joannes Baptista, vi. 300.
- Oudin, Casimir, i. 82. iii. 120, 140, 182, 212 n. 568 n. iv. 683 n. v. 253 n. vi. 67 n. 248, 262, 269, 423, 430, 490. published a Commentary to the ecclesiastical writers, iii. 116. ascribes the Athanasian Creed to Vigilius Tapsensis, *ib.* a mistake of his respecting the Athanasian Creed, 123.
- Οὐσία, in what sense used by the ancients with respect to the Trinity, i. 285, 286.
- οὗτος, notice respecting, in John i. 2, iii. 314.
- Outram, —, iv. 181 n. 513 n. 540 n. 705 n. 716 n. 752 n. v. 167 n. 234 n. 263 n. 279 n.
- Overall, John, bishop of Norwich, ii. 345.
- Ovid, iv. 409, 413.
- Owen, Dr. John, a nonconformist, iii. 399.
- Oxford, bishop of, see *B. Kennet* and *J. Potter*.
- Oxford, lord, vi. 311, 329, 343, 351, 352, 360, 377, 404. see *Harlician library*.
- Oxford, university of, their controversy with the college of physicians about university graduates in medicine, i. 12. said to have defended the validity of lay-baptism, vi. 132.

## P.

- Pacian, remarks proving his testimony to be against lay-baptism, vi. 185.
- Pagans, see *Natural Religion*.
- Pagi, Anthony, ii. 495. iii. 121, 159, 179. his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, 114, 117.
- Pain, Thomas, vi. 270 n.
- Pains, strictly speaking, are all felt in the mind, v. 551.
- Palatine library transferred partly to the Vatican, the rest to Munich, iii. 173.
- Paley, William, i. 113 n.
- Pamelius, James, iii. 74 n. vi. 113.
- Pamphilus, i. 358, 499 n. 149 n. 257 n. 553, 588 n. 591 n. 600, 618, 723 n. iii. 574, 575. clear and full for the eternal generation of the Son, i. 358. iii. 22. his comment on the form of baptism, ii. 183 n. apologized for Origen against the charges of Methodius, 638.
- Pantheistic system, notice of, v. 52. its origin, 53.
- Παντοκράτωρ, imperfectly rendered by *Almighty*, a divine title given to Christ in scripture, ii. 140, 565. does not necessarily prove him to be the Jehovah in the strict sense of that name, 416.
- Papebrochius, his opinion that the expression, *Faith of Athanasius*, in the confession of the Autun council means the Nicene Creed, opposed, iii. 119.

- Paper came not into frequent or common use before the thirteenth century, iii. 173. yet *cotton* paper was sometimes used as early as the tenth century, *ib.*
- Papists maintain that there can be no proper certainty without infallibility, iii. 495. Chillingworth's answer to papists, *ib.* fomented the rebellion in 1715., v. 322.
- Pappus, Johannes, iii. 256 n. 577 n. iv. 366 n.
- Parables, how distinguished, iv. 156. how different from a continued metaphor, *ib.* from allegory, 159.
- Paris, royal library of, notice of its Latin MS. of the Athanasian Creed, iii. 156, 221 n. 222 n. and of its MS. Greek version of the same, 174.
- Pardie, Ignatius, Gaston, iv. 407.
- Pareus, David, iii. 136, 251 n. iv. 367 n.
- Pareus, Philip, iii. 251 n.
- Parker, —, vi. 306, 359, 360, 392.
- Parker, Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, iii. 157, 381 n. iv. 109. v. 34 n. 46 n. vi. 306, 313, 338, 340, 348, 357, 359, 367, 401, 405. notice of his Bible, iv. 230. vi. 335, 352.
- Parmenides, ii. 573.
- Parr, Dr., v. 403.
- Participles ending in *ing*, in old English anciently ended in *ande*, vi. 313, 317.
- Parts, necessarily included in extension, ii. 620.
- Paschasius Radbertus, iv. 599 n. v. 167 n. 205, 288 n. vi. 14 n. 490, 491, 492, 494, 496.
- Passover, a federal rite, iv. 705. notice respecting it, as a title of the eucharist, 488.
- Pateschul, —, vi. 392.
- Patricius, his pretended writings of suspected credit, v. 288 n.
- Patrick, Simon, bishop of Ely, iii. 623 n. 653 n. 655 n. iv. 179 n. 184 n. 196, 203, 238 n. 246 n. 255 n. 257 n. 273, 281 n. 317 n. 414, 620 n. 705 n. 709 n. 722 n. v. 158 n. 223 n. 268 n. 293 n. vi. 450 n. his notion of the eucharistic sacrifices, v. 138.
- Patripassians, Sabellians, why so called, iii. 231.
- Paul, St., ii. 388. iii. 372, 373, 493, 658. his wish that he were accused from Christ for his brethren, explained in a sermon, v. 626. his case in persecuting the church, considered in a sermon, 727.
- Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, i. 446, 479, 546. ii. 395, 684, 718 n. 719 n. 727 n. 728 n. iii. 582, 586, 590. iv. 35. vi. 180. his heresy, i. 469. ii. 718. maintained that the Logos was not a distinct Person from the Father, ii. 33. his doctrine respecting two hypostases, 250. deposed for heresy in denying Christ's divinity, iii. 585.
- Paul, father, iv. 414. v. 411 n.
- Paulianists, why so called, vi. 180. denied Christ's divinity, *ib.* their baptism or orders not allowed by the council of Nice, *ib.*
- Paulinus, iii. 684.
- Paululus, Robertus, presbyter of Amiens, iii. 127.
- Paulus diaconus Aquileiensis, vi. 492, 493.
- Pausanias, ii. 570 n.
- Payne, —, iv. 725 n. 758 n. v. 132 n. 162 n. 167 n. 281 n. 293 n. vi. 473. resolved the Unity (with respect to the Father and the Son) into Sonship, or unity of principle, i. 323.
- Peaceableness, a sermon on the nature of, v. 417. its foundation, 418. its extent, 420. its particular duties and offices, 425.
- Peacock, Reginald, bishop of Chichester, vi. 244, 249, 263. twelve letters of Waterland to Lewis, chiefly relating to the bishop's life and writings, 236. his English books or tracts, 249. those that were promised only, so far as appears, 251. his published Latin works, 254. those that were promised, *ib.* his censure of the Lollards, 255. maintained that the church had not erred in matter of faith, *ib.* his character, 253, 427. his principles, and the turn of his thoughts touching the disputes with the Lollards, 257. his judgment as to the deference due to scripture, or to papal authority, 259. notice of his being abjured as heretic, imprisoned, and his books burnt, 267. reason of his fall, 427. his reasoning to prove that the law of nature is prior to all scripture, and therefore not grounded thereupon, 276—281. his defence of images, 281. and pilgrimages, 283. his statement respecting Constantine's donation to the see of Rome, 292. and concerning divers orders of clergy, 293. a summary of his replies to divers objections against the church of Rome, 297.
- Pearce, Zachary, bishop of Rochester, i. 164, 165, 255. his literary character, 126. wrote an anonymous reply to Dr. Middleton's letter on Waterland's *Scripture Vindicated*, *ib.* against which Middleton put forth a Defence, *ib.* to which he published a Reply, 127. notice of it, *ib.* upon which Middleton published *Some Remarks*, *ib.* notice of his amicable dispute with Waterland respecting the eucharist, i. 164. remarks thereon, 165.
- Pearson, John, bishop of Chester, i. 285, 349, 513 n. ii. 108 n. 128, 129 n. 138, 158 n. 276, 417, 427, 514, 516, 528, 533, 537, 538, 669, 683, 697 n. 702,

- 703, 706, 767, 768. iii. 12, 36 n. 60, 244, 313, 351, 577 n. 589 n. 590, 515 n. iv. 21, 22 n. 28 n. 29, 31 n. 32, 33 n. 37 n. 406, 412, 432 n. 472 n. 507 n. 645 n. vi. 13 n. 248, 462, 474. corrected, iii. 318. resolved the Unity (with respect to the Father and the Son) into Sonship, or unity of principle, i. 323. his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, iii. 111, 117. his Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, one of the best books in our language, iv. 35. abridged by Dr. Bishop for the use of common readers, 36.
- Peck, Francis, vi. 443, 444, 449.
- Peckham, John, archbishop of Canterbury, iv. 766 n.
- Pierce, James, i. 102, 224. iii. 291 n. 300 n. iv. 563 n. v. 407, 408, 409, 411 n. 412. vi. 65 n. 69 n. a dissenting teacher at Exeter, espoused the cause of the Arians, i. 99. published an Essay in favour of Infant Communion, v. 403. vi. 42 n. objections to his notion of its antiquity, 407, &c.
- Pelagius, iii. 202 n. 222, 226, 227, 229. iv. 616 n. 668 n. 768 n. v. 165 n. 167 n. vi. 58. his declaration respecting the incarnation, iii. 209. original sin proved from the practice of baptism against him, v. 115.
- Pelagius I, pope, iii. 203.
- Pelling, Dr., iv. 626 n. 648 n. 706 n. 721, 722 n. 723, 724 n. 725 n. v. 209 n.
- Pembroke, earl of, vi. 394, 395.
- Pepin, king of France, iii. 119, 171. vi. 292.
- Peplœ, Samuel, afterwards bishop of Chester, i. 23.
- Pepuzians, iii. 606 n. their baptisms rejected by the church, vi. 175. allowed women to be priests, 114.
- Pepys, Samuel, president of the Royal Society, and Secretary to the Admiralty, vi. 443 n. bequeathed his library to Magdalene college, Cambridge, 443.
- Pepys's library at Magdalene college, Cambridge, iii. 170. vi. 244, 246, 264, 343, 358, 373, 400, 401, 402, 404.
- Pererius, —, vi. 23 n.
- Perfection, see *Regenerate state*.
- Perfections of the Father and of the Son are equal, and the same in kind and in number, though differing in the manner of existing, ii. 393, 671.
- Περίχώρησις, see *Inhabitation*.
- Perizonius, James, iii. 244 n. 254 n. iv. 186 n. v. 40 n.
- Perkins, William, iii. 445 n. v. 138.
- Perron, James David du, cardinal, ii. 377, 495. iii. 364 n. v. 228.
- Persecutions not sanctioned by allowing of censures against heretics, iii. 519.
- Persians had, or might have had, a true notion of religion from the Jews, v. 17.
- Persius, iv. 411.
- Person, when this term was first introduced respecting the Trinity, ii. 541. how understood by Sabellius, 542. the true notion of it, 650. not reciprocal with intelligent agent, ii. 27, 650. precise difference between divine Person and divine intelligent Agent, i. 465. iii. 278. see *Hypostasis*.
- Personality of the Son, whilst in and with the Father, and before his temporary generation, asserted by the ancients, i. 360.
- Pervie, or Purvie, John, vi. 391, 400. Wickliff's disciple, 372. aided him in his studies, *ib.* wrote a famous Comment on the Apocalypse, *ib.* probably the author of the version of the Bible commonly ascribed to Wickliff, *ib.*
- Petavius, Dionysius, i. 28, 337, 347 n. 348, 381 n. 439. ii. 14 n. 31 n. 40 n. 44 n. 51 n. 63 n. 104 n. 176 n. 186 n. 202, 203, 251, 258, 377, 391 n. 426 n. 428 n. 464 n. 493, 495, 524 n. 578 n. 591 n. 592 n. 658, 688, 695 n. 719 n. iii. 204, 206, 450, 454, 604 n. iv. 9. v. 131 n. vi. 464. when he flourished, iii. 343. declares against the Divine existence being demonstrable *à priori*, 344. published Epiphanius, 109. notice of his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, *ib.* 117.
- Peter, St., iii. 658. founder of the church of Antioch, vi. 272.
- Petit, Thomas, v. 92 n. vi. 344, 404.
- Petrus, one of Gregory IX.'s legates in the conferences with the Greeks at Constantinople, iii. 128.
- Petrus Chrysologus, ii. 593 n.
- Petrus Comestor, vi. 430.
- Petrus Florissiensis, or Floreffiensis, otherwise called Petrus de Harentals, iii. 143. wrote in 1374, *ib.*
- Petty, sir William, iv. 291 n.
- Peutinger, Charles, iii. 139.
- Peutinger, Conrad, iii. 139.
- Pfaffius, John Christopher, iv. 42, 103, 477 n. 479 n. 494 n.—498 n. 506 n. 529, 531, 534, 581, 586 n. 591 n. 640 n. 641 n. 686, 687, 693 n. 715, 720, 727, 728 n. 732, 734 n. 737, 742 n. 758 n. 772 n. v. 110 n. 162 n. 167, 205 n. vi. 488, 489, 491, 494, 495, 497. his opinion of the rise of infant communion, v. 406.
- Pfeiffer, Augustus, iv. 153 n. 154 n. 157 n. 173 n. 174 n. 176 n. 208 n. 258 n. 273, 314 n. 360 n. 366, 367. an eminent Leipsic divine, 365.
- Phædrus, iv. 407.
- Phantasiastæ, see *Docctæ*.
- Pharisee, see *Publican*.
- Pherecydes, said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 13.
- Philalæthes Cantabrigiensis*, a title assumed by Mr. Jackson, whom see.

- Philastrius, ii. 612. iii. 222 n. 238, 543 n. 550 n. 555 n. 556 n. 577 n. 578 n. 585 n. 590 n. 673 n. iv. 306 n. 434 n. v. 13, 17 n. 111 n. 131 n. 167 n. 198 n. 259, 275. vi. 424, 470, a favourer of Origen, ii. 641.
- Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, the name under which Dr. Bentley answered Collins's Discourse on Freethinking, i. 11.
- Philetus, v. 97. excommunicated by St. Paul for denial of a future resurrection, iii. 402.
- Phillips, —, a painter, i. 251 n.
- Philo Judæus, i. 364 n. ii. 62, 476 n. 506 n. 573, 576, 632, 684. iii. 70. iv. 221 n. v. 20, 24 n. 124 n. vi. 434.
- Philosophical principles, why scarcely admissible to argue upon such, with respect to the Trinity and such like mysteries, i. 464.
- Philostorgius, i. 453. ii. 505, 678. iii. 682 n.
- Phinehas, v. 59, 64.
- Phocas, emperor, vi. 293.
- Phœbadius, i. 283. ii. 34 n. 141 n. 151 n. 460 n. 563, 616 n. iii. 23, 89 n. his interpretation of Phil. ii. 6. as applied to Christ, ii. 110 n.
- Photinians, iii. 242, 254, 383.
- Photinus, ii. 395, 684. maintained that the Logos was not a distinct Person from the Father, ii. 33. his doctrine respecting two hypostases, 250. condemned by the council of Sirmium, ii. 602.
- Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, i. 547 n. ii. 239, 257 n. 377, 420, 455, 463. iv. 436 n. 604 n. charged Eusebius with Arianism, ii. 495. considered Methodius's *Symposion* to be very much corrupted and adulterated, 600. judged too severely sometimes of the ancients, 639.
- Phurnutus, ii. 570.
- φύσει, in what sense commonly used by the ancients, ii. 580. opposed to θέσει, 585.
- φύσει Θεός, its meaning, ii. 722, 723.
- φύσει, or κατά φύσιν, whether it expresses necessary existence, iii. 80.
- φύσις, see Ἀνάγκη.
- Physicians, college of, in London, notice of their controversy with the two universities about their graduates in medicine, i. 12.
- Picherellus, a Romanist, v. 162, 163. his character, *ib.*
- Piedmont, a MS. history of, by Baldensal, in the duke of Savoy's library, iii. 131.
- Pierius, ii. 417. called the Father and the Son, οὐσίας δύο, meaning only two distinct Persons, i. 285.
- Piers Plowman, vi. 264, 266.
- Piety not instrumental to social virtues, but the source and fountain of them, iv. 76.
- Pilgrimages, bishop Peacock's defence of, vi. 283.
- Pin, M. du, ii. 239, 378. iii. 120. iv. 406, 414, 498 n. vi. 83 n. 197. ascribes the Athanasian Creed to Vigilius Tapsensis, iii. 113. his opinion respecting its age, &c. *ib.* 117.
- Pindar, said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 9.
- Piscator, —, iv. 339 n.
- Pithæus, iv. 360 n.
- Pitts, —, vi. 270.
- Pius V, pope, iii. 163, 164. iv. 599 n. vi. 230.
- Placette, John de la, iii. 645. iv. 140 n. 141, 771 n.
- Plaire, —, ii. 341, 347 n. 350 n. 352, 353.
- Plain, its signification, iii. 233 n.
- Planudes, Maximus, iii. 173.
- Plato, i. 345. ii. 240, 407, 570, 573, 574, 575. iv. 413, 698 n. 729. v. 9, 124 n. his distinction between *ποιητής* and *δημιουργός* according to Justin Martyr, ii. 229. the first who attempted to prove the immortality of the soul by argument, iv. 299 n. said to have borrowed from Moses's Law, v. 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 17. Lactantius's opinion, 11, 12.
- Platonists, what opinion they entertained of Christ, iv. 501.
- Plautus, iv. 413.
- Pliny the elder, ii. 586 n.
- Pliny the younger, iii. 610. iv. 413, 480, 723 n. 783.
- Plotinus, i. 34. ii. 394 n. 570, 574, 576, 607 n. 725 n. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 13, 16.
- Plumptre, —, professor of physic at Cambridge, i. 247 n. 248, 249.
- Plusiadenus, Johannes, (afterwards Josephus,) a Latinizing Greek, iii. 131. wrote a Dialogue in defence of the Latins, *ib.*
- Plutarch, ii. 577 n. iv. 413. v. 13, 16, 48 n. 57. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, 13.
- Pneumatomachi, another name for the Macedonians, v. 113.
- Pocock, Edward, iv. 365—367. vi. 434.
- Polanus, Amandus, iv. 367 n. a learned Calvinist, v. 136. considered the eucharist a true sacrifice, *ib.*
- Pole, Reginald, cardinal, iii. 170, 233 n.
- Polidore Virgil, vi. 359.
- Polycarp, i. 511. ii. 215, 219, 233, 234, 680. iii. 469, 540, 550 n. 608, 615. vi. 466. a disciple of Ignatius, iii. 483. anecdote of his retiring upon meeting Marcion, 469 n.
- Polytheism, two kinds of, ii. 20. what sort the First Commandment has chiefly respect to, *ib.*



- Pomp in religious services, observations upon, vi. 273.
- Pontius, two derivations of, 241.
- Pool, Matthew, iv. 317 n. 330 n. 351 n. 363 n. 428 n.
- Poole, —, vi. 425.
- Pope, Alexander, i. 247, 249, 250.
- Pope, sir Thomas, founder of Trinity college, Oxford, one of lord Audley's executors, vi. 428. had the chief hand in compiling the statutes of Magdalene college, Cambridge, 429.
- Porphyry, i. 410. iii. 642. v. 13, 16, 46, 124 n. 155.
- Porto*, what its signification may be in Irenæus, ii. 450.
- Positive institutions or duties, see *Moral virtues*.
- Post-oblation in the eucharist, called also commemoration, what, v. 183.
- Pote, —, vi. 423.
- Potho Prumiensis, v. 167 n.
- Pott, —, archdeacon of London, i. 5, 231. vi. 458.
- Potter, Edward, of Emmanuel college, Cambridge, i. 36, 273. *pref.* his *Vindication of our Blessed Saviour's Divinity, chiefly against Dr. Clarke*, was one of the ablest answers to Dr. C., i. 41. notice of it, *ib.*
- Potter, John, archbishop of Canterbury, i. 254. ii. 303, 362. iii. 460 n. 472 n. 513 n. iv. 402, 415, 481 n. 525 n. 701 n. 704 n. 706 n. 710, 722 n. vi. 208, 429 n. 464, 465, 469. the offer of a bishopric to Waterland probably owing to him, i. 245. his tribute to Waterland's memory, 253. explanation of his statement respecting the eucharistic sacrifice, v. 294 n.
- Powers, (divine,) in what sense ascribed to Christ by modern Arians, ii. 628.
- Pownall, Thomas, vi. 439.
- Poynet, Ponet, John, bishop of Winchester, vi. 31 n. died in exile at Strasburg, v. 209. object of his drawing up his *Dialecticon*, *ib.* edited after his death by Sturmius, 210. a brief account of his main principles touching the eucharist, *ib.*
- Prayer, how to be understood in its most proper sense, ii. 675. prayer and thanksgiving, what founded upon, 24. in what light considered as parts of religious worship, 24, 25.
- Prayers, why generally to be offered rather through the Son than to him, ii. 670. most of them, but not all, addressed to the Father in ancient liturgies, and in the English liturgy, iv. 10, 11.
- Prayer Books of king Edward, iii. 230 n.
- Praxeans, iii. 580, 583. v. 111. men of the same principles with those of Sabellius, ii. 406.
- Praxeas, i. 322 n. 339, 446. ii. 395, 460, 542, 710. iii. 74, 582, 590. iv. 35. his heresy, i. 468. of the same principles, in the main, with Noëtus and Sabellius, 289. made one single hypostasis the one God, with three names, 449, 478. charged the church with tritheism, but was answered by Tertullian, 468, 498, maintained that the Logos was not a distinct Person from the Father, ii. 33.
- Precarious being, modern Arians charged with making the Son to be such, ii. 546. the proper and full notion of the term, *ib.*
- Precepts, affirmative and negative, the former admit of intermissions, the other not, iv. 123.
- Predestination and original sin, church of England doctrines of, unanswerably vindicated from a Calvinistic sense by bishop Bull, ii, 286, 287. remarks on the meaning of the seventeenth Article, 348.
- Prepositions, what may be inferred from the scripture usage of them with respect to the Father and the Son, ii. 51.
- Prescience, notice of the seeming repugnancy between it and free-will, ii. 693 n. divine prescience of future contingents not considered by Episcopus necessary to be believed, iii. 448. proofs in favour of such a prescience, 449.
- Presumptuous sins, a sermon on the nature and danger of, v. 538.
- Pride, reflections upon, v. 425, 457. a sermon, shewing shame and contempt to be the end of pride, 568. what pride is, 569. the scripture doctrine of the unprofitableness of man's best performances, an argument against spiritual pride, 645.
- Prideaux, Humphrey, dean of Norwich, iii. 690. iv. 248 n. 287 n. 296 n. 376, 698 n. v. 6 n. 17 n. 21 n. his marks and characters of imposture, 65 n.
- Priest, its proper meaning, v. 739. how far ministers are strictly priests in the service of the eucharist, iv. 731. who are deemed such among protestants, v. 278.
- Priestcraft, not the cause of Christianity, v. 57, 58. meaning of the term, 59.
- Priesthood held by women among some ancient sects, vi. 114.
- Primasius, iv. 487 n. 540 n. v. 165 n. 167 n.
- Prime*, at what hour performed, iii. 123, 189.
- Primitive church, of what authority in controversy, i. 538, 539, 541. a safer rule to go by than private reasoning in a matter above our comprehension, 641. the three ways of ascertaining its sentiments relative to any doctrine, iii. 524. miracles and prophecies still con-

- tinued with it in the time of Irenæus, 569.
- Primmers, iii. 230 n. 233 n.
- Principles, first, and axioms perceivable by intuition, not demonstration, iii. 387. see *Religious principles*.
- Priority of order, in the Father, does not imply that the Son is a subordinate God, i. 316 n. consistent with co-equality, ii. 456.
- πρὸ αἰώνων*, or *πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων*, meaning of, as applied by the ancient writers to God the Son, i. 355.
- Probable*, misconceptions arising from its being in its philosophical but unusual sense, iii. 501.
- Procession of the Holy Ghost, whether temporal or eternal, left undecided by our church in the opinion of Dr. Bennet, ii. 285. Waterland considers that the church has determined it, 286.
- Procession from the Son, entertained both by Greeks and Latins, iii. 201. expressed frequently in sense, though rarely in terms, *ib.* asserted and cleared by St. Austin, *ib.* notice of the dispute respecting it between the Greeks and Latins, 237. opinion of the Greek church respecting it, 437.
- Proclus, ii. 570 n. 580 n. 724 n. 725 n. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 16.
- Procopius, v. 135 n. 156 n. 245.
- Prolation*, or *generation*, used as equivalent words by Irenæus, i. 353.
- Proper, its various meanings, v. 283 n.
- Propertius, iv. 413.
- Prophecies had not ceased in the church in the time of Irenæus, iii. 569.
- Prophets, see *False prophets*.
- Propitiatory, its larger sense, v. 281.
- πρόσωπον*, in what different senses used by the ancients, ii. 541. the ancient catholic sense of the word, *ib.* difference between it and *ὑπόστασις*, 542.
- Prosper, iii. 215. iv. 431 n. 441 n.
- προσφέρειν*, its signification in church writers, when absolutely put, vi. 167.
- Protogoras, "punished by the Athenians "for doubting of the being of a God," iv. 377.
- Protestant churches vindicated for imposing creeds and articles, iii. 509, 510. what power they claim over men's faith or consciences, 511.
- Protestantism endangered by popish princes, v. 325.
- πρῶτος Θεός*, expression of, borrowed from pagan writers, and why used, ii. 530.
- πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, in Coloss. i. 15. how these words should be interpreted, ii. 57.
- Providence, notice of, in the government of human affairs, v. 357, 358. see *Dealing*.
- Prudentius, i. 354 n. 361 n. ii. 461 n. 479 n. 595 n. 616 n. v. 154 n.
- Przypcovius, Samuel, iv. 519 n. 674 n. 770 n.
- Psalm, or hymn, a title formerly commonly given in England to the Athanasian Creed, iii. 129. and even sometimes to the Creeds and the Lord's Prayer, 130.
- Psalms, a translation of, by Hampole, vi. 300.
- Psalters, notice of the different kind of Psalters, and the names they have gone under, iii. 162. *the Italic Latin Psalter*, *ib.* used before Jerome's time, *ib.* and by the Africans down to the sixth century, 163. *the Roman Psalter*, *ib.* the Italic corrected by Jerome, *ib.* why called Roman, *ib.* superseded in Gaul in the sixth century by the Gallican Psalter, *ib.* 164. obtained at Rome till the time of Pius V, 163. where still used, *ib.* *the Gallican Psalter*, *ib.* Jerome's more correct Latin translation, *ib.* in what countries it came into use, 164. authorized by the council of Trent, *ib.* *the reading Psalms* in the English Liturgy taken from this version, *ib.* *the Hebraic Latin Psalter*, *ib.* Jerome's own translation immediately from the Hebrew, *ib.* never used in the public church offices, *ib.* specimens of old English Psalters, vi. 321, 322.
- Psathyrians, an Arian sect about the year 394. ii. 649.
- Pseud-Alcuin, vi. 63.
- Pseud-Ambrose, ii. 31 n. 35 n. 62 n. 111 n. 114 n. 151 n. 157 n. 223 n. 461 n. 544 n. 593 n. 616 n. iii. 268 n. iv. 476 n. 487, 691 n. 698 n. 764 n. 768 n. v. 165 n. 167 n. 189 n. 208, 265 n. 275 n. vi. 489.
- Pseud-Athanasius, v. 167 n.
- Pseudo-Basil, iv. 759 n.
- Pseudo-Chrysostom, iv. 759 n.
- Pseudo-Cyprian, v. 167 n. 271 n. 272 n.
- Pseudo-Dionysius, ii. 453 n. iv. 578 n. 707 n.
- Pseudo-Hieronimus, iv. 630 n.
- Pseud-Ignatius, ii. 187 n. 216 n. iv. 225 n. 230.
- Pseudo-Justin, ii. 62 n. 119 n. 160 n. 545 n. vi. 66 n.
- Pseudo-Origen, iv. 581 n. v. 111 n.
- Pseudo-Tertullian, iii. 542 n. 555 n. 577 n. 578 n. 681 n.
- Ptolemy Philometor, Aristobulus's preceptor, v. 5.
- Ptolemæus, iii. 606. v. 17 n.
- Publican and Pharisee, parable of, explained in a sermon, v. 606.
- Puffendorf, Samuel, i. 196. iii. 643. iv. 103, 109, 111 n. 262 n. 269 n. 411, 528 n. 641 n. 701 n. 702, 703 n. v. 55 n. 73 n. 80 n. 81 n. 82 n. 83, 87, 89 n.

- 98 n. vi. 4 n. 9 n. 25 n. 126 n. 462, 463, 465, 469, 472, 474, 475. his treatise *de Jure Naturæ et Gentium* translated into French by Barbeyrac, i. 95. iii. 634. an able divine as well as a consummate statesman, iv. 638. his *Divine Feudal Law*, translated by Dorrington, 658 n.
- Puller, —, iii. 501 n. 655 n.
- Purvie, see *Pervie*.
- Puteanus, Johannes, v. 284 n. when he flourished, iii. 342. maintained that the Deity could not be demonstrated *à priori*, but that some of his attributes might, *ib.*
- Putschius, Elias, vi. 269.
- Pyle, Thomas, rector of Lynn, i. 225.
- Pynson, Richard, vi. 268.
- Pythagoras, i. 345. said to have borrowed from Moses's law, v. 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 17. Lactantius's opinion, 11, 12. some have thought that he fetched his knowledge from Zoroastres and the Persian magians, 17.
- Q.
- Quadring, Gabriel, master of Magdalene college, Cambridge, i. 8 n. notice of his death, 8.
- Quarto-decimans, iv. 786.
- Quesnel, Paschasius, iii. 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 120, 159, 160, 179, 182, 205, 214 n. 216. published pope Leo's works, 111. considered Vigilius Tapsensis to be the author of the Athanasian Creed, *ib.* his opinion respecting its age, &c., 117. his opinions attacked by Antelmi, 114. disapproved by Muratori, 115. adopted by Tillemont, 114. and Natalis Alexander, 115.
- Quien, Michael le, ii. 713. iii. 117, 122, 151, 180, 204, 206, 212 n. 240 n. 249 n. 531, 564 n. 565 n. iv. 692. v. 114 n. vi. 66 n. the learned editor of Damascen, ii. 586. iii. 115. inclined to ascribe the Athanasian Creed to pope Anastasius I, 115. his opinions respecting the age, &c. of the Creed, *ib.* 117.
- Quintilians, their baptisms rejected by the church, vi. 175. allowed women to be priests, 114.
- R.
- Rabanus Maurus, v. 288 n. vi. 64.
- Racovian Catechism, iv. 523, 617 n. 619 n. 662, 709 n. express both for adoration and invocation of Christ, iv. 14.
- Radolphus, one of Gregory IX.'s legates in the conferences with the Greeks at Constantinople, iii. 128.
- Rainbow, observations respecting, iv. 183, 184.
- Rainoldes, John, v. 140 n. 162 n.
- Rapin de Thoyras, Paul, iv. 410.
- Ratherius, iii. 185, 186. bishop of Verona, 125. afterwards of Liege, *ib.* restored to his see of Verona, *ib.*
- Ratram, see *Bertram*.
- Ravenna, council of, vi. 83 n.
- Ravennius, bishop of Arles, iii. 214 n.
- Ravius, Christian, iii. 194 n.
- Rawlinson, Richard, i. 5, 167, 231, 233. vi. 433 n.
- Raynolde, Thomas, vi. 349, 381, 403.
- Read, Anthony, master of the free school at Lincoln, i. 7.
- Real presence, a phrase of some latitude, iv. 716.
- Reason insufficient to be a guide in matters of religion, iv. 141, 304.
- Reasoning, private, not safer to go by than the primitive church in a matter above our comprehension, i. 543.
- Rebellion, a sermon against, v. 313. notice of the rebellion against Charles I, 361. and of that in 1715, 322. fomented by papists, 303.
- Redemption, whether it requires infinite powers, consequently eternal duration, ii. 567.
- Redman, Robert, vi. 344, 352, 403.
- Reductio ad absurdum*, the lowest kind of demonstration, and why, iii. 349.
- Reed, Dr., i. 231.
- Reeves, judge, vi. 423.
- Reeves, William, iii. 633 n. 634 n. iv. 503. v. 243 n. vi. 192.
- Reformed churches, whether the title be just, vi. 226. reformed and Lutheran churches, distinction of these terms, i. 185 n.
- Regenerate state, a sermon to prove that a sinless perfection and security of salvation are no prerogatives of a regenerate state. v. 635.
- Regeneration, its meaning, passively considered, iv. 429. the name, or the notion, probably not altogether new in our Lord's time, *ib.* how used there, *ib.* how our Lord improved the notion, 430. the ancients took in baptism to their notion of regeneration, 431. and used the word for baptism, *ib.* so that according to them regeneration was either baptism itself, or a change of man's spiritual state, wrought by the Spirit in or through baptism, *ib.* the blessings it carries with it, 432. renovation how distinguished from regeneration, 433. their difference drawn out into distinct articles, 435, 444. these general principles applied to four special cases, 437. without baptism a person is not regenerate, 438. observations respecting the misapplication of the term *regeneration*, 444. mischief arising therefrom, 446. censure of pretended marks of regeneration, 450. regeneration and justification, distinc-

- tion between, vi. 8. bishop Bull's distinction, 480. short outline of regeneration, 478. sometimes expressed by *ανακαινωσις*, 480. what it is in adults, 482. seemingly applied to a birth into a life of glory above, Matth. xix. 28., iv. 432.
- Regino, abbot of Prom, iii. 121. vi. 63 n.
- Reimman, —, v. 42 n. 50 n. 53 n. 57 n.
- Rejoice, its ancient meaning, vi. 293.
- Reland, Hadrian, iv. 194 n. 195 n. 705 n. 738 n.
- Relations, unknown, create no obligation, infer no duty, iv. 143. relations do not always continue the same, *ib.*
- Religion, Kelsall's opinion how all questions in matters of religion should be decided, vi. 82.
- Religious melancholy, observations upon, v. 555.
- Religious principles, a sermon on the care required in choosing them, and the steadiness in retaining them, v. 655.
- Rembertus, iii. 184. monk of Corbey, and afterwards archbishop of Ham-  
burgh and Bremen, 124. wrote the Life of Ansharius, his predecessor in the see, *ib.*
- Remembrance, scriptural notion, arch-  
bishop Tillotson's explanation of, iv. 519 n.
- Remigius Antissiodorensis, iv. 540 n. v. 165 n. vi. 493. his opinion respecting the eucharistic elements, v. 206.
- Remission of sins conferred by God alone, iv. 642. justification of sinners comes to the same with remission, *ib.* God often confers it in this life, *ib.* such present remission ordinarily conferred in baptism, 644. and in the communion, 645. proved from scripture, 648. corroborated by the ancients, 651. taught by the reformers, 654. the judgment of the English church, 655. objections answered, 657. difference of the remission in baptism and in the eucharist, 659. remission of sins a considerable part of justification, vi. 5.
- Remonstrants, Episcopius their founder, iii. 397, 440. believed the doctrine of the Trinity, but denied its importance, 397. object of this view, *ib.* censures of this opinion, 398 n. 417 n. Limborch one of the most celebrated of this party, 440. objected to them that they made blasphemers of the Calvinists, but easily passed over the Socinians, 444. distinguish in practice (though they often confound in theory) between fundamentals of communion and fundamentals of salvation, v. 79.
- Renaudot, Eusebius, iii. 190, 192 n. 255 n. 256 n. iv. 481 n. 597 n. 654, 656, 689, 692—694, 695 n. 698 n. 790 n. v. 154 n. vi. 64 n.
- Renovation, how distinguished from regeneration, iv. 433. their difference drawn out into articles, 436, 444. these general principles applied to four special cases, 438. its meaning, vi. 7.
- Repentance, what it means, and wherein it consists, iv. 770. a fundamental doctrine, v. 82.
- Repenting sinner, a sermon explaining the joy in heaven over one, more than over ninety and nine just men, v. 587.
- Reply to Dr. Waterland's Defence of his Queries, see Jackson.
- Restoration of Charles II, a sermon on that festival, v. 356.
- Resurrection, a fundamental doctrine, v. 84. interpreted in a metaphorical sense by some ancient heretics, 95. proved from the eucharist, 109. the nature and force of Christ's argument against the Sadducees, for a resurrection, explained in a sermon, 667.
- Revealed religion, why a denial of its utility is by consequence a denial of its truth, v. 3. how usually attacked by modern infidels, 39.
- Revelation, the statement controverted, that the world was without a revelation for four thousand years, excepting only a thousandth part of the whole, iv. 289. not considered needless, by the pagans, v. 23. cannot be proved to be needless, 26.
- Reynolds, —, iv. 183.
- Rhemish Testament, notice of, vi. 265, 402, 403.
- Ribera, iv. 366.
- Ricaud, sir Paul, iii. 197 n. 255 n. v. 405.
- Richard II, vi. 367.
- Richardus de Media Villa, iii. 343, 368 n. Richard of Middleton, when he flourished, 331. famous in his time, and styled the *solid* doctor, *ib.* declares the Divine existence not to be demonstrable *à priori*, *ib.* but that we may reason *à priori* from existence to attributes, or from attribute to attribute, *ib.*
- Riculphus, bishop of Soissons, iii. 125.
- Ridley, Dr. Gloucester, i. 163. his sermons on the divinity and offices of the Holy Ghost, reprinted, 97. recommended to all divinity students, *ib.*
- Ridley, Nicholas, bishop of London, iv. 603.
- Rigaltus, Nicholas, iv. 589.
- Rimini, see *Ariminum*.
- Rivetus, Andrew, iii. 648 n. 654 n. iv. 367 n. v. 206 n. 211 n. 224, 225 n. 228 n. 229 n. 261 n. vi. 496.
- Robert, king of France, iii. 125.
- Robert of Gloucester, i. 243. vi. 261, 264, 265, 314, 432, 433, 439. Waterland laboured much to improve Hearne's edition, i. 233. a MS. of his book in Trinity college library, Cambridge,

- more correct than the one Hearne printed from, vi. 266.
- Roberts, —, iii. 413 n. 601 n.
- Robinson, John, bishop of London, i. 137, 235, 254. iv. 419. opposed the attempt of the Arians to alter the Doxology in the singing Psalms, i. 50. ii. 4. rudely attacked by Whiston, Sykes, and others in consequence, i. 50. appointed Waterland the first lady Moyer's lecturer, 50, 51. the sermons dedicated to him, ii. 3.
- Rocca, Angelus, vi. 269.
- Rogers, (alias Matthew,) John, vi. 329, 357, 367.
- Rogers, Dr. John, ii. 264, 334. iii. 460 n. 467 n. 488 n. 490 n. 493 n. 511 n. 515 n. 519, 525 n. 605 n. iv. 392. his rules for interpreting scripture, iii. 631.
- Rohault, James, iv. 409, 410.
- Rolle, see *Hampole*.
- Roman Creed, see *Apostles' Creed*.
- Roman Psalter, notice of certain MSS. of, with the Athanasian Creed, iii. 151, 152, 159.
- Romanensis lingua, or Rustica Romana, the language spoken in France in the ninth century, iii. 168.
- Rome, church of, notwithstanding its corruptions, retains the divinity of Christ, ii. 387. when it received the Athanasian Creed, iii. 186, 189. backward in admitting any alteration, 187. when it used the Nicene Creed, *ib.* its method of treating scripture and the fathers, 654. observations respecting its pretence of tradition, 659. pleads for two or more true constructions of scripture, iv. 153. destroys the outward sign of the eucharist, 484. its view of remission of sins in the eucharist considered, 664. sometimes distinguishes between excluding men absolutely from Christian communion, and peremptorily sentencing the same men to eternal damnation, v. 78. motives of belief in that church, according to Chillingworth, vi. 459.
- Rome, see of, bishop Peacock's statement respecting Constantine's donation to, vi. 292.
- Ross, —, iv. 257, 259, 341 n.
- Rotharis, iii. 186.
- Rowning, John, iv. 410.
- Royal library, iii. 169, 222 n. 227 n. 229 n. vi. 317, 345. notice of a MS. Commentary there of the Psalms and Hymns of the Church, and of the Athanasian Creed, iii. 145. and of a Roman Psalter, with the Athanasian Creed, 157. and of a MS. there of the Athanasian Creed that belonged to Lewis IX, 159.
- Royal Society library, iii. 72. vi. 301, 320. possesses the Norfolk library, iii. 158.
- Ruarus, v. 118 n. one of the shrewdest and learnedest of the Socinians, iv. 663.
- Rubric of the commissioners for reviewal of the Liturgy, 1689, respecting the Athanasian Creed, iii. 249.
- Ruelius, Joannes Ludovicus, his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, iii. 111, 117.
- Ruffinus, ii. 257 n. 376, 394 n. 418 n. 563, 637, 638, 641 n. 689. iii. 87, 257, 261 n. 264 n. 267 n. 268 n. 531, 533, 555 n. 575. iv. 21, 28. v. 198 n. vi. 119, 151 n. 180, 181. Cave's censure of his History, 181.
- Ruinart, Thierry, ii. 420 n. 437, 476.
- Rupertus Tuitiensis, ii. 461 n. 617 n. v. 205.
- Russell, John, iii. 146. vi. 300, 302, 304, 317, 360, 361, 391, 397, 398. minister of Poole, Dorset, and preacher of St. John's, Wapping, 400 n. his service to Mr. Lewis, *ib.*
- Russian church, see *Muscovite church*.
- Rymer, Thomas, iv. 469. vi. 356.

## S.

- Sà, Emanuel de, v. 165 n.
- Sabbath, probably instituted soon after the creation, iv. 292.
- Sabellianism was, that Father and Son were one and the same *hypostasis*, or *Person*, i. 338, 498. ii. 703. its essence, 718. the Sabellian doctrine of the Trinity, 468. Origen's account of it very distinct and accurate, 707. the catholic doctrine the medium between it and Arianism, i. 467. Sabellianism and Arianism how near akin, 481. where they differ, *ib.* Socinianism near to Sabellianism, 482. Sabellianism more consistent than Arianism, but Arianism more pious, 483.
- Sabellians, iii. 254, 580, 583. v. 111. in the controversy between the catholics and Sabellians, what point alone was necessary for the catholics to prove, i. 517. their interpretation of John i. 1, with observations on it, ii. 30, 48, 58. how they explained away the personality of the Logos, 31, 32. the meaning of *hypostasis*, ii. 711. their peculiar tenet, 541. iii. 231, 232. called in consequence *Patrispassians*, 231.
- Sabellius, i. 289, 446. ii. 468, 477, 523, 707, 710, 713, 714, 719 n. iv. 211, 583, 651, 675. iv. 35. his heresy, i. 468. iii. 260. maintained that there was one hypostasis only, under three names, 175, 203. charged the catholics with tritheism, 193, 222. how thought to have refined on the Noetian scheme, 193. maintained that two *real* persons cannot be one *being* or *substance*, 205. asserted that the Logos was not a distinct Person from the Father, ii. 33.

how he misinterpreted Person, as applied to the Trinity, 542. for what condemned by the ancients, 728.

*Sacrament*, notice respecting this title of the eucharist, iv. 480.

*Sacramenta*, in the plural, often used by the fathers for a single sacrament, vi. 45 n.

Sacraments and duties, distinction between, iv. 624. the Jewish sacrifices also sacraments, v. 272. sacraments, the two, considered as positive institutions, iv. 78. shewn to be, in some sense, means to moral, to Christian virtue, both naturally and supernaturally, *ib.* the right and worthy use of them is not only a means to virtue, but is virtue, is part of our moral and Christian holiness, piety and perfection, 82. they are further the instituted ordinary means of applying the benefit of the great atonement to every worthy receiver, 85. they may be compared to moral duties, and in some cases preferred to them, according as the circumstances direct, 91. the two sacraments shewn on scripture grounds to be federal rites, 102. essential to the Christian covenant, v. 82. are in fact its seals, 83. their subserviency to true and sound faith, 107. are standing monuments of the truth of Christianity, 108. are also of service for the supporting of particular doctrines against various unbelievers, *ib.* the humanity of Christ proved against the Docetæ and the Marcionites from the eucharist, 108, 111. also the creation of the visible world by God most high against the Valentinian Gnostics, *ib.* also the resurrection of the body, 110. also the use of wine against the Encratitæ, or Aquarians, 111. also the doctrine of the Trinity, from the form of baptism, against various heretics, *ib.* also the divinity of Christ, against the Arians, 112. also the real union of Father and Son, from both the sacraments, 113. also the divinity of the Holy Ghost, from the form of baptism, against the Macedonians, *ib.* also the nonabsorption of Christ's manhood in his Godhead, from the eucharist, against the Apollinarians and Eutychians, *ib.* 115. also original sin, from the ancient practice of baptism, against Pelagius, *ib.* also the non-division of the manhood of Christ from the Godhead, from the eucharist, against the Nestorians, *ib.* also the non-use of images, 116. also the falsehood of Socinus's tenets from both the sacraments, 117, 118.

*Sacrifice*, notice respecting this title of the eucharist, iv. 484. how understood, 485. what the fathers really meant by the word, and in what sense they

applied it to the eucharist, 727 n. what they judged to be the truest sacrifice, 729. man's duty to offer up spiritual sacrifice, enforced in a sermon, v. 737. Sacrifice, spiritual, true sacrifice, v. 123. what is meant by it, 124. Plato's definition of sacrifice, 124 n. St. Austin's, 124. Aquinas's, 125. this notion admitted by the early reformers, and even by the Romanists, *ib.* how material things came to be considered essential to a true sacrifice, 125. how the protestants answered the charge of the Romanists, that they had no sacrifice, *ib.* 126. spiritual sacrifices proved to be true sacrifices against Bellarmine, 127. his artful contrivance to evade the old definitions of sacrifice, refuted, 130. his definition of a sacrifice, 132 n. irreconcilable with the sacrifice of the cross, 133. archbishop Sandys's definition, 134 n. references to testimonies of the ancients against material sacrifice, 135 n. notice of protestants who adhered to the old definitions, 136. and of those who used different language in explaining it, 140. and of those who considered it a material sacrifice, 143. excesses of Johnson's scheme in depreciating spiritual sacrifices, 151. in overvaluing material sacrifices, 155. his excesses in relation to our Lord's supposed sacrifice in the eucharist, 161. and in relation to the sacrifice of the cross, 172. a brief analysis of his system, 180. why the eucharist is particularly called a *sacrifice*, 184. authors who have owned external sacrifices, 223 n. meaning of extrinsic and intrinsic sacrifices, *ib.* distinctions of sacrifice, 233. patriarchal, pagan, Mosaic, and Christian, *ib.* the two oldest names of sacrifice, 234 n. active and passive, 234. this distinction of use in explaining the fathers, 235. extrinsic and intrinsic, 236. self-sacrifice the greatest sacrifice, 237. visible and invisible, 239. material and immaterial, or corporeal and incorporeal, 242. bloody and unbloody, 246. a distinction borrowed from the Pythagoreans, *ib.* Justin Martyr seems to have led the way, *ib.* testimonies of the ancients, to shew that unbloody sacrifice was never a name for the eucharistic elements, 247. smoky and unsmoky, 254. false and true, the preceding distinctions, 259. discriminate Christian from Jewish and pagan sacrifices; the following respect only the Jewish and Christian, 260. old and new, *ib.* legal or literal, and spiritual or evangelical, or carnal and spiritual, or earthly and spiritual, or typical and true, or symbolical and true, 262, 263. the legal sacrifices shewn to be typical

- of our Lord's sacrifice, and symbolical of ours, 263. Aaronical and Melchizedekian, 268. testimonies of the fathers, to this distinction, 270, 272. the Jewish sacrifices also sacraments, 272. the following distinctions regard Christian sacrifices alone, 276. external and internal, *ib.* private and public, *ib.* lay and clerical, 277. gratulatory and propitiatory, 280. sacrifice in a large, general sense, and sacrifice in a more restrained, eminent, or emphatical meaning, 282. the Lord's sacrifice eminently *the Sacrifice*, *ib.* the eucharist emphatically *the sacrifice* of the church, *ib.* real and nominal, 284. comprising instrumental and real, *ib.* verbal and real, 287. material things considered as sacrifices under the law but not under the gospel, 289. commemorative and real, 290. what meant by terming the eucharist *a commemorative sacrifice*, 292.
- Sacrificers, who are deemed such among protestants, v. 277, 278.
- Sacrifices, probably of divine appointment, iv. 181, 292, 300, 344. v. 20. their object, iv. 182.
- Sadducees, their distinguishing principles, v. 668. disputable whether they received only Moses's books as canonical scripture, 671.
- Sadeel, Anthony, vi. 496, 497.
- Salisbury, bishop of, see *G. Burnet*.
- Salisbury, William, vi. 353 n.
- Sallust, ii. 576 n. 725 n.
- Sallustius, Caius Crispus, iv. 409.
- Salmasius, Claude, iv. 671 n. 708 n. v. 158 n. 162 n. vi. 489—497.
- Salmasius, alias Simplicius Verinus, v. 282 n.
- Salmeron, —, v. 101 n. 143 n. 165 n. vi. 460.
- Salmon, —, iv. 407, 413.
- Saltmarsh, —, iv. 287 n.
- Salvation, necessary terms of, somewhat less strict than those of church-communion, v. 78. and why, *ib.* see *Regenerate state*.
- Salvian, iii. 492 n.
- Sameness made by union, ii. 622, 671, 708, 709.
- Sameness, common to the Trinity, how far explicable, ii. 544, 556.
- Samonas, vi. 491.
- Samuel, sermon upon his appearance to Saul at Endor, v. 759.
- Sanchoniatho, iv. 192.
- Sancta Clara Franciscus à, vi. 469. published a book to make the Thirty-nine Articles speak popish sentiments, iii. 517.
- Sanctification and justification near allied, but not the same thing, vi. 7. distinction between them, *ib.* see *Holy Ghost*.
- Sancto Victore, Hugo de, v. 189 n. vi. 488.
- Sandius, Christopher, i. 28, 514. ii. 244, 378, 495, 633. iii. 564 n. the famous Arian, iii. 111. falsely maintained that the opinion of the Homocousians and Sabellians respecting the Son of God was the same, i. 507 n. ascribes the Athanasian Creed to Athanasius, bishop of Spire, iii. 111. his opinion respecting its age, &c., *ib.* 117.
- Sandys, Edwin, archbishop of York, vi. 494. his definition of sacrifice, v. 134 n.
- Saporis, king, v. 248.
- Saracens circumcised at about thirteen years of age, iv. 195.
- Sardican council, the false one, ii. 618, or synod of Philippopolis, in the year 347, condemned Athanasius, Hosius, and Julius, as they themselves had been condemned by the true Sardican council, 604. Hilary endeavoured to interpret their confession to a catholic sense, *ib.*
- Sarum MS. of an Anglo-Saxon version of the Athanasian Creed, iii. 169.
- Saturnilians, iii. 550.
- Saturnilus, ii. 577.
- Saturninus, iii. 606 n. vi. 187. taught that this lower world was made by angels, ii. 76.
- Saul, see *Samuel*.
- Saulien, St., vi. 484.
- Saunderson, Nicholas, iv. 411, 413.
- Saurin, James, iv. 185 n. 192 n. 196.
- Savoy, library of the duke of, at Turin, had Baldensal's MS. History of Piedmont, iii. 131.
- Saxon Gospels, notice of, vi. 358.
- Saywell, —, iii. 655.
- Scaliger, —, iv. 472 n. 494, 496 n.
- Scandret, —, iv. 469. v. 172 n.
- Scepticism, its creed, iii. 688.
- Schaffmannus, —, iv. 367 n.
- Scharpius, —, v. 223 n. a learned Calvinist, 136. when he published his *Curus Theologicus*, *ib.* considered the eucharist a true sacrifice, *ib.*
- Schelstrate, Emanuel, iv. 786, 788.
- Schlicting, Slichting, —, iv. 466, 500 n. 506 n. 617 n. 622 n. 623 n. 662, 663, 709 n. 770 n. vi. 484.
- Schmidius, Erasmus, iv. 55.
- Schoolmen, inclined to theism, iii. 328. great masters in abstract reasoning, *ib.* their characters vindicated in that respect, *ib.* testimonies from many of them that the existence of the Deity is not demonstrable *à priori*, 329, &c. how they undesignedly hurt the doctrine of the Trinity, 537.
- School-notions, a term of art applied by the Arians to the catholic prevailing notions of the Trinity, i. 536.
- Schoererus, Joannes Fridericus, iv. 186 n. v. 18 n.

- Slavonian letters, said to be invented by Cyril and Methodius, iii. 193.
- Sortia, Baptist, v. 130 n. 143 n.
- Scott, Dr. John, iv. 407, 409, 414.
- Scotus, Joannes Duns, iii. 340 n. vi. 494. when he flourished, iii. 332. styled *doctor Subtilis*, ib. a rival of Aquinas, ib. founder of a new sect among the schoolmen, ib. declares the Divine existence not demonstrable *à priori*, 333.
- Scotus, Michael, iii. 327.
- Scripture, the use and value of ecclesiastical antiquity in interpreting scripture, iii. 602. objections answered, 624. the rule of truth, but not the rule of interpretation for church forms, iv. 15. notice respecting the fathers allegorizing scripture, iii. 649, 602. the threefold method of interpreting scripture laid down by St. Jerome, 694. the ancient fathers the best comment on it in the estimation of the church of England, iv. 49. how disparaged by enthusiasm, 422. scripture alone our complete rule of faith and manners, 461. for the right understanding of it, it is of great moment to know what the most eminent writers or teachers, ancient or modern, have thought before us on the same subject, 461—465. more especially to observe what they unanimately agreed in, 461. divine law is the authentic rule of action, but the common reason of mankind is the rule of interpretation, *ib.* the novelty of any interpretation is of itself a strong presumption against it, 465. the fact of extracts of scripture being translated into Greek before the time of Alexander the Great not now commonly admitted, v. 5. bishop Peacocke considered that the pope could change any ordinance of an apostle, but not of Christ, contained in holy writ, vi. 259. his reasonings to prove the law of nature prior to all scripture, and therefore not grounded thereupon, 276—281. see *Authorized version and Interpretation*.
- Scrivener, —, iii. 398 n. 622 n. 632 n. 634 n. 655 n. 660 n. v. 401 n. vi. 471.
- Scrivener, Peter, vi. 269.
- Secker, Thomas, (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury,) succeeded Potter in the see of Oxford, vi. 429 n.
- Sedulius, Caelius, or Cecilius, iv. 540 n. v. 165 n.
- Seed, Jeremiah, i. 3, 10, 73, 245, 250, 263. iv. 415. v. 385 n. minister of Twickenham chapel, i. 239. his Moyer's Lectures commended, *ib.* his high character, 239 n.
- Selden, John, iv. 109, 188 n. 226 n. 258 n. 429 n. v. 12 n. 21 n.
- Self-condemnation, two kinds of, iii. 464.
- Self-existence, or aseity, is negative, ii. 696. its meaning, *ib.* idea of self-existence, not the same with that of necessary existence, or of eternity, i. 344. its difference from that of necessary existence shewn, 345. not an essential character of God, 490. considered as negative and relative, and called a personal character, *ib.* ii. 545. as distinct from necessary existence, expressive only of the order and manner in which the perfections are in the Father, 512, 545. confounded with necessary existence by the Arians, 632. question upon which the learned have differed concerning it, 695.
- Self-love, a sermon upon the nature and kinds of, v. 446.
- Self-sacrifice, the greatest sacrifice, v. 237.
- Selfishness, reflections upon, v. 442.
- Semi-Arianism, perfect nonsense and contradiction, i. 404.
- Semi-Arians and Arians, both come to one at last, i. 393.
- Seneca, Lucius Annæus, iii. 133 n. iv. 413. v. 16, 66 n.
- Sensuality, reflections upon, v. 458.
- Septuagint, v. 16. a very unusual freedom employed in the version of Isaiah ix. 6, ii. 136. how probably it arose, 137. the Septuagint considered as an inspired performance by Irenæus, *ib.* Clement of Alexandria equally an admirer of it, 137. uses Κύριος δυνάμεων and Κύριος παντοκράτωρ indifferently for the same Hebrew words, 142.
- Serapion, bishop of Antioch, ii. 553. vi. 97, 148. anecdote of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, his sending the eucharist to him when dying, iv. 652.
- Serarius, Nicolaus, iii. 177 n. 256 n.
- Seres, William, printer, vi. 332, 333, 403.
- Sermons of the eighteenth century vindicated, i. 219.
- Servia, now a province of Turkey, iii. 192. its first reception of Christianity, 193.
- Sethoites, iii. 606 n.
- Seventh day, observations respecting the origin of its sacredness, v. 20.
- Severians, iii. 606 n.
- Severus, Alexander, iv. 501 n.
- Sextus Empiricus, ii. 586 n. v. 57.
- Seymour, queen Catharine, vi. 381, 382, 384, 386—388.
- Seymour, Thomas lord, vi. 381, 386.
- Shaftesbury, earl of, iv. 192 n. 200 n. 226 n. 361. v. 45 n. 52 n. retailed by Tindal, i. 122.
- Sharpe, John, archbishop of York, iv. 404, 407, 409, 429 n. 431 n. 435 n. 452 n. 569, 670, 725 n. 748 n. 758 n. 762 n. as judicious a divine as any our church has had, 762. his observations upon the computations by weeks, v. 27.
- Sharrock, —, iv. 109, 131 n. 134 n. 203, 287 n. v. 54 n. 397 n.



- Sheba, queen of, uncertain whether she became a Jewish proselyte, iv. 295.
- Shepherd's Almanack, or Calendar, when first composed in French, vi. 244. twice translated in English, when the last time, *ib.*
- Sherlock, Thomas, bishop of London, son of dean Sherlock, i. 10, 32, 64, 196, 254. ii. 330. iii. 399, 424, 431, 437, 535 n. 611 n. 616 n. 650, 664 n. iv. 25 n. 26 n. 223 n. 226 n. 415, 801 n. v. 28, 79 n. 81 n. 82 n. 83 n. 87 n. vi. 419, 421, 461, 462, 464, 467, 470. probably drew up, as vice-chancellor of Cambridge, their address of thanks to George I, for his present of bishop Moore's library, i. 12 n. his politics suspected of being against the Hanoverian succession, 13. supposed to be the author of the Vindication of the Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet, vi. 157.
- Sherlock, Dr. William, afterwards dean of St. Paul's, father of bishop Sherlock, i. 32, 198. iv. 415. v. 73 n. an answer to what tracts he wrote, his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, i. 32. his method of explaining the mystery disapproved even by many of the advocates of the same doctrine, *ib.* Dr. Wallis considered some of his illustrations as approaching to tritheism, *ib.* Dr. South attacked him on the same grounds, *ib.* these two in turn were charged with Sabellianism, *ib.* his view of the doctrine publicly prohibited at Oxford, *ib.* the royal authority interfered to check the heat of this controversy, *ib.*
- Shuckford, Samuel, iv. 196, 199 n. 203, 220 n. 293 n. v. 20 n.
- Sidney college library, Cambridge, i. 5. vi. 301, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 367, 368, 370, 397, 400, 401, 402. has a very old copy of Hampole's Commentary of the Psalms and Hymns of the Church, iii. 146.
- Sidonius, v. 278 n.
- Silvester, Pope, vi. 293.
- Silvius, Eusebius, iii. 216 n.
- Simeon Thessalonicensis, vi. 68 n.
- Similitudes, or illustrations used by the ancients to denote the connection between the Father and the Son, of use of them, ii. 614.
- Simon Magus, ii. 30. iii. 547. v. 97. vi. 483. borrowing Platonic sentiments, asserted that this lower world was made by angels, ii. 76. his followers called Docete, iii. 547. taught that men are saved by grace only, without any regard to good works, v. 635.
- Simon Tornacensis, priest of Tournay, taught divinity at Paris, iii. 140. his MS. works in many libraries, *ib.* amongst them an Exposition of the Athanasian Creed, *ib.* of which Oudin gives an account, *ib.*
- Simon, Richard, vi. 69 n. 491.
- Simonians, iii. 550, 680. one of their tenets, iv. 451.
- Simplicity of God, why a mystery, i. 458. how beset with difficulties, *ib.*
- Simplicity of mind, a sermon on the true wisdom of, v. 577.
- Simplicius, ii. 575.
- Simplicius Verinus, see *Salmasius*.
- Simpson, Thomas, iv. 408, 409.
- Sin, material and formal, iii. 492.
- Sincerity divided into two kinds, iii. 485. the plea of sincerity, in behalf of teachers of false doctrines, considered, *ib.*
- Sinner, see *Repenting Sinner*.
- Sins in general, their nature, kinds, and measures, v. 539. definition of sin, *ib.* sins of commission and omission, what, *ib.* sins of ignorance, what, 541. of infirmity, what, 542. of presumption, what, *ib.* sins reducible to three heads, 708. see *Infirmity, Presumptuous sins, Remission, and Venial sins*.
- Sion college library, vi. 305, 392, 398.
- Siricius, pope, iv. 792.
- Sirmium, council of, ii. 609, 618. composed mostly of men of Arian principles, 602. Hilary once judged kindly of them, yet afterwards altered his sentiments, *ib.* Tillemont's opinion of them, *ib.* condemned Photinus, *ib.* their opinion of the Son's generation, 258.
- Sirmondus, Jacobus, iii. 120, 122, 123, 211 n. 212 n.
- Sisinnius, of the Novatian sect, i. 355. ii. 225 n. 374, 375.
- Skuish, Squisius, or Squisus, John, vi. 270.
- Slade, —, iv. 148.
- Slichting, see *Schlichting*.
- Smalbroke, Richard, bishop of St. David's, i. 242. ii. 590 n. 591 n. iii. 419, 648. vi. 422, 484. notice of Waterland's Defence of him in relation to the charge of persecution, in answer to J. Jones, i. 134.
- Smalcus, Valentine, iv. 483, 500 n. 519 n. 522, 525, 622, 623 n. 662.
- Smith, —, ii. 271.
- Smith, John, iv. 335, 347, 352, 355, 358 n. 367 n. v. 48 n.
- Smith, Thomas, iii. 151 n. 153 n. 190. iv. 545 n. v. 101 n. 405. vi. 69 n. 303, 425. drew up a catalogue of the Cotton MSS., iii. 155.
- Smith, Thomas, vi. 461.
- Smyth, Richard, vi. 497.
- Socinian congregations now in England were formerly Unitarian, which had sprung from Arian, i. 101 n.
- Socinianism, near to Sabellianism, i. 482.
- Socinians, iii. 583. iv. 770. interpret those texts of Scripture, which speak of the Son's power of creating, of a *metaphorical* creation, i. 386. why they adopted

- this idea, ii. 78. those who deny the personality of the Logos are rather Photinians, or Sabellians, 33. the Socinian interpretation of the beginning of St. John's Gospel, with observations on it, 35, 48. the later Socinians have rather closed in with the Sabellian construction, 35, 78. found the worship of Christ on his power of judging, 680. notice of their pretence of tradition, iii. 661. either ignorantly or artfully confound the Ebionites and Nazareans, *ib.* reject the invisible grace of the eucharist, iv. 483. their scheme of the eucharist, 671. their objections against remission of sins in the eucharist answered, 657—664. their objections against sanctification being conveyed in the eucharist groundless, 699. mischief of their view of the eucharist, 764.
- Socinus, Faustus, ii. 33. iii. 610, 625, 651, 655 n. 663, 673. iv. 462, 465, 466 n. 483, 505 n. 512, 615 n. 617 n. 661, 662, 670, 671, 672, 709, 723. v. 175. allowed that St. John, as well as the Jews, understood that our Lord had declared himself *equal* with God, in John v. 17. i. 439. his unhappy conduct, iii. 476. why he interpreted *ἀνάμνησις*, with reference to the eucharist, *commemoration*, iv. 507. his character, v. 117. his heresy, *ib.* his attempts against the sacraments, and why, 117, 118.
- Socrates, said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 5, 9, 13. perhaps through the Phœnicians, 17. his virtues inferior to the same virtues in any saint, iv. 135. Critias, one of the thirty tyrants of Athens, an unworthy pupil of his, v. 57.
- Socrates, i. 287, 346 n. 393 n. 402 n. 483 n. 503, 547 n. 548. ii. 188 n. 369 n. 370 n. 374, 375, 376, 475, 495, 553, 603 n. 639 n. 642, 649, 728 n. iii. 438 n. v. 112 n. 587 n. 608, 659 n. iv. 788 n. defends Origen's orthodoxy, ii. 641.
- Solidifians, iv. 98.
- Solomon, iii. 667.
- Solon said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 7, 9, 13.
- Somerset, Anne, duchess of, vi. 384, 390.
- Somerset, duke of, when beheaded, vi. 350.
- Somerset, duke of, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, i. 12 n.
- Son, see *Christ*.
- Song of Songs, vi. 36 n.
- Sophianus, Nicolaus, iii. 177 n.
- Sophocles, iv. 411.
- Souls, the Marcionite and Manichean notion of souls was, that they were the very substance of God, ii. 473. universally held by the ancients that Christ had a human soul, 552. strictly speaking, all pains are in the soul, v. 551.
- South, Robert, i. 64. ii. 204, 205, 330. iv. 287 n. 407, 409. v. 54 n. attacked dean Sherlock's Vindication of the Trinity as approaching to tritheism, i. 32. was himself charged with Sabellianism, *ib.* his party called *Nominalists*, 33.
- Sozomenes, i. 393 n. 402 n. 503, 547 n. 548. ii. 213, 375, 376, 649. iii. 587 n. 659 n. iv. 756 n. 792. vi. 119, 126, 180. defended Origen's orthodoxy, ii. 641.
- Space, remarks on the idea of, iii. 384, 385.
- Spagne, M. de, iv. 351 n.
- Spain, church of, when it received the Athanasian Creed, iii. 180. their offices much the same as the Gallican, *ib.* 181, 183.
- Spain, council of, iii. 139. notice of an interpolation in its confession, 109 n.
- Spalatensis, v. 137 n. 156 n. 162 n. 167 n. 192 n. 206 n. 223 n. 281 n. 293 n. 295 n. vi. 489, 497. observation on his denying the eucharist to be a true sacrifice, v. 141.
- Spanheim, Frederic, i. 196. iv. 314 n. v. 73 n. 74 n. 75 n. 84 n. 86 n. 88 n. 89 n. 91 n. 100 n. 102 n. 114 n. 268 n. vi. 27 n. 30 n. 461, 464, 467, 469, 471, 472, 473.
- Spanheim, Frederic, the son, vi. 5 n.
- Sparrow, Anthony, bishop of Norwich, iii. 653 n. vi. 124, 132.
- Speech, see *Thought*.
- Spelman, Sir Henry, iv. 766 n.
- Spencer, John, iii. 617 n. iv. 361, 704 n. 707 n. v. 14 n. 20 n. 21 n. slighted the opinion that pagan writers borrowed from the Jews, 14. answered by Witsius, *ib.*
- Spinkes, —, iv. 575 n.
- Spinosa, Benedict de, i. 119. iv. 262. v. 34, 42, 43 n. 44 n. 46, 49, 61, 65, 66 n. originally a Jew, 53.
- Spirit, secret feelings or impulses of, warnings against entertaining this idea, iv. 452, 455.
- Spirits, a sermon on the trial of, v. 695.
- Spiritual, sometimes means the same with mystical, v. 267 n.
- Spontanus, John, iii. 190.
- Sprat, Thomas, bishop of Rochester, iv. 407, 409.
- Squisius, or Skuish, John, vi. 270.
- St. George, —, archdeacon, iv. 415.
- St. German de Prez, library of, has a MS. of S. Bruno's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, iii. 139. also a MS. of the Creed itself, 156, 222 n. 225 n. —229 n.
- St. James, library of, see *Royal library*.
- St. John's college library, Cambridge, iii. 146. vi. 240, 341, 347, 357. notice of its MS. containing an English version

- of the Psalms and Hymns of the Church, the Athanasian Creed, Latin and English, and Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, in English, iii. 143. notice of its MS. of a triple Psalter, with the Athanasian Creed, 159, 225 n. has a MS. of the three versions of the Psalter by Jerome, 165.
- St. John's college library, Oxford, i. 5, 227, 231. has a MS. of S. Bruno's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, iii. 139.
- St. Leger, see *Leodegarius*.
- Stackhouse, Thomas, iv. 415.
- Stafford, Thomas, vi. 404.
- Stanhope, George, dean of Canterbury, iv. 414, 435 n.
- Stanley, —, dean of St. Asaph, and canon residentiary of St. Paul's, i. 236.
- Stapleton, Thomas, vi. 22 n.
- State-craft, not the cause of Christianity, v. 58.
- Stationary days, Wednesdays and Fridays, iv. 784.
- Stationers, company of, notice of a renewal of a lease for printing granted to them by the university of Cambridge, i. 24.
- Staunton, —, notice of his three anonymous tracts against the divinity of Christ, i. 103, 104. a man of mean literary attainments, with an obliquity in his understanding, 105. notice of Waterland's letters to him, 103. the letters, iii. 309, &c. his scheme according to Waterland, *ib.*
- Stebbing, Dr., i. 163, 231, 236, 256. ii. 264. iii. 519 n. iv. 82, 95, 124 n. 449 n. vi. 419, 421, 465, 474.
- Steele, sir Richard, iii. 499.
- Stephen, pope, ii. 371. iii. 516. vi. 116, 492.
- Stephens, Henry, iii. 174, 177, 233 n.
- Stephens, Robert, vi. 325.
- Stenberus, —, iv. 365 n. 366.
- Stillingfleet, Edward, bishop of Worcester, i. 196, 541. ii. 22, 192, 378, 394 n. 562, 696. iii. 420 n. 455 n. 498 n. 536, 590 n. 614, 621, 628 n. 654, 660 n. 661 n. iv. 39, 186 n. 224, 338 n. 349, 355, 367, 411, 414, 421. v. 57 n. 73 n. 77 n. 88 n. 92 n. 112 n. 124 n. vi. 30 n. 432, 461, 470, 473. notice of his *Vindication of the Trinity*, i. 34. his opinion of the use and value of the ancient fathers, iii. 619.
- Stoics, said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 9.
- Strabo, iii. 441 n.
- Strabo, Walafrid, iii. 163 n. v. 275 n. vi. 68 n.
- Strauchius, Ægidius, iv. 411.
- Strype, John, ii. 342 n.—345 n. vi. 307, 335, 343, 352, 378, 379, 380, 384, 388, 391.
- Student, advice to a young student at the university, iv. 393. directions for a religious and sober life, 398. a method of study, 400. directions for the study of philosophy, *ib.* of classics, 401. of divinity, 403. a course of studies, 406.
- Sturmius, edited bishop Poynet's *Diallacticon*, v. 210.
- Suarez, Francis, ii. 713 n. iii. 340, 343, 347. v. 130 n. 131 n. 143 n. 165 n. the famous schoolman and Jesuit, when he flourished, iii. 336. condemned all reasoning *a priori* to the existence of the Deity, *ib.* yet by a kind of artificial turn conceived he had done the thing, *ib.* his reasoning on the subject, 337. remarks upon it, 338. Gillius censured it, 341. and bishop Barlow, 345 n.
- Subordinate, its meaning, ii. 525.
- Subordinate God, the absurdity of calling Christ so, i. 277, 306, 307. he being not subordinate in nature or power, but only in order, 381.
- Subordination in order does not imply inferiority of nature, i. 448. ii. 11, 12.
- Subordination of order, which is natural, and subordination in office, which is economical, allowed by Waterland, ii. 456.
- Subordination proves nothing but a distinction of persons, order, and offices, no difference of nature, or perfections, or Godhead, ii. 512.
- Subordination and coordination respect order, iii. 34, 35.
- Subordination of the Son, how consistent with his coequality, ii. 400. observations upon it, 766.
- Subscription to forus, if not in the true and proper sense of the words, and the known intent of the imposers and compilers, is a dangerous prevarication, i. 271. not a term of lay-communion, but of ministerial conformity, or acceptance of trusts and privileges, ii. 330.
- Subsistentie tres*, a term invented instead of *tres substantie*, ii. 713.
- Substance*, according to the common use of language, when used in the singular number, is supposed to be intrinsic to the thing spoken of, whose substance it is; and indeed to be the thing itself, i. 303 n. meaning of substance as applied to the Godhead, ii. 126. when this term was introduced respecting the Trinity, 542. one eternal substance, not three, professed by the catholic church, i. 478. Dr. Clarke's notion of individual substance, ii. 620. singular identical substance, what, 708.
- Substantia*, the Latins could hardly bear the phrase of *tres substantie*, ii. 712. and why, *ib.* what it was understood

- to mean, *ib.* therefore *una substantia* became common, *ib.* though *tres substantiæ* was used by some, 713. *una substantia* did not obtain without difficulty, *ib.* see *Hypostasis*.
- Suetonius, iv. 413.
- Suffolk and Bindon, earl of, i. 8.
- Suicer, John Gaspard, i. 356 n. 363 n. ii. 40 n. 552 n. 578 n. iii. 197 n. 458, 463 n. 516 n. 547 n. 637 n. iv. 431, 435 n. 445 n. 473 n. 474, 490, 528 n. 578 n. 651 n. 748 n. 758. v. 201 n. 405. vi. 69 n. 470, 480.
- Suidas, v. 38 n.
- Sulpicius Severus, i. 548. ii. 512. iii. 587 n. a kind of neuter in the controversy about Origen, ii. 641.
- Superstition, its proper import, v. 47. shewn to belong more to infidels than to Christians, 48.
- Superstition and idolatry better than atheism or no religion, iv. 300.
- Supposita tria*, a term invented instead of *tres substantiæ*, ii. 713.
- Supremacy of order or of office, consistent with equality of nature, i. 443. ii. 512. *negatively* considered in opposition to any *superior nature*, one of the characters of any Person that is *truly* God, ii. 38. so that he is not *truly* God who is not *supreme* God, *ib.*
- Supremacy of nature*, or supremacy of *perfection*, what, ii. 399. supremacy of *dominion* and *sovereignty* included therein, 400. *supremacy of order*, what, and in whom existing, *ib.* *supremacy of office*, what, *ib.*
- Supremacy of the Father, how believed by the ancients, ii. 752, 753, 756. the Arian view of supremacy, iii. 10. how maintained by the ancients, *ib.* there may be some difficulties to their way of reconciling the equality and supremacy together, *ib.* supremacy of dominion, why voluntary, and an extrinsic relation, 12. how far it may be called natural and necessary, *ib.*
- Supreme God, what, ii. 508, 687. an improper phrase, *ib.* how mostly used by the ancients, *ib.* not used instead of one God by the sacred writers, 529. the expression borrowed from pagan writers, *ib.* the expression why used by modern Arians, 644.
- Supreme God, Christ such, or not at all, i. 276, 306.
- Supreme God, and subordinate God, argument to prove them two Gods, ii. 19.
- Surenhusius, William, i. 307 n. 308 n. 316 n. 330 n. iv. 319 n.
- Sutcliffe, Matthew, v. 278 n. 282 n.
- Swynderby, William de, vi. 366 n.
- Sykes, —, i. 7.
- Sykes, Arthur Ashley, i. 59, 98, 102, 120, 254, 255, 256. iv. 144. was the author of *A Modest Plea for the Baptismal and Scripture-notion of the Trinity*, i. 43. its object, 48 n. Dr. Clarke probably assisted in its composition, *ib.* notice of his *Case of Subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles considered, occasioned by Dr. Waterland's Case of Arian Subscription*, 63. the fallacy that runs through it, 65. notice of Waterland's Reply, entitled, *A Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription considered*, 66. and of Sykes's Reply to this Supplement, 67. which was not evaded by Waterland, *ib.* his way of evading arguments drawn from the Liturgy against Arianism, ii. 314. did not allow the distinction of divine and human nature in Christ, 321 n. wrote a defence of Clarke's *Exposition of the Church-Catechism* in answer to Waterland's *Remarks*, i. 146. the most exceptionable part of his *Answer* relates to the Lord's Supper, 147. and in consequence Waterland published his tract, *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments considered*, 148. notice of it, *ib.* notice of Sykes's Defence of his *Answer*, 155. and of its Appendix, 158. and of Waterland's Reply in his *Supplement* to his former treatise, *ib.* and of Sykes's rejoinder in his *True foundations of natural and revealed Religion*, 160. and of Waterland's notice of this in his *Postscript* to his second part of *Scripture Vindicated*, 130. and of Sykes's short answer to this *Postscript*, 132. Waterland pursued this controversy no further, *ib.* his *Innocency of Error* answered by Dr. Webster, i. 245 n. see *Modest Plea*.
- Sylburgius, Frederic, ii. 574.
- Sylvius, iii. 196 n.
- Symbol, difference between type and symbol, v. 234 n.
- Symmachus, iv. 708 n.
- Synesius, ii. 695 n. vi. 429.

## T.

- Table, the Lord's, why so called, and why called an altar, v. 269 n.
- Tacitus, iv. 413. wittily styled by Tertullian *mendaciorum loquacissimus*, v. 14 n.
- Tacquet, Andrew, iv. 407.
- Tanner, —, iii. 343.
- Tapper, Ruardus, v. 143 n.
- Tarentinus, Joannes, vi. 244, 261, 275. very probably Pater of Tarentum, a noted scholastic divine, 239. when made archbishop of Lyons, 240. and pope under the name of Innocent V, *ib.* published a *Compendium of Theology*, *ib.*
- Tarnovius, Joannes, iv. 365 n.
- Tatian, i. 314 n. 350, 352, 361 n. 365 n.

- 463, 498, 499 n. 518 n. ii. 31 n. 230, 253 n. 443, 598, 616 n. 618, 635, 666. iii. 581, 606 n. Justin's scholar, ii. 596. v. 8. speaks only of a temporal generation, or procession, i. 359. ii. 596. iii. 22. yet did not make the word a mere attribute before his procession, ii. 597. asserted Christ to be *Creator*, i. 384 n. confined worship to God alone, yet did not exclude the Son, 418, 424. maintained that pagan writers borrowed from the scriptures, v. 8.
- Taverner, Richard, vi. 305, 312, 313, 330, 364, 381, 403. notice of his Bible, 300, 376. the dedication, 373.
- Taylor, Abraham, iii. 419, 426, 455, 530 n. 537 n. 552 n. 678 n. iv. 9 n. 23 n. 39 n.
- Taylor, John, editor of Demosthenes, an intimate acquaintance of bishop Law, i. 113 n.
- Taylor, Jeremy, bishop of Down, iii. 664 n. 687. iv. 399, 625, 649 n. 665 n. 780, 800. v. 138, 286 n. vi. 69 n. 131, 471. his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, iii. 109, 117. notice of his false suppositions respecting the Apostles' Creed, 252.
- Temple*, is the house of God, not the house of a creature as such, iv. 33.
- Temple, sir William, iv. 404. v. 323 n.
- Tenison, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, vi. 399 n.
- Tentzelius, Ernestus, iii. 101, 103, 110, 117, 120, 124, 127, 141, 151, 161, 169, 190, 192 n. 194 n. 251 n. iv. 481 n. v. 255 n. a learned Lutheran, notice of his *Judicia Eruditorum de Symb. Athanas.*, iii. 113.
- Terence, iv. 402, 407, 408.
- Tertullian, i. 279 n. 287, 290 n. 291 n. 292 n. 293 n. 295 n. 297, 299, 350, 352, 360 n. 364 n. 381 n. 420, 433 n. 443 n. 444 n. 463, 472, 498, 499, 500, 515, 518 n. 530 n. 541. ii. 32 n. 33 n. 34 n. 39 n. 40 n. 46, 51 n. 55 n. 57 n. 62 n. 63 n. 77 n. 81 n. 95 n. 96 n. 104 n. 105 n. 107, 109, 122 n. 125, 128 n. 130 n. 132 n. 141 n. 142 n. 148 n. 149 n. 150, 155 n. 161 n. 165 n. 168 n. 172 n. 184, 186 n. 187 n. 192 n. 193 n. 249 n. 252 n. 253 n. 378, 391, 406, 417, 431, 437, 441, 445, 472, 473 n. 478, 479 n. 480, 481 n. 494 n. 498 n. 528, 540 n. 541 n. 542, 553, 563, 564, 577, 586, 591 n. 599, 613, 616 n. 629 n. 630 n. 653 n. 657, 660 n. 666, 672, 687, 697, 707, 710, 711 n. 727 n. 747 n. 750 n. iii. 16, 31, 32, 35, 57, 64, 65, 71, 76, 462 n. 482 n. 517 n. 518 n. 524 n. 526, 529, 538, 545 n. 547, 548 n. 555 n. 556 n. 560, 571 n. 572 n. 573, 580, 582, 590, 608 n. 611, 612, 613 n. 617, 623 n. 662, 667 n. 694. iv. 35 n. 175 n. 182 n. 221 n. 226 n. 240 n. 248 n. 250 n. 300 n. 328 n. 430 n. 438 n. 470 n. 475, 476 n. 481, 484, 485, 628 n. 633 n. 659 n. 675, 676, 686, 707 n. 704 n. 772, 784. v. 109 n. —112 n. 126 n. 131 n. 135 n. 154 n. 165, 167 n. 174, 182, 189 n. 191 n. 243 n. 247, 254, 255 n. 261 n. 262 n. 263 n. 269 n. 277 n. 281, 285. vi. 15, 96, 100, 114, 116, 121, 122, 201, 203, 462, 471. time of his writing, ii. 457, 489. vindicated and explained, 435, 440. his Comment on Phil. ii. 6., i. 284 n. his argument that Isaiah xlv. 5. does not exclude the Son from being the one God, 288. interprets Isaiah i. 18. and Micah vii. as spoken by Christ in his own Person, 295. a passage of his brought forward by the Arians in disparagement of Christ's divinity, explained, 300. his declarations that there is but one supreme God, 306 n. 322. another passage of his explained, 322 n. resolved unity of Godhead into unity of substance and original, 323. his sense of *Divinitas*, 324. encountered the notion of one hypostasis in his book against Praxeas, 339. *κατὰ σάρκα*, how understood by him, as applied to the Son, 349 n. made the generation of the Son *temporary*, 359. ii. 460. iii. 22. his distinction between *ratio* and *sermo*, i. 361. ii. 461. seems to have considered the *generation* of the Son to be posterior to the creation, at the same time believing his prior existence, i. 366. what he conceived to be the *perfecta nativitas sermonis*, 367. his declaration that worship is due to God, the Creator, alone, 418. but he must therein include the Son, 424. answered Praxeas's charges of tritheism against the catholics, 468. his declaration as to the *unity of substance*, 484, 485, 486. a passage of his misrepresented by Dr. Whitby, 515, 516. ascribed ignorance to the Son, in respect only of his humanity, 517. applied Rev. i. 8. to the Son, 538. his notion as to the Logos, ii. 31 n. 37 n. his argument for the personality of the Logos, from all things having been made by him, 34 n. his notion of God, 39. his declaration and testimony respecting the Trinity, 121 n. 181, 534. iii. 595. two passages of his vindicated from Whitby's misrepresentation, ii. 245, 246. his testimony as to the three Persons being one God, 457. vindicated, *ib.* was a Montanist when he wrote against Praxeas, but probably wrote his Apology before he was a Montanist, *ib.* uses *gradus* in the sense of order, 460. conceived that the Sonship commenced with the procession, 461, 462. what use he made of this idea, 462. texts mentioning God applied by him

- to Christ, 489. objections answered, *ib.* his account of Christ's divinity, 507. his distinction between God and Lord, 518. rejects the notion of an inferior God as a pagan dream, 534. makes the Son subordinate in order or office, not in dominion, 535. his opinion respecting the *summum magnum*, *ib.* into what he resolved the unity of God, 536. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, iii. 83. his censures of the Ebionites, 573. notice respecting the Appendix to his book of Prescriptions, 580. observation of his preferring tradition to scripture in certain controversies, 613. notice of his calling the eucharist an oblation, *iv.* 478. and of his applying the title of sacrament to the eucharist, 481. did not interpret John vi. of the eucharist, 549. his sentiments respecting the eucharistic elements, 589. his opinion of gospel sacrifices, 745. his opinion respecting Abel's sacrifices explained, *v.* 266. his Book of Prayer, when published by Muratorius, *iv.* 746. maintained that pagan writers borrowed from the scriptures, *v.* 10. wittily styled *Tacitus mendaciorum loquacissimus*, 14. his opinion of the need and efficacy of baptism, *vi.* 18. certain particularities of his on the point of delaying it, 19. his testimony touching lay-baptism, 78, 111. observations on his opinion of lay-baptism in cases of extreme necessity, 161. good reasons to prove that he did not speak the sense or practice of the church, 166. observations in relation to him, 168.
- Test act, a motion respecting, lost in the house of commons, *vi.* 450 n. Waterland's notice of it, 449.
- Thales, *ii.* 573. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, *v.* 9, 13.
- Thanksgiving, see *Prayer*.
- Θεῶν, τὸ, its difference from θεότης, *i.* 504. τὸ, its signification, *ii.* 667, 668.
- Theocritus, *iv.* 409.
- Theodades, *iv.* 658.
- Theodoret, *i.* 346 n. 355, 356 n. 402 n. 453 n. 468 n. 469 n. 548. *ii.* 133 n. 188 n. 369, 463, 467 n. 570 n. 573, 577, 614 n. 636 n. 649, 678. *iii.* 76, 208, 469 n. 481 n. 482 n. 543 n. 550 n. 555 n. 556 n. 568 n. 577 n. 578 n. 579 n. 581 n. 585 n. 586 n. 590 n. 680 n. 682. *iv.* 13 n. 345, 354, 366, 450 n. 476 n. 487 n. 540 n. 578 n. 659 n. 768 n. 769. *v.* 25, 111 n. 112 n. 165 n. 167 n. 201 n. 208 n. 636 n. *vi.* 151 n. 471, 479. defended or excused Eusebius from the charge of Arianism, *ii.* 495. a favourer of Origen, 641. maintained that pagan writers borrowed from the scriptures, *v.* 13.
- Theodorus, *iv.* 306 n. 798 n. *v.* 112 n. 220 n.
- Theodorus Abucara, *ii.* 524. *iii.* 36 n.
- Theodorus Graptus, *vi.* 491.
- Theodorus Heraclotes, *v.* 195 n.
- Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *ii.* 371. *iv.* 430 n. *v.* 195 n. *vi.* 490. condemned as an enemy to the Nicene faith, 209.
- Theodorus Raithu, when he flourished, *v.* 200 n.
- Theodosius, emperor, *ii.* 374.
- Theodotians, *iii.* 580.
- Theodotion, the Ephesian, *iii.* 569, 570. *iv.* 708 n.
- Theodotus, *ii.* 728. *iii.* 577, 582, 590, 606 n. 548. a currier of Byzantium, *iii.* 577. what led to his denying the divinity of Christ, *ib.* name of his heresy, *ib.* how he may be said to have been the founder of it, *ib.* 578. excommunicated, 579. Hippolytus's notice of him, *ib.* Theodotus Trapezita, his disciple, 581. and Artemon, *ib.* rejected St. John's Gospel, 673.
- Theodotus, *Trapezita*, a disciple of Theodotus the currier, *iii.* 581. his conceit, *ib.*
- Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, *iii.* 112, 124. *v.* 275 n.
- Theognostus, *i.* 389 n. 499 n. *ii.* 239, 586, 615, 643. *iii.* 22, 88, 659.
- Theophilus, laid severe charges against Origen, *ii.* 641.
- Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, *iv.* 678.
- Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, *i.* 361 n. 498. *ii.* 54 n. 57 n. 62 n. 130 n. 148 n. 192 n. 376, 443, 478, 577 n. 595 n. 616 n. 629 n. 630 n. 635, 666, 672. *iii.* 676, 427 n. 675 n. *v.* 20 n. 24 n. 57 n. time of his writing, *ii.* 486. a passage of his vindicated from Arian misinterpretation, *i.* 299. made the generation of the Son *temporary*, 359. *iii.* 22. declared the Logos to be *διαντὸς*, *i.* 361. his statement that God alone is to be worshipped, 418. yet he owns the Son to be God, and therefore to be worshipped, 423. how to be understood where he speaks of λόγος ἐνδιδοτος, and λόγος προφορικὸς, *ii.* 31 n. proved to have acknowledged God the Son to be the true God, *ii.* 486. his account of Christ's divinity, 507. bishop Bull's reasons for Theophilus's believing the Son to be a real Person before the procession, 597. objections against them answered, 598. the first writer extant that uses the word Trinity, 710. did not believe that the Father is *naturally* governor over the Son, *iii.* 82. maintained that pagan writers borrowed from the scriptures, *v.* 8.
- Theophrastus, *iv.* 407. *v.* 24 n.
- Theophylact, *i.* 285, 291 n. *iii.* 680 n. 690. *iv.* 25, 436 n. 487 n. 525 n. 540 n. 668 n. 768 n. 769 n. *v.* 165 n. 167 n.

- 198 n. vi. 247, 491. his derivation of Pontius, 241.
- Θεός is not altered in sense by the addition or omission of an article, i. 314. why *ὁ Θεός* was generally applied to the Father only, 315. Θεός and *ὁ Θεός* in general not distinguished by the fathers, ii. 520, 523. how distinguished by Eusebius, 522.
- Θεότης, meaning of, according to the ancient fathers, i. 323, 324, 504. ii. 540, 541. its difference from *τὸ θεῖον*, i. 504 n.
- Theotimus, a defender of Origen, ii. 641.
- Θεοτόκος applied to the Virgin Mary by the primitive Christians, iv. 36, 37.
- Theyerus, Carolus, vi. 249.
- Thirlby, Styau, i. 546 n. ii. 420 n. 495 n. iii. 560 n. 563 n. 566 n. 581 n.
- Thomassin, Lewis, ii. 378.
- Thorndike, Herbert, iii. 634 n. 650 n. iv. adv. 479 n. 563 n. 689 n. 695 n. v. 281 n. 389 n. vi. 5 n. 9 n. 71 n. 124. his notion of the eucharistic sacrifice, v. 139 n.
- Thought and speech, how far, and in what capacities, the Logos may be resembled to them, ii. 31. this resemblance how abused by the Sabellians, 32.
- Thuanus, Jacobus Augustus, notice of a MS. of the Athanasian Creed in his library, iii. 160.
- Thucydides, iv. 412.
- Tibullus, iv. 413.
- Tillemont, Lewis Sebastian le Nain de, ii. 463, 714. iii. 117, 121, 151, 153, 182, 692. vi. 424. his unfavourable opinion of the council of Sirmium, ii. 602. his History of Arians recommended, 602 n. commends Antelmi's work on the Athanasian Creed, but inclines rather to Quesnel's view of it, iii. 114. his opinion respecting the Creed, *ib.* 117.
- Tillotson, John, archbishop of Canterbury, i. 284. iii. 409 n. 419 n. 664, 665 n. 671 n. 686 n. iv. 409, 410, 771 n. 775 n. v. 54 n. 55 n. 57 n. 92 n. 329 n. vi. 22 n. 30 n. when he flourished, iii. 349. a great and good prelate, *ib.* thought neither the existence nor the attributes of God could be proved *a priori*, *ib.* his opinion of the inferiority of positive duties to moral ones, controverted, iv. 74. specimens of his looseness of expression, 76. shewn to be inaccurate in drawing an opposition between *Do not kill*, and *Receive the sacrament*, 97. his opinions respecting *hell torments* and the *satisfaction*, exceptionable, 410. his explanation of the scripture notion of remembrance, 519 n.
- Timæus Locrus, ii. 570, 573.
- Time, the word used by Dr. Clarke and the Arians in an equivocal sense, i. 401. remarks on the idea of time, iii. 384, 385.
- Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, iv. 766 n. 791 n. vi. 65, 67 n.
- Tindal, Dr. Matthew, i. 119, 231. iv. 450 n. the object of his *Christianity as old as the Creation*, i. 121. Waterland published *Scripture Vindicated* in answer to it, 122. his character of Tindal's book, *ib.* iv. 167. indebted to Lord Shaftesbury not only for the substance, but the expression of many of his sentiments, i. 122. noticed Waterland's first part in his Reply to Bishop Gibson's Second Pastoral Letter, 124. this publication Waterland deemed unworthy of a reply, *ib.*
- Tindale, William, vi. 29 n. 305, 330, 333, 336, 340, 352, 357, 364, 367, 373, 389, 394, 395, 396, 403, 405. an account of his seven editions of the New Testament, chiefly from Joye's Apology, vi. 307, 363.
- Titelmannus, —, v. 165 n.
- Tithe, Prideaux's observations respecting its origin, v. 21.
- Titles, divine, given to Christ in scripture, ii. 120. *God*, 126. *God with us*, or, *Emmanuel*, 127. *Lord God*, 128. *true God*, 130. *great God*, 134. *mighty God*, 136. *over all*, *God blessed for ever*, 138. *Jehovah*, 139. *Almighty*, 141. *Lord of glory*, 143. *King of kings*, and *Lord of lords*, *ib.* *First and Last*, *Alpha and Omega*, *the Beginning and the Ending*, *ib.*
- Titles, reserved by way of eminency to distinguish the first Person of the Godhead by the Post-Nicene fathers, ii. 428.
- Titus of Bostra, an orthodox man, ii. 639. an advocate of Origen, *ib.*
- Todd, H. J., i. 5, 25. vi. 306 n.
- Toland, John, i. 119. iii. 564 n. v. 49. his Creed as drawn out by Fay, 43 n.
- Toledo, first council of, iv. 795. fourth, iii. 180. eleventh, vi. 66.
- Toletanus, ii. 571 n.
- Tomson, Laurence, vi. 357, 392, 405.
- Tonstal, Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, iii. 164. v. 288 n. vi. 305, 327, 343, 344, 357, 381, 403.
- Toussée, —, iii. 78, 528. iv. 595 n. 597 n. 598 n. 688 n. 692. vi. 71.
- Towerson, Gabriel, iv. 469 n. 470, 473 n. 648 n. 705 n. 708 n. 775 n. 776 n. v. 162 n. 293 n. vi. 69 n. 496.
- Townshend, viscount, i. 12 n. 14 n. vi. 450, 452. secretary of state, i. 238.
- Tradition, divided into oral and written, ii. 754. written tradition of what use, *ib.*
- Tradition preferred to scripture by Tertullian in certain controversies, iii. 613.

- defended from the censure of Buddæus, 615. notice of several pretences of tradition, 658.
- Traheron, Bartholomew, librarian to Edward VI, vi. 356. notice of his Exposition of part of St. John's Gospel, *ib.* and of his Exposition of the fourth chapter of the Revelations, *ib.*
- Transubstantiation, the seeds of this error, how first sown, v. 117. its origin, 205. when the term first came into use, iv. 599 n. when the doctrine was first made an article of faith, *ib.* and reestablished, *ib.* objections against it, 613. cannot be disproved by arguments drawn from the word *remembrance* applied to the eucharist, 520.
- Trapp, Joseph, i. 236, 241. iii. 455 n. vi. 461, 463, 466.
- Tregonwell, sir John, i. 251.
- Tregonwell, John, of Anderston, i. 251.
- Tregonwell, Jane, married to Dr. Waterland, i. 251. her death, *ib.*
- Tremellius, Immanuel, iv. 252 n. 339.
- Trent, council of, v. 126. authorized the Gallican Psalter, iii. 164. reestablished the doctrine of transubstantiation, iv. 599 n. its view of infant communion, v. 406, 410.
- Treves Latin MS. of the Athanasian Creed, notice of, iii. 153. the Colbert MS. copied from it, *ib.* 156.
- Trevisa, John, vi. 238, 301, 304, 314, 357, 368. Cornish man, vicar of Berkeley, iii. 144. flourished temp. Richard II, *ib.* translated Higden's Polychronicon, 144 n. 145. how far he carried it down, 145 n. and Bartylmew *de Proprietatibus Rerum*, *ib.* Wharton was of opinion that the version of the Bible, ascribed to Wickliff, was really done by him, 144. his reasons unsatisfactory to others, and in part confuted, *ib.* Waterland's observations on the subject, *ib.* Caxton and Bale both assert that he did really translate the Bible, 145.
- Trinity, controversy respecting, some account of, previous to Waterland's writings, i. 18. Dr. Sherlock charged with tritheism in his defence of the doctrine, 32. and Drs. Wallis and South with Sabellianism, *ib.* Dr. Clarke's view of the doctrine, 35. Ephes. iv. 6. *One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all*, generally understood of the whole Trinity by the ancients; *above all*, as Father: *through all*, by the Word; and *in all*, by the Holy Ghost, ii. 280. the ancients considered the Trinity to be concerned in concert in the creation of the world, 356, 381. ii. 66, 76, 82, 629, 630. with what design, i. 381. the Trinity as fully and clearly to be apprehended (perhaps more so) as eternity, omnipresence, or the like, 460. ii. 603 n. certain terms and expressions applied to the Trinity, not to enlarge our views, but to secure the plain fundamental truth, i. 461. the Trinity in Unity, how proved by scripture, 466, 467. what heretics against this doctrine sprung up in the primitive church, 468. Dr. Clarke's notion of the Trinity as unintelligible as the orthodox notion, 474. the catholic doctrine of the Trinity, 502. not probable that the primitive church should mistake in so material a point as the Trinity, or that the catholic writers should all mistake in their account of it, 540. supposed by the ancient fathers to be intimated in the Old Testament, ii. 64, 65. their arguments from some texts barely probable, 65. this doctrine the only security against a plurality of Gods, or against Sabellianism, 83. no pronouns strictly applicable to the Trinity in Unity, 97. in what sense perhaps pronouns may primarily refer to the Father, 98 n. Tertullian's declaration respecting the Trinity, 121 n. and Cyrill's of Jerusalem, *ib.* the three Persons distinguished by their modes of existing, 204. the article of our church on the Trinity shewn to have only one sense, and not four according to an Arian explanation, 278. the doctrine of the Trinity, according to Dr. Clarke and his followers, contrasted with the same doctrine according to the church of England, 318. the four hypotheses concerning the Trinity intimated in the fragment of Dionysius of Rome, 468. all condemned but the true one, *ib.* the fact of three Persons being one God may be known from Scripture, although we are ignorant of the *manner* of their union, 623. analogous illustrations, *ib.* the catholic doctrine, 700. metaphysical objections against this doctrine are not so much owing to any difficulty in the conception of the doctrine, but to the difficulty of defining what the words and phrases employed shall import, 709. proof of it, 710. upon what occasions the distinction of Persons, and unity of substance, began to be expressed, 710, 711. who first used the terms, 710. Theophilus the first writer extant, in whom the word Trinity is found, *ib.* other terms how applied, 711, 712. the difficulty of finding appropriate terms shewn, 712, 713. what terms were adopted, 713. a short method of ending the controversy respecting the Trinity, 762. what the doctrine is, *ib.* whether it be possible, *ib.* and whether it be true, 763. observations on the sub-



- stance and Persons of the Trinity, iii. 19. what the ancients thought of the reference of one Person to the other, as Head, 26, 40. none of the three Persons entirely independent of each other, 60. the sense in which the term *God* is used in scripture does not militate against the doctrine of the Trinity, 275. an inability to explain the *modus*, or manner, how three Persons are one Being, or one God, no objection against the Trinity, 278. notice respecting those who deny the importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, 396. their chief reasons, 403. general principles on which they build who assert its importance, 399. the doctrine shewn to be sufficiently clear to be a fundamental article, both as to the matter of the doctrine, and as to the proofs on which it rests, 405. how proved not to be unintelligible to common Christians, 407, 408. two arguments to evince the irresistible force of scripture proofs of the Trinity, 414, 415. the same doctrine shewn to be not speculative but practical, 416. how undesignedly hurt by the schoolmen, 437. further shewn to be sufficiently insisted upon in scripture to be deemed an article of prime importance, 440. Episcopius's sentiments on this subject, *ib.* the form of baptism a proof of the importance of the doctrine, 455. shewn, that communion ought not to be held with men that openly reject the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, 456. objections answered, and vulgar mistakes rectified, 473. a view of the judgment and practice of the primitive churches as to the necessity of believing the doctrine of the Trinity, 523. this doctrine always a part of ancient creeds, 524. proofs, 528, 529, 530. although all are not equally explicit, 528. why, 531. yet even the shorter creeds contain the sum and substance of this doctrine, if fairly interpreted, *ib.* the doctrine proved to be considered important by the ancients from the censures passed upon the impugners of it, 537. the Trinity in Unity a fundamental doctrine, v. 83. the Trinity proved from the form of baptism against ancient heretics, 111. a familiar discourse on the doctrine of the Trinity, 345. cause and time of one Sunday being set apart as Trinity-Sunday, 346. the nature of the three divine Persons, 348. their distinction, 349. their union, 350. their offices, *ib.* the importance and use of these great articles of our Christian faith, 352.
- Trinity, a Modest Plea for the Baptismal and Scripture Notion of*, written by Dr. Sykes, i. 42, 43.
- Trinity, Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of*, the work of bishop Gastrell, i. 39.
- Trinity, Scripture doctrine of, vindicated from the Misrepresentations of Dr. Clarke*: the author of this pamphlet was Dr. J. Knight, i. 38.
- Trinity college library, Cambridge, vi. 240, 249, 250, 261, 264, 265, 266, 301, 317, 352, 357, 401, 402, 439. notice of a MS., (*Rythmus Anglicus*.) iii. 130 n. has a MS. of S. Bruno's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, 138. its probable age, *ib.* notice of a MS. Commentary there of the Psalms and Hymns of the Church, and of the Athanasian Creed, 145. has a MS. of the three versions of the Psalter by Jerome, 165. notice of its Normanno-Gallican version of the Athanasian Creed, 168.
- Tritheism, the catholic doctrine the medium between it and Sabellianism, i. 467. refuted as charged on the catholics, 451, 466. fixed upon the Arians, 469. the ancient fathers' sense of it, *ib.* charge of tritheism constantly denied by the ancients, ii. 434.
- Tritheists, or real Trinitarians, to which party in the Trinitarian controversy applied, i. 33.
- Trommius, Abraham, i. 313. ii. 142.
- True God*, a divine title given to Christ in scripture, ii. 130.
- Trulla, council of, iv. 476, 790 n. vi. 113 n.
- Truman, —, vi. 8 n. 22 n. 34 n.
- Turner, Dr., v. 151 n. 168 n.
- Turner, Robert, ii. 590 n. 591 n. iii. 661 n.
- Turretinus Alphonsus, i. 196. iii. 443 n. 453 n. 644 n. iv. 490, 646 n. v. 73 n. 74 n. 75 n. 79 n. 84 n. 88 n. 90 n. 91 n. 94 n. 99 n. 100 n. 102 n. vi. 461.
- Turrianus, —, iii. 131.
- Turribius, of Spain, iii. 202.
- Twells, Leonard, i. 236. iii. 552 n. iv. 271 n. 708 n. vi. 434.
- Twisse, William, v. 143.
- Two Gods, the consequence of the Arian scheme, i. 321.
- Two Gods, and two Masters, how to be understood, ii. 18.
- Type, definition of, iv. 159 n. difference between type and symbol, v. 234 n.
- Tyrrel, —, iv. 109 n.
- Tyson, —, of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, a Jacobite, i. 14.
- U.
- Udall, Nicolas, v. 324, 381, 382, 386, 387, 388, 389, 403.
- Ullerston, Dr., iii. 143.
- Unbaptized persons, when not excluded from uncovenanted mercies, v. 103 n.

- opinions of some as to what will become of them after death, vi. 107.
- Unbloody sacrifice, first mentioned by Athenagoras, iv. 470. in what sense, *ib.*
- Uncreated, the Son asserted to be so in scripture, i. 388. and by the Antenicene writers, 389. that he was created, not affirmed or supposed by Origen, 390.
- Union makes oneness, or sameness, ii. 622, 671, 708, 709.
- Union of three Persons in one God may be known from scripture, although we are ignorant of the *manner* of their union, ii. 623. analogous illustrations, *ib.* real union of the Father and the Son proved from both the sacraments, v. 113.
- Union, perfect, of all Christians improbable, v. 76.
- Unitarians at the reformation began with Arianism, and for the most part settled into Socinianism, which is near to Sabellianism, i. 101 n. 482.
- Unitarians, or Socinians, a brief history of*, answered by dean Sherlock, i. 32.
- Unity of authority, and unity of Godhead, distinct things, i. 323. unity of Godhead cannot be asserted but upon an equality of nature, and unity of principle, 471. the scripture-notion of the divine unity, stated and cleared, ii. 84. under what salvos, or qualifying considerations, we may reasonably understand the general doctrine of God the Father's being the only true God, or Lord, 88. objections against explaining those texts that assert him to be so, by supposing a supreme and inferior God, and supreme and inferior worship, 89. the other way of supposing that *one* only, or the like, may admit of some latitude of construction, shewn at large, 90. the Son shewn not to be excluded by those texts, that declared the Father to be the one God, 91. indeed the word *God* may perhaps be understood in an *indefinite* sense, (as applicable to the whole Trinity,) as often as the context or other circumstances do not confine its signification and intent to one Person only, 93. why it was needless, that a saving clause, such as, *except my Son and Holy Spirit*, should have been added to such texts, 94. why it might have been hurtful, 95. the primitive writers followed the same style with respect to the titles, *one*, or *only* God, 96. what to be inferred from the scripture declarations of the unity, 98. in what sense bishop Bull denied a *specific* Unity, and maintained a *numerical* Unity, 202, 203. resolved by the ancients into *consubstantiality*, *inseparability*, and unity of *origination*, 434. 537. how solved by Dionysius of Rome, 469. texts relating thereto, considered by the ancients as excluding idols, but not the Son, 434. what was anciently looked upon as the assertion of the Unity, 533. whether demonstrable from natural reason, iii. 372—374. unity of kind and number, where inconsistent, and where consistent, 60, 61.
- Unity of God not inconsistent with the Divinity of Christ, being Remarks on Dr. Waterland's Vindication*, &c. strictures on this pamphlet, ii. 16, 17. its author takes the Arian hypothesis, 17. all he undertakes to prove is, that some of Dr. W.'s arguments against Arianism are not conclusive, *ib.* the sum of what he pretends to, 18. observations on his opinions as to religious worship, 22.
- Unoriginateness distinct from necessary existence, ii. 511.
- Unprofitableness of man's best performances, a sermon upon the scripture doctrine of, v. 645.
- Unscriptural words made use of by the catholics to defend their doctrines, in answer to unscriptural objections made against them by their adversaries, i. 462. *ὑπερουψώω* interpreted by *δοξάζω*, ii. 549. *ὑπόστασις*, difference between it and *πρόσωπον*, ii. 542. see *Hypostasis*.
- Urban V, iii. 164 n. vi. 366.
- Ursacius, ii. 371. condemned as an enemy to the Nicene faith, vi. 209.
- Ursinus, Zacharias, iii. 251 n.
- Usher, Ambrose, vi. 379, 398, 404.
- Usher, James, archbishop of Armagh, ii. 340, 419, 420. iii. 112, 116, 137, 143, 150—155, 160, 168, 175, 177, 192 n. 193, 237, 252 n. 526. v. 92 n. 288 n. 403 n. vi. 379. originally a professed Calvinist, ii. 346. drew up the Irish confession of 1615, *ib.* afterwards renounced his Calvinian principles, *ib.* notice of his opinion respecting the Athanasian Creed, iii. 109, 117.
- Uxomensis, see *Osma*.

## V.

- Valens, emperor, ii. 372.
- Valens, ii. 371. condemned as an enemy to the Nicene faith, vi. 209.
- Valentia, Gregorius de, see *Gregorius*.
- Valentinians, ascribed the creation of the lower world to a creature of their own devising, whom they called Demiurgus, or *Creator*, ii. 76. some of their principles, 728. one of their errors, iii. 545.
- Valentinus, ii. 77, 383. iii. 540, 583, 651. vi. 471. his pretence of tradition refuted, iii. 658.
- Valesius, Henricus, i. 519 n. 547 n. ii. 253 n. 377, 422, 495, 498.
- Valla, Laurentius, smelt out that the

- Apostles' Creed was not composed by them, iv. 19.
- Vanity, what, v. 570.
- Varimadus, iii. 205 n.
- Vasquez, Gabriel, iii. 343. v. 130 n. 143 n. 165 n. vi. 66 n. 70 n. 494, 497. when he flourished, iii. 336. declares there can be no demonstration *à priori* of the Divine existence, *ib.* his reasons why the eucharistic elements might be called a sacrifice, v. 287 n.
- Vatican library, part of the Palatine library transferred to it, iii. 173.
- Velthuysius, Lambertus, v. 73 n. 74 n. 80 n.—83 n. 102.
- Venial sins, doctrine of, controverted, iv. 126. sins of ignorance and infirmity the only slight sins, 127. all wilful sins deadly and damning, *ib.* the rule is, to make the estimate not barely by the matter of the offence, but the stress that God has laid upon his commandments, and the degree of wilfulness that goes along with the transgression of them, *ib.*
- Venn, Richard, i. 256.
- Vern, Daniel, vi. 402.
- Verona, iii. 186.
- Viatium*, its meaning, iv. 650.
- Victor bishop of Rome, iii. 516, 581. excommunicated Theodotus for his heresy, 579. blamed for misapplying the ecclesiastical censure in a case relating to the time for keeping Easter, *ib.*
- Victor Antiochenus, iv. 574 n.
- Victorinus Petavionensis, iii. 540, 555 n. 575.
- Vienna, imperial library of, has the MS. of the Athanasian Creed presented by Charlemagne to pope Adrian I, iii. 156. and a MS. of Otrifridus's German version of it, 169. and two Greek MS. versions, 172.
- Vigilius, pope, iii. 180.
- Vigilius Tapsensis, i. 82. ii. 429, 571 n. 573 n. iii. 116, 160, 161, 212, 219. considered by Quesnel and others to be the author of the Athanasian Creed, 111, 117. by Dr. Cave, 112. Dupin, 113. Bingham, 115. and Oudinus, 116. denied by Montfaucou, 114. and Muratorius, 115. reasons for his not being the author of the Athanasian Creed, 204.
- Villerius, P. Loseler, vi. 392.
- Vincentius Mart., ii. 476 n.
- Vincentius Lirinensis, iii. 115, 202, 204, 210, 212 n. 215, 219, 221, 222 n. 227 n. 228 n. 481 n. 667 n. 668 n. 694 n. vi. 465. inclined to allow the plea of Origen's works being adulterated, ii. 640. considered by Antelmi to be the author of the Athanasian Creed, iii. 114. doubted by Montfaucou, *ib.* reasons against his being the author of the Athanasian Creed, 213.
- Vines, —, iv. 665 n.
- Viret, Peter, v. 35.
- Virgil, i. 402, 403, 409, 411, 412, 639.
- Virginia, see *J. Blair*.
- Virtue, the scripture account of, iv. 112. its true meaning, 115. admits of degrees, 123. its own reward, remarks on the unsoundness of this maxim, v. 53, 54, 55.
- Virunius, vi. 429.
- Visionaries, ancient, iii. 550.
- Vitringa, Campegius, iii. 446 n. 455 n. 456 n. 459 n. 539 n. 542 n.—546 n. 574, 577 n. 679 n. iv. 27 n. 37 n. 38 n. 56 n. 157 n. 163 n. 239 n. 281 n. 297 n. 320 n. 329 n. 330 n. 332 n. 333 n. 334 n. 338 n. 340, 351 n. 360 n. 362 n. 363 n. 364, 368, 429 n. 440 n. 441 n. 477 n. 481 n. 495 n. 507 n. 509 n. 668 n. 705 n. 722 n. 727, 729 n. 731 n. 741 n. 744 n. 763 n. 764 n. v. 85 n. 124 n. 130 n. 153, 263 n. 264 n. 268 n. 279 n. 397 n. vi. 5 n. 465, 469, 473. a proper allegorist of scripture, iii. 410.
- Voetius, Gisbert, v. 74 n. 78 n. 89 n. 91 n. 94 n.
- Volkelius, —, iv. 483, 500 n. 617 n. 618 n. 623 n. 671, 672.
- Vorstius, Joannes, iv. 473 n. 524.
- Vossius, Gerard John, i. 82. ii. 190 n. iii. 109—112, 116, 161, 190, 191, 212 n. 651 n. 657 n. 660 n. iv. 81, 128, 184 n. 241 n. 300 n. 301 n. 409, 410, 430 n. 437 n. 438 n. 440, 469 n. 482 n. 531 n. 563 n. 589 n. 646 n. 647 n. 667 n. 680 n. 682 n. 700 n. 706 n. v. 47 n. 115 n. 118 n. 189 n. 225 n. 226, 272 n. 289 n. vi. 10 n. 30 n. 470, 479—483. led the way in a strict inquiry into the Athanasian Creed, iii. 108. the result of his inquiries, *ib.* 117. their character, 108. considered the unity of God, though not demonstrable from human reason yet highly probable, 374 n. proved the tradition of the Apostles' Creed having been composed by them to be fabulous, iv. 19. the most judicious etymologist that the world has known, vi. 434, 436.

## W.

- Wade, —, 668 n. 701 n.
- Wake, William, archbishop of Canterbury, i. 137, 225. iii. 608 n. 609 n. iv. 7, 103 n. 415, 419, 463 n. 565, 600 n. v. 114 n.
- Walchius, —, i. 257.
- Waldegrave, Robert, vi. 349.
- Walker, —, v. 407.
- Wall, William, ii. 174 n. 186 n. 191 n. 562, 586 n. iii. 208, 209, 524 n. iv. 19 n. 96, 102 n. 428 n. 429 n. 431 n. adv. 491 n. 563 n. 569 n. 645 n. v. 115 n. 401 n. 402 n. 403 n. 407, 408, 410 n. 411. vi. 13 n. 16 n. 17 n. 19 n. 41 n. 44 n. 53 n. 65 n. 71 n. 464, 471, 479, 480. erroneous in supposing the word *sacrament*, used by the younger Pliny in his

account of the Christians, meant baptism, and not the eucharist, *iv.* 481. his opinion respecting the commencement of infant communion, *v.* 403.

Wallis, John, Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford, *i.* 64. *ii.* 330. *iii.* 251. *iv.* 407. *vi.* 434. considered some of dean Sherlock's illustrations in his *Vindication of the Trinity*, as approaching to tritheism, *i.* 82. and was himself charged with leaning to Sabellianism, *ib.* his party called *Nominalists*, 83.

Walsingham, Francis, *vi.* 393.

Waltherus, —, *iv.* 366 n.

Wanley, Humphrey, *iii.* 138, 152, 157, 158, 159, 168, 183. *vi.* 241 n. 329, 330, 336, 343, 344 n. 351, 352, 359, 360, 362, 368, 377, 433, 436.

Warburton, William, bishop of Gloucester, *i.* 247, 248, 249. his animosity against Waterland, 256.

Warcupp, —, *vi.* 415.

Ward, Samuel, master of Sidney college, Cambridge, *iv.* 530 n. 641 n. 646 n. *v.* 403. *vi.* 494—497.

Ward, Seth, bishop of Salisbury, wrote a treatise on the existence and attributes of God, *iii.* 351.

Warren, Dr. Richard, *i.* 290. *iv.* 633. *vi.* 426. fellow of Jesus college, Cambridge, rector of Cavendish, and afterwards archdeacon of Suffolk, *vi.* 448 n. published an Answer to Hoadly's Plain Account of the Sacrament, *ib.* Waterland's praise of it, 448.

Waterland, Daniel, his high reputation as a theological writer, *i.* 1. yet there had been no entire collection of his writings before this edition, 2. the design of bishop Van Mildert's preliminary essay, *ib.* little known of Dr. W.'s personal history, *ib.* from what sources derived, 2—5. notice of "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Waterland, &c. by a Clergyman," 3. which was nothing but a scurrilous attack by Mr. Jackson, *ib.* born at Walesby, Lincolnshire, Feb. 14, 1683., 7. second son of the Rev. H. Waterland, *ib.* his early talents, by whom cultivated, *ib.* admitted sizer of Magdalene college, Cambridge, 1699., *ib.* became successively scholar, fellow, tutor, and dean, 8. appointed by the earl of Suffolk and Bindon master of the college in 1713., *ib.* and presented by him to the living of Ellingham in Norfolk, *ib.* continued tutor some years after he became head of the college, *ib.* used to study late at night, 9. probably shortened his life by too intense application, *ib.* was one of the university examiners and moderators in 1710., *ib.* and employed, whilst yet a junior member of the senate, in several syndicates, *ib.* in Nov. 1712. he

preached the commemoration sermon, *ib.* and in July 1713. the assize sermon, *ib.* graduated regularly in divinity, instead of applying for a degree by *mandamus*, as is usual with heads of houses in that university, *ib.* Seed's notice of his celebrated divinity action, the question, whether Arian subscription was lawful, 10. this performance probably caused Dr. Clarke to omit a passage respecting subscription to the Articles in his second edition of his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, *ib.* drew up the vote of thanks by the senate to Dr. Bentley for his answer to Collins, 11. elected vice-chancellor in November 1715., *ib.* exerted himself in the arrangements for the university's reception of bishop Moore's library, *ib.* the controversy between the two universities and the college of physicians happened in his vice-chancellorship, 12, 13. was successful in allaying the political animosities that raged in the university respecting the Hanoverian succession, 13. made one of the chaplains in ordinary to the king, 16. probably at Dr. Bentley's suggestion, *ib.* Middleton's unworthy insinuations about his appointment, *ib.* the origin of his hostility uncertain, 16 n. prevented from opposing Bentley in the professorship of divinity from esteem for him, 18. anecdote of his observation on Bentley's prelection on 1 John v. 7, the correctness of this anecdote questionable, and why, 19. what, perhaps, was his and Bentley's opinion of the matter, *ib.* had the degree of D.D. conferred upon him when the king visited Cambridge, 20. the *Biographia Britannica* wrong in saying he was *incorporated* at Oxford, 20 n. was probably only admitted *ad eundem*, *ib.* avoided as much as possible the contest between the university and Dr. Bentley respecting his claim of additional fees for presenting to degrees, 20, 22. appointed to convey the university's vote of thanks to bishop Gastrell for maintaining the university degrees against the Lambeth degrees, 23. and to the earl of Nottingham for writing in defence of the Trinity in answer to Whiston, 24. concerned in certain negotiations between the university and the company of stationers in London, *ib.* in a political contest for the appointment of a vice-chancellor, *i.* 26. in maintaining the rights of the university against the town, *ib.* and in revising the list of benefactors to the university, *ib.* subscribed twenty guineas towards beautifying his college chapel, *ib.* notice of his *Vindication of Christ's Divinity, being a Defence of some*

*Queries relating to Dr. Clarke's Scheme of the holy Trinity*, 28. Dr. W.'s own account of the cause of his drawing up these Queries, and afterwards publishing a Defence of them, 43, 269, &c. his defence of his general title, viz. *A Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, 273. Dr. Clarke's reputation perceptibly declined upon his taking the field, 45. bishop Van Mildert's observations on his Queries, and Jackson's answer, *ib.* his arrangement of scripture quotations superior to Dr. Clarke's, 47. notice of Dr. Clarke's tract in reply to him, entitled, *The Modest Plea continued, or a brief Answer to Dr. Waterland's Queries relating to the Trinity*, 48. appointed first lady Moyer's lecturer after the publication of his *Defence of the Queries*, 50. dedicated his lectures to the Bishop of London, 51. the preface contains remarks upon the *Modest Plea continued*, and upon *Unity of God not inconsistent with the Divinity of Christ*, 52. character of both, *ib.* these lectures, according to the author, (ii. 5.) may be looked upon as a supplement to his *Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, 52. yet the work may be considered an entire and perfect treatise in itself, 53. the argument from *worship* omitted, having fully treated of it in the *Vindication*, ii. 5. the *Vindication* chiefly upon the offensive, *ib.* the sermons proceed more directly, giving the direct scripture proofs, *ib.* his strictures on the *Modest Plea continued*, 8. why he wrote no particular reply to it, *ib.* what he conjectured was the object of Dr. Clarke's book, 12. his strictures on a pamphlet entitled, *Unity of God not inconsistent with the Divinity of Christ, &c.*, 16, 17. clears himself from the charge of making three Persons one Person, 26, 27. his short strictures on Whitby's *Modest Disquisitions on Bishop Bull's Defence of the Nicene Creed*, i. 507. notice of Whitby's Reply to them, 55. and of his Answer to the Reply, *ib.* bishop Van Mildert's notice of Whitby's second Part of a Reply, 57. circumstances that induced Waterland to publish *The Case of Arian Subscription considered*, 58, 59. bishop Van Mildert considers it one of his ablest productions, 60. answered by Sykes in *The Case of Subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles considered*, 63. notice of this answer, *ib.* the fallacy that runs through it, 65. notice of Waterland's Reply, entitled, *A Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription considered*, 66. his vindication of the Articles from the charge of admitting none but a Calvinistic

construction completely satisfactory, *ib.* notice of Sykes's Reply to this Supplement, 67. not noticed by Waterland, *ib.* notice of Jackson's Reply to Dr. Waterland's Defence of his Queries, 68. how far Dr. Clarke was concerned in it, 68 n. answered by Waterland in his *Second Vindication of Christ's Divinity, &c.*, 70. the whole force of his intellectual powers and erudition collected in this work, 73. yet it was prepared in two months, *ib.* his chief object in this *Vindication* is to clear the sense of the Ante-Nicene church, ii. 368. his answer to Whiston's objection against the suffrage of the Ante-Nicene church being claimed in favour of the Athanasian doctrines, *ib.* his objections against a proposal for determining the controversy by scripture alone, laying aside not only antiquity, but also those texts of scripture that are disputed, 379. his defence for entitling his two tracts *Vindications of Christ's Divinity*, 382. what he principally intended by the motto prefixed to his first *Vindication*, 386. his remarks as to the sincerity of both parties, 388. his justification of his application of the terms *Arians* and *Arianism*, 389. answers the charge of concealing the material point in question, 396. notice of Jackson's *Remarks*, and Clarke's *Observations* on his second Defence of some Queries, i. 73. why he did not notice Jackson's *Remarks*, 76. some particulars respecting his *Further Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, in answer to Dr. Clarke's *Observations*, 77—81. which was answered by Jackson's *Further Remarks, &c.*, 81. which *Remarks* remained unnoticed by Waterland, *ib.* and here this controversy ended, *ib.* between the publication of his *Second Vindication* and his *Further Vindication* he wrote his *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, *ib.* object of this work, 81. iii. 105. method of it, i. 82. iii. 122. some information respecting the circumstances that gave rise to his *Answer to some Queries printed at Exon, relating to the Arian controversy*, i. 99. notice of his tract, entitled, *The Scriptures and the Arians compared, &c.*, 102. occasion of his correspondence with Mr. Staunton concerning the Trinity, 103. his amiableness how shewn in this controversy, 105. origin of his *Dissertation upon the Argument a priori for proving the Existence of a First Cause*, 105, 111. at first added anonymously to Mr. Law's *Enquiry*, (who was his intimate friend,) 111. notice of this *Dissertation, ib.* his services in the

Trinitarian controversy, 116. did not notice any of Jackson's further writings against him, *ib.* the Memoirs of his Life and Writings by Jackson, too scurrilous to be replied to, *ib.* outline of his work, entitled, *The Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity asserted*, 86. when and where reprinted, 97. notice of his *Remarks on Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism*, 143. replied to by Sykes, 145. the most exceptionable part of whose answer being relative to the Lord's Supper, he in consequence published his tract on *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments*, 148. notice of it, *ib.* notice of Sykes's Defence of his Answer, 155. and of Waterland's reply in his *Supplement* to his former treatise, 158. and of Sykes's rejoinder in his *True foundations of natural and revealed Religion*, 160. and of Waterland's notice of this in his *Postscript* to his second part of *Scripture Vindicated*, 130. and of Sykes's short answer to this Postscript, 132. Waterland pursued this controversy no further, *ib.* his controversial writings in defence of Christianity against deists, 118. wrote the first part of his *Scripture Vindicated* in answer to Tindal's *Christianity as old as the Creation*, 121. notice of it, 121, 122. the first part extends only to the end of Genesis, 122. this part noticed by Tindal in his reply to bishop Gibson's second Pastoral Letter, 124. this publication he deemed unworthy of a reply, *ib.* anonymously but fiercely attacked by Dr. Middleton, *ib.* who bore him personal ill-will, from his being his too successful competitor in literature and public esteem, *ib.* Middleton's letter answered first by Dr. Pearce, 126. against which Middleton published a Defence, *ib.* notice of it, *ib.* Waterland took no part in these disputes, but went on with his second part of *Scripture Vindicated*, 130. notice of it, *ib.* and of his third part, 133. designed a fourth part vindicating the New Testament in like manner, which however never appeared, *ib.* the three parts subsequently published together with a general preface, *ib.* notice of his *Defence of the Bishop of St. David's*, 134. his *Advice to a Student*, drawn up for his university pupils, and not intended for publication, 137. notice of his *Recommendatory Preface to the second edition of Mr. Blair's Sermons*, *ib.* and of his *Discourse on Regeneration*, 138. why very seasonable at the time, 139, 140. high encomium of it, 140. notice of his Charge on the doctrinal use of

the sacrament, 164, 203. particulars of his amicable dispute with Dr. Pearce, respecting the eucharist, 165. Dr. Brett defended Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice* against him, 204. notice of his MS. censures of Brett's and Johnson's publications on the same subject, 167. general account of his *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, &c.*, 168. its object, *ib.* Dr. Berriman his friend, 190 n. notice of his primary Charge on the alleged independence of natural religion upon that which is revealed, 190. notice of his second Charge in defence of revealed religion, 192. most of his observations therein were levelled against Tindal's *Christianity as old as the Creation*, 195. notice of *Discourse of Fundamentals*, comprising the substance of two Charges, 196. and of his three Charges respecting the eucharist and sacrifices, with observations upon them, 205, 206. notices respecting his five occasional sermons, 214, 215. confided his papers to his former pupil, the Rev. J. Clarke, to publish such as he thought proper after his death, 216. who selected thirty-three sermons and two tracts, one on justification, the other on infant communion, 217. observations upon the sermons, *ib.* upon the tract on justification, 221. and upon that on infant communion, 223. Clarke's preface to these writings, v. 385. notice of his two Letters on lay-baptism, i. 224. was first in favour of it, but afterwards altered his opinion, vi. 76. Mr. Kelsall's answer to the first, 81. notice of his letters to Mr. Lewis, i. 229. and to other correspondents, 230. observations respecting his MS. notes on his own and on other writings, 231. laboured much for the improvement of Hearne's edition of Robert of Gloucester, 233. his annotations on the holy scriptures inserted in Dr. Dodd's Commentary on the Bible, *ib.* his account of his declining to be prolocutor of the lower house of convocation, 1735., vi. 413, 444. Browne's Animadversions on two pieces, and Alexander's Essay on Irenæus, passed through his hands before they were printed, 414. how far concerned about the new edition of Cave's *Historia Literaria*, 423. his thoughts on moral goodness, 454. his services as master of his college, and vice-chancellor of the university, i. 234. recommended by bishop Robinson as the first lady Moyer's lecturer, *ib.* presented by the dean and chapter of St. Paul's to the living of St. Austin and St. Faith, London, *ib.* promoted to the chancellorship of York, by sir W. Dawes, archbishop of York, 237.

- the archbishop's letter of thanks to him for his History of the Athanasian Creed, *ib.* through whom made canon of Windsor, 238. obtains the vicarage of Twickenham from that chapter, and resigns the living of St. Austin and St. Faith, *ib.* collated by bishop Gibson to the archdeaconry of Middlesex, 189, 238. intimate with Seed, 239. chosen prolocutor of the lower house of convocation, but declines the post, and why, 239. vi. 413, 444. Dr. Cobden's intended address on his presentation, i. 239 n. his literary aid to other authors, 241. particularly to John Berriman's Moyer's Lectures, *ib.* Wharton's edition of Cave's *Historia Literaria*, 242. and Fiddes's *Body of Divinity*, *ib.* the offer of the bishopric of Llandaff made to him, probably through archbishop Potter, 245. why he declined it, *ib.* notice of an ill-natured story respecting him, 248. his patience and resignation in his last illness, 250. his interment, 251. had married Jane Tregonwell, *ib.* archbishop Potter's tribute to his memory, 253. his literary acquaintances, 254. deference paid to him, *ib.* character of his opponents, *ib.* Warburton's animosity against him, 256. praised by foreigners, 257. the good that his controversial writings produced, *ib.* his style, 261. his temper and disposition, 262. he and Dr. Clarke on good terms, notwithstanding their difference in religious points, 263. chronological order of his works, 264 n. the arrangement in this edition, i. 265. most of his books in Rawlinson's collection in the Bodleian, 248 n.
- Waterland, Henry, rector of Walesby and Flixborough, the father of Daniel Waterland by a second wife, i. 7. was the son of John Waterland, presbyter of Braughton, 7 n. and had been a scholar of Magdalene college, Cambridge, *ib.*
- Waterland, Henry, i. 252.
- Waterland, Henry, notice of, i. 252. his preferment, *ib.*
- Waterland, Isaac, i. 253 n.
- Waterland, John, presbyter of Braughton, grandfather of Daniel, i. 7 n.
- Waterland, Martin, his death, i. 253 n.
- Waterland, Samuel, i. 253 n.
- Waterland, Dr. Theodore, i. 2, 264. brother of Daniel, educated at Clare-hall, Cambridge, where he became fellow, i. 251, 252. afterwards fellow of Magdalene college, 252. his preferments, *ib.* preached lady Moyer's lectures, but did not publish them, *ib.* his only publication an accession sermon at Cambridge, *ib.*
- Waterland, Mrs., see *J. Tregonwell.*
- Watts, Isaac, *iv.* 415.
- Watts, J., *iv.* 186 n.
- Webster, William, i. 256. iii. 416 n. translated Maimbourg's History of Arianism, i. 244. notice of the two Dissertations he prefixed, 245 n. editor of the *Weekly Miscellany*, under the name of Richard Hooker, 248. *Weekly Miscellany*, see *Webster.*
- Weeks, computation by, archbishop Sharpe's illustration of, v. 27.
- Welchman, Edward, i. 560. iii. 401 n. 595. *iv.* 217 n. vi. 422. author of an illustration of the Thirty-nine Articles, notice of his tract, entitled, *Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity examined*, i. 40.
- Wells, Edward, iii. 511 n. *iv.* 47, 317 n. 330 n. 341, 354 n. 364 n. 365 n. 366, 411, 668 n. vi. 481. notice of his *Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Introduction to his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, i. 36. replied to by Dr. Clarke, who attacked some untenable positions he had advanced, 37. notice of his second letter in answer to Dr. Clarke, 38.
- Wendelinus, —, vi. 104 n.
- Werenfels, Samuel, *iv.* 718 n. vi. 471, 486.
- Wesley, John, i. 139, 221.
- Wesseling, —, vi. 414, 417.
- Wesselius, Joannes, *iv.* 429 n. vi. 24 n. 36 n.
- West, Gilbert, *iv.* 412, 415.
- Wharton, Henry, iii. 145, 168, 169. vi. 244, 248, 250, 254, 255, 259, 260, 301, 320, 360, 367, 368, 381. edited Cave's *Historia Literaria*, i. 242. was of opinion that the version of the Bible, commonly ascribed to Wickliff, was really done by Trevisa, iii. 144. is positive the Norfolk MS. of the Gospels belongs to Wickliff, *ib.* his reasons unsatisfactory to others, and in part confuted, *ib.* Waterland's observations on the subject, *ib.*
- Wheatly, Charles, i. 163, 227, 231, 232, 241, 254. *iv.* 695 n. 800 n. vi. 262, 263, 354. once a fellow of St. John's college, Oxford, i. 231. notice of Waterland's MS. notes on his Illustration of the Common Prayer, 5. character of his Moyer's Lectures, vi. 428. published an anonymous tract against Hoadly's *Plain Account of the Sacrament*, 449. well spoken of, *ib.*
- Whelock, Abraham, vi. 242 n.
- Whiston, William, i. 3, 19, 35, 50, 59, 63, 64, 71, 102, 119, 163, 225, 255. ii. 318, 380, 429, 463, 588, 625, 633, 649, 705, 714, 752, 755. iii. 288 n. 298 n. 662 n. *iv.* 290 n. 291, 391, 407, 411. v. 6 n. vi. 398, 412, 421, 446. notice of his character, i. 119. his censure of Dr. Clarke's method of vindicating Arian subscription, ii. 360. his

- objection against the suffrage of the Ante-Nicene church being claimed in favour of the Athanasian doctrines answered, 369. Fabricius's censure of his attempt to substitute the larger for the smaller Epistles of Ignatius, 590 n. and of his attempt about the Apostolical Constitutions, 591 n. his proof of the Son being a creature from Prov. viii. 22. refuted, 633, 634, 635. his censure of Athanasius on this point answered, 635.
- Whittaker, William, ii. 343, 344, 349, iii. 660 n. v. 227 n. regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, furthered the growth of Calvinism there, ii. 342. drew up the Lambeth Articles, 344.
- Whitby, Daniel, i. 90, 94, 95, 98, 102, 120, 231, 254, 284, 349, 356 n. 462, 502, 541, 714. iii. 95, 456 n. 468 n. 481, 511 n. 624 n. 625 n. 633 n. 660 n. iv. 82, 305 n. 325 n. 410, 414, 428 n. 435 n. 453 n. 455 n. 473, 548 n. 553, 632, 752 n. v. 87 n. 92 n. vi. 26, 41 n. 62 n. 485. a quotation proving his former belief in Christ's divinity, i. 283. an instance of his misquoting authorities, 350. his notion of mysteries exposed, 453. censured for his disbelief of the Trinity, 459. praised for his former good service to the church, 507. notice of his *Disquisitiones modestæ* on bishop Bull's Defence of the Nicene Creed, i. 53. his two preliminary maxims, 54. strictures on these Disquisitions, shewing their general fallacies and particular defects, 507. his first fallacy is his making *essence* and *person* to signify the same, *ib.* further commented on in Waterland's *Answer to his Reply*, ii. 200. his second is, in arguing from the expressions of Arians to those of Ante-Nicene writers, i. 510. further noticed in the *Answer to his Reply*, ii. 211. his third is, in arguing against the faith of the Ante-Nicene fathers in Christ's divinity, from their often distinguishing God from Christ, and calling the Father God absolutely, i. 511. this fallacy enlarged upon, ii. 214. his misquotations, i. 511. ii. 219. his misconstructions and misrepresentations, i. 511. ii. 221, 224, 228, 231, 234, 242, 243, 244, 246, 250, 251. charged with falsely styling Barnabas's Epistle *spurious*, i. 513. ii. 252. and with giving a partial account of the ancient doxologies, i. 514. ii. 233. Waterland's Answer to his Reply, 199. bishop Van Mildert's notice of both the Reply and the Answer, i. 55. why Waterland did not answer his Modest Disquisitions more fully in his Defence, &c., ii. 218. his method of managing the controversy, according to Waterland, 256. bishop Van Mildert's notice of his second part of a Reply, i. 57. objections to his addition to the definition of the word *heretic*, iii. 461, 466. his opinion of the use and value of the ancient fathers, 620. his objections against the use of them in interpreting scripture answered, 626. observations on his censures of their scripture criticisms, 648, 652, 654. his view in disparaging them, 663 n. his explanation of 1 Cor. x. 16, &c. censured, iv. 626, 627, 628.
- Whitchurch, Edward, vi. 324, 330, 341, 344 n. 346, 362, 377, 380, 381, 383, 385, 389, 390, 403.
- White, Dr., ii. 348.
- White, Francis, bishop of Ely, observation on his notion of the eucharistic sacrifice, v. 140.
- Whitefield, George, i. 139. v. 388 n. 391 n. 392 n. 394 n. 397.
- Whitgift, John, archbishop of Canterbury, iv. 800. vi. 22 n. 82, 124, 127, 128. his opinion as to the proceedings at Cambridge against Barret for Anti-Calvinism, ii. 342, 343, 344. though he countenanced the Lambeth Articles, yet he might not have understood them in so strict a sense as Whitaker, who drew them up, 336.
- Whole Duty of Man*, iv. 399.
- Wholly*, anciently spelt *holy*, iii. 230.
- Wicked men, the providential instruments of good, two sermons on this subject, v. 479, 488.
- Wickliff, John, iii. 145, 240. vi. 238, 240, 243, 246, 247, 248, 263, 264, 265, 317, 319, 320, 359, 360, 365, 385, 399, 402. notice of an English Comment on the Athanasian Creed ascribed to him by Waterland, iii. 143. on what grounds, *ib.* a MS. of his Bible in Emanuel college library, Cambridge, 144. Wharton was of opinion that the version, commonly ascribed to him, was really Trevisa's, *ib.* his reasons unsatisfactory to others, and in part confuted, *ib.* Waterland's observations on the subject, 145. Wharton is positive that the Norfolk MS. of the Gospels is a version done by Wickliff, 144. two copies of his translation of the Testament in Magdalene college library, Cambridge, vi. 265. a copy annexed to his Bible in Emanuel college library, *ib.* observations respecting MS. copies of his translation of the Testament, 300, 303. conjectures concerning his Bible, 365, 370. probably translated the New Testament only, 366, 371.
- Wickliffites, vi. 253, 258.
- Wilkins, John, bishop of Chester, iii. 169, 372 n. iv. 287 n. 321, 414. v. 54 n. 67 n. vi. 303, 306, 312 n.
- Will*, and *arbitrary will*, distinct, i. 349. how the Son may be said to have been



- begotten with the will of the Father, 347, 561. how the ancients held eternal generation to be an act of the will, ii. 590. in what senses used by the fathers, 592. its different meanings as applied to temporal and to eternal generation, 610.
- Will, or the Father's Will*, a name given by some of the ancients to the Son, ii. 591.
- Willehad, St., bishop of Brema, iii. 183, 185.
- William III, iv. 418.
- William and Mary college in Virginia, Rev. J. Blair its original projector and first president, iv. 418.
- Williams, —, i. 221. president of St. John's college, Cambridge, vi. 452.
- Williams, Dr., v. 28.
- Willis, Browne, vi. 451.
- Wimbledon, —, vi. 264.
- Windsor college library, vi. 315, 324, 402, 403.
- Wingate, Edmund, iv. 407.
- Wise, Dr., v. 151 n.
- Witsius Hermannus, i. 196. iii. 602 n. iv. 187 n. 192 n. 195 n. 196 n. 203 n. 256 n. 281 n. 298 n. 300 n. 316 n. 320 n. 332 n. 333 n. 341 n. 354. 367 n. 705 n. 716 n. 752 n. v. 12 n. 17 n. 19 n. 20 n. 73 n. 93 n. 130 n. vi. 461. 469. his censure of those who denied the importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, iii. 398 n. and of the remonstrants for not considering the doctrine of the Trinity practical, 417 n. confuted the pretences of Marsham and Spencer against the opinion that pagan writers borrowed from the Jews, v. 14.
- Witty, —, iv. 161 n. 162 n.
- Wolff, R., vi. 352, 404.
- Wolfius, John Christopher, iii. 434 n. 456 n. 458 n. 460 n. 690, 691 n. iv. 273, 428 n. 430 n. 435 n. 473, 496 n. 508 n. 510 n. 578 n. 605 n. 632, 633, 706 n. 708 n. 716 n. 768 n. v. 6 n. 221 n. 263 n. 264 n. vi. 13 n. 15 n. 462.
- Wollaston, William, iii. 351, 370 n. iv. 112 n. 415.
- Wolsey, Thomas, cardinal, vi. 270.
- Wolzenigenius, —, iv. 506 n. 523. vi. 484.
- Women had the priesthood among some ancient sects, vi. 114.
- Wood, Anthony, vi. 371, 372.
- Woolston, Thomas, iv. 381, 387.
- Word, see *Λόγος*.
- Worde, Wynkyn de, vi. 268.
- World, the upper and lower not created by one Author, according to Cerinthus, ii. 50. creation of the world by God most high proved from the eucharist, v. 109. see *Revelation*.
- Worship, religious, appropriated to the supreme God only in scripture, i. 407. creation the ground and reason of worship in scripture, 430. some probable reasons why God may have reserved divine worship to himself alone, 410. no distinction in scripture between absolute and inferior worship, 410. ii. 89. the same proved also from the practice of the primitive martyrs, i. 416. and from the doctrine of the ancient church, 417. proof that relative inferior worship may not be paid to any creature, 411. religious worship due to Christ, 420. upon what principles given to him by the primitive Christians, 423. how the worship paid to him redounds to the Father, 425. due to him, as Creator and Preserver, long before the commencing of his mediatorial kingdom, 429, proves Christ to be the one God, ii. 21. the Arian notion of worship refuted, 22. the only scriptural foundation of any religious worship is the divinity of the Person, 25. the mediatorial office of Christ cannot be the foundation of his worship, and why, 23, 25. observations on the opinions of the author of *Unity of God not inconsistent with the Divinity of Christ*, with respect to religious worship, 22, 23. prayer and thanksgiving, as parts of religious worship, how considered, 24. mediatorial worship considered at large, 655. only one, and has respect to the divinity of the Person to be worshipped, otherwise it is idolatry, 659, 660. how understood by the ancients, 666. who made no distinction of supreme and inferior worship, 668. why the worship of the Son, although terminating in the Father, cannot be an inferior worship, 669. why his worship may be considered as ultimately resting in the Father, *ib.* inferior worship disproved, 670. how it differs from honour, 663. worship of the Son not founded on his power of judging, 680—681. this was the Socinian idea, *ib.* the old Arian foundation for his worship, 684. why principally required to be given to God, 722, 723. scripture knows nothing of creature worship, or inferior, relative or mediate, iii. 291, 297. observations on divine worship, 420. instances from scripture, of worship being paid to the Son and Holy Ghost, iv. 8. proof that it was also offered by the primitive Christians, 9.
- Wotton, William, ii. 107 n. iii. 170, 640, 643 n. iv. 186 n. 430 n.
- Wraugham, archdeacon, i. 5.
- Wray, Christopher, i. 7 n.
- Wurtzburgh, library of, has the oldest MS. of S. Bruno's Comment on the

- Athanasian Creed, iii. 138. which was left by him as a legacy to that church, *ib.* its age, *ib.*  
 Wyghte, John, vi. 404.
- X.
- Xenophanes, ii. 585 n.  
 Xenophon, iv. 407, 408. said to have borrowed from the scriptures, v. 9.  
 Ximenes, Francis, cardinal, vi. 429, 430.
- Y.
- York, archbishop of, see *sir W. Davies*.  
 York, cathedral library of, has a MS. of S. Bruno's Comment on the Athanasian Creed, iv. 139. its probable age, *ib.*  
 Young, Dr., dean of Sarum, i. 104. iv. 407, 409. vi. 447.  
 Young, Patrick, iii. 175.  
 Younger, —, canon residentiary of St. Paul's, i. 236.
- Z.
- Zach. Mitylen., ii. 695.  
 Zaleucus's laws borrowed in part from the scriptures, v. 9.  
 Zanchius, Jerome, iv. 367 n. 641 n. v. 223 n. 228 n. 281 n. 286 n. vi. 104.  
 Zeltner, —, v. 143 n.  
 Zeno Veronensis, i. 356 n. 367 n. ii. 460 n. 498 n. 586 n. 593 n. 595 n. 616 n. 695 n. 743 n. iii. 23, 90, 429. v. 138 n. 250. his statement as to the *procession* of the Son, i. 361 n. and as to the *undivided* nature of the Father and the Son, 443 n.  
 Zephyrin, pope, iii. 581.  
 Zialowski, Eustratius Johannides, Gundling wrote notes on his piece relating to the religion of the Greek churches, iii. 112.  
 Zois, vi. 187.  
 Zoroastres, iv. 296. v. 17.  
 Zornius, —, iii. 634 n. 658 n. iv. 497 n. 540 n. 702 n. 703 n. 707 n. 708 n. 727, 752 n. v. 114 n. 264 n. 401. vi. 65 n. 470, 472, 473, 492.  
 Zuinglians, iv. 462. considered lay-baptism invalid, vi. 94. contrary to Zuinglius, *ib.*  
 Zuinglius, Ulrichus, v. 405. vi. 94. his views respecting the eucharist how faulty, iv. 599. what apology made for him, 600.  
 Zwicker, Daniel, i. 28. ii. 378. iii. 564. bishop Bull's *Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio* written expressly against him, i. 29. rejected the proeme of St. John's Gospel, iii. 673.

THE END.



# B O O K S

PRINTED FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

SOLD BY

JOHN HENRY PARKER, Oxford, and 377, Strand, London ; and  
E. GARDNER, 7, Paternoster Row, London :

*At the following Prices in sheets.*

- BEVERIDGE'S** Discourse upon the XXXIX Articles. The third complete edition. 1847. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- BINGHAM'S** Works, edited by the Rev. R. Bingham, jun. M. A. *A new edition*, in 10 vols. 1855. 8vo. 5l.
- BRAGGE'S** Works, on the Miracles, Parables, &c. 5 vols. 1833. 8vo. 1l. 10s.
- BULL'S** Works, with Nelson's Life, by the Rev. E. BURTON, D. D. A new edition. 8 vols. 1846. 8vo. 2l. 5s.
- BURNET'S** History of the Reformation of the Church of England. A new edition, with a copious Index. 7 vols. 1829. 8vo. 3l. 6s. 6d.
- Exposition of the XXXIX Articles. 1846. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- BURTON'S** (Edward) Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ. Second edition. 1829. 8vo. 13s.
- to the Doctrine of the Trinity and of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. 1831. 8vo. 5s.
- THE TWO BOOKS OF COMMON PRAYER**, set forth by authority of Parliament in the Reign of King Edward the Sixth : compared with each other. Third edition. 1852. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- History of Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer from 1551 to 1690. Third edition. 1849. 8vo. 7s.
- Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*. The Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws as attempted in the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth. 1850. 8vo. 6s.
- CHILLINGWORTH'S** Works. 3 vols. 1838. 8vo. 1l.
- COMBER'S** Companion to the Temple, &c. 7 vols. 1841. 8vo. 2l.
- CRANMER'S** Works, collected and arranged by the Rev. H. JENKINS, M. A. Fellow of Oriel College. 4 vols. 1834. 8vo. 2l. 8s.
- FLEETWOOD'S** (Bp.) Works. A new edition. 3 vols. 1854. 8vo. 1l.
- FULLER'S** Church History of Britain, edited by the Rev. J. S. BREWER. 6 vols. 1845. 8vo. 3l.
- HAMMOND'S** Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament. 4 vols. 1845. 8vo. 1l. 8s.

- HAMMOND'S Paraphrase on the Psalms, edited by the Rev. T. BRANCKER. 1850. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l*.
- HOOKER'S Ecclesiastical Polity, and other Works, with his Life by Walton, and additions, arranged by the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A. Third edition. 3 vols. 1844. 8vo. 1*l*. 10*s*.
- HOOPER'S, (Bishop George) Works. 2 vols. 8vo. 1855. 15*s*.
- INETT'S History of the English Church. By the Rev. J. GRIFFITHS, M.A. A new edition. in 2 vols. 1855. 8vo. 1*l*. 10*s*.
- JACKSON'S (Dr. Thomas) Works. 12 vols. 1844. 8vo. 4*l*. 10*s*.
- JEWEL'S Works. A new edition, edited by the Rev. R. W. JELF, D. D. 8 vols. 1847. 8vo. 3*l*. 8*s*.
- LESLIE'S (C.) Theological Works. 7 vols. 1832. 8vo. 2*l*. 12*s*. 6*d*.
- NEWCOME'S (Abp.) Observations on our Lord's Conduct. 1852. 8vo. 7*s*. 6*d*.
- PEARSON'S Exposition of the Creed. A new edition, revised and corrected by the Rev. E. BURTON, D. D. 2 vols. 1847. 8vo. 9*s*.
- Minor Theological Works, now first collected, with a Memoir of the Author, Notes, and Index. By EDWARD CHURTON, M.A. 2 vols. 1844. 8vo. 19*s*.
- SANDERSON'S Works, *now first collected* by W. JACOBSON, D. D. 6 vols. 1854. 8vo. 1*l*. 16*s*.
- SCOTT'S Christian Life, and other Works. 6 vols. 1826. 8vo. 2*l*. 5*s*.
- SHARP'S (Abp. John) Theological Works. 5 vols. 1829. 8vo. 1*l*. 13*s*. 6*d*.
- SIXTY SERMONS preached upon several occasions. By GEORGE SMALRIDGE, D. D. sometime Bishop of Bristol, and Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. A new edition. 1852. 2 vols. 8vo. 15*s*. *in boards*.
- SOUTH (Robert). Sermons Preached upon several Occasions. 5 vols. 1842. 8vo. 2*l*. 8*s*.
- STILLINGFLEET'S Origines Britannicæ. With Lloyd's Historical Account of Church Government. Edited by T. P. PANTIN, M.A. 2 vols. 1842. 8vo. 1*l*.
- Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion: being a Vindication of Abp. Laud's Relation of a Conference &c. 2 vols. 1844. 8vo. 16*s*.
- WALL'S History of Infant Baptism, with Gale's Reflections, and Wall's Defence. A new edition, by the Rev. H. COTTON, D. C. L. 4 vols. 1845. 8vo. 1*l*. 10*s*.
- WYCLIFFE'S BIBLE, edited by FORSHALL and MADDEN. 4 vols. 1850. royal 4to. 5*l*. 5*s*.
- CATENA GRÆCORUM PATRUM in Novum Testamentum Tom. VIII. Ed. J. A. CRAMER, S. T. P. 1838-44. 8vo. 4*l*. 14*s*.
- PATRUM APOSTOLICORUM quæ supersunt opera; Gr. et Lat. Ed. GUL. JACOBSON, S. T. P. Tom. II. 1847. 8vo. 1*l*.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100  
101  
102  
103  
104  
105  
106  
107  
108  
109  
110  
111  
112  
113  
114  
115  
116  
117  
118  
119  
120  
121  
122  
123  
124  
125  
126  
127  
128  
129  
130  
131  
132  
133  
134  
135  
136  
137  
138  
139  
140  
141  
142  
143  
144  
145  
146  
147  
148  
149  
150  
151  
152  
153  
154  
155  
156  
157  
158  
159  
160  
161  
162  
163  
164  
165  
166  
167  
168  
169  
170  
171  
172  
173  
174  
175  
176  
177  
178  
179  
180  
181  
182  
183  
184  
185  
186  
187  
188  
189  
190  
191  
192  
193  
194  
195  
196  
197  
198  
199  
200  
201  
202  
203  
204  
205  
206  
207  
208  
209  
210  
211  
212  
213  
214  
215  
216  
217  
218  
219  
220  
221  
222  
223  
224  
225  
226  
227  
228  
229  
230  
231  
232  
233  
234  
235  
236  
237  
238  
239  
240  
241  
242  
243  
244  
245  
246  
247  
248  
249  
250  
251  
252  
253  
254  
255  
256  
257  
258  
259  
260  
261  
262  
263  
264  
265  
266  
267  
268  
269  
270  
271  
272  
273  
274  
275  
276  
277  
278  
279  
280  
281  
282  
283  
284  
285  
286  
287  
288  
289  
290  
291  
292  
293  
294  
295  
296  
297  
298  
299  
300  
301  
302  
303  
304  
305  
306  
307  
308  
309  
310  
311  
312  
313  
314  
315  
316  
317  
318  
319  
320  
321  
322  
323  
324  
325  
326  
327  
328  
329  
330  
331  
332  
333  
334  
335  
336  
337  
338  
339  
340  
341  
342  
343  
344  
345  
346  
347  
348  
349  
350  
351  
352  
353  
354  
355  
356  
357  
358  
359  
360  
361  
362  
363  
364  
365  
366  
367  
368  
369  
370  
371  
372  
373  
374  
375  
376  
377  
378  
379  
380  
381  
382  
383  
384  
385  
386  
387  
388  
389  
390  
391  
392  
393  
394  
395  
396  
397  
398  
399  
400  
401  
402  
403  
404  
405  
406  
407  
408  
409  
410  
411  
412  
413  
414  
415  
416  
417  
418  
419  
420  
421  
422  
423  
424  
425  
426  
427  
428  
429  
430  
431  
432  
433  
434  
435  
436  
437  
438  
439  
440  
441  
442  
443  
444  
445  
446  
447  
448  
449  
450  
451  
452  
453  
454  
455  
456  
457  
458  
459  
460  
461  
462  
463  
464  
465  
466  
467  
468  
469  
470  
471  
472  
473  
474  
475  
476  
477  
478  
479  
480  
481  
482  
483  
484  
485  
486  
487  
488  
489  
490  
491  
492  
493  
494  
495  
496  
497  
498  
499  
500  
501  
502  
503  
504  
505  
506  
507  
508  
509  
510  
511  
512  
513  
514  
515  
516  
517  
518  
519  
520  
521  
522  
523  
524  
525  
526  
527  
528  
529  
530  
531  
532  
533  
534  
535  
536  
537  
538  
539  
540  
541  
542  
543  
544  
545  
546  
547  
548  
549  
550  
551  
552  
553  
554  
555  
556  
557  
558  
559  
560  
561  
562  
563  
564  
565  
566  
567  
568  
569  
570  
571  
572  
573  
574  
575  
576  
577  
578  
579  
580  
581  
582  
583  
584  
585  
586  
587  
588  
589  
590  
591  
592  
593  
594  
595  
596  
597  
598  
599  
600  
601  
602  
603  
604  
605  
606  
607  
608  
609  
610  
611  
612  
613  
614  
615  
616  
617  
618  
619  
620  
621  
622  
623  
624  
625  
626  
627  
628  
629  
630  
631  
632  
633  
634  
635  
636  
637  
638  
639  
640  
641  
642  
643  
644  
645  
646  
647  
648  
649  
650  
651  
652  
653  
654  
655  
656  
657  
658  
659  
660  
661  
662  
663  
664  
665  
666  
667  
668  
669  
670  
671  
672  
673  
674  
675  
676  
677  
678  
679  
680  
681  
682  
683  
684  
685  
686  
687  
688  
689  
690  
691  
692  
693  
694  
695  
696  
697  
698  
699  
700  
701  
702  
703  
704  
705  
706  
707  
708  
709  
710  
711  
712  
713  
714  
715  
716  
717  
718  
719  
720  
721  
722  
723  
724  
725  
726  
727  
728  
729  
730  
731  
732  
733  
734  
735  
736  
737  
738  
739  
740  
741  
742  
743  
744  
745  
746  
747  
748  
749  
750  
751  
752  
753  
754  
755  
756  
757  
758  
759  
760  
761  
762  
763  
764  
765  
766  
767  
768  
769  
770  
771  
772  
773  
774  
775  
776  
777  
778  
779  
780  
781  
782  
783  
784  
785  
786  
787  
788  
789  
790  
791  
792  
793  
794  
795  
796  
797  
798  
799  
800  
801  
802  
803  
804  
805  
806  
807  
808  
809  
810  
811  
812  
813  
814  
815  
816  
817  
818  
819  
820  
821  
822  
823  
824  
825  
826  
827  
828  
829  
830  
831  
832  
833  
834  
835  
836  
837  
838  
839  
840  
841  
842  
843  
844  
845  
846  
847  
848  
849  
850  
851  
852  
853  
854  
855  
856  
857  
858  
859  
860  
861  
862  
863  
864  
865  
866  
867  
868  
869  
870  
871  
872  
873  
874  
875  
876  
877  
878  
879  
880  
881  
882  
883  
884  
885  
886  
887  
888  
889  
890  
891  
892  
893  
894  
895  
896  
897  
898  
899  
900  
901  
902  
903  
904  
905  
906  
907  
908  
909  
910  
911  
912  
913  
914  
915  
916  
917  
918  
919  
920  
921  
922  
923  
924  
925  
926  
927  
928  
929  
930  
931  
932  
933  
934  
935  
936  
937  
938  
939  
940  
941  
942  
943  
944  
945  
946  
947  
948  
949  
950  
951  
952  
953  
954  
955  
956  
957  
958  
959  
960  
961  
962  
963  
964  
965  
966  
967  
968  
969  
970  
971  
972  
973  
974  
975  
976  
977  
978  
979  
980  
981  
982  
983  
984  
985  
986  
987  
988  
989  
990  
991  
992  
993  
994  
995  
996  
997  
998  
999  
1000









DT Waterland

BT  
15 Waterland  
.W32 Works  
V.6

10476

AUG 10 28 D. H. Kyles  
AUG 26 28 6030 Kenwood

MAR 25 1989 BINGHAM

10476

**SWIFT LIBRARY**

BT 15  
.W 32  
V. 6



UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



73 306 595