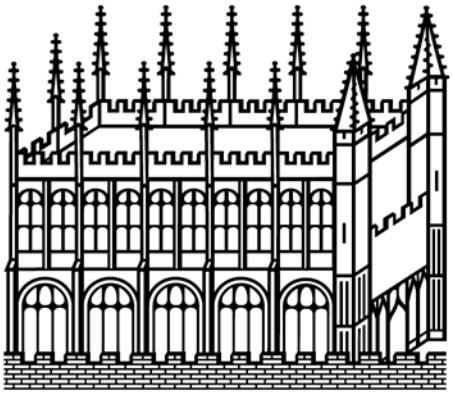

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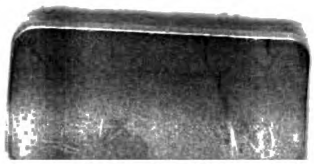

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LETTERS

TO

A PREBENDARY:

BEING AN ANSWER TO

REFLECTIONS ON POPERY, BY THE REV. J. STURGES, LL. D.

Prebendary and Chancellor of Winchester, and Chaplain to his Majesty;

WITH REMARKS ON THE

Opposition of Hoadlyism to the Doctrines of the Church of England,

AND ON VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS,

OCCASIONED BY THE LATE

CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF WINCHESTER.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

BY THE REV. JOHN MILNER, M. A. F. S. A.

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LETTER

LETTERS TO A PREBENDARY.

LETTER I.

SIR,

HOW is it possible that professing, as in all sincerity I do, the same principles of conciliation and charity, together with the same zeal for the maintenance of civil order and the general interests of Christianity, which you so eloquently display, we two should find ourselves opposed to each other in the characters of rival controvertists? How, in particular, should so unfortunate an event, as I am bound to consider it, have arisen from the publication of my History (1), which, amongst other ends, was certainly intended to promote those important objects.

It is true, Sir, when first I took up my pen to record the succeeding events of two thousand years, and to elucidate the great variety of obscure and doubtful matter, which presented itself in this research, I was aware that I could not do justice do my readers or to myself, without representing many points of history, chronology, topography, architecture, and religion, in different lights from those in which they have been exhibited by several other writers, and without combating many deep-rooted prejudices of the present day. Hence I expected to incur the odium, and to meet with the opposition of the ignorant and the bigoted, that is to say, of those persons who were either unable or unwilling to investigate the arguments on which I was prepared to ground my opinions. But what encouraged me, on the other hand, were the hopes of experiencing the approbation and support of that small, but enlightened and liberal class of men, in which I had ever considered my

(1) THE HISTORY CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL, AND SURVEY OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF WINCHESTER, in two vols. 4to.

present antagonist as holding a high rank. As I was myself conscious o a disposition to renounce my own errors and prejudices, and a strong desire of discovering and exhibiting the truth on every question that fel within the grasp of my abilities and industry, so I ascribed the same inclination to all persons of that description; and I took it for granted, that amongst them at least I should meet with a candid hearing and a liberal commendation for every real discovery that I should make, of whatever nature that might be, or to whatever conclusions it might lead.

With these ideas, how great must have been my disappointment at the time of publication, to find my laborious and not unsuccessful efforts in rescuing the history of this venerable city from the mists of fable and uncertainty with which it had heretofore been surrounded, and in adding to the general mass of historical and antiquarian knowledge, received with ungracious coolness, studiously misrepresented, and without mercy condemned to oblivion and the flames, on account of half a dozen lines in each volume, censuring the system of a late popular bishop of this see: which system after all is seen, by the best friends both of church and state, in the same light as by myself! How great, in particular, must have been my mortification, when, it having been found impossible to stifle my production, and when the most distinguished literary character in the city and neighbourhood of Winchester had undertaken to answer it, I observed that this was attempted to be performed, not by disproving my facts, by confuting my arguments, by invalidating my authorities, or by opposing others to them, but by illnatured and groundless interpretations of my views in writing my History, and by common place topics of misrepresentation and calumny against the religion of our ancestors under the illiberal and abusive term of Popery (1); such as have been a thousand times urged, and a thousand times refuted. (2)

After

(1) The term of *Catholic* or *Roman Catholic* being now sanctioned by law, (see the title to the act of 31 Geo. III. c. 32) as well as by common usage, it is a mark of illiberality and bigotry to

After all that has been said on the subject of these volumes by yourself, Sir, and your fellow writers, in print, and by many other persons of more zeal than prudence, from mere hearsay, in conversation, they will appear, upon examination, to be historical, not controversial compositions, and to consist of antiquarian researches, rather than of theological dissertations. They are accordingly read and commended for the information which they are supposed to contain, by many sincere as well as learned Protestants, and they were not less praised by others of that description in this neighbourhood, until Dr. S. sounded the trumpet of religious alarm against them. The fact is, having undertaken to write an account of this city, as connected with the general history of the island, from the earliest records down to modern times, for the express purpose of illustrating the obscurities, and of dissipating the errors, as far as it might be within my power, of many other writers, I have omitted no opportunity which occurred to me of attempting this, on any curious or interesting subject whatsoever, during the several periods of the British, the Roman, the Saxon, the Danish, the Norman, and the English dominations. In case I have enlarged more upon certain periods than I have upon others, and have more frequently entered into ecclesiastical disquisitions than into such as are merely literary or political, the reason is, that more obscurity and greater errors seemed to prevail with respect to these than to other periods and subjects.

to denote the religion in question by the term of *Popery*, and the professors of it by those of *Papists*, *Romanists*, &c. which words were invented in the time of persecution, in some degree to serve as a cloak for the exercise of it. It has been remarked of a former work of Dr. S. (*Considerations on the present State of the Church Establishment*) that he every where calls the professors of the ancient religion *Papists*, except where he says, "The English clergy succeed the Roman Catholic clergy of this country in part of their possessions." p. 108. Catholics are in this point more liberal. They do not, either in writing or conversation, apply invidious terms to their countrymen of a different communion, but rather such as the latter themselves choose to be denoted by.

(2) Dr. S. has presented us with a list of controvertists on his side of the question, p. 97. In opposition to these names I have no difficulty to place those of Stapleton, Parsons, Howarden, Manning, Gother, and Challoner, as controversial writers who were inferior to the former in no respect, except that their works are not so generally known.

I was conscious, during the whole time of my holding the pen, that I was amenable for whatever I advanced, not only to the civil state, but also to the republic of letters, (which is the only republic that I wish to be concerned with). Hence, Sir, I do not complain of the attack which you have made upon my late work, or of the quarter on which you have made it, (these being matters for your own option) but only of the manner in which you have conducted it. If, for example, you were disgusted with the effulgence of piety and other virtues, with which I have invested the characters of our religious ancestors, particularly of our primitive bishops and other saints, ought not you to have shewn that I did wrong in following the descriptions of the original authors, whom I every where referred to, and who wrote many ages before our present controversies unfortunately began, rather than those of modern writers, who can know nothing of these matters but what they borrow from the former, and who are mostly parties in these disputes? If you really believed that I have "vilified, abused, and misrepresented the Reformation, and the persons who distinguished themselves in its favour," ought not you to have proved that the most celebrated advocates of that cause, a Fox, a Heylin, a Burnet, and a Collier, whose public testimony I every where appeal to, have betrayed it in their professed apologies, or that I myself have misquoted or misrepresented them? If congeniality of principle or gratitude makes you tremblingly anxious for the reputation of that prelate, (1) whose penetration first discerned the opening powers of mind, which now, in their full maturity, are directed against me, ought not you, Sir, by a fair exposition of his theological and political system, to have demonstrated that it contains nothing injurious either to the established church or the constitution? Instead of thus meeting me hand to hand, and foot to foot, like a fair and generous adversary, you turn your back on the field of battle, and, Parthian-like, shoot behind you the random shafts of declamation and calumny. You bring forward every odious crime, or imputation of crime,

(1) Bishop Hoadly.

that

that has been raked together from the general history of the church during a great number of centuries, by way of answering a connected and authenticated history of this city and country, the account of which you recommend, by your constant advertisements in the newspapers, to be bound up with it; fancying that you will then have refuted my production, when you shall have excited the public indignation against the religion which I profess. In a word, without moderation or decency, and without any exception in favour of the Gregories, the Augustines, the Birinus's, the Swithuns, the Bedes, the Walkelins, the Wykehams, the Egberts, the Alfreds, the Edgars, and the Edwards, that is to say, of those persons to whom you yourself are indebted for all your comforts in this world, and all your prospects of happiness in the next, you conclude your Reflections on Popery with denouncing the professors of it as men, who systematically during many ages made religion "the instrument of their own interest and ambition; who adapted all their principles and institutions (1) to this object; who adopted all means, even the most violent and cruel, to obtain and preserve it, and who were many of them a disgrace not only to our religion, but to our nature."(2)

It was in vain to expect a candid treatment for myself individually, when you were so unjust to the whole church to which I belong, and which has so many fair titles to your respect and gratitude. Accordingly, though in certain passages of your Reflections, you compliment me as a writer and an antiquary, yet in others you bring the most odious, as well as groundless accusations against me. You charge me with wishing to make "Great Britain and Britons tributary to the Pope, and subject to his temporal power;" (3) and with desiring to "have the clergy inde-

(1) To enable Dr. S. to see the inconsistency and dangerous lengths into which his zeal against Popery betrays him, it will be sufficient to remind him, that amongst other institutions of the religion in question, all of which he indiscriminately condemns, are deans and chapters, surplices and organs, parishes and tythes, colleges and universities, the substance of the common prayer book, &c.

(2) P. 112. (3) P. 14, 15.

pendent

pendent of the civil power, and not amenable to its jurisdiction."(1) You adopt, and make your own, the wanton and lawless abuse which the most malignant of satirists has vented against me, in common with many other more respectable characters.(2) Finally, you hold me out to

(1) P. 15.

(2) "Our author, Mr. Milner, receives from the satirist some very severe, but not unmerited strokes for the intemperance of his zeal in a former publication." P. 4, note 2. Dr. S. having in this passage adopted the virulent passage alluded to, in *The Pursuits of Literature*, part IV, note on verse 195, I think it incumbent on me now to take that notice of it which I refused to do whilst it belonged only to an anonymous libeller. But first I ought to explain by what means I became honoured with a share in the abuse of this modern Menippus. The note-writer then, who is a distinct person from the versifier, having on a sudden transformed his notorious partiality for the French emigrant clergy and their religion, into as marked a hatred for them, such as he himself characterizes, where he adopts the motto of Luther, in the same career, *Pestis ero vivens*, Purs. part IV, v. 190, thought proper to make known his change of sentiments in a long note to verse 131, part III, which, that it might not escape my notice, he sent to me, separately printed, in a letter by the post from London. In this note he threatened, that if his mandate for the immediate removal of the French clergy from the King's House was not immediately complied with on the part of ministry, he would "maintain the same more solemnly and more at large." Accordingly very soon after appeared the printed *Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham*, in which the writer, amongst many other falsehoods, asserted one of so scandalous and inflammatory a nature, that I thought it incumbent upon me publicly to contradict it in my own name. This I did in the most positive manner, and with certain important hints to the writer himself, which he could not misunderstand, in the Gentleman's Magazine. See appendix for 1796, p. 1077. In the number for May of the same year, p. 373, may be seen a letter from Dr. Sturges to Mr. Wilmot, in which that calumny, amongst many others, is also refuted. It was impossible for the note-writer to justify his falsehood, but, as I foretold, he attempted to be revenged upon me for detecting it, in part IV of his *Pursuits*, (see v. 190, note) which appeared soon after.

Let ut now attend to the passage in question, the severity of which Dr. S. asserts that I have merited. The note-writer then, having in four different forms of speech endeavoured to elude my hints, and to remove the suspicion of his having the smallest knowledge of me, or even of my place of abode, (though he knew exceedingly well how to direct to me the former part of his Pursuits, mentioned above, and had received an answer to it in my name from this city, by the Magazine) proceeds to "call the public notice," to a pamphlet which I had lately written, "for the virulence of its spirit, its extremity of fierceness, its intolerant

to the notice of his Majesty's Attorney General, as a person deserving of prosecution: (1) the grounds of which will be afterwards seen.

This

intolerant principles, and its deliberate application of them. This pamphlet, the title of which is, *A Reply to the Report of the Cisalpine Club*, relates solely to a private dispute amongst Catholics themselves, concerning the authenticity of a certain deed in the British Museum, and consists entirely of diplomatic criticism. It was so very uninteresting to the public, that it was in a manner stifled in the birth, and hardly a copy of it got into the hands of any Protestant, except the note-writer, to whom I myself made a present of it. But let us hear in what manner this brain-sick writer makes out, from the words of the pamphlet, "its virulence and fierceness." They are these: *It is apprehended*, says the pamphlet, p. 36, *that the publication of the facts in question might prove detrimental to the Catholic interest on any future application to the legislature.* Who would not suppose from the expressions of the note-writer, that the Catholics were meditating on the means of murdering their fellow subjects and of overturning the state, instead of presenting a respectful petition to be employed in defending them, which was actually the case? We will now see how he substantiates his other charge, viz. "my deliberate application of intolerant principles...and thirsting for the blood of innocent victims." My words were these, speaking of a certain form of words, which had been put into my mouth by other persons: *Thus to my judgment am I, and the whole Catholic body, without our consenting to it, pledged in the face of the legislature to condemn the wars of Charlemagne*, (I might have added some of those of Alfred) *and the crusade against the infamous Albigenses*, p. 28. I shall have occasion to explain my ideas concerning the Albigenses in the course of this work; in the mean time it is proper the uninformed reader should know, that the blood which I am accused of thirsting after, was shed, part of it 600, and part of it 1000 years ago. Whether myself or this avowed *Pest of Papists* appears to be most eager for living victims of persecution, the reader will judge for himself.

It will be observed that I speak of the note-writer in the Pursuits of Literature as of a person well known to me. In fact I believe the unimportant question, concerning the name of this libeller, is less a secret at Winchester than in most other places. Dr. S. and most literary men resident there, no less than myself, must have traced in a living character most of the literary and moral features of the writer under consideration: an insatiable thirst for knowledge of every kind, an unwearied application to study, a vast memory, a lively imagination, an overpowering fluency and energy of language, accompanied with a strange deficiency of judgment, the most whimsical capriciousness, the most violent prejudices, a boundless liberty of satire, a disgusting pedantry, particularly in the use of Greek, a flaming zeal for the reformation of all his neighbours, and a prurient warmth in defending modesty, by calling up ideas which burn her cheeks with blushes. Dr. S. must have

remarked

This being the plain case, is it not ridiculous, Sir, to hear you professing so emphatically, as you do more than once, your utter dislike of religious controversy, and filling whole pages with arguments against it? There was not the shadow of an existing controversy, when you thought proper to attack me, and the religion which I profess, in the violent and unwarranted manner that I have stated. Such a controversy, however, in the existing circumstances, you have rendered unavoidable. Honour, injured innocence, the truth of history, the respect and allegiance which I owe to my king and country, all oblige me to repel your charges, and to make use of every fair weapon that history and argument furnish me with for this purpose. If the production of any of these should give offence to you, or to any other person, I shall be sorry for it; but the blame must evidently rest with yourself. It is true, you describe me as the aggressor in this contest, but the futility of such a pretext is evidently seen in what has been already said. Indeed, it is the constant practice of persons in a state of hostility, of whatever description, to aim at fixing on each other the odium of the first assault. Thus, we are assured by the present disturbers of the universe, in their manifestoes, it was only by way of repelling injuries, and of defending themselves, that they have invaded and oppressed so many powers of Europe, allies and friends, no less than rivals and enemies.

Notwithstanding the state of this matter is exactly as I have represented it, yet, Sir, if I must tell you the whole of my mind, I do not think that I ought to entertain that absolute and unqualified dislike to every kind of religious controversy which you profess. If the different communions of

remarked in the conversation of that individual all and every one of the prejudices for, and antipathies against, certain literary and political characters, and must have heard almost all the sentiments expressed in the very same terms, together with a number of standing jests and favorite quaintnesses and stories, that he reads in the aforesaid notes. He knows also, that the person alluded to has an intimate friend of sufficient poetical merit to have composed the verses, which have been pleasantly called *pegs to hang the notes upon*, some of which he probably added himself.

(1) P. 91.

Christians

Christians are not to discuss the subjects and the foundations of their unhappy divisions, how are these ever to be terminated? The divine author of Christianity employed a great proportion of his public lessons in refuting the errors of the scribes and pharisees. The apostles and ancient fathers were also indefatigable in labouring to convert the heretics and schismatics of their respective times. This they performed without any breach of charity; on the contrary, such zeal was the greatest proof of their being possessed of it. It is true, that controvertists of later times have too often manifested a contrary spirit, and have defended their respective modes and rules of faith in such manner as to prove themselves utterly destitute of the aforesaid more sublime and excellent virtue, making religion a mere party distinction, a business of this world, not of the next, and being more anxious to gain credit to themselves, by confounding their adversaries, than to discover the truth upon the most important of all questions. But these faults, however incident to the discussion of religious questions, as I have shewn, are by no means inseparable from them. What then should hinder you and me, Sir, since we must contend together, from avoiding them, and thereby precluding a common objection of infidels. In the present stage of our controversy, this indeed will appear more difficult from the nature of the objections, which you have brought against me. For now I must necessarily follow wherever you are pleased to lead me. But should I have occasion to make another reply to you, I will try if it be not possible to put the whole question at issue between us, into such a shape as shall remove the danger of irritation on both sides, and still enable us, if we are so disposed, to agree together in the acknowledgment of the same religious truths.

After all, Sir, you acknowledge that "there are times when religious controversy is necessary;" (1) but by the restrictions which you make to the periods of the Reformation and the Revolution, (2) and by your

(1) P. 2. (2) Ibid.

practice and reasoning on the present occasion, it is plainly your meaning that you shall be at liberty to make use of this weapon, whenever it suit your ends, even for the purpose of attack, but that no one else sha be permitted to take it up against you, not even in his own defence. Yo accordingly proceed to state, with much greater eloquence than consistenc of argument, several considerations, the tendency of which, in m opinion, is to deter me from giving an answer to your book of Reflection The two first of these, grounded on the detriment that you think charit on one hand, and the common cause of Christianity on the other, ma receive from discussing religious differences, (1) it is for you, Sir, t answer, who have set on foot this discussion, and have on most point calumniated the religion of your pious ancestors; whereas the chief faul which you yourself find with me is, that my History presents it in to favourable a light, and thereby tends to appease the common prejudice and acrimony against it.

A third reflection, which you make use of for the same purpose in th conclusion of your work, seems to be equally misapplied, where arguin from the " war that has been declared against the Catholic religion, by th unprincipled governors of France," from the degraded state of the Roma pontiff, whose sufferings you speak of in a manner consonant with you general humanity, from the character of the English people and govern ment, you say, " that no time is more unfavourable than the present fo the success of the religion in question in every part of the world."(2 How this observation tends to appease your jealousy on the score o that religion I can readily see, but how it militates against my wipin off the aspersions that are thrown upon it I cannot understand, an therefore I shall say no more concerning it.

A fourth argument you draw from the situation of the French emi grant clergy, (3) whose deep-felt obligations to the hospitality and bounty of this country in general, and to yourself, Sir, amongst their mor

(1) P. 3. (2) P. 108. (3) P. 54.

generous

generous friends in particular, are not lessened, because they concur with the maxims of sound policy in our own behalf. (1) On this head, I must first remark, that the condition of the native Catholics is very different from that of the emigrants in question. We are in our own country, Englishmen by birth and principle, the descendants of the men who founded the constitution of this kingdom, which constitution we ourselves endeavour to support, in our respective stations, to the utmost of our power. In the very article of religion, the only one in which we differ from our countrymen, it is not we that have introduced a new system; on the contrary, we barely maintain that of our Saxon progenitors, as it was, according to the acknowledgement of all parties, established by our apostles with the Christian name itself, at the close of the sixth century. (2) If then, in refuting your heavy charges brought against me, if in proving myself to be a good member of society and a true Englishman, notwithstanding the difference of my religious creed, I should happen to say any thing that may give you offence, I am sure, Sir, that you are too generous and too just to shew any resentment against the poor helpless guests above mentioned, unacquainted as they are with

(1) I do not mean to depreciate, in the smallest degree, the generosity of my countrymen to these victims of anti-christian tyranny. It proceeded from a sudden impulse of pity and virtuous indignation, before reflection had leisure to calculate consequences. Still, however, it is true, and even the envenomed writer of the *Pursuits* is forced to allow, that self-preservation has concurred with more noble motives to direct the measures of government, particularly with respect to the priests. It is confessed, that the grand obstacle to a peace with France does not arise so much from the difficulty of settling the terms, as of ensuring the continuation of it, and the idea of having an Algiers at Calais has alarmed more politicians than Mr. Burke. It is equally obvious, that the only effectual remedy for this evil would be the re-establishment of Christianity in that country. But where are the men to be found of sufficient zeal and qualifications to undertake that meritorious work, unless the former pastors, who indeed pant for the moment when they may begin to devote their lives to it, regardless of temporal rewards and fearless of dangers.

(2) A slight inspection of Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, written soon after its conversion, will shew, that the religion of Catholics now is the very same that was preached to our ancestors by our first apostles.

our controversy, merely because they are of the same communion with me. In the second place, Sir, if you have judged these conscientious exiles to be so worthy of protection, at a time when you formed so unfavourable an idea of the cause for which they were suffering, I trust you will not think them less deserving of it, when I shall have dispersed the chief prejudices which you had formed against them.

But you take care to remind me, that the English Catholics themselves were a few years ago in the condition of a proscribed people, from which they were only rescued by the liberality of the act of 1791. (1) Hence you argue on the supposed impropriety of their "religion being studiously brought forward into public notice;" (2) and significantly add, that "nothing can so much tend, as such a conduct, to make the legislature regret, if they could be induced by any thing to regret it, a measure which originated in motives of wisdom and humanity, and had for its object the comfort and relief of a considerable body of our fellow subjects." (3) The English Catholics, Sir, do, and ever will, acknowledge with grateful hearts the justice of that parliament, which, first of all, during the space of more than two centuries, deigned to investigate the grounds of the popular clamours and prejudices that had been excited against them, and also the magnanimity which determined it to decide according to the result of its inquiries. They will not forget, what you remind me of, that no class of our legislators displayed more liberality on that occasion than the bench of bishops; (6) and I am happy to have it in my power to testify, that, at the time we are speaking of, you yourself were animated with the same spirit, and lent an hand, as I believe, to the great deed of toleration. But, Sir, permit me to ask you, upon what ground was this parliamentary relief granted? Was it in the nature of a reprieve to convicted criminals; or in that of a solemn declaration of the innocence of men who had been long suffering under an unjust imputation? I can answer for what the ideas of Catholics were on that head, and I have reason to believe that the

(1) P p. 5, 111. (2) P. 111. (3) Ibid. (4) P. 104.

opinions

opinions of a great part of the legislators were not different from theirs. Again, Sir, were there any such conditions as those you hint at, either expressed or implied in the aforesaid act? Was it then said to us, you are free from the weight of the penal statutes, but it is on the condition, that you do not bring your religion to public notice by any work of controversy or even history that may be construed into a defence of it, or of its institutions? Every one shall be free to publish whatever *Reflections on Popery* he pleases, charging you with every degree of absurdity, wickedness, and sedition, but you shall not be at liberty to make any reply to them, or even to write at all upon the subject of ecclesiastical antiquities? (1) No, Sir, the legislature was not so intolerant or so illiberal. They received our pledges of fidelity to our king and country, and they left you and me to settle whatever points of history or theology we might happen to differ about, by the best records and arguments we are able to discover for this purpose. To prove, however, that Catholics have not been of late very eager to engage in controversy, even for the purpose of just defence, it will be sufficient to notice, that whilst the pulpit has continued to resound, and the press to groan, with the extravagant as well as malicious declamations and surmises of a Williamson, a Towson, a Wrangham, a Churton, a Daubeny, a Rennell, &c. (who, whilst they triumph over the fall of Rome, delight, at the same time, in mangling, as they suppose, her breathless carcase) not more than one of this class has been called to a public account for his extravagancies, (2) and that by a lay gentleman, who conceived himself to have received a personal affront from his antagonist. (3) To convince you likewise, that I myself have not been so ambitious of gaining controversial laurels, as you may suppose, permit me to remind you, that I have by name been called out to the theological combat by the disputant last alluded to, (4) and that the first of

(1) See Hist. and Surv. vol. ii, pref. p. 1. (2) Rev. Ralph Churton, M. A.
(3) Francis Eyre, Esq. of Warkworth, *Letter to R. C. on his Address, &c.*
(4) *Answer* to the aforesaid *Letter*.

those

those mentioned above, actually published a controversial treatise against me, (1) both of which challenges I have positively declined accepting.

I have already signified, that the legislature is far from rendering any theological opinions whatsoever or characters of past time sacred, or protecting them from the scrutiny of history and argument. It seems, however, that you, Sir, are desirous of spreading your shield over every person and cause, whether public or private, with which you have any relation. To my mind, the language in different parts of your book, where you complain of my having vilified certain public characters which you respect and cherish, conveys the following meaning: Do not quote the infuriate expressions of Martin Luther, because he was the father of Protestantism. Do not mention the unworthy condescentions of Cranmer, because he imported the same into England. Do not expose the ruinous consequences of bishop Hoadly's theology, because he was my friend and patron. Do not even acquaint the public of the falsehood, absurdity, and contradictions contained in a former History of Winchester, which has hitherto been ascribed to the Rev. Mr. Wavel, late rector of St. Maurice's, because he was the friend and predecessor of the gentleman to whom I have thought proper to address my Reflections. But, at this rate, Sir, what becomes of literary freedom, of mental improvement, and of the truth of history?

This language was not that of your friend and fellow student in the school of Hoadly, whose authority you so often appeal to, the late learned and sagacious Dr. Balguy. So far from stifling historical truths, he would not have the press shut even against theological controversy of any kind whatsoever. The following are some of his maxims on this head: "The most unbounded freedom is the most favourable to truth..... The reception of truth, I mean religious truth, can never be prejudicial to society.....The professors of every religion should be left at full liberty to declare their sentiments to the world, and to explain the reasons on

(1) *A Defence of the Doctrines, &c.* by J. Williamson, B. D. Preb. of Linc. &c.

which

which they are founded. Opposition to the established religion, if carried on by no other instruments than the tongue and the pen, ought not to be considered as a crime. To suppose otherwise is to make all reformation impossible. It is to justify the persecution of Christians under Pagan emperors. It is to justify the persecution of our own Protestant martyrs. It is to justify, in some instances, the inquisition itself." (1)

If, Sir, you are true to your own principles, and consistent with yourself, you will be forced to subscribe to the whole of these maxims of your illustrious condisciple and thereby to condemn several of your late Reflections. By the same rule you will be constrained to acknowledge, that the Catholics have no reason to fear, while their sentiments and conduct are such as you yourself describe them to be, that the legislature will "regret that wise and humane measure, which had for its object the relief and comfort of a considerable number of its subjects." For you a thousand times repeat, that nothing but imminent danger to the state can justify religious persecution, nor did even the sanguinary Elizabeth ever profess to ground hers upon any other motive. Now, Sir, from the thickest fight of acrimonious controversy you have the liberality to raise your voice in order to do away that only pretext for penal statutes, in the following liberal testimony: "I with pleasure do them (the Catholics) the justice of acknowledging that their general conduct has long deserved the confidence of government for loyalty and fidelity."(2)

I have the honor to remain, &c.

(1) Discourses by Thomas Balguy, D.D. Charge III. on Religious Liberty, pp. 224, 225. (2) P. 109.

LETTER II.

SIR,

IT being manifestly your intention to render the religion of your ancestors an object of suspicion to our government and countrymen, at the present day, as may be gathered even from your title page, and still more plainly from the passage cited below; (1) hence, you place in the front of your attack upon it, your strongest and most popular argument for this purpose, under the following title to your second letter: *The Supremacy and Infallibility of the Pope, with the Independence of the Church on the Civil Power.*

Before I proceed to answer your objections on these heads, I might require you to prove the supposition on which they are grounded, or rather your possitive assertion that these form one of "the prominent topics of my History of Winchester." (2) But, Sir, to follow where you are pleased to lead me, it is easy to shew, that from the confused and indistinct view which you possess of the subjects you undertake to treat of, your arguments are shot at random, and however they may impose upon ignorant and superficial readers, are incapable of making the smallest impression on the minds of theologians and scholars. In fact, you every where confound the pope's essential spiritual jurisdiction with his accidental temporal power. You jumble together the very distinct subjects of the supremacy and the infallibility. Nay you are so ill informed, or so uncandid, as to charge Catholics with attributing impeccability, or an exemption from human errors and vices, amongst other privileges, to their chief bishops. Hence you triumph at discovering that some pontiffs, in their long succession from St. Peter, during a space of almost 1800 years,

(1) "I mean...to shew how unfavourable the opinions, which Mr. M. would recommend, are to Government, to society; to our rights, and liberties as Englishmen." P. 6.

(2) P. 8.

have

have disgraced their sacred station. (1) Hence, also, your taunting "pity for the task of poor Catholic writers," and particularly of Cardinal Baronius and myself, who, you say, "are obliged to support all that the councils and popes have ever said or done," (2) and even those wars, usurpations, and crimes which you so liberally ascribe to the popes. (3) Your ideas are equally indistinct on the latter, as on the former part of the subject which you announce, I mean the independence of the church on the civil power. You place no boundaries between the power of teaching and baptising all nations, which Christ communicated to the ministers of his church to remain with them till the end of the world, (4) and those temporal privileges and emoluments which they have derived from the piety of Christian princes and states. You take no notice of the diversity that has prevailed, both in the ecclesiastical and in the civil laws, with respect to these privileges and emoluments in different ages and countries. Thus, because I justified in my History the celebrated primate who defended the clerical privileges, as he found them established in the twelfth century, you, after exhibiting them in the most odious colours, assert, that "I wish to subject Great Britain and Britons to them at the present day." (5) I am sorry to give so unfavourable an account of the work of an eminent scholar upon a professional subject. The chief cause of this confusion I conceive to be, the defective plan that you have followed in studying the doctrines of the religion which you treat of. Had you laboured to acquire a knowledge of these, from the famous schoolman St. Thomas Aquinas, whom you boast of being unacquainted with, (6) instead of his less learned and edifying countrymen, Dante and Petrarch, (7) you would certainly have learnt

(1) P. 12. (2) P. 25. (3) P. 14. (4) St. Mat. xxviii, 19, 20.
(5) P. 15. (6) P. 66.

(7) P. 15. Dr. S. promises to avoid quotations from infidel and interested historians, and to prefer those which to me must appear unexceptionable, p. 7. To shew how well he fulfils this promise I will give a list of his principal authorities, viz. the poets Dante and Petrarch, both of them remarkable for their irreligion and hatred of the reigning pontiffs; Giannone an unprincipled lawyer, who flattered the court of Naples in its attempt to get

learnt to state them with more precision and accuracy, and also to reason upon them with more solidity and force than you have done.

The necessity of that much degraded science of logic, for reasoning justly on religious, as well as on other abstract subjects, is evident in your first attempts to dispossess the Roman pontiff of all pre-eminence and authority in the Christian church, which are grounded on the precepts of its divine founder, addressed to all his disciples, *of learning his meekness and lowliness of heart,* (1) *of not assuming, but disclaiming authority,*(2) as you profess to give the sense of the passages, (3) and of not considering *his kingdom to be of this world.* (4) Who, that is able to draw a conclusion, does not see that these arguments, as you manage them, by proving too much, prove nothing at all? In fact, Sir, they equally militate against the gradations of honour and authority of that church in which you hold so high a station, as against those of any other church; and being addressed to the followers of Christ indiscriminately, they would, in the same manner, prove the unlawfulness of any distinction or power in civil magistrates, nobility, and kings. The best use, Sir, you could have made of your scriptural knowlege for your present purpose, would have been to explain away, in the best manner you could, that clear and energetical declaration of Christ, for the superiority of the first bishop of Rome, St. Peter, over the rest of the apostles; where this saint, in reward of his glorious confession of his Master's divinity, is pronounced by him *blessed*; his name, which was before *Simon,* is changed into that of *Peter* or *Rock,* (5) with an assurance that the church itself shall be

rid of the feudal tribute of the white palfrey due to that of Rome, by heaping up every kind of abuse and calumny against the latter; Machiavelli, whose very name announces deceit and infidelity; finally, the treacherous Father Paul Sarpi, who professed one religion in order to serve another, (see his life prefixed to *The Rights of Sovereigns)* and whose glaring falsehoods, to the number of near 400, have been so well exposed by Pallavicini, in his genuine History of the Council of Trent.

(1) St. Mat. xi, 2—9. (2) St. Mat. xx, 25, 28.

(3) P. 9. (4) St. John, xviii, 36.

(5) Συ᾽ ει Πέτρος, και᾽ επι᾽ ταύτη τη πετρα, &c.

principally

principally built upon him, (1) where immediately afterwards the mysterious keys of heaven, to the exercise of which such important effects are here ascribed, are specially committed to him; (2) and that other passage, where the same Peter, who, on every other occasion, is named the first on the list of apostles, is in a most solemn and impressive manner, three several times, appointed to the supreme pastorship in Christ's fold; with authority not only to feed the lambs, but also the sheep themselves, whom the lambs are accustomed to follow. (3)

You allow that popes during the first three hundred years from the time of Christ were exemplary and pious, (4) but you do not admit, that they had any rank or authority superior to that of other bishops during those ages. Nevertheless we find this superiority in the clearest and strongest terms attributed to them, even during those primitive ages, by the most ancient and illustrious fathers and writers who lived in them; particularly by St. Irenæus, (5) who boasts of his having been instructed by St. Polycarp, the disciple of the apostles; (6) by Tertullian, the most ancient Latin father whose works are extant; (7) and by St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, the great light of the church in the third century. (8) We find this prerogative claimed and exercised by pope Victor in the case of the churches of lesser Asia, which he threatened to excommunicate; (9) whether on sufficient grounds or not, is foreign to the present question; in the case of

(1) *Blessed art thou Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed this to thee, but my father, which is in heaven. And I say to thee, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,* &c. St. Mat. xvi, 17, 18.

(2) *And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,* &c. v. 19.

(3) S. John, xxi, 15. "Prius agnos, deinde oves commisit ei, quia non solum pastorem, sed et pastorum pastorem eum constituit." S. Eucher. Ep. Lugd. Sæc. v. In Vig. S. Pet.

(4) P. 10. (5) "Ad hanc ecclesiam (Romanam) propter potiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, &c." Iren. l. iii, contra Hæres, c. iii.

(6) Apud Euseb. l. v. c. 20.

(7) "Audio edictum esse propositum...Episcopus episcoporum dicit," &c. Tertul. l. de Pudic. c. 1.

(8) "Petri cathedra, ecclesia principalis unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est." S. Cyp. Ep. ad Cornel. Pap. (9) Euseb. Hist. l. v.

the Montanists, and several other heretics, whom the same pope actually did cut off from the communion of the church. (1) Finally, not to multiply instances, we find this prerogative exercised in the cases of certain bishops or other individuals in Gaul, (2) in Spain, (3) and in Africa, (4) which were judged and decided upon at Rome by pope Stephen during the period in question.

Your account of the means by which you suppose the sees of Rome and Constantinople acquired ecclesiastical pre-eminence in the reign of Constantine, viz. in consequence of the secular dignity ascribed to those cities, " the episcopal dioceses, being the dioceses of the empire, and the ecclesiastical conforming itself to the civil division of the country,"(5) this account, I say, is full of inconsistencies, and contradicts the clearest records of church history. In the first place, it is fully confuted by what has been already proved. For we have shewn that the see of Rome enjoyed its superiority, no less before the reign of that first Christian emperor, than it did afterwards. 2d, Constantine, by transferring the seat of empire from the Old to the New Rome, did not augment, but rather diminished the civil dignity of the former city; it is therefore singularly absurd in you to fix upon that particular period for the commencement of Rome's ecclesiastical dignity, when, on your supposition of its conforming itself to the former, it must rather have been abridged. 3d, The imperial city itself of Constantinople, which you describe as acquiring, by its civil elevation, an equal rank with Rome, not only remained, for a long time after the period in question, (6) inferior to Alexandria, which was the second great patriarchate, and next to that of Rome; to Antioch, which was the third on the list; (7) to Jerusalem, Cesaræa, &c. but also

(1) Tertul. advers. Prax. &c. (2) St. Cyp. Ep. 67. (3) Id. Ep. 38.
(4) Id. passim. (5) P. 10.
(6) The first attempt to raise Constantinople to the patriarchal dignity, was made by the Greek bishops, in the first great council held in that city during the reign of Theodosius, viz. in 381. But this dignity was always opposed by the western church, until the great council of Lateran, in 1215. (7) Concil. in Nic. 1. Œcum. can. vi.

to

to the comparatively small see of Heraclea, on which it was immediately dependent. (1) Lastly, the seat of empire, or imperial residence, was frequently transferred, both in the east and the west, to different places; we occasionally find it at Nicomedia, at Sirmium, at Milan, at Ravenna, at Lions, at Treves, and at York, without any change in the rank or authority of the bishops of such places. In general no regulation or alteration of this sort ever was, or could be effected, but by the act and deed of the church herself, (2) and this in such sort, that the chief superiority ever was immutably and necessarily acknowledged to reside in the see of Rome. (3)

Enough has been said, Sir, to prove that your dissertation on the rise of the pope's ecclesiastical power, however plausible it may appear to an ignorant reader, must excite the astonishment and indignation of men who are acquainted with the monuments of Christian antiquity. This would appear more fully were I to pursue, from the reign of Constantine down to the middle ages, the history of the general councils that have confirmed this spiritual supremacy, (4) the testimonies of the ancient fathers and historians that have defended it, (5) and the examples of oppressed patriarchs and bishops that have found protection in it. (6) But instead of

(1) Balsamon. apud Cabassut. Not. Concil.

(2) Even Bingham, whose testimony Dr. S. appeals to, acknowledges, in contradiction to him, that "the church was not tied to observe this model (of the state) but used her liberty in varying from it." Antiq. b. ix. c. i, s. viii.

(3) "Ecclesia Romana semper habuit principatum." Concil Œcum. Chalced. can. xvi. "Videmus omnes ante omnia primatum et præcipuum honorem, secundum canones Dei, archiepiscopo veteris Romæ conservari." Ibid.

(4) Particularly Concil. Sardic. can. vii. Ephes. Act. iii. Chalced. Act. ii, &c.

(5) Iren. Cyp. ut sup. Leo Serm. i. in Nativ. SS. Pet. Paul. Hieron. Ep. xiv. ad Dam. &c. &c. Socrat. Hist. Ecc. l. ii, c. v, ix, xi, xiii. Sozom. Hist. l. iii, c. vii. l. vi, c. xxiii. Theodor. Hist. l. i, c. vii. l. ii, c. xxiii, &c.

(6) It is notorious, that St. Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, SS. Paul, Chrysostom, and Ignatius, patriarchs of Constantinople, with a great number of other prelates, severally appealed to the popes of their respective times, from the sentences of deposition which had been issued against them in certain synods, and were restored by their authority.

producing

producing in detail the Christian authorities here referred to, I shall satisfy myself with testimony to this effect of a well informed Pagan author, of the fourth century, who, on that account, may perhaps pass with you for a less exceptionable witness, than bishops and church historians. Ammianus Marcellinus then, giving an account of the persecution raised by the emperor Constantius against the famous patriarch of Alexandria, St. Athanasius, tells us, that this prince laboured to get the condemnation of the latter signed by pope Liberius, on account of the superior authority enjoyed by the bishops of the Roman see. (1) So well known was the pope's supremacy at this early period, even to the Pagans!

The chief cause of your overlooking these strong proofs of the *ecclesiastical* supremacy in question, (the main point at issue between us) is evidently your attention to that temporal dominion, which the pontiff acquired in a part of Italy during the eighth century. Accordingly it is to this subject you immediately direct all your thoughts, though of comparatively little consequence in the present controversy. You admit that the "sovereignty in question was honourably acquired," (2) which though it bore no necessary connection with the pontiff's spiritual power, yet was it one of the means in the hands of providence of preserving the latter from corruption and violence, during those alterations that took place, at the same period, in the general state of the Christian world. (3) Admitting

(1) Hunc (Athanasium) per subscriptionem abjicere sede sacerdotali, paria sentiens cæteris, jubente principe (Constantio) Liberius (Papa) monitus perseveranter renitebatur, nec visum hominem nec auditum damnare nefas ultimum sæpe exclamans; aperte scilicet recalcitrans imperatoris arbitrio. Id enim ille, Athanasio semper infensus, licet sciret impletum tamen auctoritate, qua potiores æternæ urbis episcopi, firmari desiderio nitebatur ardenti." Ammian. Marcell. Rer. Gest. l. xv. (2) P. 11.

(3) Upon the dissolution of the Roman empire, as Fleury remarks, had not the popes become in some degree independant, they would unavoidably have been the creatures and tools of certain princes and states, in a manner that would have incapacitated them to perform their spiritual duties to any effect with respect to others; or rather the popedom itself, with all its functions, would have been subject to the management and disposal of the most powerful prince in Italy. We see in what manner the patriarchate of Constanstinople is constantly

Admitting as I have explicitly done, both in my History and the present Letter, that pontiffs, like other men, were liable to the self-love and passions of human nature, it would be a greater miracle than any recorded in holy writ, if some of them had not abused both their spiritual supremacy, and their temporal principality, to the gratification of their ambition and their avarice. Some abuses of this nature I have recorded, not in terms of approbation, as you suppose I was bound to do, but of strong censure, and I have shewn, that they were equally condemned and resisted by the princes, prelates, and writers of those times, no less than they are at present. (1) I could add, Sir, a long list of canonized saints, and of other most revered characters of those times, both in this and in other countries; as St. Otho, of Germany; St. Louis, king of France; St. Edmund and Richard Wethershed, archbishops of Canterbury; Hugh Grosteste, bishop of Lincoln, &c. who proved by their conduct that they knew how, as I have elsewhere said, "to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the pope, without ascribing to him an atom of temporal authority" or property in this kingdom, (2) more than the legislature condescended to give him. I could adduce many acts of the sovereign and the legislature at home, to restrain the encroachments of the Roman court, (3) without any impeachment or suspicion of their orthodoxy, by way of shewing, that this nation was not heretofore in such an abject state of dependence on the former, as you and most modern writers so invidiously describe it to have been; and I could call to your memory the example of many of the pope's zealous children abroad, besides the emperor Charles V, who have not scrupled to take up arms against his temporal power, and to proceed to the length of imprisoning him, in order to restrain that power within its due limits.

If the public vices of some popes, namely, their ambition and injustice, have

constantly bought and sold, and degraded in every possible way, by being in a state of dependency on the Ottoman Porte.

(1) Hist. vol. i, pp. 165, 236, 237, 238, 247, &c. (2) Ibid, p. 385.

(3) See Collier's Hist. vol. ii, Pref. p. 7. Mat. West. an. 1301, &c.

not

not, so neither have the private vices of certain others, deprived them o their spiritual authority, or the church of the benefits of its execution. Ha not Catholics writers acknowledged and recorded the crimes of thes wicked pontiffs, particularly of the tenth century, (1) you could never hav come to the knowledge of them. To argue, however, as you do, from the accidental abuse of power, to the denial of the power itself, is copying the example of the revolutionists in a neighbouring country. We al know, that they paved the way for the destruction of monarchy amongs them, by repeated publications, in various shapes, of the alledged *crime of kings*, without reflecting on what the event of their proceedings ha rendered so evident to every thinking person, namely, that if these crime had been much more numerous and atrocious than they were represente to be, still they would be infinitely out-balanced in their effects, by the singl advantage of these sovereigns having served the purpose of a key-stone t the whole edifice of the state over which they presided, and by preventing the mischiefs of interminable divisions and changes. The advantages of th supremacy in this point of view, by preventing schisms, and by serving as a centre of union and an ensign of orthodoxy, has been seen and ac knowledged not only by the ancient fathers, but also by modern Pro testants. (2) This, however, is not the only benefit for which both Christianity

(4) "By such popes," says Dr. S. "Mr. M.'s Saxon saints were canonized in the 10th century." P. 12, n. He elsewhere reproaches Catholics, that the highest titles and honour of sanctity were lavished on princes who had the merit of founding convents, whilst they were refused to the great Alfred, pp. 7, 8.——All these assertions are very unfortunately made for the credit of Dr. S.'s skill in history. For first, these Saxon saints were no canonized by the popes at all, but by the prelates and people who had been witnesses o their virtues and sanctity. 2dly, Alfred's name does actually occur in some of the ancien calenders. 3dly, Not one of the princes in question was so famous for founding convent as Alfred himself.

(2) P. 10. "Hoc omnes profitemur politiam ecclesiasticam rem esse sanctam et utilem ut sint episcopi, item ut Romanus pontifex 'præsit omnibus episcopis." Melanch. Ep. ad Reg. Gall. With the same view the learned Bramhall, bishop of Derry, acknowledges that much good might result from admitting a patriarchal power and a centre of unity in the se

Christianity and society have been indebted, in every age, to the Roman pontiffs. They have been incessantly watchful and laborious in propagating the faith and morality of the gospel amongst infidel nations, in every part of the globe, (1) in performing which they have spent no small part of those donations which the piety of surrounding nations conferred upon them. Our island, in particular, was twice converted from the shades of barbarous Paganism by their apostolic zeal. They vigorously and successfully protected, at several different periods, all Christendom, from the fury and oppression of the Saracens, Tartars, Turks, and other infidels, under which it would otherwise have sunk. (2) They supported the divine law and the canons of the church, admonishing and censuring those offenders who were too powerful to receive this correction from their own subjects. When they converted the different nations, they, at

see of Rome, if Catholics would be content with this. Answer to Militiere's Triumph of Truth. The learned Grotius having asked how it happens that Catholics are enabled to compose their religious differences and not Protestants, makes answer, that this good effect is owing to the primacy which subsists amongst the former. Ad Rivet. ad. art. vii.

(1) This apostolical work has been successfully carried on, by missionaries from Rome, in India, Tartary, China, Cochinchina, Japan, Mexico, Peru, Canada, and other infidel regions, during the two last centuries. It appears by letters lately published, that the number of converts made in China and Cochinchina amounts annually to many thousands. In the last century Christianity had been so widely and vigorously propagated in the islands of Japan, previously to the horrible persecution raised against it through the perfidy and impiety of the Dutch merchants, that no fewer than 1,100,000 persons suffered martyrdom before this religion could be eradicated. See Berault Bercastel. Hist. Ecc. vols. xix, xx.

(2) I have shewn the great benefit, or rather the necessity, of the crusades, for the safety of Christendom, at the time when they were undertaken. Hist. vol. i, p. 266. The last of these, set on foot by Pius V, produced the victory of Lepanto, which broke the alarming naval power of the Musselmen. Dr. S. asserts, in answer to my arguments, "that the expenditure of men and treasure, which these crusades occasioned, would have been better employed in defence of the several countries from whence they issued." P. 61.—This has been precisely the language of too many amongst the present degenerate states of Europe, and they have felt the fatal effects of their selfish policy. What would be the condition of England, if during the present war she had kept all her men and money within the precincts of her own shores? She would by this time have been stripped of both.

the same time, civilized them. What savages were not our ancestors the Saxons, before St. Augustine and his companions were sent to instruct them by pope Gregory the Great, who had himself set out to perform this heroic charity; as likewise several nations of Germany and Scandinavia before St. Boniface and other apostles were employed by succeeding popes in converting them; not to mention the Irish, the Scotch, and many other nations, who derive their refinement, together with their Christianity, from the same source. The popes were incontestibly the chief patrons and promoters, in every age, of literature and the polite arts. Finally, they formed the Christian states into one great community, and for many ages preserved the liberties of Europe, by preserving the balance of its power. If they are accused of exciting some wars, they certainly prevented or put a stop to a great many more, and by the Treve de Dieu, (1) the protection which they afforded to the oppressed Jews, (2) their institutions for ransoming captives, (3) and many others of the like

(1) The Treve de Dieu, which was set on foot and enforced by the popes and the bishops in the 11th and the following centuries, at a time when almost all the barons and petty states in Europe were at war with the one next to them, was an admirable invention of humanity for mitigating the evils of that calamity. By virtue of this it became unlawful to attack any person going to or from church, holding the plough, or exercising other arts of husbandry, as likewise women, children, merchants, and travellers. It was also forbidden to wage war at all, amongst Christians, between Wednesday at night and Monday morning in every week. See Act. Concil. Claramont, &c. These regulations could not have answered their purpose without the acceptance of the princes and people. But history informs us, that they were received by them, as we may well imagine, with the utmost joy in most parts of Europe. In this kingdom they were at least in part received, during the dreadful civil war between king Stephen and the empress Maud, a council having been held for that purpose in our city of Winchester, A. D. 1142.

(2) In all those popular insurrections which broke out from time to time, especially during the 13th and 14th centuries, against the Jews, in this and most other Christian countries, the Popes always interposed to the utmost of their power to protect them. Many vigorous constitutions for this purpose of humanity, particularly by Gregory IX, Innocent IV, John XXII, Clement VI, are still extant.

(3) The religious orders of Mercy and of the Holy Trinity, &c. were instituted for this express purpose.

nature

nature, they most effectually served the cause of humanity, and manifested the genuine spirit of Christianity.

The worst popes, Sir, were of more service to the cause of religion by filling their station in the church, than they were of detriment to it by the effect and scandal of their personal crimes. But how small is the number of those who have disgraced this station, in comparison with those who have done honour to it. (1) In the catalogue of about 255 pontiffs, who have filled the chair of Rome, during a succession of almost 1800 years, since the days of St. Peter, perhaps not more than 30 names occur which dishonour it, while double that number have been persons of eminent virtues and heroic sanctity, whose examples is publicly held out for the edification and example of Christians, and the rest have been prelates of unblemished manners and edifying piety. Look at the present pope, Pius VI, whose essential authority is not less real in the dungeons of Dauphiny (2) than it was in the Lateran and Vatican basilics; consider him in all the vicisitudes of his lengthened life, and say, whether you discover in him any of the *marks of the beast, any of the characters of the man of sin,* the Anti-christ of the Revelations, which your former colleague, and other angry controvertists and interpreters, pretend to have found out. (3) To do you justice, Sir, you yourself have said nothing of this sort. On this contrary, you have spoken with a humanity that does

(1) A writer, who had imbibed strong prejudices against the Catholic religion, admits, that the pope "is generally a man of learning and virtue, mature in years and experience, who has seldom any vanity or pleasure to gratify at his people's expence, and is neither encumbered with wife, children, or mistresses," Addison's Remarks on Italy, p. 112.

(2) Since the above was written we have been informed of his death at Valence, August 29.

(3) See the notes to Dr. Rennell's Sermon at St. Paul's, also the pamphlets of a croud of modern expositors of prophecies. If these writers were of a character to be stopped by inconsistencies, they would perceive the absurdity of asserting, in conformity with their tystem, that almost every nation which believes in Christ has been brought to the knowledge of him by the agency of Anti-christ, and that the greater part of their own religious tenets, liturgy, and institutions, together with their ministerial orders, have been derived from him.

you honour, of his sufferings, as an insulted and persecuted old man, and with approbation of his good government and public spirit, as a prince. (1) But permit me, at the same time, to remind you of what is most to our present purpose, namely, of his edifying piety, patience, and charity, in private life, (2) and of his unwearied watchfulness and zeal in the discharge of his public duties. These qualities were eminently displayed in his opposition to the unjust and irreligious innovations of the emperor Joseph II, whom, laying aside all etiquette and personal considerations, he went to visit at Vienna for this purpose. To the disaffection occasioned by the introduction of these innovations into the Low Countries, the subsequent loss of them to the French may justly be ascribed. We remark the same qualities in his zealous and persevering efforts, guided by learning and prudence, (3) to reclaim the ecclesiastical electors of Germany, the bishop of Pistoja and others, who, under pretence of reforming abuses and errors, were cherishing the growth of that infidelity which has since shot up to such an astonishing height. With what firmness has he not stood against the constant attempts that have been made to seduce and intimidate him from pursuing the straight line of his duty, since the overwhelming force of that infidelity has spread itself over a great part of Europe, at a time when all the neighbouring states have, in a great measure, yielded to it. Pius VI was well aware of the dangers to which he exposed himself by refusing to sanction the Civil Constitution, as it was called, of the French clergy, but he also knew what he owed to the cause of truth and the church, of which he was the head. He has accordingly seen himself stripped of his principality, his treasures, his works of art, his library, his conveniencies and necessaries of life, without complaint, being satisfied with the consciousness of having preserved the deposit of sacred truth and spiritual

(1) P. 108.

(2) I am just informed that the last act of his life consisted in a prayer offered up for his enemies.

(3) See his learned and copious Responsio ad Electores, &c.

jurisdiction

jurisdiction whole and inviolate as he had received it. His answer to the solicitations of the enemies of the church, who were impatient to gain a triumph over it, by some improper condescension or other in its chief pastor, was this: *The property and monuments of religion are at your mercy, but the religion itself is out of your reach. It existed before you, and it will subsist after you. With respect to myself I want not your pensions or favours. The meanest food and cloathing will suffice for this wretched body, during the short time that it has yet to remain above the earth.* This was a language and a conduct worthy of the father of the faithful, and similar to that which had a little before been held by so many thousands of his children, the martyred and the exiled clergy of France. Whilst you, Sir, glory in the mutability of your creed, which you give us to understand can accommodate itself to fluctuating opinions, (1) permit me to glory in the unchangeable nature of mine. Fixed on the firm basis of the *faith which was once delivered to the saints*, (2) it has already withstood the violences and calamities of 18 centuries, and it will, I am well assured, continue to withstand all opposition, until the second coming of its divine founder.

In speaking of the spiritual jurisdiction of the head of the church, I have avoided entering into any scholastic questions concerning its precise limits, the irreformability of the pontiff's doctrinal decrees in certain particular circumstances, and other similar topics. All that I mean to assert on these heads, at present, is confined within the following propositions: that the pope is possessed of a real superiority and authority in the Christian church, conformably to the texts above; that the church herself, as composed of a head and members, is, by virtue of the divine promises (3) supernally assisted in preserving and teaching the truths that were originally revealed to her; and that the said spiritual jurisdiction, whether of the pope or of the church, is of a pure spiritual nature, and

(1) "Speaking of infallibility, I cannot help congratulating ourselves for not pretending to possess it." P. 23. (2) St. Jude, iii.

(3) St. Mat. xxviii, 20. St. John xiv, 16. 1 Tim. iii, 15, &c.

perfectly

perfectly distinct from the temporal rights and authority of princes and states. This last mentioned point, which is of principal importance on the present occasion, as it is that on which you endeavour to render the allegiance of Catholics suspected, is not only conformable to Scripture, (1) and to the doctrine of the most celebrated pontiffs and prelates in ancient times, (2) but what is of the most consequence, directly follows from the solemn oath which the Catholics of late have taken to the legislature, by its own appointment. (3) Notwithstanding this clear distinction between spiritual and temporal authority, you, Sir, profess not to be satisfied, but maintain, that the independency of the former upon the latter is a solecism in government, and emphatically warn the magistrate, in the words of your friend Dr. Balguy, to guard against all persons, who admit it, whether Protestants or Catholics, as dangerous subjects. (4) You do very right, Sir, in classing Protestants with Catholics, when you speak of those who admit a proper authority in the church independent of the state, with respect both to faith and rites, as it is easy to shew, that this is no less the doctrine of the church of England than it is of Catholics, from the writing of her most learned divines, from her present established terms of communion, (5) and from her repeated practice in holding synods at home, and in sending representatives to those abroad, particularly to the famous synod of Dort, in the reign of James I, where we all know that religious questions were decided in as high a tone of authority as they were in the council of Trent. I will add, Sir, if it be a solecism, as you tell us, to admit such an independent authority as this, (the only one that Catholics plead for) namely, such as shall be allowed to regulate their religious doc-

(1) St. Mat. xxii, 21.

(2) Osius Cordub. apud Athan. ad Solitat. Epist. Gelas. Pap. i, Ep. viii, ad Anast. Imp.

(3) "I do declare, that I do not believe that the pope or any other foreign prince, prelate, &c. hath, or ought to have, any civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm." 31 Geo. III, c. 32. (4) P p. 22, 23.

(5) "The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." Art. xx, inter. 39.

trine

trine and worship, then I maintain, that not only our Alfreds and Edwards, with all Christian states whatsoever, in past ages, were guilty of a solecism, but also the Apostles and Christ himself. By the same rule, you give us to understand, that if the Apostles or even Christ were now exercising their functions in the land of Judea, and were to address an inspired epistle to you on any religious subject whatsoever, you would think yourself bound to reject its authority as clashing with the religious supremacy, that you think resides alone in the civil magistrate. In like manner, by this rule, you are not only exposed to the guidance of infants and women, in matters of this nature, to which indeed you express no repugnance, (1) but also to that of professed infidels and atheists, if God, in his anger, should abandon this country, as he has done France, to such a civil domination.

I cannot finish this letter without saying a few words on the celebrated dispute between king Henry II and primate St. Thomas Becket, as you, Sir, like most modern writers, so grievously misrepresent it, (2) in consequence of your not distinguishing its different stages and subjects. It began indeed concerning the exemption which the clergy claimed from the civil jurisdiction of the state, but it was chiefly carried on concerning the exemption which certain lay persons pretended to from the spiritual authority of the church. With respect to the former question I am aware, and have already intimated, that the church has no inherent claim or privilege whatsoever, and I have not now to learn, that men by becoming churchmen do not cease to be subjects. Nevertheless it having pleased some of the greatest and wisest emperors that ever ruled the civilized world, particularly Constantine, Justinian, (3) and Charlemagne, to confer a judicial authority, particularly with respect to their inferior clergy, upon bishops, and this privilege having been admitted, with the civil law itself, into most Christian countries, and sworn to by the sovereigns of them, the clergy had an undoubted right to claim it and to maintain it.

(1) P. 22. (2) Pp. 16, 17. (3) Novel. cxxiii, c. xxii.

You

You, Sir, think the immunity in question was excessive, judging, as yo do, from the present state of the world. The aforesaid emperors, however thought it reasonable, conceiving it better that a few criminals shoul escape without a condign punishment, than that an order of men shoul be disgraced in the eyes of the people, who were no longer qualified t fill their station than they could command their respect. Whichever o these opinions was best grounded, certain it is, that the exemption i question formed part of the law of the land in the 12th century. O course the primate, as head of the clergy, would have been inexcusabl had he not defended it in a lawful manner. But all such immunities hav long since been done away in this and other countries; and that I wis to recall them, is a false accusation, unsupported by the shadow of a argument. In the progress of this controversy it appeared, that th king claimed a right to exempt all his officers and tenants from the spiri tual jurisdiction of the church, and to interfere in the exercise of thi jurisdiction amongst the prelates themselves, as likewise to keep eccle siastical benefices vacant, as long as he pleased, in order to enjoy thei profits, with other requisitions of the same nature. To these it was im possible for the primate to yield. His opposition, however, was carrie on by no other arms than those proper to his spiritual calling, namely prayers, tears, exhortations, censures, and sufferings, even to the shedding of his blood.

But after all your professed submission to the civil magistrate, in spiri tual as well as civil matters, it is easy, Sir, to shew, that the new demo cratic system, which yourself and Dr. Balguy have devised, of deriving ecclesiastical authority from the people, and on which you expatiate with so much eloquence, is infinitely more dangerous, in every point of view to the peace and security of the state, than were the highest pretensions o the ancient church to independency, which you paint in such odious colours. This important topic, however, forms a distinct subject, which therefore I shall treat of apart in a future letter.

I have the honour, &c.

LETTER III.

SIR,

THE universal bug-bear of the present age is superstition, a certain mark of its irreligion; and every one pronounces his neighbour superstitious, whose religious opinions and practice are stricter than his own. Amongst the pretended philosophers of France, the belief of an intelligent self-existant Creator is considered as a childish superstition; and a man would be ridiculed for weakness and bigotry who should profess himself incapable of understanding, how the mountains could be formed by the digestion of oysters, and how elephants could spring from the earth by the power of vegetation. (1) In this country, the opinions and practices of popery furnish modern wits and fashionable writers with the ordinary subject of their ridicule and declamation upon the topic of superstition. I have been led to make these observations by reading your third letter, which treats of *Monastic Institutions, the Celibacy of the Clergy*, and other religious observances. In what I have to say, Sir, in my turn, upon these subjects, I shall make no apology to you for sometimes opposing scriptural doctrines and examples, to your ingenious and fine-spun dissertations, as I presume we at least agree in acknowledging the truth of Revelation, and that these truths are never opposite to morality and sound policy.

The reflection, with which you open your third letter, is certainly a very favourite one, as you repeat it, in one shape or other, a great number of times, both in the work now before me and in your Letters to the late bishop of London. (2) On the present occasion you express it in the

(1) See these and other absurdities of the most celebrated infidel philosophers of France, detailed and refuted by the learned and ingenious Abbé Barruel, in his *Lettres Helviennes*.

(2) *Considerations on the Present Establishment*, &c.

following terms: "As it was the policy of the court of Rome to detach their clergy from civil connections with the country to which they belonged, so was it also to detach them from their social connections. The more these ties were weakened or diminished, their obedience to a foreign power was likely to be more complete." (1) To such unworthy and inadequate causes do you ascribe the important institutions above mentioned, in order to avoid acknowledging the true, the obvious, and the honourable source of them!

To speak first of a monastic life: it is plain, Sir, from your own account, that this institution did not take its rise from the cause which you here assign, namely, "the policy of the court of Rome in detaching the clergy from civil connections with their country;" for, in a subsequent passage, you carry up this institution as high as the retirement of the famous St. Anthony into the desert, which happened in the third century, (2) a period, at which you have acknowledged the conduct of the popes to have been exemplary, and free from the ambitious policy here spoken of. (3) The place also which you assign for its origin was very remote from the ordinary sphere of their influence, viz. the Upper Egypt. The fact however is, that an ascetical or retired and contemplative kind of life was even more ancient than the time which you have marked out. We clearly discover it in the second century. (4) We find evident traces of it in the time of the apostles, (5) and of Christ himself. For, tell me, Sir, what is your idea of the kind of life which the prophetess Anna led in the temple, in prayer, fasting, and celibacy, (6) and of that which the *prophet, and more than a prophet*, (7) St. John the Baptist, passed in

(1) P. 27. (2) P. 31. Dr. S. is guilty of an anachronism where he says, that St. Anthony retired into the desert "at the beginning of the fourth century." This event took place in the year 272. See Tillemont Mem. Eccles.

(3) P. 10. (4) Euseb. Hist. Origen. (5) Acts, iv, 32.

(6) *Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, lived with her husband seven years from her virginity, and was a widow of about fourscore and four years, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day.* St. Luke, ii, 36, 37.

(7) St. Mat. xi, 9.

the

the desert? (1) Do not these come under the description of an ascetic life? Most certainly they are liable to all the objections which you have raised against it. Again, has not this divine founder of our religion explicitly recommended the essential practices of such a course of life by his doctrine, (2) and confirmed them by his example, being destitute of house and money, (3) observing celibacy, being obedient to his own creatures, (4) and employing whole nights in prayer upon the tops of mountains and in gardens? (5) Did he not on one occasion, in particular, spend forty days together in a wilderness, destitute of society, of food, and every worldly comfort? (6)

If from these exalted authorities, we descend to those of the most illustrious fathers and doctors of the church in the fourth, fifth, and the following ages, many of whose names are enrolled in your sacred calendar, (7) no less than they are in our's: Of what profession were the saints Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostome, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Benedict, Gregory, Swithun, Boniface, Bede, &c.? They were all of them institutors, patrons, or members of monastic establishments. How flimsy and trifling, Sir, must your airy speculations on "the utility of virtue, on the social affections, and on the laws of nature," prove to the sincere Christian, when confronted with the victorious maxims and examples that I have here adduced! How profane even must he judge your repeated charges of folly, superstition, and enthusiasm, which he sees are in fact directed against those sacred characters, whilst you direct them against a course of life to which they gave so decided a preference!

But, Sir, to meet you on your ground, give me leave to state aright, the question which you have misrepresented. Do then the advocates of

(1) *The child* (John the Baptist) *was in the deserts till the day of his shewing in Israel.* St. Luke, i, 80. *The same John had his raiment of camels hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins, and his meat was locusts and wild honey.* St. Mat. iii, 4.

(2) St. Mat. xix, 21. St. Mat. xix, 12. (3) St. Luke, ix, 58. St. Mat. xvii, 27.

(4) St. Luke, ii, 51. (5) St. Luke, vi, 12. St. John, xviii, 2.

(6) St. Mat. iv, 2. (7) Prefixed to Book of Com. Prayer.

an ascetic life authorize or defend the transgression of any civil or social duty whatsoever? No, Sir, they expressly require, that each individual, who professes a desire of observing the evangelical counsels, should first have fulfilled the evangelical commands, by the performance of every duty that he owes to his private relatives and to the community. Have I, in my History, as you say, "commemorated, in terms of praise and veneration, kings who descended from their thrones, (where their presence was necessary for the public good) or of wives for separating themselves from their husbands, (except when it was done by mutual consent) for the sake of embracing a life of greater piety and perfection?" (1) No, Sir, if you again examine the circumstances of king Ina's and queen Ethelburga's abdication of the crown, (2) which you seem to refer to, you will find no such meaning conveyed, as that which you intimate, but rather the reverse. The question then only regards persons who are free from all those ties of nature and society of which you speak; namely, whether it is lawful for them to retire from the tumult and the dangers of the world on religious motives, which so many others do without blame, nay frequently with the highest commendations, on philosophic, studious, or sensual motives? Whether instead of that lounging life, useless to the parties themselves and to the rest of mankind, which so many persons of both sexes lead, *whose great business of the day is,* as the poet says, *to dine,* (3) an unconnected individual may not, without any violation of civil or social duty, employ six or eight hours daily in repeating David's Psalms, and in other devotions? Whether those who are apprehensive of the force of bad example, and other seductions, in a general intercourse with the world on one hand, and of their own weakness on the other, may not avoid the temptations as much as they can, which they think themselves unequal to? Finally, whether, being impressed with an idea of that absolute perfection to which Christ calls all his followers, (4) there is any thing wrong in making the attainment of this the constant subject of their

(1) P. 31. (2) Hist. vol. i, p. 104, &c. (3) Young's Satires. (4) St. Mat. v, 48.

study,

study, and the business of their lives? I must add, that the arguments to which you resort on this subject, if well examined, will be found to militate as strongly against your own conduct, as against that of the ascetics in question. For you, Sir, have not chosen the more active and laborious employments of life, such as the present season more particularly requires. On the contrary, you have absolutely precluded yourself from serving your country by your arms, and your friends by your eloquence. You have spent a considerable and a chosen portion of your life in the academic porticos of a college, during which you voluntarily engaged in the observance of celibacy; and yet, I am sure, you were not conscious to yourself of violating, in the smallest degree, any law either of nature or society in the choice that you made. In conclusion, you embraced a state of life, from which you knew that a stricter morality and a higher sense of religion was required by the judgment of mankind, than from the ordinary class of Christians, and which therefore may be considered, in some sense, as a state of greater perfection. Do but examine all this, Sir, by the rules of morality that you yourself have laid down, and I am confident your equity will lead you to revoke the severe censures you have passed upon the monks and religious.

Having copied, at full length, my account of the occupations of a monastic day, (which you pronounce to be very uninviting, for want of being acquainted with the interior consolations that sweetened them) you proceed to descant on the absurdity of "performing a routine of religious services, in pronouncing the same words, chaunting the same notes, using the same gestures; the mind," as you say, "not accompanying the actions of the body, but leaving them merely mechanical, (1)...and the attention being directed to the shadow instead of the substance of piety." (2) When you wrote this, Sir, did it not occur to you, that the same words would form as plausible an argument in the mouth of a deist or libertine against your cathedral service, as they do in your's against the devotions

(1) P. 34. (2) P. 32.

of

of the ancient monks ? But pray, Sir, from what canon of the church or from what chapter of St. Benedict's rule, do you conclude, that th founders of religious orders were satisfied with a mere mechanical wor ship, and confined their ideas to "the means, instead of the end of tru religion ?" (1) I have paid some attention to the study of this subjec and I take upon myself to affirm, that the ancient ascetics were we advised, that no species of prayer, without their best attention and devo tion, was of any avail to them, and that the exterior practices of piety an penance did not constitute religion itself, but only the means, with divin grace, of possessing and practising it.

There is not less misrepresentation and vulgar prejudice in what yo assert concerning the foundation of our ancient monasteries, namely, tha this "was thought the highest degree of religious merit, and the mos certain atonement for sins;" (2) and that "persons of the most pro fligate and lawless, as well as others of more worthy characters, though they could atone for their sins, and secure their salvation, by establishin and endowing such foundations." (3) Without any intentional disrespec permit me, Sir, here to observe, that I should hope gratitude would lea you to admit, that there was some merit in the foundation and endow ment of one convent, at least, I mean St. Swithun's Priory of Winchester on the remains of which you, Sir, have been for so many years liberall supported, especially as I am sure you will agree with me, that there neithe is now, nor ever has been since the period of the Reformation, a sufficienc of religious zeal in the community or individuals to erect and endow ou cathedral, if this had not been already done by the piety of our Catholi ancestors. With respect to the above-mentioned hackneyed charge o redeeming sins, by building churches and monasteries, I say, that th truth of it is not to be determined by the style of charters, but by th public doctrine of the church contained in her canons, and in the wri tings of her fathers and doctors, which was the same formerly that it

(1) Ibid. (2) P. 31. (3) P. 35.

now

now, and, as far as I can judge, the same as that of Protestants of the present day, with respect to the merit of religious and charitable establishments in general.

But the point at issue between us may perhaps be better illustrated by historical facts than by theological reasoning. You will recollect then, that my History relates in what manner the cathedral church and cloister were surrounded with fortifications, to secure them from the incursions of the Danes, by our Saxon monarch Ethelbald, at the entreaty of our patron saint Swithun (1). But did the holy bishop admit this meritorious work by way of compensation for the criminal intercourse in which Ethelbald was living with his mother-in-law Judith? No, Sir, he required of the king to dismiss the object of his passion, and to repair the scandal which he had given, by condign penance, (2) and both the bishop and the king are more extolled, by the monkish writers themselves, for their respective shares in the latter, than in the former transaction. I likewise mentioned the foundation of two famous convents in this neighbourhood, Wherwell and Amesbury, by the beautiful Elfrida. But is it true, that she considered the building and endowment of these, or the prayers that were offered up by their religious inhabitants, as an atonement for her sins, whilst she continued to indulge in them? No, Sir, I expressly stated that she, at the same time, abandoned her sinful courses, and that withdrawing herself to the former of these solitudes, she spent the remainder of her life in piety and penance. (3) But the greatest friend to the monks, upon English record, was the husband of the lady just mentioned, the renowned king Edgar. He also had certain frailties to expiate; but did the great patron of a monastic life, St. Dunstan, by whom he was chiefly guided both in his private and in his public conduct, teach him to believe, that his numerous foundations and ample endowments of monasteries would of themselves atone for these sins, and secure his salvation, according to your account of the theology of the times? No, Sir, I have proved,

(1) Hist. vol. i, p. 222. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. p. 169.

that

that this famous monk, and legislator of monks, " did not connive at th incontinency of his friend Edgar any more than he had countenanced th licentiousness of his enemy, Edwy," and that it was " through his apost lical reproaches and exhortations, that this illustrious monarch, like anoth David or Theodosius, undertook a voluntary penance of seven years." (If these several histories, and innumerable others to the same effect that could adduce, are authentic, then, Sir, your account of the general ide and motives of our pious ancestors in founding and endowing monasteri is false, and a libel upon their memory. With respect to our own cit you are aware, Sir, that the most celebrated founder of religious hous in Winchester, is described as a character possessing every virtue, and fr from every fault, namely, the illustrious Alfred. (2) At all events the you must allow, that these establishments were not always the compen sation for sin, but sometimes the fruit of consummate virtue.

You very candidly acknowledge, that many of the public advantag which I ascribed to these establishments, whilst they existed amongst u were actually derived from them, particularly the hospitality exercised i them to travellers, when inns were much less common than they are a present, their supporting the neighbouring poor, (3) without the aid publ

(1) P. 158. (2) He was the chief founder of the royal abbey of Newminster (afte wards Hyde) and of St. Mary.

(3) P. 36.—Dr. S. inserts a note here, misrepresenting what I have said on the subject Poor Houses, vol. ii, p. 187, in more respects than one. The truth is, I have not called question the zeal and attention of magistrates, and other respectable persons, for improvi the condition of the poor; nevertheless I might be allowed to enquire, whether their effor have, in every instance, been made in the most judicious manner, and I am confident, th most of the gentlemen in question are ready to hear and to weigh the observations that or any other individual, may make on this subject. 2dly, I have not indiscriminately con demned all poor houses and houses of industry: on the contrary I am convinced, that suc places are necessary in some circumstances, because some poor persons require to be punishe I have only adduced certain arguments against indiscriminately confining deserving paupe with the undeserving, where this can possibly be avoided; and as Dr. S. has not answere my arguments on this head, so I will venture to say, that they cannot be satisfactori answered. Lastly, there is not the remotest contrast, in what I have said, between th preser

public rates for this purpose, their schools for the education of youth, and their hospitals for the reception of the sick; (1) but you object to their sanctuaries, to the number of their inhabitants, and to their wealth. (2) With respect to the privilege of sanctuary, I think we shall not disagree upon that point. I grant that this would be detrimental, instead of beneficial, in circumstances where the laws were so equitable in themselves, and so justly administered, as they happily are in our own country at present. On the other hand, the authority of Scripture will convince you, that this was advantageous when it was appointed by the law of God for his people of old; (3) and a little reflection will make you own, that it was highly desirable in times of anarchy, of tyranny, of unsettled laws, and of civil wars, such as that period was when I have said, that ploughs enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary no less than churches. (4) In the second place, if more persons embraced this course of life than were led to it by proper motives, and if the practice of many was found to be widely distant from their institute, these objections will only prove the necessity of those strict laws which the church enacted in every age against such abuses, and of those frequent reforms of religious orders, which were the general cause, and not that which you have assigned, (5) of so many different congregations. Lastly, as to the wealth of monasteries, which you think was disproportioned and excessive; we know that small capitals, by regular habits of industry and œconomy, naturally become great. If, however, the income of any of them exceeded the real demands of a moderate subsistence, and of those charities, to which you admit they were generally applied, we all know, that the surplus might, and frequently

present condition of the poor, and that of the poor before the Reformation. I have only compared the mode of providing for the indigent in the aforesaid houses, with the old manner of relieving them in their own cottages, that has obtained for above two centuries. My adversaries shew great ingenuity in discovering secret views in the History of Winchester for serving the cause of Popery, which never occurred to the writer of it.

(1) P. 37. (2) P. 38. (3) Deuteron. xix, 2.
(4) Vol. i, p. 216. (5) P. 31.

has been, by due authority, diverted into other channels of piety or public use. One thing is evident, and speaks highly in favour of these establishments, considered in a moral and political light, namely, that villages, towns, and cities arose, increased and flourished round most of our great abbeys; as for example, at Rumsey, Beaulieu, Amesbury, Croyland, Peterborough, Ely, Durham, and Westminster itself. (1)

It seems extraordinary, that amongst the practices of a monastic life, you should object to the observance of silence at stated times, "as the height of folly and superstition." (2) I should have expected, that the example of Pythagoras, and other ancient sages, who imposed a still more rigorous silence upon their disciples than the one in question, as the first requisite to the study of philosophy, would have exempted this practice from the imputation of folly; and I should have made sure, that the many forcible passages of holy writ, particularly in the sapiential books, and in the Epistle of St. James, would have saved it from that of superstition. (3) The ascetics, no less than the philosophers, considered a certain degree of silence, not only as useful to restrain the vices of the tongue, but also to feel the impression, as well as to understand the sense, of the lessons to which they applied. It is proper, however, to inform you, Sir, of what you seem to be ignorant, that the strictest ascetics were acquainted with the maxim of the wise man: *There is a time for being silent, and a time for speaking*; (4) and were convinced, that it was their duty to make use of the faculty just mentioned, as often as this was necessary for their own, or their neighbours' relief, advice, instruction, or consolation.

But what can equal my surprise to find a divine of the Church of England reckoning fasting and abstinence amongst the ascetic works, "that answer no moral purpose, (5)....and that are to the last degree unmeaning

(1) All the cities here mentioned were absolute solitudes, before monasteries were erected upon the site of them.

(2) P. 41.

(3) Proverb, x, 29. xi, 12. xxv, 28. Psalm cxxxix, 13. St. James i, 19—26.

(4) Eccles. iii, 7.

(5) P. 40.

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and childish." (1) I will not fill my pages with the explicit and forcible authorities that I might alledge from the writings and practice of all the fathers and celebrated writers of the ancient church, from the days of the apostles down to the present time, on the advantages and necessity of fasting, as it concerns Christians in general; but will content myself with referring you to the most approved authors and to the public doctrine of your own. Consult then the learned works on this subject of your celebrated prelates, Patrick, (2) Beveridge, (3) and Gunning. (4) See what is expressed in *The Whole Duty of Man* concerning the obligation of observing the stated fasting days throughout the year, as well as those on special occasions, "both by afflicting the body, in abstinence from meat, and in humbling the soul." Take notice of the proofs there brought from Scripture, that fasting ought to accompany repentance, that it is in the nature of a punishment for former excesses, and that to overcome a certain dangerous passion, in particular, it is adviseable to use both fasting and prayer. (5) Turn next to the Book of Homilies, which, by due authority, is appointed to be read by you in churches, where the following passage, amongst others equally express on this point, occurs: "That we ought to fast is a truth more manifest then that it should here neede to be proved, the Scriptures which teach the same are evident;" and where the following moral effect is ascribed to it: "The first end of fasting which rendereth it profitable to us or accepted of God....is to chastise the flesh, that....it be brought in subjection to the spirit, &c."(6) Finally, look at *The Table of the Vigils, Fasts, and Days of Abstinence, to be observed in the Year*, prefixed to *The Book of Common Prayer*, which amount in all to nearly one third part of the whole year. You may say of this, as you have said of the sketch of practices mentioned above, that "it is not very inviting;" nevertheless, it is the Church of England that presents it to

(1) P. 41. (2) On Repentance and Fasting. (3) Codex, Can. Ecc. Prim.
(4) On the Pascal or Lent Fast. (5) Part ii, § 21. P. v, § 34. P. vii, § 24.
(6) Homily on Good Works and Fasting.

your veneration and your practice, in conformity with the doctrine and the example of all the illustrious servants of God recorded in scripture,(1) and of Christ himself. (2) Perhaps you will say, that it is to the abstinence or distinction of food you particularly apply the epithets of "unmeaning and childish." In answer to this I must observe, that days of abstinence, no less than fasting days, are enjoined in the Common Prayer Book; that the first prohibition recorded in the Old Testament, (3) and one of the first that occurs in the New, regard a distinction of food, (4) and that the whole law of Moses is full of these distinctions. I grant there were superstitions in the very infancy of the church on this head, particularly that of certain persons who held particular kinds of food to be impure, as proceeding from the evil principle, (5) but I find that those enlightened prelates, who joined with the apostles (6) in condemning this superstition, carried their own practice of abstinence so far as to confine themselves to the mere use of bread or other dry meats, (7) on the days of their stricter fast.

You begin and end your dissertation, Sir, on clerical celibacy with just panegyrics, in prose and verse, upon matrimony, and with unjust reflections on the Catholic church for having, as you alledge, prohibited and dishonoured it. The truth is, this church prohibits no persons from marrying; she only requires that those, who have freely taken upon themselves a vow of celibacy, should keep that vow, having learnt from St. Paul the heinousness of violating it. (8) At the same time, however, she gives the preference to those, amongst her candidates for holy orders, who make choice of this engagement; the reasons for which, I shall afterwards discuss. On the other hand, so far from degrading matrimony, she

(1) Dan. ix, 3. Joel ii, 12. Jonas iii, 5. St. Mat. ix, 15. xii, 20, &c.
(2) St. Mat. iv, 2. (3) That of the forbidden fruit. Gen. ii, 17.
(4) Acts, xv, 29.
(5) The Ebionites and other Gnostics, and afterwards the Manichæans.
(6) 1 Tim. iv, 3. (7) Called Ξηροφαγια.
(8) *The younger widows refuse: for when they have begun to wax wanton in Christ, they will marry; having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith.* 1 Tim. v. 11, 12.

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is distinguished amongst other communions for the honours which she pays to it. You are not ignorant, Sir, that this church ranks matrimony amongst the sacraments of the new law, requiring the same pious dispositions in the parties who enter into it, as in those who approach to the Lord's Table. You are not ignorant, that she deems so awfully and mysteriously of this solemn contract, that she absolutely prohibits persons who have engaged in it from ever violating it, on any pretext whatsoever, during the life time of their partners; thus strictly conforming to the injunctions of our Saviour: *what God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.* (1) The fatal consequence of disregarding this precept is too publicly displayed in the scandalous and preconcerted crimes of the present age.

Let me now look back to the occasion of the question between us. The series of my History having led me to relate that remarkable change which took place in Winchester cathedral during the reign of king Edgar, by which monks were substituted to the secular canons, who had for sometime before served it, in consequence of their incorrigible incontinency; and finding that the generality of modern authors conspired to palm a falsehood on the public, in making them believe, that the secular clergy, before this period, namely, the latter end of the tenth century, were every where left at liberty by the church laws to take wives, like other men; I could not, consistently with my plan, avoid exposing and confuting so egregious an error. This I performed by a pretty ample dissertation on clerical celibacy, (2) in which, by express references to ancient councils, fathers, and ecclesiastical writers, I demonstrated that the higher orders of the clergy, viz. bishops, priests, and deacons, were obliged, from the very infancy of the church, to observe the law of continency, (3) that this law was introduced with Christianity itself amongst our

(1) St. Mat. xix, 6. (2) Vol. i, p p. 163, 164, 165.

(3) It is proper to add, that amongst the councils, cited in my note, vol. i, p. 163, one of them, viz. the second of Carthage, held A. D. 428, testifies, that the law of celibacy was derived from the apostles. "Ita placuit et condecet sacrosanctos antistites et De- sacerdote

our Saxon ancestors, at the end of the sixth century, by St. Augustine and our other apostles; that the obligation of it was frequently confirmed by synods held in this country, and, I may add, that the same was the case in other parts of the church, in every age down to the present; that, however frequent the violation of it was in certain ages and countries, particularly during the tenth and eleventh centuries, so far from being sanctioned or tolerated, it was constantly censured and opposed by the church, which, on one occasion, went so far as to invalidate, as far as this was possible, all ecclesiastical functions performed by clergymen, who did not lead continent lives. (1)

It is plain, that these proofs of the antiquity of ecclesiastical celibacy, and this detection of the opposite error, are extremely grating to you. But in what manner do you attempt to invalidate them? Do you deny the weight or authenticity of my authorities? No. Do you confront them with other canons and quotations from the fathers of equal antiquity and authenticity? No. You have nothing, on a point of history, to oppose to positive evidence, but fanciful conjectures and speculations. The substance of these, which are spun out through several pages, is, that the law of celibacy originated in the policy of the popes, who detached the clergy from social connections, in order to make them the tools of their ambition. (2) But, Sir, you will recollect, that my vouchers for this celibacy go beyond the period which you have assigned for the com-

sacerdotes, nec non et levitas, vel qui sacramentis divinis inserviunt continentes esse in omnibus, quo possint simpliciter quod a Deo postulant impetrare: UT QUOD APOSTOLI DOCUERUNT et ipsa servavit antiquitas nos quoque custodiamus.—Ab universis episcopis dictum est: Omnibus placet ut episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi et qui sacramenta contrectant, pudicitiæ custodes, etiam se ab uxoribus contineant." 11 Concil. Carthag. can. 3.—Amongst the testimonies of ancient fathers, I omitted to mention that of Origen of Alexandria, who was born in the year 185, and who holds much the same language as that which I quoted from Bede, viz. "Illius est solius offerre Deo sacrificium qui indesinenti et perpetuæ se devoverit castitat." Orig. Homil. 23 in Numeros.

(1) Mat. Paris, an. 1124. Thom. Walsingham. (2) Pp. 27, 42, 44, &c.

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mencement of papal ambition, and extend to countries where the popes supremacy was frequently resisted, and, in the end, rejected. In one word, Sir, I must remind you again, that you have produced no authority, either in opposition to my proofs, or in support of your own revolting theory, except the ludicrous rhymes of an irreligious and obscene poet, in the twelfth century, (1) and the forged speech of a cardinal in the sixteenth. (2)

(1) P. 43. Dr. S. has quoted too much of the jocose verses, as he calls them, of Walter de Mapes, both for the gravity of the subject and of his own character. He has, however, very prudently suppressed some of the more indecent and irreligious amongst them: Of this sort are the two first stanzas of the poem:

" Mihi est propositum in taberna mori,
Vinum sit appositum morientis ori:
Ut dicant cum venerint angelorum chori;
Deus sit propitius huic potatori.

Poculis accenditur animi lucerna;
Cor imbutum nectare volat ad superna.
Mihi sapit dulcius vinum in taberna
Quam quod aqua miscuit præsulis pincerna."

The most important passage, however, in the whole composition, for judging of the authority to be derived from this poet against clerical celibacy, is the stanza in which he draws his own self-convicted and reprobate character:

" Via lata gradior more juventutis;
Implico me vitiis immemor virtutis;
Voluptatis avidus, magis quam salutis;
Mortuus in anima curam gero cutis."

Camden's Remains, p. 333.

After all, the learned Pitsius gives us good reason to doubt whether these, and other profane verses, ascribed to Walter Mapes by Camden, Thomas Warton, Dr. S. &c. are his genuine composition, and not the work of a certain Golias, who fathered many of his rhymes upon Mapes. De Illust. Ang. Script. p. 283.

(2) The accurate and faithful Pallavicini, who wrote from the original memoirs of the Council of Trent preserved in the castle of St. Angelo, his victorious confutation of Father Paul's spurious history of the same council, has proved, that no such consistory was held as that in which cardinal Rodolpho Pio is introduced as making the inconsistent speech which Dr. S., after the former, ascribes to him. Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. xv. c. 14.

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But however ancient and inviolable the church laws may have been on the head of clerical celibacy, you maintain, in a long dissertation that they are impracticable, and therefore nugatory and invalid. "The impulse of nature," you say, "by which we are led to form connections with the other sex, is one of the most powerful that belongs to us...it cannot be suppressed, but might have been regulated."(1) You add "No authority, no laws, no decrees could counteract this strong propensity of our nature...which may be guided, but will not be compelled: to regulate her impulses is wise, to suppress them altogether is impossible, and therefore it is absurd and immoral to attempt it." (2) All this, according to the plain sense of the words and the tenor of your argument, means that it is possible for a human being to lead a chaste life with the help of matrimony, but not without it. Such coarse ideas expressed in language equally coarse, I had indeed met with in the works of the renegade friar Martin Luther; (3) but I little expected to find them in the writings of a person of your reflection and decorum. For are you sensible, Sir, what a charge of incontinency you here bring against innumerable persons of both sexes, who for want of fortune, of health, of beauty, or on account of their situation in colleges, in the army and navy, of their social duties to parents, children, &c. and even of their elevated birth and rank in life are equally precluded from entering into matrimonial engagements, with the clergy and religious of the Catholic church? Is it impossible, in all these, "to suppress the impulse of nature, which tends to a connection

(1) P. 45. (2) P. 48.

(3) "Porro caste et integre vivere tam non est in manu nostra quam omnia alia Dei miracula." Luther ad Wolfgan. Reisenbush. tom. vii, fol. 505. Edit. Wittemb. "Ut non est in meis viribus situm, ut vir non sim, tam non est mei juris ut absque muliere sim. Rursum ut in tua manu non est ut fœmina non sis, sic nec est in te ut absque viro degas." "Verbum hoc crescite et multiplicamini non est præceptum sed plusquam præceptum; divinum putat opus, quod non est nostrarum virium ut impediatur vel omittatur, sed tam est necessarium quam ut masculus sim, et magis necessarium quam edere, bibere, purgare, mucum emungere," &c. Luther. Sermo de Matrimon. tom. v, fol. 119.

with

with the other sex?" Is it even in them "absurd and immoral to attempt it?"

Regardless nevertheless of consequences, however absurd and alarming, you proceed to establish this scandalous theory of the impracticability of continence, by the following singular reasoning: "Laws, to be effectual, must be conformable to our nature and founded on good sense: if they are not such, they in a great measure defeat themselves. Power may, to a certain degree, compel obedience to them; but they will be continually eluded, and eluded with impunity. When they shock our natural and general feelings, humane and reasonable men would rather let the transgressor go unpunished, than be punished with what appears to them disproportionate severity; or for a fault which, considering natural infirmities, he could hardly help committing. They are ready to lay the blame on the unreasonable law, rather than on the unfortunate, though perhaps not quite innocent transgressor." (1) I own, Sir, I am astonished, and almost ashamed, to hear such language as this, and on such a subject, from you, who are both a divine and a magistrate. In fact, what an apology have you here offered for the conduct of every wanton girl who elopes from the just restraint of her parents or guardians, and of every unfaithful wife who dishonours her husband, whilst he is fighting the battles of his country in a distant clime, as the courts of justice have too often proved to be the case! I hardly think, that a counsellor at the bar would repeat the passage, which I have just quoted, in excuse for his offending client; certain I am, that it would not pass without reproof from the guardian of morality on the bench. It is true, you make this apology particularly in favour of the Catholic clergy, who violate their vowed continence: but it is evidently seen to hold equally good in behalf of every description of offenders against the laws of chastity, who can plead the strength of their passions, and the restraints they lie under in the use of the natural remedy.

(1) P. 46.

Do not however mistake me, Sir, as if I made light of that domesti enemy, the force of which St. Paul himself, after all his extacies, seem to have stood in fear of, (1) or as if I denied that a great many of those particularly in the tenth and eleventh centuries, who had taken upo themselves the vow of celibacy, lived in a scandalous violation of it. Th chief difference between our opinions is, that you suppose laws of thi nature to be absolutely impracticable, whilst I maintain that, by makin use of the proper means for this purpose, with the help of God, the may be, as they have been, by thousand and myriads in every age, faith fully observed. (2) These means are precisely the practices against whic you have declared yourself above, fasting, (3) assiduous prayer, retiremen as far as each one's station will permit from the allurements of the world and other exercises of piety and mortification, such as St. Paul himsel made use of for the same purpose. (4)

Could you admit the possibility of continency, you do not seem t dispute its propriety and advantages with respect to the clergy, (5) parti

(1) 11 Cor. xii, 7.

(2) Dr. S. declares, that his mind *shrinks* from the idea of irrevocable engagements o continency, and, in conformity with the vulgar opinion on that head, supposes that thos persons of the other sex who have entered into them were the victims of misery and despair p. 46, 47. Let us however judge from facts, not from suppositions. Of the many thousan persons of this description, whom that harbinger of the Revolution, the emperor Joseph II turned out of their convents, none went out willingly, and some died embracing thei thresholds and door-posts. I have opportunities of knowing, that at the distance of som years from that period, not one amongst them all had shewn by her conduct that she re pented of the vows she had made. The same in general may be said of the French nuns though the authors of the Revolution were at considerable pains to propagate a contrar opinion.

(3) In addition to the authorities from the Homilies, &c. above stated, I may add that o a Pagan poet, who was an experienced judge in these matters: *Sine Baccho et Cerere frige Venus.* Ovid De Remed. Amor.

(4) 1 Cor. ix, 27.

(5) "All this is very well, viz. that the time and thoughts of the clergy should be en tirely occupied in sacred functions, &c. if you could procure clergy made of materials dif ferent from those of which men are composed," &c. p. 44.

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cularly in those points, in which it is commended by St. Paul, (1) Origen, Bede, (2) and the first act of parliament that tolerated their marriage in this kingdom. (3) You agree with me also in ascribing the boundless charities, profuse hospitality, and the immortal works of piety and public benefit, by which the great ecclesiastics of ancient times distinguished themselves, (and none more so than the prelates of this see) to their having "no families or lineal posterity who could have a natural claim on their superfluous wealth." (4) What is this, Sir, but confuting your own former arguments, concerning the pretended effects of celibacy, in loosening the ties of the clergy with society and the state? What is this but owning, that it is more natural and easy for a continent clergy to become the fathers of their people, and especially of the poor, and to be entirely occupied in their sacred functions, than for others, whose thoughts, and whose study, must and ought to be devoted, in the first place, to the welfare of their wives and family? The ceremonies and emblems accompanying the consecration of a Catholic bishop are purposely invented to remind him that his church is his spouse, and that his diocesans are his children.

How great an obstacle the incumbrance of a family must be to zealous clergymen of every degree, in the discharge of their duties under many particular circumstances, must be obvious, particularly in times of persecution, when religion is to be propagated amongst infidel and barbarous nations, and when any person or number of persons require the consolations and helps of religion to support them who are dying of infectious distempers. A remarkable case of the last mentioned kind, which clearly illustrates my sentiments on this head, has occurred in our city, since you, Sir, and I have been residents in it. When that dreadful contagion raged amongst the prisoners of war, confined in the King's-house here, from eighteen to twenty years ago, which carried off so many hundreds of

(1) *He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, &c.* 1 Cor. c. vii, 32.
(2) Hist. vol. i, p. 164. (3) 2 Edw. VI, c. 21.
(4) P. 37.

them, together with most of the medical attendants, keepers, and other persons who resorted to them, as I have mentioned in my History, (1) a considerable number of the said prisoners were French Protestants. These earnestly called in their sickness for that attendance from some of their numerous clergy in this city, which they saw administered to the Catholics by one or two priests of their communion. This circumstance, to my certain knowledge, was made known to some of the gentlemen in question; nevertheless the dying Protestants were not attended: in consequence of which several of them desired the assistance of the priests. The answer, which I understand to have been given on a certain application, was this: *We are not more afraid, as individuals, to face death in the discharge of our professional duty, than the priests are, but we must not carry a poisonous contagion into the bosom of our families.* You will remark, Sir, that I do not mention this occurrence, by way of reproach to the clergy of this city, but only by way of argument as to the point in debate, the celibacy of the clergy. In fact, I very much doubt, whether my predecessor, the Rev. Mr. Nolan, who actually lost his life in the exercise of this heroic charity, or the other priests who afterwards exposed themselves to the same fate, one of whom was on the very brink of it, would have shewn the courage they did, had their feelings been softened by a natural tenderness for wives and children. The conclusion I think is evident, that however honourable and even holy the state of matrimony is in itself, however necessary it is to the state, and however conformable to the general condition of mankind, still that it may be for the benefit of religion, that the small number, who, as Christ says, receive this saying, (2) and who are called to the exercise of the Christian ministry, should for the sake of their flocks lead continent lives. They can have no other adequate motive for universally subjecting themselves to this restraint.

I have the honour, &c.

(1) Hist. vol. ii, pp. 166, 167. (2) St. Mat. xix, 11.

LETTER IV.

SIR,

IF I have been unable to enlarge with the same copiousness and elegance of diction that you have done, on the excellency of charity and the duty of mutual forbearance, I nevertheless greatly deceive myself, if my HISTORY OF WINCHESTER is not better calculated to promote these virtues, than are your REFLECTIONS ON POPERY.

I have had frequent opportunities of observing, that amongst the many foul caricatures of the religion of our ancestors, held up to the public view, that which exhibits it as a sanguinary system, supported by swords and muskets, and surrounded with racks, gibbets, and fires, is the one which has been chiefly successful in inflaming the minds of Englishmen with hatred against it, and its professors: a hatred which they do not entertain for the unbaptised Quaker, or the antichristian Socinian, and which has sometimes led them into the extremities of cruelty, from the mere hatred of cruelty. (1) Those who feel an interest or a pleasure in exciting this odium are fully sensible of its fatal efficacy. Hence they are never weary with ringing the changes on the names of John Huss, and Jerom of Prague, on the massacre of Paris, and especially on the fires of Smithfield. For the same uncharitable purpose we find the lying *Acts and Monuments* of John Fox, with large wooden prints of men and women encompassed with faggots and flames in every leaf of them, chained to the desks of many country churches, whilst abridgments of this inflammatory work are annually issued from the London presses, under the title of *The Book of Martyrs*. In the mean time it is carefully concealed from the public view, that Catholics have suffered persecution in

(1) "Crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis." Tit. Liv. l. iii, c. 53.

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this country to a much greater degree than they ever inflicted it, and tha even the various sects of Protestants have persecuted each other, on accou of their religious differences, to the extremity of death. I complain muc more of the information that is witheld from the public, than of tha which is communicated to them, even through a false and magnifyin medium. For if they knew the whole truth in this matter, I mean th violences that have been exercised on both sides, it would be impossibl to excite their indignation exclusively against one party; and the mo prejudiced and inveterate persons would be obliged to enter into thos terms of mutual forgiveness, which the Catholics do and must so sincerel wish to see established. For the most avaricious and inexorable creditc is forced to cancel his bond, when he finds that his debtor has a lega demand upon him to the full amount of it.

In some circumstances then, Sir, it may be necessary, for the purpose of peace and conciliation, to enter upon that most odious of topics, rel gious persecution, and to detail particular instances of it; namely, whe such statements contribute to "a right understanding and balancing c accounts in this matter, amongst Christians of different communions, an thereby to the cutting away one of the most virulent sources of religiou animosity" that subsists amongst them. (1) Such I conceive to be th tendency of the account which my History furnishes of the different act of persecution that have taken place in this city. The fact is, there not an individual here, who had not heard a thousand times of th numerous executions of Protestants under queen Mary, and of the shar which onr prelate Gardiner had in these bloody scenes. The mutilate state of his monument in the cathedral, is a striking memorial of th public indignation against him on that account. (2) But I can venture t say, that not an individual amongst them had ever heard that their ow streets had repeatedly flowed in the reign of her sister Elizabeth wit the blood of Catholic priests and laymen, (3) shed merely for their havin practice

(1) Hist, vol. i, p. 380. (2) Ibid, vol. ii, p. 58.

(3) To the list of Catholics residents in or connected with Winchester, who suffered deat f

practiced the religion of Alfred, St. Swithun, and William of Wykeham, and that the Protestant prelates, Horne, Cooper, and Neale, had been in their days active and violent persecutors, until I had occasion to acquaint the public with these particulars. (1)

It is for the same conciliatory purpose, Sir, and not for that of reproach or recrimination, that I shall enter more at large into this subject of persecution in the present letter. For it appears, that you are not yet disposed to enter into the compromise that I proposed, by joining with me in "lamenting the commo n violencies of our forefathers on both sides,"(2) and by dismissing the acrimonious subject of persecution for ever. On the contrary, when you are even forced to admit, that I have a charge of the same sanguinary nature against your friends that you have against mine, you still chicane with me concerning the number of the respective sufferers, and the nature of their torments. You aggravate your accusation with every instance of severity that has been inflicted on the heterodox or schismatics of former ages, whether on account of their theological errors, or their seditious doctrines. Finally, you implicitly question the sincerity of the censure which I have passed on the burnings of Mary's reign, where you profess to tremble for my "orthodoxy" on that account; (3) thus shewing yourself resolved to make me an abettor of persecution, whether I will or not.

You now proceed to state your charge against the ancient religion, in the following terms: "Mr. M. says, that *persecution was not a tenet of the Roman Catholic religion.* This is somewhat surprising; and, if it be true, all of us Protestants must have been long under a most egregious mistake." (4) It is true, Sir, that you are under an egregious mistake, with respect to the real tenets of Catholics in this, and in most other

for their religion under Elizabeth, which we have given, Hist. vol. i, p. 380, I must add the name of John Adams, who was apprehended in that city for exercising his priestly functions, though he was executed in London, Oct. 8, 1586. Append. Mem. Miss. Pr.

(1) Vol. i, pp. 376, 380, 386. (2) Vol. i, p. 379, 380.

(3) P. 57. (4) P. 52.

articles

articles, and it is a subject of glory to the latter, that their religion nev yet was attacked by any adversary whomsoever, without being fi misrepresented by him. But you profess to prove the point in questio viz. that persecution is a tenet of their faith; first, from the fact of the having persecuted heretics in all parts of Europe; and secondly, from t decrees of councils, the declarations of popes, the establishment of t bunals, and the assertions of writers of the highest authority with them I now undertake to answer you on each one of these heads, after lamen ing that it unavoidably requires more leisure and pains, at all times, refute calumnies than it does to advance them.

If the mere fact of Catholics having used violence against persons of different communion, were a proof that persecution was a tenet of the faith, as you argue in the first instance, this would equally prove, th this doctrine equally made part of the creed of almost all denominatio of Protestants. It cannot be effaced from the records of history, th wherever the reformers of the 16th and 17th centuries became the triun phant party, not content with the free exercise of their own religio they violently overturned that of their ancestors, and carried on the mo severe and oppressive persecution against those who continued adhere to it. (1) This was the case in England, (2) Scotland, (

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(1) C. Peterson Hooft urges with great spirit the whole passage of Livy, referred above, by way of reproach to his Protestant countrymen of Holland, for the early proofs religious intolerance which they had shewn: "Libertati præsidia quærentes non licent ad impugnandum alios. Crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis, et ante pene quam i liberi sitis, dominari jam in adversarios vultis." Hist. Ref. Ger. Brand. t. i, p. 333.

(2) Hist. vol. i, p. 380, &c.

(3) The Reformation may be said to have begun there, by the assassination of cardi Beatoun, in which Knox was a party, and to which Fox, in his *Acts and Monuments*, say the murderers were instigated "by the spirit of God." In 1560 the parliament, at o and the same time, decreed the establishment of Calvinism and the punishment of dea against the ancient religion. "With such indecent haste," says Robertson, "did the ve persons who had just escaped ecclesiastical tyranny proceed to imitate the example." Hi of Scotl. See also the answer of the presbytery to the king and council, in 1596, concer

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France, (1) Ireland, (2) Germany, the Low Countries, (3) Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland,

ing the Catholic earls of Huntley, Errol, &c. viz. that "as they had been guilty of idolatry, a crime deserving of death, the civil power could not spare them."

(1) In France, it is well known, that wherever the Huguenots carried their victorious arms against their sovereign, they slaughtered the priests and religious, burnt the churches and convents, dug up the dead to make bullets of their leaden coffins, &c. See Maimbourg, Hist. Calvinism. One of their own writers, Nic. Froumenteau, confesses, that in the single province of Dauphiny they killed 256 priests and 112 monks or friars. Liv. de Finance. In these scenes the famous baron Des Adrets signalized his barbarity, forcing his Catholic prisoners to jump from the towers upon the pikes of his soldiers, and his own children to wash their hands in the blood of Catholics.

(2) The penal laws were in general no less severely exercised against the Catholics of Ireland, though they constituted the body of the people, than they were against those of England. Dr. Curry, amongst a great many other sufferers in the same cause, has preserved the names of 27 priests, or religious, put to death on account of their religion in the single reign of Elizabeth. Hist. of Civil Wars of Ireland, vol. i, p. 8.

(3) Dr. S. speaks with horror of the persecution of the Protestants in the Low Countries by the duke of Alva, who, he says, p. 67, "boasted that he had delivered 18,000 heretics (he should have said *heretics* OR *rebels*, see Brandt) to the executioners." I heartily join with him in condemning and execrating the sanguinary vengeance of the Spanish governor and government against their seditious subjects of the Calvinistical persuasion; but to form an adequate judgment in this case, it is proper to attend to the provocations which they had received from them. Not to mention then the conspiracy of Carli and Risot to assasssinate the duke of Alva himself, at the monastery of Groonfelt, near Brussels, it is certain, that one class of the Reformers had endeavoured to erect the same fanatical and bloody kingdom in Holland, which John of Leyden actually established at Munster, crying out, that *God had given up the country to them, and that vengeance awaited all who did not join them.* It was an ordinary thing amongst them to assault the clergy in the discharge of their functions, and the air resounded with their cries, *kill the priests, kill the monks, kill the magistrates.* These violences became more common as the Reformation extended itself wider. Wherever Vandermerk, or Sonoi, both of them lieutenants to the prince of Orange, carried their arms, they uniformly put to death, in cold blood, all the priests and religious they could lay their hands upon, particularly at Oudenard, Ruremond, Dort, Middlebourg, Delft, and Shonoven. See Hist. Ref. des Pays Bas, by the Protestant minister de Brandt, also Dr. Patinson in his Jerusalem and Babel, p. 385, &c. A celebrated biographer, still living, Feller's Hist. Abreg. tom. i. art. Toledo, says, that Vandermerk slaughtered more unoffending Catholic priests and peasants in the year 1572, than Alva executed Protestants during his whole government. He gives us in the same place a copious extract from L'Abrege de

Switzerland, Geneva, though in different manners, and with different degree of violence. I have shewn, that the several sects of Protestants have, in many places and upon principle, persecuted each other to the extremities of exile, perpetual imprisonment, and death. (1) I think, Sir, by this time you

l'Hist. de l'Holland, par Mons. Kerroux, in which this Protestant author, who professes to write from judicial records still extant, draws a most frightful picture of the infernal barbarities of Sonoi on the Catholic peasants of North Holland. He says that some of these, after undergoing the torments of scourges and the rack, were enveloped in sheets of linen that had been steeped in spirits of wine, which being inflamed they were miserably scorched to death; that others, after having been tortured with torches and burning sulphur in the tenderest parts of their bodies, were made to die for want of sleep, executioners being placed on guard over them to beat and torment them, with clubs and other weapons, whenever exhausted nature seemed ready to sink into forgetfulness; that several of them were fed with salt herrings, without any other food, or a drop of water, until they expired with thirst, whilst certain others, by contrivances for this purpose, which he describes, were devoured alive by rats. Amongst the cruelties there recounted some of them will not bear repeating, and those which occur above are only mentioned, to induce Dr. S. and other writers of his class to join with me in burying the odious names of Alva and Sonoi in equal oblivion.

(1) Hist. vol. i, p. 357.—Amongst the more illustrious Protestants, who suffered by the violence of other Protestants, it may be proper to mention the names of Servetus, Gentilis, Bolsac, Barneveld, and Grotius. The following is a more circumstantial account of the persecution, which some Protestants have exercised upon others in this country, than is contained in the passage above quoted. In the reign of Edw. VI, viz. in the year 1550, six Anabaptists were condemned by archbishop Cranmer, some of whom recanted and carried faggots, in sign of their having merited burning, and one of them, Joan Knell, was actually burnt alive. The following year, George Paris was condemned and suffered in the same manner. Stow. During the reign of Elizabeth, in the year 1573, Peter Burchet, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, was examined on the score of heresy by Edwin, bishop of London, but recanted his opinions. In 1575, twenty-seven heretics were at one time, eleven at another, and five at a third, condemned for their errors, chiefly by the same bishop. Of these 20 were whipped and banished, others bore their faggots, and two of them, John Peterson and Henry Turwort, were burnt to death in Smithfield. In 1583, John Lewes, "for denying the Godhead of Christ," says Stow, was burned at Norwich; at which place also Francis Kett M. A. suffered the same kind of death, for similar opinions, in 1589. Two years afterward William Hacket was hanged for heresy, in Cheapside. Five others suffered death in this reign for being Brownists, viz. Thacker, Copping, Greenwood, Barrow, and Penry. The above particulars may be seen in Stow, Brandt, Collier, Neal, &c. Under James I, Legate and

you will grant, that the mere acts of persecution do not of themselves prove a persecuting creed, especially when you have considered, that the severities in question were taken up by one party in its very infancy, and by the other at a very advanced period of its existence. In fact, Sir, if the doctrine and practice of persecution were an essential constituent in the religion of our ancestors, as you repeatedly assure us was the case, it was particularly incumbent on you to trace them up to the commencement of Popery, at whatever period you may choose to fix this æra. (1) We know that there have not been wanting, in every century, different heresies and schisms, which have been condemned as such by the church; but (to speak only of the middle ages) we observe, that neither Felix of Urgel, nor Gotescalc, nor Beringarius, nor Abelard, nor Marsilius of Padua, nor Wycliff, was sentenced to any corporal sufferings by the church,

Whitman were executed for Arianism. In the time of Charles I, the Dissenters complained loudly of their sufferings, and particularly that four of their number, Leighton, Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, were cropped of their ears and set in the pillory. Limborch, Hist. of Inquis. Neal, &c. When the Presbyterians afterwards got the upper hand, they continued to put Catholics to death, and they treated those of the former establishment with almost equal severity; at the same time appointing days of humiliation and fasting to beg God pardon for not being more intolerant. Hist. of Churches of Engl. and Scotl. vol. iii. The editor of de Laune's Plea for Non-Conformists, says, that he was one of 8000 Protestant Dissenters, that "perished in prison in that single reign, (viz. of Charles II) merely for dissenting from the church." Pref. p. 2. He adds, that one of their people, Mr. White, had carefully collected a list of the sufferers and sufferings of the Dissenters; that the Catholics, in the reign of James II, offered him bribes to obtain this list; that he rejected the offer, to prevent the black record from rising up in judgment against the church, and that the dignified prelates sent thanks and money to Mr. White in reward for his services." For the capital punishments and other sufferings of the Quakers, see Pen's Life of George Fox, folio.

(1) Nothing has proved so embarrassing to controvertists as to fix the period of Popery's commencement; some carrying it up to the time of pope Silvester, at the beginning of the fourth century; others bringing it down to the days of Gregory VII, in the eleventh century. Strange it must seem to every reflecting person, that so remarkable a change as that by which the kingdom of Christ is supposed to have revolted against him and become the kingdom of Antichrist, should not have been perceptible at the time when it happened, or be capable of being fixed at any time since!

when she condemned their respective errors, during the ages of her greatest power. We shall shortly see on what occasion, and by what authority, this kind of punishment was resorted to in matter of religion.

You now proceed to general councils, on which head you are content to acknowledge yourself under obligations to Dr. Rennell for so common and hackneyed a quotation as the 3d canon of Lateran IV, (1) held in 1215, which excommunicated all heretics, and ordered that they should be delivered up to the secular power to undergo due punishment, and that the latter should be obliged, under pain of ecclesiastical censures and the loss of their lands, to extirpate all heretics resident upon them. These are the most material clauses of the canon, which Dr. Rennell gives at length; who adds, that "no Roman Catholic can disclaim one tittle of it,"(2) and that the titular bishop of Waterford has lately given a comment upon it, by which he admits it in all its latitude. (3) But what would you and

(1) Dr. S. p. 53, erroneously quotes "the 8th chapter," &c. for the 3d canon, &c.

(2) Sermon at Cambridge, July 1, 1798, p. 50.

(3) P. 54.—As I do not wish, either from resentment or policy, to impede the progress of that gentleman in his professional career, I shall not here take notice of any part of his inconsistant and unchristian language and behaviour, with respect to Catholics and their religion, except what he himself has chosen to make public. It is notorious then to Dr. S. and the other inhabitants of Winchester, that Dr. R. during a long course of years manifested the greatest respect and partiality for both of these; that he openly countenanced with his presence the most obnoxious ceremonies and services of the religion in question; that his house was for a long time crowded with the French emigrant clergy, to whose religious opinions he drew so close, that they constantly spoke of him as of a man who was in his heart of their persuasion; finally, that he opposed their quitting the King's-house, for the purpose of turning it into barracks, when the rest of the inspectors were content that this measure should take place.—But let us hear him speak for himself on the merits of the French clergy and the religion for which they suffer: "As the author has been led to an incidental mention of those afflicted men, the venerable college of French ecclesiastics inhabiting the King's-house, Winchester, he cannot but observe, that he feels himself irresistably called upon to pay that homage to their virtues, which a close observation of their character, and an extended acquaintance with many individuals amongst them, have enabled him to do, in the course of his discharge of his duty as inspector of the house, an office with which, in conjunction with six other gentlemen of the place, he has been honoured

and Dr. Rennell say, if I were to follow the account of one of our ancient historians, who denies that these canons in general were the acts of the council itself; (1) or that of one of your most learned divines, who asserts, that the canon above quoted in particular is spurious? (2) But, without entering into those discussions, it is proper that Dr. R. and yourself should be informed, that there is an essential difference, with respect even to general councils, between defining articles of faith, as those are which are opposed to the impieties of the Albigenses in the first canon of this council, and ordering exterior points of discipline, such as those are in this 3d canon. The former are considered as immutable truths, and such as regard the whole church. The latter are frequently limited, with

honoured by the committee of subscribers. He is persuaded that he speaks the sentiments of all his colleagues in that respectable office when he says, concerning those *persecuted martyrs*, that to their edifying piety, their calm and chearful resignation, their warm and exuberant gratitude, it is impossible too bear too strong a testimony. Great will be the refreshment of every pious observer, that amidst the scenes of guilt and blood, with which the earth is deluged, that amidst the decay of religious principle with which the world abounds, he can find some circumstance of consolation on which he can rest, and that even in these latter times God hath not left himself without witness here upon earth," &c. The French Republic founded on Blood-guiltiness, a Sermon preached in the Cathed. of Winch. by Thomas Rennell, &c. Oct. 26, 1793, p. 24.—Let this " strong testimony, as Dr. R. calls it, be contrasted with his raving philippics against the same clergy and religion in most of his late sermons, particularly in that preached at St. Paul's, May 10, 1796, where, in the true style of Lord George Gordon, he declaims against " the idolatry and anti-christianism of Popery....against the antipathy both of native and foreign Papists, which no benefits can soften...against the effects of Roman superstition, in engendering infidel philosophy, jacobinical anarchy, atheism," &c.—Is then that religion which produced *persecuted martyrs, and which refreshed the pious observer with consolation, that amidst the decay of religious principle God had not left himself without witness here upon earth,* all at once turned into the cause of idolatry, anti-christianism, jacobinical infidelity, and atheism? Are all *the virtues of the venerable French ecclesiastics*, and particularly their *exuberant gratitude, which a close observation of them, and an extensive acquaintance* with them, *irresistibly called him to pay homage to*, on a sudden hardened into *insensibility*, &c.? Or is it, that the gale of promotion in favour of Dr. R. appeared to blow from a different quarter formerly, from what it does now?

(1) Mat. Paris, ad dict. an. (2) Collier's Ecc. Hist. vol. i, p. 424.

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respect both to time and to place, and have no force upon individuals until they are received and published in the several part of Christendom by the civil power, in what regards civil matter; and by the ecclesiastical, in what appertains to the church. Thus many exterior ordinances of discipline that were decreed in the last general council of Trent, not having been received in this kingdom, in France, and in other countries, are not there considered as obligatory by the strictest Catholics. And thus the canon in question, admitting it to have been genuine, and to have been received in some places formerly, in regard to the particular case for which it was decreed, has confessedly no force now in any part of the church. (1) In the next place we, with the Continuator of Fleury, observe, that the ordinances of this council which regarded temporal matters, such as the corporal punishment of heretics, the deposition of magistrates and feudatory princes, and particularly of the earl of Toulouse, who was here glanced at, were made with the concurrence of those who had competent authority in these matters. I speak of the different temporal sovereigns of Christendom, most of whom attended this council in person, or by their ambassadors, particularly the emperors of Germany and Constantinople, the kings of England, France, Hungary, Arragon, Sicily, Jerusalem, and Cyprus, with a great number of inferior potentates. (2) Lastly, with respect to the justice of the canon in question, it is to be remembered, that in the catalogue of heresies which have prevailed in different ages, there was one of so impious, so perfidious, and so infamous a nature, and above all so destructive of the human species, that a Pagan government would betray its duty which neglected to extirpate it by fire and the sword. Such were the heretics against whom those severities, which you and Dr. R. complain of, were decreed

(1) If Dr. R. will consult *The Answer to Abernethy*, by bishop Hay, and Dorrel's *Case stated*, in answer to C. Lesley, &c. he will find that Catholics in general make the same distinction that I do, in refuting the hackneyed objection drawn from can. iii of Lateran IV.

(2) Fleury, Hist. Ecc. Contin. l. lxxvii. § 49.

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in the 4th council of Lateran, by a concurrence of the civil and the ecclesiastical power.

The system of which I have been speaking, whatever might be its origin amongst Pagans, was introduced amongst Christians by Cerdon, Marcion, (1) and others Gnostics, in the age immediately following that of the apostles. The person however who reduced it into form, and was chiefly instrumental in propagating it, was the Persian heresiarch Manes, in the third century. The leading tenet of it was the doctrine of two principles or deities, one the author of good spirits, the New Testament, &c. the other of bad spirits, of the flesh, of the old law, and of the Old Testament. Hence, by a necessary consequence, flowed the impieties and abominations above alluded to, which all cotemporary writers, and the judicial acts still extant, prove to have been held by the Manichæans; their denial of Christ's incarnation, their defiling the volumes of the bible and the plate of the altar, their avowed system of perjury, their condemning the use of all animal food as impure, and still more the propagation of mankind, as concurring to the work of the evil deity, whilst they let loose the reins to every sensuality which was not productive of that important end. (2) This heresy, like most others, branched out into a great

(1) Tertul. advers. Marcionem.

(2) St. Augustine, who himself had been nine years engaged in these errors, furnishes the most circumstantial account of them, in Lib. de Hær, and his other writings. Rainier, a learned writer of the 13th century, in giving an account of the later sects of this heresy, had the same advantage with St. Augustine, in having once been himself a follower of it. The most authentic information, however, concerning it, is to be derived from the acts of the council of Albi, held against it in 1176, and from those of Lateran iii, in 1179. The same may be gathered from the first canon of the 4th Lateran council, mentioned above, which, in opposition to the Albigenses, defines the existence of one God or first principle, the Creator of all things, that the Devils were not from all eternity evil, but fell by sin, &c. that persons may be saved in a state of marriage, as well as in that of celibacy, &c. With these accounts agree those of our English historians, particularly Hoveden, Pars Post. Hen. II, Gervas. Dorob. p. 1441, Ed. Twys. Gul. Neubrig. l. ii, c. 13, Mat. Paris, an. 1215. The latter mentions, in particular, their profanations of the scripture. "Libros evangeliorum in sentinas projecerunt et calices cum vasis sacris enormiter dehonestaverunt." Even Limborch, in

great variety of sects, and assumed different names; the current howeve of its leading doctrines is clearly traced through the countries which it ha principally infected, from the infancy of the church down to a late perio in the middle centuries: some writers even bring it down to the com pletion of impiety and wickedness which we witness at the present day.(1 From Persia, and the neighbouring provinces, where it principally pre vailed in the early centuries, we pursue it to the mountains of Armenia where, under the name of Paulicians, its adherants carried on long an bloody wars against the emperors of the East, at the close of the nint century. Its first grand establishment in the West, was in the kingdon of Bulgaria, between the Danube and the Black Sea, then newly con verted to the faith. Thence it was propagated into France, Italy, and Spain in the 10th and 11th centuries; from which circumstance, its adherents ob tained the general name of Bulgari, a name which has ever since continue to denote persons addicted to the infamous practices to which they wer addicted. (2) They were also called, in different times and places, Albi genses, Poplicoli, Paterini, Cathari, Turlupins, Beghardi, Brethren of th Free Spirit, &c. all of which are proved to be of the same Manichea stock, by their holding the discriminating doctrines of that heresy. In th 12th century it made its appearance in England, but did not succeed there the apostles of it being abandoned with abhorrence by all mankind. (3 It was against these pests of society and human nature that fires were

in his History of the Inquisition, is obliged to acknowledge the impiety and wickedness o these heretics. The best modern account of them, and of their distinction from th Waldenses, with whom Dr. S. confounds them, p. 60, is to be met with in Bossuet's Varia tions, b. xi.

(1) Abbe Barruel in his Mem. de Jacobinism.

(2) "Paterini et Bugares de quorum erroie malo tacere quam loqui." "Frater Robertus (qui cognomento Bugre dicebatur) qui ab illo conversus, habitum suscepit prædicatorum." Mat. Paris, an. 1244.

(3) "Iisdem diebus (an 1163) erronei quidam venerunt in Angliam, quos vulgo publicanos vocant...baptisma, eucharistiam, conjugium detestantes," &c. Rer. Angl. Gul. Neubrig l. ii, c. 13.

first

first lighted in the west, (1) not by a pope, or other churchmen, but by the religious king, Robert of France, in 1022; and it was to repress and root out these, when, confiding in their numbers and the power of their protectors, they proceeded to propagate their opinions by the sword, burning down churches and monasteries, and perpetrating indiscriminate slaughter on all ages, degrees, and sexes, (2) that the crusade of our Simon de Montford and the inquisition were set on foot, and that the canons which you and Dr. R. complain of were passed. See, Sir, into what disgraceful company your zeal against Popery, and that of the note-writer in the Pursuits of Literature, (3) causes you and him to degrade yourselves, and the cause of Protestancy with you, when, on the credit of such superficial modern writers as Mezerai and Sandius, (4) you claim kindred with the Albigenses. (5) I am happy, however, on the strength of more ancient and authentic authorities, to disprove the relationship, and to shew that there are few features common to you and them, except your unfortunate prejudice against the original parent stock, from which you both separated.

From your much lamented persecution of the Albigenses, (to which however we are indebted for the continuance of society and the human

(1) Fleury, Hist. Ecc. l. 58, § 54. l. 59, § 5.

(2) See Act Concil. iii, Lateran. Gervas. Dorob. p. 1451. Fleury, &c.

(3) Part IV, note upon note to verse 190.

(4) Both these writers, no less than Dr. S. confound the two very different sects of Waldenses and Albigenses together.

(5) Mosheim speaking of the Albigenses, Turlupins, Begards, or Brethren of the Free Spirit, as they called themselves, in the 13th century, says: "Certain writers, who have accustomed themselves to entertain a high idea of the sanctity of all those who, in the middle ages, separated themselves from the church of Rome, suspect the inquisitors of having attributed falsely impious doctrines to the Brethren of the Free Spirit. But this suspicion is entirely groundless, &c....Their shocking violation of decency was a consequence of their pernicious system. They looked upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption.... Certain enthusiasts amongst them maintained, that the believer could not sin, let his conduct be ever so horrible or atrocious. Eccles. Hist. vol. iii, p. 284, by Maclaine.

race) you pass on to those exercised against Wycliff and Huss, by th council of Constance. The chief of what you say concerning the forme of these, occurs later in your work, where you extol his courage an vigour of mind, excuse his errors, and condemn the impotent vengeanc of the council, in causing his bones to be burnt. (1) A spirit of candou Sir, would have led you to the discovery of something like toleration i the conduct of your illustrious founder, Wykeham, (2) and his brethren who, whilst they condemned Wycliff's errors, left his person unpunishe and unmolested during the whole of his life; and an impartial view of th dreadful effects of his doctrine in this and other countries, would hav made you see, in the ordinance of the council against his memory an remains, not an act of vengeance, but a wise and salutary instruction t mankind. In speaking of this doctrine you say, that "there might b some mixture of what was exceptionable in his opinions." (3) Is this, Dr Sturges, the proper qualification, particularly in such times as these, fo the most seditious and incendiary doctrines that ever were broached i these kingdoms? Which, I pray you, Sir, of the inflammatory orators o writers of the day has approached to the seditious excesses of Wycliff where he teaches the people, that if they can discover any mortal sin that is to say, any signal violation of sobriety, chastity, piety, meekness or humility in their rector, bishop, magistrate, or sovereign, they are a liberty to disclaim his authority, and depose him if it is in their power? (4) Which of them has instructed us, that we are not obliged to pay ou taxes or our tythes, or to regard any laws or statutes, unless the justice o

(1) P. 75.

(2) Wykeham was one of the foremost prelates in condemning the errors of Wycliff, who in his turn, was the tool of the duke of Lancaster, Wykeham's great enemy and persecutor See Walsingham, Knyghton, Brady, &c. (3) P. 75.

(4) "Nullus est dominus civilis, nullus episcopus, nullus prælatus dum est in peccat mortali." Opiniones et Conclusiones Mag. J. Wycliff. Error. 7. Knyghton, Col. 2648 Walsing. Hist. Ang. p. 283.

then

them can be demonstrated from the scripture? (1) Which of them has dared to tell our courts of justice, that they cannot lawfully exact an oath from any witness, (2) or confirm the title of an estate to any person for him and his heirs for ever? (3) Which of them has proclaimed the sinfulness of a clergyman's having any temporal property, and has tumultuously called upon the people to assist in despoiling them of it? (4) I pass lightly over a great number of other impious and seditious tenets of Wycliff and his chief disciples, John Aston, Nicholas Hereford, William Swynderby, &c. tending to the destruction of all religion, natural as well as revealed, and to general robbery, massacre, and anarchy; such as, that God ought to obey the Devil; (5) that all human actions happen by inevitable necessity; (6) that literary institutions, such as colleges and universities, are diabolical; (7) that it is unlawful to pray in churches or to keep holy the Lord's day; (8) that if ecclesiastics are guilty of any sin their temporal princes ought to cut off their heads, and that if the prince himself is guilty of sin, it is the business of the people to punish him. (9)

Nor were the doctrines of Wycliff, to whose "merit, amongst the

(1) "Ubi leges humanæ non fundantur in scriptura sacra subditi non tenentur obedire." Walsing. ibid.

(2) "Non licet aliquo modo jurare." "Nam sequela cujuslibet dicti eorum talis erat. I am syker, It is soth," &c. Knyght. Col. 2707.

(3) "Chartæ humanitus adinventæ, [de hæreditate civili perpetua, sunt impossibiles. Deus non potest dare homini pro se et hæredibus suis," &c. Walsing. p. 204.

(4) "Est contra scripturam sacram quod viri ecclesiastici habeant temporales possessiones." Knyght. Col. 2648.—"Nunquam erit bona pax in regno isto, quousque temporalia ista auferantur a viris ecclesiasticis et ideo rogabat populum, manibus extensis, unusquisque adjuvaret in ista materia." Walsingham, p. 284.

(5) "Deus debet obedire Diabolo." Hæres Wycliff. Knyght. Col. 2648.

(6) Art. 27, Wycl. condemn. in Concil. Constan.

(7) Ibid. art. 29. (8) Hypodig. Walsing. p. 557.

(9) "Quod si persona ecclesiastica deliquerit et se non emendaverit licitum est dominis secularibus hujusmodi radere per scapulas. Si dominus temporalis deliquerit licitum est popularibus ipsum corrigere." Knyght. Col. 2657.

reformers," you profess so much "respect and gratitude," (1) of an un productive nature. By the ministry of his chief apostles, John de Aston Nicholas de Hereford, William de Swynderby, John Purney, John Straw John Ball, and others, they were quickly disseminated through the mas of the people; (2) and in the short space of four years, from the opening o his mission, (3) produced that rank harvest of insurrection, plunder murder, and civil war, with which every one knows the reign of Richar II was disgraced. It is true, that, amongst the ministers of state, only th chancellor and primate, Sudbury, the lord treasurer, Hales, and the chie justice, Cavendish, were actually put to death by the misled rioters; bu it is clearly proved, that their intention was to have killed the king him self, with all the nobility, bishops, rectors, canons, and monks, wh sinned against Wycliff's fundamental doctrines, concerning the unlaw fulness of retaining temporal possessions, leaving only the friars to officiat for them, who observed the strict poverty of which they themselves mad profession. (4) These rebellions, Sir, which nearly proved fatal to the king dom, are as evidently traced to the revolutionary and equalizing doctrine of Wycliff and his followers, as an effect is to its cause in any othe instance whatsoever, and the same is possitively affirmed by cotemporar writers, who had the best means of judging rightly in this point. One o them remarks the circumstance of the rebellion breaking out at the sam

(1) P. 75.

(2) "Wyclyviani sive Lollardi...in tantum in suis laboriosis dogmatibus prævaluerun quod mediam partem populi, aut majorem partem suæ sectæ adquisierunt. Quosdam auten ex corde, quosdam vero præ timore et verecundia." Knyghton, Col. 2664. This author ha before contrasted the meekness of Christ with the violence of the Lollards: "Assister solent juxta sic inepte prædicantes gladio et pelta stipati ad eorum defensionem....Christ doctrina est, *Si quis vos non audierit excutite pulverem pedum vestrorum in testimonium illis* Istorum Wyclyvianorum disciplina longe aliter se habet: *Si quis vos non audierit, eximite gla dium et percutite eum.*" Col. 2662.

(3) The first preaching of Wycliff is referred by Walsingham to the year 1377. Hypodig p. 531. The insurrection of the populace took place in June, 1381.

(4) See the dying confession of John Straw. Walsing. Hist. Ang. p. 265.

time

time in all the different counties in which it raged, namely, in Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, and that this time was no other than the week appointed for celebrating the institution of the blessed Eucharist, (1) which is well known to have been the chief article of the received faith that Wycliff declaimed against. But what alone is decisive as to this matter is, that the main body of the rebels, under Wat Heyler or Tyler, had for their chaplain a professed Lollard priest, viz. John Ball, who in his famous sermon to them on Black-heath, preached up to them every crime which they actually committed or endeavoured to commit. (2)

It is clear, from our ancient historians, that the subsequent seditions which marked this and the following reigns, are equally to be ascribed to the pestiferous doctrines of these democratical reformers. Two years after the grand insurrection above mentioned, the populace of the metropolis were instigated by Wycliff and his followers, chiefly out of hatred against the prelates, to fresh and violent outrages. (3) In the first year of our victorious Henry V, Wycliff's disciples, not content with claiming toleration for themselves, fixed advertisements to the doors of the churches in London, giving notice, that they were ready to rise to the number of 100,000 men against all those who did not relish their opinions. (4) Nor was

(1) The octave week of Corpus Christi. Walsing. Hist. p. 266.

(2) " Docuit Joannes Ball perversa dogmata Joannis Wycliff, et opiniones quas tenuit et insanias falsas...Propter quæ prohibitus ab episcopo ne in ecclesiis prædicaret, concessit in plateas et vicos, vel in campos ad prædicandum. Postremo excommunicatus, cum nec sic desisteret carceri mancipatur, ubi prædixit se deliberandum per 20,000 amicorum, quod postea evenit. Cum taliter deliberatus fuisset eos secutus est instigans ad plura mala perpetranda. Ad le Black-heth, ubi 200,000 hominum fuerunt congregata hujus modi sermonem est exortus: Whan Adam dalfe and Eve span, who was than a Gentleman? Walsing. Hist. p. 275.

(3) " Londonienses isto tempore cœperunt ultra modum insolescere, in perniciosum exemplum urbium aliarum.....Animati enim erant per Joannem Wycliff et sequaces ejus ad hujusmodi perpetranda in reprobationem prælatorum." Walsing. Hist. p. 288.

(4) " Eo tempore Lollardi fixerunt shedulas in valvis ecclesiarum Londoniis, quæ continebant

was this a vain threat, for in the following year, viz. 1414, they endea voured to put it in execution in St. Giles's-fields, which their leader, th famous Sir John Oldcastle, had appointed for their place of rendezvous but being prevented by the activity of their warlike prince, several o them were taken prisoners, and, after conviction, were executed a rebels; (1) many of whose names are inserted by Fox in his Book o Martyrs. (2) Three years later Oldcastle himself, who had hitherto eluded the hand of justice, being apprehended, was examined in parlia ment, when he rested his chief plea on the pretended unlawfulness o capital punishments. (3) Being condemned and brought to the place of exe cution, such was the delirium of his fanaticism, that he besought Si Thomas Erpingham, there present, to exert himself in procuring pro tection for the Wycliffites, in case he himself should rise to life on th third day after his execution. (4) It was in consequence, Sir, of such doctrines as the aforesaid, and of the fatal fruits of such doctrines, that th act *de Hæretico Comburendo* was passed by the parliament in the reign of Henry IV, without any solicitation either from the pope or the clergy and it was owing to this very measure, on the part of the legislature, tha a single acre of land has been left in the realm for your support, or tha of any other clergyman. We have in this another instance of the blind ness of your zeal against Popery, no less than of John Fox's, and of certain

tinebant 100,000 parata ad insurgendum contra cunctos qui non saperent sectam suam. In vitabantur nempe viribus et ingenio cujusdam Joannis Oldcastell," &c. Walsing. p. 385.

(1) Walsingham, p. 386.

(2) Amongst others are, Sir Roger Acton, J. Browne, J. Beverly, R. Silbeck, J. Claydon no less than Oldcastle himself, and the above-mentioned seditious preachers, Ashton, Swyn derby, &c.

(3) " Quæsitum fuit ab eo qualiter se voluit excusare...cœpit prædicare...vindictam for solius Dei," &c. Ibid. p. 399.

(4) " Adjurans eum ut si cerneret eum tertia die resurgere pacem procuraret sectæ suæ.' Ibid, p. 400.

othe

other writers, which overlooks every consideration of private interest and public benefit, in order to vilify the church of your ancestors. (1)

The communication between England and Bohemia, in consequence of the marriage of Richard II with a princess of that kingdom, caused Wycliff's doctrines to be speedily wafted thither. They were principally supported, in the university of Prague, by John Huss (to whose history you next direct our attention, (2) by way of proving that persecution is a tenet of the Catholic faith) and upon the same motive of private resentment, (3) which had occasioned their first publication in that of Oxford.(4) They were productive however of still more fatal consequences in that kingdom, than they had occasioned in this. They first caused violent seditions, in which Huss himself took an active part. (5) They next excited a general insurrection of the populace; and they ended in a dreadful fanatical revolution, which for many years deluged the plains of Bohemia with blood. (6) You will please to observe, Sir, that if John Huss and Jerom of Prague were put to death for heresy, it was not until the doctrines of that heresy were proved by their effects, as well as by arguments, to be utterly inconsistent with the peace of society and the very existence of civil government.

Notwithstanding this, you maintain, that the execution of these men

(1) One of the most learned and respectable advocates of the established church, Dr. Heylin, finds great fault with those who commend this precursor of the Reformation, Wycliff, of whom he says, " many of his opinions were so far from truth, so contrary to peace and civil order, so inconsistent with the government of the church of Christ, as to be utterly unworthy of so great a character. But such is the humour of some men as to call every separation from the church of Rome the gospel, and the greater the separation, the more pure the gospel." Animadvers. on Fuller, p. 65.

(2) P p. 84, 86. (3) Fleury, Ecc. Hist. l. c.

(4) Harpsfield de Hist. Wycl. (5) Fleury, Hist. Liv. Contin. l. ci, § 40, 44.

(6) The Hussites began their career by murdering the mayor of Prague, they then overturned the government of the kingdom, after fighting several pitched battles against their sovereign in the field, and after every where burning down monasteries, murdering the clergy, &c. Æneas Sylv. ap. Fleury.

by

by a general council, after safe-conducts had been granted them, is proof, that the church held not only the tenet of persecution, but als that of perjury. (1) But, in the first place, is it true, that either Joh Huss or Jerom of Prague was put to death by the council? No, Sir, fo the council having examined their faith and excommunicated them expressly declared, that it had no power to proceed further again them. (2) They were both of them successively committed to the flam by order of the magistrates of Constance, in virtue of the standing law of the empire to this effect. (3) 2dly, But were they not at least burn "at the instance of the council," as you assert was the case? No, Sir, w have the acts of the council still extant, and we have an elabora history of it by a celebrated Calvinist, (4) but no traces of such a solicitatio or instance on its part is to be discovered. On the contrary, the emper Sigismund, long before the condemnation of Huss, declared in the counci that the errors of which he was accused, if proved against him, we deserving of death; (5) and he assured Huss himself, if he did not retra them, that he himself would, with his own hands, light the fire to bur him. (6) You will then say, that the emperor at least violated his faith in causing John Huss to be executed, after the safe conduct which h had given him; and, in like manner, that the council itself was guilt of perfidy in permitting Jerom of Prague to be put to death, who cam to it, as you say, "protected by the public faith of the council itself. Permit me to ask, have you ever examined the different safe-conducts g these two innovators? If you have, you will have seen, that the safe conduct of Huss is nothing more than a common travelling passport t protect him from seizure or violence on his journey to and from th council, where he loudly boasted, that he should prove his faith to b orthodox; but not in any sort any exemption from the ordinary course o law, in case he should be found guilty of heresy. Neither did Hus

(1) P. 75. (2) Act Concil. Sess. xv.
(3) Made by the emperor Frederic II. (4) L'Enfant.
(5) Ibid, b. iii, n. 12. (6) Ibid, n. 6.

solici

solicit, nor the emperor ever think of granting, an exemption of that nature. (1) With respect to the safe-conduct of Jerom of Prague, which was granted at his request by the council, after he had imposed upon it by a feigned retraction and clandestinely withdrawn from it, (2) a clause was inserted to prevent the clamours which had been raised on the seizure of Huss, and to guard against its being considered as derogating either from the canon or the civil laws. (3) See, Sir, how many calumnies you have heaped together against all the most learned and virtuous prelates of Christendom in the 15th century, and in what glaring absurdities and impieties you have involved yourself, in order to raise two seditious dogmatizers of Bohemia to the rank of "Martyrs of Jesus." (4)

Your

(1) In the advertisements which Huss caused to be fixed on the churches of Bohemia he says: "I am going to the council to make it clear whether I have held or taught any erroneous doctrines, which if they can prove against me I will readily submit to all the pains of heretics." Before the council itself he declared, that "if a heretic will not renounce his errors he ought to be corporally punished." L'Enfant, Hist. Conc. b. i. n. 61, b. iii, n. 7. See a compleat investigation of this matter, in an Answer to the Rev. W. Abernethy's Letter, by the Rev. G. Hay, V. A. Edinburg, 1778. It is proper to add, that if Huss had been provided with a safe-conduct, as ample as Dr. S. supposes it to have been, he nevertheless would have forfeited the benefit of it by his attempt to fly from Constance, and still more by his continuing afterwards to inculcate his errors in that very city, as was observed in the 10th session of the council. See Contin. Fleury, l. cii.

(2) Though the council was guilty of no breach of faith to Jerom, yet was he guilty of a flagrant breach of it to the council, in pronouncing a solemn condemnation of Wycliff and Huss, and making an explicit declaration of Catholic faith, both of which were foreign to his mind, as he afterwards confessed. The Remonstrant or Arminian ministers, who, to the number of 15, assisted at the synod of Dort, to give an account of their faith, on a public summons to this effect, complained with more reason of a violation of public faith, when they found themselves, at the breaking up of the synod, seized upon and hurried away into perpetual exile, without being allowed so much as to see their families. See De Brandt. Hist. Ref. vol. ii.

(3) By the clause *Salva Justitia*. Contin. Fleury, l. cii.

(4) P. 56. This is quoted from the early works of a prelate, now venerable for his age as well as his learning, who has seen cause to doubt, in the course of late events, whether it is quite so certain that the bishop of Rome is Antichrist, as he once supposed. Let that

Your next argument, of persecution being a tenet of Catholic faith, is drawn from the massacre of Paris, and the alledged approbation of it by a pope, namely, the celebrated reformer of the calendar, Gregory XIII. With respect to the horrid deed itself of blood and perfidy, I will not attempt to justify it, as the king, the queen dowager, and their ministers did, at the time when it happened, by pretending that the Huguenots were on the point of executing a plot to destroy them, and to overturn the government; (1) because it is now clear from history, that no such plot then existed. I will not even extenuate its atrociousness by expatiating on the two real conspiracies for seizing on this very king and his court and for subverting the constitution of their country, which the Calvinists actually attempted to execute; (2) or on the four pitched battles which they had fought against the armies of their sovereign; or on their treachery in delivering up Havre de Grace, the key of the kingdom, into the hands of a foreign potentate, queen Elizabeth; or even upon the

matter be as it may, I ask Dr. S. by what criterion of sanctity he pronounces those men *martyrs*, who were chiefly condemned for holding that *dominion is founded in grace*; that *no one is a true king, bishop, &c. whilst he is in mortal sin*; that *the people have a right to punish their rulers*; that *it is contrary to the law of Christ to bestow property on the church?* In fact it has been demonstrated by Bossuet, *Variat. b. xi*, § 165, and is admitted by the learned Protestants whom he quotes, that Huss and Jerom, on almost every point of modern controversy except communion in both kinds, (a mere matter of changeable discipline) maintained the doctrine of Catholics, and particularly in those of transubstantiation, the mass, the intercession of saints, purgatory, and the seven sacraments. By what criterion then, I ask again, does Dr. S. and also bishop Hurd canonize them, unless they conceive that to have opposed the established pastors of the church in any cause, however wicked, was meritorious, and that to die in such a cause was to become *a martyr of Jesus?*

(1) Maimbourg, Hist. Calvin. l. vi.

(2) Those of Amboise and Meaux, the latter of which appeared so heinous in the king's eyes, that he vowed never to forgive it. The Huguenots had before, when they took up arms against him in 1562, threatened him with the greatest indignities, namely, to whip him and bind him an apprentice to a mechanical trade. Ibid, l. iv. It appears from Thuanus that his chief resentment was directed against Coligni, and that it was the murder of him which drew on that of the other Protestants.

massacre

massacres with which they themselves had previously inundated all France. (1) So far from this, I am ready to exclaim with Thuanus, or with yourself, in contemplating the horrors of St. Bartholomew's-day: *Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credant sæcula.* (2) But, Sir, let the blame fall where it is due, on the black vengeance of the unrelenting Charles IX, and on the remorseless ambition of the unprincipled Catherine of Medicis, who alternately favoured the Catholics and Huguenots, as seemed best to suit her own interest. The very calumny that I mentioned before, which the king and queen invented to excuse their barbarity, is a sufficient proof that they did not conceive it lawful to commit such crimes to serve their religion, (3) for which indeed they neither of them felt much zeal; and as this savage villainy was contrived without the participation of the French clergy, so they were the most forward at the time to oppose its completion, (4) and have ever since been the most warm in reprobating it. (5)

(1) Not to speak of the innumerable massacres committed by the Calvinists of France, upon priests, religious, and other unarmed people, during the civil wars which they carried on against their sovereigns, some of which have been already noticed, Davila relates, that upon the death of Francis II, when liberty of conscience was granted them, besides burning down churches and monasteries, they massacred people in the very streets of Paris. Heylin relates, that in the time of a profound peace, these same people, taking offence at the procession of Corpus Christi, performed in the city of Pamiers, fell upon the whole clergy who composed it and murdered them; and that they afterwards committed the same outrages at Montauban, Rodez, Valence, &c. Hist. Presb. l. ii. (2) Thuan ex Statio.

(3) This further appears from the proclamation of Charles immediately after the massacre: "Eodem die edictum promulgatur, quo rex testabatur quidquid in hac re accidisset suo diserto mandato gestum esse, non religionis odio, sed ut nefariæ Colinii et sociorum conjurationi obviam iret." Thuan, l. lii.

(4) It is particularly recorded of Henuyer, a Dominican friar and bishop of Lisieux, that he opposed, to the utmost of his power, the execution of the king's order for the murder of the Protestants in his diocese, answering the governor of the province when he communicated it to him: *It is the duty of the good shepherd to lay down his life for his sheep, not to let them be slaughtered before his face. These are my sheep, though they have gone astray, and I am resolved to run all hazards in protecting them.* Maimb.

(5) See Maimb. Contin. Fleury, &c.

But you say, "I do not lay so much stress upon the act itself of the massacre, as upon the joy expressed, and the marked approbation given it, by the pope, in the public thanksgivings and rejoicings with which he celebrated it." (1) You had undertaken, Sir, to produce bulls and declarations of the popes establishing persecution as "a tenet of the Catholic religion;" (2) and you here refer me to the individual act of a pontiff, which establishes no doctrine whatsoever, and in which he was as liable to act wrong from ignorance or malice, as another man. If, Sir, I were satisfied that Gregory XIII had approved of the foul deed of St. Bartholomew's-day, after having viewed it in the same clear and steady light in which you and I behold it, now that the clouds of royal calumny in which it was invested have been dispersed, I should not even then think that persecution was proved to be a tenet of his faith, but I should judge him to have partaken of Charles's and Catharine's sanguinary disposition, in opposition to the character which historians have stamped upon him. But you will recollect the infinite pains which the French king took, by letters, ambassadors, rejoicings, and medals, to make both his subjects and foreign princes, but most of all the pope, believe, that in killing the Huguenots he had only taken a necessary measure of self defence to preserve his own life, together with the constitution and religion of his kingdom. (3) If we admit these to have been believed at Rome and Madrid, as there is every reason to suppose they actually were, the rejoicings at those courts will put on a very different appearance from that in which you exhibit them.

Your next common place is the inquisition, which you tell us, "compries in itself all the horrors of religious persecution." (4) But, Sir, give me leave to observe to you, that the practices, and the very existence of the inquisition, have as little connection with the Catholic religion as they have with my History of Winchester, where they are not, to my

(1) P. 54. (2) P. 52.
(3) Thuanus, l. iii. Maimb. l. vi. (4) P. 54.

recollection,

recollection, once mentioned. If I wanted arguments in favour of this assertion, you yourself have furnished me with them. For you not only ascribe a very late date to it, but also you tell us, that "several Catholic countries, dreading the miseries which such a tribunal would produce, persevered in refusing to admit it." (1) Is not this equivalent to a confession, that the inquisition neither was, nor was considered as any part of the religion of Catholics; any more than the court of high commission, which bore a near resemblance with it, both in its severity and in its forms, (2) made part of the religion of Protestants? It is not necessary then to say any more on this subject, than barely to animadvert on two considerable mistakes, as to matter of fact, which you have fallen into concerning it. It is not true then, as you, Sir, assert, that St. Dominic was the founder of the inquisition, or even a member of it; for it did not even exist until after his death. (3) I grant that he vigorously

(1) P. 55.

(2) The Dissenters filled the kingdom with complaints of the oppression which they suffered from this court during the reigns of Elizabeth and the two first Stuarts, representing it as much more intolerable than the inquisition itself. The historian Hume gives the following account of it: "Any word or writing which tended towards heresy, schism, or sedition, was punishable by the high commissioners, or any three of them: they alone were judges what expressions had that tendency: they proceeded, not by information, but upon rumour, suspicion, or according to their own fancy. They administered an oath, by which the party cited before them was bound to answer any question which should be propounded to him: whoever refused this oath, though under pretext that he might be thereby brought to accuse himself, or his dearest friend, was punishable by imprisonment. In short, an inquisitorial tribunal, with all its terrors and iniquities, was erected in the kingdom. Full discretionary powers were bestowed with regard to the inquiry, trial, sentence, and penalty inflicted; except only, that corporal punishments were restrained by the patent of the prince which erected that court, not by the act of parliament which empowered him," &c. Hist. of Engl. James I, c. vi.—A curious specimen of its vexatious and rigorous proceedings under Elizabeth, was the search made in John Stow, the historian's, library, for forbidden books. See an account of this transaction, and of the books seized upon as unlawful and papistical, in Stype's Life of Grindal.

(3) Butler's Lives of Saints, Aug. 4. Mosheim, sæc. xiii, who blames Limborch for falling into this error.

opposed

opposed the pernicious errors of the Albigenses, and that he convert an incredible number of them; but he never made use of any other ar for this purpose than preaching, prayer, and the example of his virtues.(On the other hand, it is a fact, that this tribunal, with all its severi was not competent to pass sentence of death, or the loss of limbs up any person whomsoever.

From the authority of councils and popes, you descend to that Catholic writers, on which topic you present us with a note, borrow from bishop Hurd's *Introduction*, concerning the opinion of Bossuet this matter. (2) Before I proceed any further, Sir, I must take the libe of complaining, that the English bishop has both unfairly garbled a unfaithfully translated the passage of the French prelate. It is true th that Bossuet, writing under an absolute prince, just after the revocation the edict of Nantz, asserts "the right of sovereigns to use the sword agai their subjects, who are enemies of sound doctrine," without which, thinks, "the power of the legislature would be enervated and maime But how does he attempt to prove his point? Not by producing a principle or decision of his own church to this effect, as in fact no su decision or principle exists, but by an *argumentum ad hominem*, o reference to the doctrine of the founders, and other most illustri writers of the Reformation on the point in question. He particularly ci the works of Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, and Jurieu, (3) and likew the standing discipline of the church of Geneva, in confirmation of opinion. (4) In reproaching then Bossuet with his persecuting doctri bishop Hurd and yourself act uncandidly in suppressing the authority which he places it, namely, the maxims of the chief Protestants. T

(1) Contin. Fleury. Butler. (2) P p. 55, 56.

(3) To these names he might have added those of Beza (see his work de Heret puniendis a Civili Magistratu), Bullinger, Capito, Bucer, Cranmer, Ridley, Latin Edwin, &c. &c.

(4) He might have added, of England, Scotland, &c.

bei

being so, it is an absurdity, as well as a falsity, to put into this author's mouth the following sentence: *There is no illusion more dangerous than to consider TOLERATION as a mark of the true church,* when in fact, he did not admit that there was an atom of toleration amongst the adversaries with whom he was contending. The truth is, he barely denies that a state of SUFFERING is a mark of the true church, which was the actual condition of the French Calvinists at the time when he wrote. (1) In a word, Sir, whatever might have been the private opinion of Bossuet on the lawfulness and expediency of revoking the edict of Nantz, and whatever apprehensions you may affect to entertain for my orthodoxy in

(1) " Il n'y a point d'illusion plus dangereuse, que de donner LA SOUFFRANCE pour un charactere de vraye eglise." Hist. des Variat. l. x, § 55. Dr. S. admits, that Bossuet, in the work here quoted, proves his main point, namely, " the great variety of religious opinions professed by Protestants." But he says, that there has been almost as great a difference of opinion amongst Catholics, only that this " has been concealed by the broad mantle of papal supremacy." P. 58. What is this but to acknowledge that advantage of the latter which Grotius points out, in having a superior and efficient authority for composing their differences. See the above note, pp. 28, 29.—Dr. S. also admits, that Bossuet's inference, from the acknowledged variety of Protestants, concerning " the necessity of adhering to one infallible church, would be just, if the church were infallible." He elsewhere seems to grant, that infallibility would be an incomparable benefit, if providence were pleased to bestow it upon the church. P. 25. He, nevertheless, totally misrepresents the argument of Catholics upon this subject, which may be stated as follows.—No legislator ever established laws for a numerous society without appointing judges and magistrates with due authority to explain and enforce them. Indeed it would be obviously better to have no written code at all, than such a one which each individual is authorized to interpret for himself, and to take into his own hands to execute. Can we then suppose, that the wisdom and goodness of God has left his spiritual kingdom, the church, without those necessary means of preserving its peace and its very existence? Hence we should naturally conclude, that the body of the pastors, with the chief bishop at their head, were under the protection and guidance of the Almighty, in deciding upon contested articles of faith, even though Christ had not assured them as follows: *The spirit of truth will guide you into all truth.* St. John, xvi, 13. *He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me.* St. Luke, x, 16. *If he neglect to hear the church let him be to thee as an heathen or a publican.* St. Mat. xviii, 17.

consequence

consequence of my avowed doctrine of toleration, (1) I am not afra of being disowned by the church on this account. On the contrary, I a convinced that I speak her sentiments in adopting the language, quote below, of Tertullian, (2) of pope St. Leo, (3) of our apostle, St. Augu tine, (4) &c. and that I am influenced by her spirit in admiring the we known conduct of the great St. Ambrose and St. Martin, both of who refused to hold any communion, even to gratify an emperor, wit Ithacius, a Spanish bishop, and certain other persons, who sought to put th Priscillian heretics to death. (5) In a word I am persuaded, where an sect, whether of Christians or of Infidels, is found under a Catholi cdom nion, separated from the great body of the Catholic church, but upo mere questions of religion, without teaching any principle inconsisten with the fundamental laws of morality or the peace of society, (as I a convinced is the case in the Church of England, though I am certain the contrary with respect to the Albigenses, the Wickliffites, and th Hussites) that it is equally the part of prudence, of justice, and of charity not to persecute them in any shape whatsoever, or to attack them wit any other sword, except *the sword of spirit, which is the word o God.* (6)

I will now, Sir, venture to assert, after this discussion of your autho rities, that you have not proved the point which you so confidently boaste of having proved, namely, that "persecution is a tenet of the Catholi church," the falsehood indeed of which, without any proof at all, glare in the face of those of our nobility and gentry who have made the tour o Europe, and who have resided with as much peace and security in th

(1) P. 57. (2) Non est religionis religionem cogere.

(3) "Ecclesia Dei non recipit pænas sanguineas" St. Leo ad Turib.

(4) "Didicerat (rex Ethelbertus) a doctoribus et auctoribus suæ salutis servitium Chris voluntarium non coactitium esse debere." Beda, Hist. Ecc. Gent. Ang. l. i, c. 26.

(5) See the respective accounts of these saints in Butler's Lives of Saints, Nov. 1 and Dec. 7:

(6) Ephes. vi, 17.

papa

Papal city of Rome as they did in the Protestant city of Geneva. I now proceed to finish this disagreeable subject of persecution, by considering what farther occurs concerning it in your following letter. I fear, if the spirit of our respective churches is estimated by what you and I have advanced concerning the persecutions which more immediately relate to ourselves, namely, those which have taken place in this country since the Reformation, that the balance of toleration will not appear to be in favour of the church of which you are the advocate.

You say, "the persecution of Henry VIII was that of a pope rather than of a king," (1) and that "as a civil governor he was a tyrant, as an ecclesiastical governor a pope." (2) Your meaning, as far as I can gather it, is, that the oath of spiritual supremacy which he exacted from his Catholic subjects was unjust, and the capital punishments which he condemned them to for refusing it were acts of tyranny. You accordingly express no less indignation at the unworthy fate of the virtuous More, and the other Catholics, who died for opposing this hitherto unheard-of spiritual supremacy of the crown, (3) than at that of the Protestants and Anabaptists, (4) who were put to death in this and the following reigns for their new opinions. This, Sir, is candid and liberal: but by what rule you afterwards condemn the missionary priests that suffered, in the self same cause, under Elizabeth, who was no less a pope

(1) P. 69. (2) P. 63.

(3) P. 64. The total number of Catholics, who suffered the death of traitors for denying Henry to be the spiritual head of the church, was 60. Of these John Fisher was bishop of Rochester, (being no less the ornament of the clergy in his time, than Sir Thomas More was of the laity) three were Benedictine abbots, those of Glassenbury, Reading, and Colchester, three were Carthusian priors, 16 were Carthusian monks or other religious, 23 were clergymen, and the rest knights, gentlemen, and yeomen. Besides these, 64 other Carthusians or Franciscans were condemned to death, most of whom were starved to death in prison. See Dodd's accurate account, Ch. Hist. vol. i, p. 342.

(4) It appears, from Stow, that 19 Protestants or Anabaptists, but chiefly of the latter description, were put to death for their opinion in this reign, besides 15 others who were condemned to it.

than her father, (1) I cannot understand. During the reign of the child, Edward VI, when the Protestant religion was established by law five Anapabtists were condemned to death; (2) besides Joan Knell and George Paris, who actually underwent that sentence, the former for disbelieving the reality of Christ's flesh, the latter for denying the divinity of his person: in which persecutions the chief agent was archbishop Cranmer.

I now come once more to speak of the furious and fatal persecution of Protestants in queen Mary's reign. If I knew any more emphatical terms to express my abhorrence of it, than those which I have already employed in my History, I would here make use of them. To convey together herds of poor weavers, sawyers, shoe-makers, and other working people women as well as men, to execution for civil crimes, would be contrary to the established rules of a just and prudent government; (3) how much more inhuman and unwise then must this have been, when it was done on account of subtil controversies of faith, which the examination of a great part of the sufferers proves them not to have understood? Having expressed this same sentiment before, I asserted, of course, that "if Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of any tenet of her religion that she was so." (4) I at the same time assigned the real cause of her departing from that prudent, as well as humane, line of conduct, which she professed and followed during the early part of her reign, namely her resentment and mistaken policy, in consequence of the numerous

(1) See the proofs of this in Hist. of Winch. vol. i, pp. 365, 366.—The learned Protestant centuriator, Chemnitius, speaking of Elizabeth's supremacy, says: "Fœmineo fastu et a sæculis inaudito se papissam et caput ecclesiæ fecit." Ep. ad Elect. Brand.

(2) Stow, An. 1549.

(3) The learned and sagacious doctor of the church, St. Augustine, speaking of abuses that are become general in a community, lays down the line of conduct which a wise government will ever follow: "Non asperè, non duriter ista tollantur. Tollantur magis docendo quam jubendo, magis monendo quam minando: sic enim agendum est cum multitudine peccantium: severitas autem exercenda est in peccata paucorum." Ep. 64, vet. ed.

(4) Hist. vol. i, p. 355.

provocations

provocations which she met with from the effervescent zeal of her Protestant subjects. In fact, this spirit, however violent at first, would soon have cooled of its own nature, had it not been fanned by the breath of persecution. The above assertions I proved by arguments that to me appear demonstrative, and I confirmed them by the authority of some of the most learned and able advocates of the established church, who are loud in condemning the excesses here alluded to. (1) These, however, you have not condescended to examine; instead of which, without argument or testimony at all, you go on repeating your illiberal as well as absurd charge, purporting, that the queen, by being a member of the Catholic church, was obliged in conscience to light up the fires of Smithfield, and to immolate whole hecatombs of her Protestant subjects. The real truth is, the persecutions of Mary's reign are too powerful an engine on the minds of the vulgar for any modern controversial writer or preacher to relinquish, whilst he is capable of managing it. On the other hand, to affix the odium of those violent measures to the memory of Mary and her ministers alone, so that it should not attach to the character of Catholics at the present day, would be to deprive this weapon of its chief efficacy. But once again, Sir, permit me to ask, if the Catholic religion obliged the queen in conscience to commence persecutor, would not the pope have given her some intimation of this sort, in the detailed instructions which he sent her for the regulation of her conduct, at her first accession to the throne? (2) If this persecution had been set on foot in virtue of any tenet or obligation of the Catholic religion, would there not have occurred some regulation or articles concerning it in the synod that was held in 1555, by the pope's legate, cardinal Pole, and the other Catholic bishops, for regulating all matters concerning their religion? Look, Sir, at the heads of that synod, as they are reported by Burnet himself, and you will find, that this writer, with all his prejudices, gives credit to the cardinal for his toleration, in a liberal manner that you are far from imitating, at the

(1) Heylin, Hist. Ref. p. 47. Collier, Ecc. Hist. (2) Hist. vol. i, p. 355.

present day, with all your professed moderation. (1) Again, Sir, I beg you will answer me (not by sarcasms but by arguments) how this primate of the English church and representative of the pope could openly condemn in the council, as the Catholic preachers also did from the pulpit, the cruelties in question, had they, consistently with your bigoted notion, been carried on in virtue of any tenet of their religion? (2) Finally, we have the substance of the arguments employed on both sides in that cabinet council, which took the fatal resolution of employing fire and faggot against the new religion; but do the most violent advocates for that measure, do even Gardiner and Bonner, once intimate, in opposition to the cardinal, that they have the doctrine of the church on their side? No, Sir, they resort to no other arguments than those of policy, and upon these alone was the question fatally determined by Mary herself. (3) I think, Sir, when you shall have weighed all this, you will no longer cavil at my assertion, that, if "Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of any tenet of her religion that she was so."

I should have expected, Sir, not so much in consequence of my abandoning all defence of Mary's sanguinary proceedings, as of your own high-toned and eloquent panegyrics on toleration and charity, that you would, in your turn, have fairly and candidly given up, as indefensible, the long and severe persecutions carried on against Catholics by Elizabeth and her successors. You cannot deny the bloody deeds themselves, which the series of my History obliged me to bring forward, and which most former historians have carefully kept from public view; (4) nevertheless, you refuse to balance the account of blood with me even-handed, but drive as hard a bargain as you can about the number of the sufferers on both sides, and the nature of the torments which they respectively endured, (5)

(1) Burnet speaking of this synod says: "By all this it may appear how well tempered the cardinal (Pole) was. He never set on the clergy to persecute heretics, but to reform themselves," &c. Hist. Ref. P. ii, p. 326.

(2) Ibid, pp. 298, 305.

(3) Ibid, p. 299. Heylin, p. 48.

(4) Hist. vol. i, p. 280—285.

(5) Pp. 71, 74.

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as also concerning the occasion, which you conceive to have existed, for penal laws on your side of the question. The last mentioned of these points forms a distinct subject, on which you spend much pains in misrepresenting the history of the English Catholics since the Reformation, and which therefore will oblige me, in some of my subsequent letters, to enter into much longer disquisitions than I wished to have done. I shall therefore finish the present letter with a few words on the two former points which you object to me.

You assert then, on the authority of Hume, that the number of Protestants who suffered death in the persecution of Mary was 277. This account appears to have been collected from Fox's Martyrology, with which it pretty nearly agrees, and on that presumption I have no difficulty in saying, that very considerable abatements ought to be made in it. For first, in strict justice, no Anabaptist, Arian, or other abettor of singular opinions, who would equally have been sent to the fire by Cranmer and his fellow prelates in the former reign, ought to be brought in testimony against Mary's cruelty. (1) 2dly, All those who were guilty of any act of sedition or felony, which otherwise rendered them obnoxious to capital punishment, are manifestly to be struck off the list of martyrs. (2) It is also inconsistent and absurd to reckon those as martyrs of any particular church, who died reprobating the doctrine or discipline of that

(1) See the Examen of Fox's Calendar, in Part iii of Parsons's Three Conversions of England.

(2) Such as W. Flower, who stabbed a priest at the altar at St. Margaret's, Westminster, April 9; W. Gardiner, another of these pretended martyrs, was executed at Lisbon for attacking the cardinal prince Henry, afterwards king of Portugal, when officiating at the altar; G. Eagles, alias Trudge-over-the-world, who openly prayed for the queen's death, Aug. 30; C. Cauches, G. Gilbert, and P. Massey, the famous Guernsey women, whom Parsons proves to have been felons and guilty of theft, July 19. The last mentioned of these was mother of the pretended infant martyr, concerning whom such violent outcries have been and still are raised. This author proves the mother to have been a prostitute, who, by concealing her pregnancy, was the real cause of her child's death, which event happened previously to the burning of the infant's body by the executioner.

church:

church: (1) nor ought those to be classed in the same calendar who were notoriously at variance with each other on the leading tenets of their faith. (2) With much greater reason ought those to be degraded from a martyrology whom their own friends and advocates declare to have been idiots or mad. (3) When all these deductions are made in consequence of the blind prejudices of the original martyrologist, there will still be a considerable allowance to be granted on the score of those precipitate blunders and mistakes which he is proved to have been so subject to.

I reported in my History that, during the reign of Elizabeth, 200 persons were put to death for the profession of the Catholic faith. (4) In fact, I have

(1) It appears, from Fox's account, that John Rogers, the first on the list of religious sufferers in this reign, was no less a confirmed puritan than bishop Hooper, for he denounced "a worse punishment than that of fire on all those who wore surplices, tippets, &c."

(2) This is proved to have been the case with the greatet part of the number, by Parsons passim.

(3) See Wm. Nichols, April 30; Thomas Whittle, Jan. 12; Edward Freeze, March 12. Of two others who suffered in the year 1538, and whom Fox has equally inserted in his calendar of martyrs, he himself writes thus: "With this Collyns may be adjoined Cowbridge, who likewise being mad and out of his right senses was condemned by Longland," &c. P. 1033.—Other instances of gross error in this famous martyrologist are hinted at in the History of Winchester, vol. i, p. 358, and may be seen at large in the authors there referred to.

(4) Hist. vol. i, p. 385.—This list does not include any of those Catholics who were executed for any plot real or imaginary, except the eleven priests who suffered in 1581-2 for the pretended plot of Rheims and Rome, because that was so glaring a forgery that even Camden allows these men to have been political victims, immolated to appease the populace, who were in a ferment at the idea of the queen marrying a Catholic prince, the brother of the king of France. It is proper here to notice, that these sufferers in general were persons of a very different description from the generality of Fox's martyrs, being thoroughly instructed in the doctrines of the religion for which they died, perfectly agreeing in their faith, and discipline, and proving themselves possessed of the most edifying piety, modesty, charity, purity of life, allegiance to their sovereign, and obedience to the magistrates and laws in all matters, except those of religion. Far the greater part of them, and particularly all the priests, were men of education, having for the most part been educated in the university

of

have collected the names of 204 persons executed on that sole account, chiefly within the 20 last years of her reign. (1) Of this number 142 were priests, three were gentlewomen, and the remainder esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen. Amongst them 15 were condemned for denying the queen's spiritual supremacy, 126 for the exercise of their priestly functions, and the rest for being reconciled to the Catholic faith, or for being

of Oxford, previously to their retiring abroad in order to embrace the ancient faith, and to receive orders for the purpose of announcing the same to their countrymen.

(1) Though the particulars of these persecutions have been overlooked by most of our common historians, yet many individuals, both of our own nation and foreigners, were careful in collecting the particulars of them; as Dr. Bridgewater in his Concertatio Ecc. Cath. Card. Allen in his Modest Defence. F. Parsons De Persec. Rishton De Schism. Angl. Ribadineira in his Appendix to the same. Moore's Hist. of the Eng. Prov. Yepaz, bishop of Tarasona, in his Spanish Hist. of Persecution. The most authentic sources however of these matters are the MS. diaries of Douay college, and of the other colleges and convents, in which the greater part of the sufferers received their education, and the MSS. of different Catholic families, particularly of the Constable family, Dr. Champney, &c. It must be added, however, that the Protestant writers, Stow in his Annals, and Antony Wood in his Antiq. Oxon, perfectly agree with these accounts, as far as the nature of their works leads them to this subject. From these, and other sources, the laborious Dodd collected his catalogue and biography of the above-mentioned, in his Church History, folio, vol. ii, part iv, about the beginning of the century; and still more recently the late R. Challoner, D. D. bithop of Debra, &c. composed his accurate and edifying Memoirs of Missionary Priests and other Catholics, who have suffered death in England on religious accounts, from the year 1577 to 1684, 2 vols. 8vo.—Dr. S. by way of lessening the number of Catholic sufferers during this reign, in a note to p. 74, adopts a quotation from Camden full of mistakes, which he himself still more confuses by fresh errors. To make as short of the matter as possible, we must remark, that the question is not how many priests were put to death within ten years or any other given period of Elizabeth's reign, but how many Catholics priests and lay persons were executed during the whole of it? The real number in each year, with the circumstances of their lives, trials, and last conflict, may be seen in the works here quoted. I must add, that it is an egregious mistake to speak of a work written by the secular clergy against the Jesuits. No such work ever was composed. It is true indeed that one of their number, a man of a very turbulent character, published certain false and uncharitable libels, which seem to be the source whence Camden draws his account, and it is equally true that, when he came to die, he publicly retracted and asked pardon for them, as I have before-mentioned in my History, vol. i, p. 395.

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aiding and abetting to priests. Besides these, I find a particular account together with most of the names, of 90 priests or Catholic lay person who died in prison, in the same reign, and of 105 others who were sen into perpetual banishment. (1) I say nothing of many more who wer whipped, fined, (2) or stripped of their property, to the utter ruin of thei families. In one night 50 Catholic gentlemen, in the county of Lan caster, were suddenly seized upon and committed to prison, on accoun of their non-attendance at church. About the same time, I find, an equa number of Yorkshire gentlemen lying prisoners in York castle, on th same account, most of whom perished there. The latter were ever week, for a twelve-month, dragged by main force to hear the servic performed at the castle chapel. (3) An account was published, by a cotem porary writer, of 1200 Catholics who had been in some sort or other victim of this persecution, previously to the year 1588, that is, during the period o its greatest lenity. (4) I have heretofore given the number of the Puritan or other Dissenters, who were put to death for their religious opinions during this period, and I shall have occasion to mention below the con tinuation of the persecution against Catholics, and the number of person who suffered in it, during the three subsequent reigns of the house o Stuart, and the interregnum of the Commonwealth. [Upon a compa rative view of the persecutions that have been carried on in this coun try, since the Reformation, on both sides, it will appear that many more Catholics than Protestants have suffered capital punishment on th score of religion; and if we take into consideration the whole effect o the different penal laws, in their numberless branches, we shall find, tha the sufferings of the former have been greater than those of the latte beyond all estimation.

(1) See Dodd's Hist. Challoner's Mem.

(2) The fine for recusancy alone was 20l. per month, besides pecuniary mulcts on othe accounts without number.

(3) See a circumstantial account of their behaviour. Memoirs, &c. vol. i, p. 429, &c.

(4) Concert. Ecc. Cath.

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But you have another excuse for refusing to compromise with me in the article of persecution, namely, a comparison, which you choose to institute, between the torments endured by the respective sufferers on both sides; for you say, "if in consequence of her (Elizabeth's) severe laws, many unhappy persons (Catholics) were put to death, it was not to a death of *torture by fire*....Mary put to death *by fire*, for there is a difference even in the manner of death, 277 persons."(1) The same word *fire*, emphatically marked, occurs a third time in the same page. It is a difficult matter, even for professional persons, to pronounce on the degree of animal pain that occurs in different kinds of death; (2) for my part, I apprehend that in all capital punishments this depends more upon the executioner than upon the judge. But since, Sir, you oblige me to enter upon this disgusting subject, I must tell you, with respect to the greater part of the Catholic victims, that the sentence of the law was strictly and literally executed upon them. After being hanged up, they were cut down, whilst

(1) P. 74.

(2) It was a usual thing in these executions to tie bags of gunpowder round the sufferers, which certainly must have greatly abridged their torments; Hooper had a pound of gunpowder under his legs, and another under each arm. See Fox. Acts, &c.—Hume, in mentioning the circumstance of Latimer and Ridley having gunpowder about them at their burning, ascribes this circumstance rather to "the humanity of the executioners than to that of the judges." If he had looked into Fox he would have seen, that this was owing, neither to one party nor the other, but to the brother-in-law of Ridley, who applied the said combustible. It is evident, however, that this merciful expedient could not have been in general used without the consent of those men in power, who directed the executions.——Having mentioned one of Hume's errors respecting this reign, I cannot help pointing out another, however foreign to the melancholy subject now in hand, both as it affects the History of Winchester, and the veracity of this favourite author. He says, "A few days after (Philip's arrival at Southampton) they (queen Mary and he) were married at Westminster, and having made a pompous entry into London, she carried him to Windsor." How roundly here does he relate a series of falsehoods! The truth is, they were married at Winchester, July 25, from which city they removed to Basing, and thence to Windsor, where they arrived August 11. Their next step was to Richmond, whence they proceeded to Southwark August 17, and thence, the next day, to London. See Stow, &c.

they were alive, they were dismembered, ripped up, and their bowels burnt before their faces, after which they were beheaded and quartered. The time employed in this butchery was very considerable, and, in one instance, lasted above half an hour. (1) I must add, that a great number of these sufferers, as well as other Catholics, who did not endure capital punishment, were racked in the most severe and wanton manner, in order to extort proofs against themselves or others of their brethren. (2)

I fancy, Sir, that by this time you are as tired of the subject of persecution as I am. Will you then at length enter into the proposed compromise, of not in future reproaching me with the fires of Mary's reign, upon my consenting not to upbraid you with the knives and gibbets of Elizabeth's? If you do not agree to this, I think I can answer for it, that the reader will decide that it is your duty so to do.

I have the honour, &c.

(1) See in particular the account of Hugh Green, Mem. of Miss. v. ii, p. 224, and of Edmund Gennings, vol. i, p. 274.

(2) See the account of Campian, Brian, Cottam, Sherwood, &c. Ibid. Pref. et passim. This particular is confirmed by Camden, in his Annals, who speaking of the famous Campian says, that "he was not so racked but that he was still capable of signing his name." It appears, from the account of one of these sufferers, that the following tortures were in use against the Catholics in the Tower: 1. The common rack, in which the limbs were stretched by levers. 2. The Scavenger's Daughter, so called, being a hoop, in which the body was bent until the head and feet met together. 3. The chamber, called Little-Ease, being a hole so small that a person could neither stand up nor lie down in it. 4. The Iron Gauntlets. Diar. Rer. Gest. in Turri. Lond. In some instances needles were thrust under the nails. See Pref. above.

LETTER V.

SIR,

YOUR fifth letter is a professed vindication of the Reformation, as it was carried on in foreign countries, and in our own. But when, Sir, you undertook to defend the Reformation against my History, ought not you first to have shewn in what manner this cause had been attacked by it? That task, however, you have not attempted to perform. On the contrary, you have unnecessarily dragged into public dispute a subject of peculiar delicacy, which I should otherwise have avoided discussing on the present occasion. If then, Sir, you should now hear from me several unwelcome truths, with respect both to facts and characters, you will have to blame yourself alone for bringing forward this matter. For, in the existing circumstances, it is a duty incumbent upon me to refute your false statements, and to do the best justice in my power to the cause of which I am the advocate.

It is the usual practice with most modern writers who mentioned the Reformation, to begin with drawing the most hideous caricature which their pencils can trace, of the tyranny of the popes, and of the ignorance, superstition, and immorality of the clergy and people of Christendom, previously to that event. I have already treated of the conduct of the popes; and I have shewn that whenever they exceeded their just bounds of authority, there were not wanting, to restrain their pretensions, Catholic divines with the pen, and Catholic princes with the sword. With respect to the alledged ignorance of the ages in question, I deny that this held good to the extent that you and many other writers contend. Most certainly, Sir, you are guilty of misrepresentation, when you say, that "the mass of ancient literature lay dormant, unnoticed, and perishing during so many

ages." (1) Where in fact, Sir, was it preserved for 1000 years and more? Where was it found when the art of printing began to disperse the copies of it amongst the people at large, except in the libraries of the monks, who if they had not known how to value it, would not have constantly renewed it, as they did, with the labour of their own hand, but would rather have destroyed the whole, as the first Reformers, in the devastations which they committed amongst the monastic manuscripts, destroyed such considerable portions of it. But to put the matter out of all doubt, let us look into the works that have come down to us from the ages that are most reproached with ignorance; we shall find that their writers, both on the Continent, and in this island, were no strangers to the merit, or to the compositions, of Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, Livy, and other classical authors. I maintain also, that many of those "historians of barbarous and obscure times," as you term them, (2) such as Ingulphus, William of Malmsbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger Hoveden, &c. shew more good sense and solidity of reflection, no less than a greater impartiality and love of truth, than many celebrated writers of later times. In a word, Sir, can we suppose those ages to have been destitute either of learning or taste, which produced, and knew how to admire, an Anselm, a Bernard, a John of Salisbury, an Aquinas, (3) a Gerson, a Tostatus, (4) a Dante, a Petrarch, and a Chaucer? If

(1) P. 61. (2) P. 5.

(3) It is very much the fashion with modern writers to ridicule the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, as specimens of false reasoning and nonsense, who, at the same time, have never so much as looked into them, which Dr. S. acknowledges to be the case with himself, p. 66. Were it in my power to persuade any of these gentlemen to try their skill in refuting half a dozen conclusions, the first that they meet with, in the *Summa Theologiæ*, I am persuaded they would shut this book with a much better opinion of the author's talents than they opened it. If after this they will take the trouble to analyse, in a regular logical way, the arguments of some of the most celebrated treatises and discourses of the present day, and observe in what manner the conclusions are frequently drawn from the premises, they will discover the advantage of the ancient syllogistic method of investigating truth over the vague and inconclusive style that has obtained in later ages.

(4) Alphonsus Tostatus was a Spanish divine of the 15th century, of such universal and profound

If, from surveying the state of literature during those ages, which you speak of with so much contempt, we turn our eyes to the condition of the arts, we shall find, in the mouldring monuments of them, specimens capable of humbling our pride at the present day, with all our superior advantages in many particulars. Look at the works of Wykeham and of Fox, or at the chanteries of Beaufort and Waynflete in our own cathedral. Survey King's College chapel, Lincoln cathedral, or York minster, and reflect, Sir, what sublimity of invention, what mathematical knowledge of combination, and what delicacy of execution, were requisite to make those sacred edifices what they originally were. If York minster were now destroyed, it is acknowledged, that all the science and all the skill of the Royal Academy could not restore it. Though architects and artists were even found for this work, it would exhaust the purse of a sovereign to carry it into execution.

The most important part, however, of the present inquiry is, that which regards the state of religion and morality during the middle ages. You, Sir, with most modern writers, represent these as sunk into superstition (1) and vice, and you argue as if they no longer existed upon the earth, until they were revived by the agency of such reformers as were Luther, Calvin, Henry VIII, Cranmer, the duke of Somerset, and queen Elizabeth! The very idea is revolting to persons conversant with the history of the ages in question. To convince yourself of your error, let me request you to turn to the canons of the councils that were so frequently held during those ages, and to examine whether the vital principles and the genuine spirit

profound learning, that he has been allowed to be worthy of the following epitaph, which was made upon him:

"Hic stupor est mundi, qui scibile discutit omne."

(1) On the subject of superstition Dr. S. refers me to Tetzel's Theses, which he knows to have been condemned by the pope's nuncio, Miltitz himself, and to the Rev. Mr. Townsend's Travels, whose reflections in general on subjects of religion, partly from prejudice, and partly from misapprehension, are a-kin to those of Dr. S. himself.

of

of Christianity were not constantly maintained and enforced in these representative assemblies of the universal church. Read the works of the most celebrated ascetical writers of the same times, viz. of a Bernard, a Bonaventure, an Antoninus, a Vincent Ferrier, a Thanlerus, a Gerson, and a Thomas of Kempis. (1) Peruse the accounts that have been left us of their lives, with those of their cotemporaries who have been equally celebrated for their sanctity, such as an Edmund Rich, a Thomas Cantelupe, a Richard de Wyche, a Francis of Assisium, a Louis IX of France, or a Henry VI of England, and tell me, whether the practice of every Christian virtue inculcated by our Saviour Christ in his divine sermon on the mountain,(2) could be more strongly recommended both by precept and by example than it was by the writers and the holy personages whom I have mentioned. But not to go out of the precincts of our own city, tell me, Sir, sincerely, whether you think that its first prelates of the reformed persuasion, Poynet, Horne, Watson, Cooper, and Bilson, are to be preferred before, or even compared with, their predecessors, White, (3) Beaufort,(4) Fox, Langton, Courtney, Waynflete, and Wykeham, for assiduity in prayer and other spiritual functions, for chastity, self-denial, meekness and works of piety and charity.

(1) Amongst numerous other works of this author written in the same spirit was the celebrated one under the name of *The Following of Christ*, which has been translated into most modern languages, and is well known to Protestants no less than to Catholics —Dr. S. assigns, as one of the causes of the Reformation, the dispersion of the learned Greeks throughout the West, on the capture of Constantinople. But if they contributed to reform us, why did not they make any advances towards reforming themselves? It is an indisputable fact, that the Greek church, separated as it has almost always been from the Latin church, since the 9th century, has nevertheless uniformly maintained every one of the distinctive articles which Catholics support against the different classes of Reformers.

(2) St. Mat. chapters iv, v, vii.

(3) I do not speak of Gardiner, because he played a double part, having been equally active and violent on both sides.

(4) See a vindication of Beaufort's religious character, from the misrepresentations of Shakespeare. Hist. vol. i, p p. 301, 302.

I grant, however, that there was an increasing spirit of irreligion and immorality amongst different nations, and in none more so than in our own, during a considerable time previous to the Reformation. But the question, Sir, is, whether this spirit contributed to produce that event by a natural course, as a cause produces its effect, or by a counteraction of virtue and piety? To decide this question we cannot make use of a better criterion than that which is laid down in the gospel, viz. to judge of the tree by its fruits. If then the authors and abettors of the Reformation are found to be persons most distinguished in each country for their piety and purity of life, or if even a visible amendment in their religious and moral conduct was the consequence of their embracing it; in a word, if the bulk of the people who went over to this cause were proved to be thereby more addicted to prayer and alms deeds, more chaste, more temperate, more meek and patient, more submissive to their lawful superiors, and more amenable to the laws of the respective states under which they lived, than they had been whilst they were Catholics, this will form a strong presumption of their being influenced by motives of religion and genuine reformation in the choice they made, and that this work was truly the work of God. But if it appears, that the Reformation was in every place, where it prevailed, attended with precisely the opposite consequences, I shall leave, you, Sir, to draw the conclusion. To elucidate this important subject I will not here have recourse to Catholic authors, or indeed to any others except to those whom you yourself have celebrated, namely, the fathers, founders, and chief abettors of this very cause.

Let us first hear Martin Luther, who is well known to have set on foot these religious changes in Germany, in the year 1517. Some of his words to the present purpose are these: "The world grows every day worse and worse. It is plain that men are much more covetous, malicious, and resentful, much more unruly, shameless, and full of vice, than they were in the time of Popery." (1) "Formerly, when we were seduced

(1) "Magis vindictæ cupidos, magis avaros, magis ab omni, misericordia remotos, magis immodestos

educed by the pope, men willingly followed good works, but now all their study is to get every thing to themselves, by exactions, pillage, theft, lying, and usury." (1) "It is a wonderful thing, and full of scandal, that from the time when the pure doctrine was first called to light, the world should daily grow worse and worse." (2) Amongst the immediate disciplies of Luther, I shall content myself with the famous Bucer's testimony to the same effect: "The greatest part of the people seem only to have embraced the gospel, in order to shake off the yoke of discipline, and the obligation of fasting, penance, &c. which lay upon them in the time of Popery; and to live at their pleasure, enjoying their lust and lawless appetites without controul. They therefore lent a willing ear to the doctrine that we are justified by faith alone and not by good works, having no relish for them." (3) The testimony of the second great patriarch of the Reformation to the same purpose is equally forcible: "Of so many thousands seemingly eager in embracing the gospel, how few have since amended their lives? Nay, to what else do the greater part pretend, except by shaking off the heavy yoke of superstition to launch out more freely into every kind of lasciviousness."(4)

Amongst the principal authors of the Reformation, as well as restorer of literature, you place the famous Erasmus. (5) Certain it is, that he was an eye-witness of the effects of the change of religion on the manner of the greater part of Europe that adopted it. Let us then listen to his evidence on this subject: "What an evangelical generation is this? Nothing was ever seen more licentious and more seditious. Nothing is less evangelical than these pretended evangelics." (6)—"Take notice of this evan-

immodestos et indisciplinatos, multoque deteriores quam fuerint in Papatu." Luth. Serm. in Postill. Evang. i. Adv.

(1) Luth. Serm. Dom. 26, post Trin. (2) Luth. in Sermon Conviv.

(3) Bucer de Regn. Christ. l. i, c. 4. See also Wolfgang Musculus. Loci. Commun. de Decalog.

(4) "Ut excussa superstitionum jugo solutius in omnem lasciviam diffluerent." Calv. l. vi, de Scand.

(5) P. 76. (6) Erasm. Ep. l. vi, 4.

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gelical people, and shew me an individual amongst them all who from being a drunkard has become sober, from being a libertine has become chaste. I, on the other hand, can shew you many who have become worse by the change." (1)—"Those whom I once knew to have been chaste, sincere, and without fraud, I found, after they had embraced this sect, to be licentious in their conversation, gamblers, neglectful of prayer, passionate, vain, as spiteful as serpents, and lost to the feelings of human nature. I speak from experience." (2) I fancy, Sir, you had not met with these testimonies when you pronounced so pompous a panegyric on the religion of Erasmus. (3)

Let

(1) "Circumspice populum illum evangelicum & profer mihi quem istud evangelium ex comessatore sobrium, ex impudico reddiderit verecundum. Ego tibi multos ostendam qui facti sunt seipsis deteriores." Erasm. Spong. advers. Hutten. A.D. 1529.

(2) "Quos antea noveram puros, candidos et fuci ignaros, eosdem vidi, ubi sectæ se dedissent, loqui cœpisse de puellis, lusisse aleam, abjecisse preces, impatientissimos omnis injuriæ, vanos, viperinos in moribus, ac prorsum hominem exuisse. Expertus loquor." Erasm. ad Frat. Infer. Germ.—Sleiden speaks of these testimonies of Erasmus, at the end of the 6th book of his Comment. de Stat. Relig. &c.—Amongst the vices which Erasmus objects to the first Reformers were their turbulence and sedition: "I beheld them coming from their sermons with fierce and threatening countenances, like men that had been hearing bloody invectives," &c. Ep. l. xix, 113. also De Libero Arbit.——Luther, in his answer De Serv. Arbit. boasts of the wars and bloodshed which his preaching had occasioned. How extensive, inveterate, and fatal these calamities were in Germany, France, Switzerland, and most parts of Europe, all history testifies. The scourge of religious warfare reached this country later, but it was inflicted with proportionable severity in the grand rebellion, which was chiefly begun and carried on under the pretext of ridding the nation of Popery.

(3) It is true, that Erasmus in some of his earlier works played off his wit in ridiculing the superstitions of the people in a manner that sometimes injured religion itself; but there is abundant proof of his subsequent remorse for these profane sallies, and of the sincerity of his belief in the Catholic doctrines. In one of his epistles he reproaches the Protestants with having set fire to the house in order to destroy the cobwebs in it. In another epistle, quoted by Surius the Carthusian, addressed to a monk of his order who was tempted to quit his solitude, in order to enjoy the liberty of the Reformation, Erasmus writes thus: "I see no man better, but all worse, for this evangelical liberty, so that I am heartily grieved for all that I have heretofore written or said in favour of it." He proceeds to describe, in the most odious colours, the profligacy of the apostate and married priests who over-run Ger-

Let us now return to our own country, in order to survey the effects of the Reformation in the several stages of it there upon the morals of the people. We will first attend to the royal declaration of that king who laid the foundations of it, Henry VIII, in a speech which he delivered in parliament the year before his death. Having then complained of the abuse which the people made of the permission which he had granted them to read the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, (by "their own phantastical opinions and vain expositions," instead of consulting him their spiritual head), he goes on: "I am sure that charitie was never so faint amongst you, and vertuous and godlie living was never less used, nor God himselfe amongst Christians was never less reverenced, honored, or served." (1) That the state of morality was not rendered better, but rather infinitely worse, in the following reign, when the Protestant religion was fully developed and established, we have abundant and undeniable evidence in the confessions of the most zealous advocates and abettors of that cause. Let us first hear bishop Burnet's account of the state of morality under Edward VI: "The sins of England did at that time call down from heaven heavy curses on the land. They are sadly expressed in a discourse that Ridley writ soon after, under the title of *The Lamentation of England*: he says, that lechery, oppression, pride, covetousness, and a hatred and scorn of all religion, were generally spread amongst all people, chiefly those of the higher ranks." (2) Ridley's fellow bishop, Latimer, speaks still more openly as to one particular species of guilt in a sermon before the king, quoted by Heylin, his words are these: "Lechery is used in England, and such lechery as is used in no other part of the world. And it is made a matter of sport, a trifle not to be passed on or reformed." To remedy this, he begs that the church may be reinstated in "her right of excommunicating notable offenders, by putting them

many, and concludes with declaring, that if he had strength of body for the undertaking, he would rather join the Carthusian to whom he writes in his secluded convent, than become the chief favourite in Cæsar's palace. Surius, Hist. ad an. 1536.

(1) Stow's Annals, an. 1546. (2) Hist. of Reform. of Engl. part II, p. 226.

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out of the congregation." (1) The laborious collector, Strype, though a most zealous advocate for the cause of the Reformation, yet draws the most frightful picture of the wickedness that prevailed throughout the nation, after its first establishment there, that is to be met with in history. The account is too long to be here inserted at length, but it is comprised under the following heads: "The covetousness of the nobility and gentry; the oppressions of the poor; no redress at law; the judges ready to barter justice for money; impunity of murders; the clergy very bad, from the bishops to the curates; and above all, the increase of adulteries and whoredom. (2) The historian Camden's description of these times agrees with those of other writers. He says, "The sacrilegious avarice of the times rapaciously seized upon colleges, chantries, and hospitals, under the pretense of superstition: whilst ambition and jealousy amongst the great, and insolence and sedition amongst the people, swelled to such a pitch that England seemed to be raging mad with rebellions, tumults, party zeal, &c." (3) During the reign of Elizabeth, though the civil state of the realm was better regulated, yet in private life the vices of individuals in every rank rose to the same height of profligacy as before. Of this we have the testimony of cotemporary Protestant writers, (4) and we shall

(1) Heylin's Hist. of Ref. Edw. VI, an. 1550.

(2) Strype's Memorials Ecclesiastical, Book II, c. xxiii.—I do not know whether the following extract from a court sermon is more a proof of the corruption of the tribunals, or of the indecency of the pulpits, at this period. It was preached by the famous Latimer, before Edward VI. "There lacketh a fourth to make up the mess, which, so God help me, if I were judge, should be *Hangum tuum*, a tyburn tippet, to take with him, if it were the judge of the king's-bench, the lord chief justice of England, yea if it be my lord chancellor himself: to Tyburn with him." And again, speaking of a judge who took bribes, "he would wish that of such a judge in England now we might have his skin hanged up. It were a goodly sight, the sign of the judges skin." Ibid, p. 440.

(3) Camden, Appar. ad Annal. Eliz.

(4) Stubb's Motives to Good Works, with an epistle dedicatorie to the lord major of London, an. 1596, where, amongst other things, he asserted, that the observation of Luther, quoted above, p. 99, still held good. Also R. Jeffery's Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, an. 1604.

meet with too many proofs of it, at least in the conduct of the queen and her ministers, in a subsequent letter.

In the sketch that you draw of the Reformation, you seem sensible, Sir, of the difficulty of that task which so many able writers have in vain attempted, (1) namely, to give such a general history of its proceedings and effects, in improving the piety and morals of the people, as may make it pass for the work of God. You therefore choose to rest your defence of this cause on certain shining characters, more particularly connected with it, whose virtue, you seem to think, will illuminate many others of a darker aspect. You indeed expressly give up the character of Henry VIII, who laid the foundation of it in this kingdom, calling him "a pope and a tyrant;" (2) and you tacitly abandon those of the duke of Somerset, who chiefly raised its structure under the authority of his nephew, Edward VI; as also of queen Elizabeth, who restored it, after it had been destroyed by her predecessor, Mary. In fact, both the above-mentioned proved as arbitrary and tyrannical, in the management of religious matters, as Henry himself had been. (3) The personages then whom

(1) Heylin, Burnet, Fuller, Strype, Collier. See the duchess of York's declaration, concerning the effect which the perusal of the History by the first named author caused in her, in the duke of Brunswick's Fifty Reasons, and Dodd's Eccles. Hist. vol. iii, p. 397.

(2) P. 63.

(3) I have, in my History, vol. i, p p. 365, 366, produced proofs of Elizabeth having assumed a loftier tone of infallibility, and exercised a more arbitrary spiritual authority, than were ever claimed by any pope since the days of St. Peter. Hear now in what manner Seymour obliges his royal nephew, then a child only ten years old, to claim the same prerogatives for him to make use of them. "We would not have our subjects so much mistake our judgement, so much mistrust our zeal, as though we could not discern what ought to be done, or would not do all things in due time. God be praised, we know both what, by his word, is meet to be redressed, and have an earnest mind, with all convenient speed, to set forth the same." Collier, Ecc. Hist. vol. ii, p. 246.—This ecclesiastical despot began his protectorship by altering the established religion of the country, in a great variety of articles, on the strength of his own authority. See Heylin, p p. 34, 35. Burnet, Collect. no. vii. He reduced the bishops to such servility as to oblige them to take out a new commission for governing their dioceses during the royal pleasure, (*licentiam ad nostrum bene placitum duntaxat duraturam,*

whom you choose for the subject of your panegyric are Wycliff, Luther, Erasmus, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper. I have already reviewed two of these characters, Wycliff and Erasmus, and I have placed them in such different lights from those in which you had exhibited them, that I hardly think they will any longer be the objects of your praise or partiality.

It was natural for you to speak with rapture of Martin Luther, since you consider him as "the instrument of Providence for accomplishing the most important purposes....to whom are to be attributed all the branches of the Reformation, which spread over the different parts of Europe, after he had first planted it in Germany." (1) You admit indeed, that "he was, in his manners and writings, coarse, presuming, and impetuous;" but these, you assert, "were qualities allied with those which alone made him capable of supporting well the extraordinary character in which he appeared."(2) What this character was, you have not expressed, but he himself has informed us, namely, that it was the same, which had been supernaturally conferred on the prophets and apostles: "Martin Luther, *Ecclesiastes*, (3) of Wittenberg....for," says he, "it is not fitting that I should be without a title, having received the work of the ministry, not from man, or by man, but by the gift of God, and the revelation of Jesus Christ." (4) Now, Sir, admitting Luther's commission to have been as sublime and as arduous as was that of the apostles, I would first ask you, whether it appears, that "coarseness of manners and writing, presumption and impetuosity," were allied with the character of these envoys of the meek Jesus? And whether it was found that they could not succeed in their great work without qualities of this complexion?

duraturam, Burn. Collect. no. xi), and issued his mandates to them, regulating the liturgy, the manner of receiving the sacrament, &c. with the most arbitrary and absolute authority. Heylin, Hist. p p. 55, 56, 58, 59.

(1) P. 76. (2) Ibid.

(3) The title of the writer of one of the books in the Old Testament.

(4) Adversus falso nomin. Episcop, Ord. tom. ii, fol. 329.

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In the second place, I wish to examine how far the language and behaviour of Martin Luther correspond with the ideas we naturally form of a chosen instrument of Providence, of an *Ecclesiastes* commissioned by revelation.

In the first place, we should have expected, that a personage of this character would have entered upon the ministry of reforming the religion of Christendom from a thorough conviction of the errors with which it was infected. But no such thing. It was a private quarrel between Luther's order, the Augustine friars, and a rival order, the Dominicans, in a matter of honour and profit, which first occasioned him to commence reformer. (1) He after this continued to submit himself to the pope, as long as he had any prospect of cajoling or intimidating him ; (2) and it was only when his doctrines were condemned by that authority, to which he himself had appealed, that he boasted of setting himself in opposition to the united belief of every Christian in the world. (3) He proceeded in his career with the same bad faith with which he had entered upon it, taking up theological opinions from sudden gusts of passion and revenge ; as, when being called upon to retract a certain condemned position of Huss, which he had advanced, he furiously exclaimed, that all the positions of Huss were true, (4) which, in other circumstances, he had loudly condemned. (5) Thus also he acknowledges that he had tried to persuade himself of there being no real presence of Christ in the sacrament, on purpose *to spite the pope*, but that the words of Scripture were too plain in favour of it. (6) In like manner he plainly proclaims, to the whole body

(1) Sleidan, Comment. l. i. " Casu non voluntate in has turbas incidi." Luth. Præf. Op.

(2) Opera Luth. tom. i. (3) Ibid. Præfat.

(4) Assert. Artic. per Leon X condemn. Opera Luth. tom. ii, fol. 114.

(5) " Nunquam mihi placuit nec in æternum placebit Husse." Luth. in Collat. cum Eck. Cochleus in Act. Luth. 1519.

(6) " Hoc diffiteri non possum nec volo, quod si Carlostadius aut quispiam alius, ante quinquennium, mihi persuadere potuisset in sacramento præter panem ac vinum nihil esse, ille magno beneficio me sibi devinctum reddidisset. Gravibus enim curis in hac excutienda materia

body of Protestants, in case they presume to consult together and determine about their common belief, that he will return back to the ancient church, and revoke every word that he had ever written or taught; (1) telling them, that even in acting right, when they acted without his authority, they were plunging themselves into the jaws of hell. (2)

Again, Sir, we should have expected in a new apostle, that if he pretended to any supernatural communication, it would have been with no other than with celestial spirits. Instead of this, Luther has published to the world, not only that he held frequent communications with the devil, but also that he learned the most material part of his whole Reformation, namely, the abolition of the mass, from him. You will find, Sir, in his treatise on that subject, an account of Satan's appearing to him by night, and of a long dialogue that passed between them, in which Luther defends the mass, and the devil argues against it. The conclusion is, that the new apostle yields to the motives suggested by his infernal antagonist, and adopts the important reform which he proposes. (3)

In

materia desudebam; omnibus nervis me extricare et expedire conatus sum; *cum probe perspiciebam hac re papatui cum primis me valde incommodare posse.* Verum ego me captum video, nullâ elabendi viâ relictâ. Textus enim evangelii nimis apertus est." Luth. Epist. ad Argentin. tom. vii. fol. 502.

(1) "Quod si communibus istis constitutionibus id quod destinatis perficieritis, non dubitabo funem reducere, et omnium quæ aut scripsi aut docui palinodiam canere, et a vobis descissere: hoc vobis dictum esto." Sermo Luth. tom. vii. fol. 276.

(2) "Coram Papa et inflatis illis turgidisque capitibus facile quidem pro vobis causam dicerem. Atqui Diabolo vos purgare non ita proclive mihi est. Quum Cacodæmon iis qui hujus rei capita fuerunt ac designatores in mortis conflictatione hos et similes scripturæ locos objiciet, *omnis plantatio &c. Currebant et non mittebam eos, &c.* qui quæso subsistent? In inferorum fauces eos recta præcipitabit." Tom. vii. fol. 274.

(3) "Contigit me semel sub mediam noctem subito expergefieri. Ibi Satan mecum cepit ejusmodi disputationem. Audi, inquit, Luthere, doctor perdocte, nosti etiam te quindecim annis celebrasse missas privatas pene quotidie? Quid si tales missæ privatæ horrenda esset idololatria? Cui respondi sum unctus sacerdos....hæc omnia feci ex mandato et obedientia majorum: hæc nosti. Hoc, inquit, totum est verum; sed Turcæ et Gentiles etiam faciunt omnia in suis templis ex obedientia." In his angustiis, in hoc agone contra Diabolum volebam retundere hostem armis quibus assuetus sum sub papatu, &c. Verum Satan è contra,

fortius

In a word, Sir, we should have expected in a professed reformer of Christianity, the strictest morality, both of life and doctrine, and the most edifying piety, modesty, meekness, and charity. Let us examine, in a few words, how far Martin Luther was possessed of this character. He tells us, that whilst he continued a Catholic monk he "observed chastity, obedience, and poverty, and that being free from worldly cares he gave himself up to fasting, watching, and prayer; (1) whereas, after he commenced reformer, he describes himself, as raging with the most violent concupiscence, (2) to satisfy which he broke through his solemn vow of continency, in direct opposition to his former doctrine, (3) by marrying a religious woman, who was under the same obligation. He then proceeded to teach the shameful lessons that we have seen above; (4) and others still more licentious, such as the permission, in certain cases, of concubinage and polygamy, (5) and that pestilential doctrine, which is the utter destruction of all morality, that there is no freedom in human

fortius et vehementius instans; age, inquit, prome ubi scriptum est quod homo impius possit consecrare, &c. Atque ultra ursit Satan; ergo non consecrasti, &c. Quæ est hæc inaudita abominatio in cœlo et in terra!.....Hoc fere erat disputationis summa." Opera Luth. De Unct. et Miss. Priv. tom. vii, fol. 228, 229, 230. N. B. As it is possible that Dr. S. or some of his friends may fancy that there is some fraud or mistake on my part or on that of the editors, I have the works of Luther, in 8 vols. folio, printed at Wirtenberg in 1558 under the inspection of Melancthon, at his or their service if they chuse to call for them.

(1) Comment. ad Gal. c. i, tom. v.

(2) In Colloq. Mensal. "Ut non est in meis viribus situm ut vir non sim, tam non est mei juris ut absque muliere sim." Serm. de Matrim. tom. v. p. 119.

(3) Septima species (impudicitiæ) est sacrilegium, ubi jam non tantum castitas polluitur, sed etiam quæ Deo soli oblata fuit tollitur, et sanctum profanatur. In religiosis gravissimum est, quia sponte sese consecraverunt Deo et rursum se subtrahunt." Declam. Pop. tom. i, fol. 36. (4) P. 52.

(5) "Tertia ratio divortii est ubi alter alteri subduxerit, ut debitam benevolentiam persolvere nolit, aut habitare cum renuerit. Hic oportunum est ut maritus dicat: *Si tu nolueris alter volet: si domina nolit, adveniat ancilla.*" Serm. de Matrim. tom. v. fol. 123. See also the dispensation granted by Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and five other ministers, to the prince of Hesse Cassel to have two wives at a time, first published by a descendant of that prince, and copied by Bossuet, Variat. l. vi.

actions.

actions. (1) But how shall I speak of the phrenetic fury and outragious abuse to which he abandons himself, and of his indecent buffoonery against all those persons, of whatever dignity, whether in church or state, who venture to oppose him! You admit, Sir, that his language is "coarse, impetuous, and presuming." But are these the proper qualifications for such excesses as those in question? The usual flowers of his speech, when addressing the pope and other Catholic prelates, are: villain, thief, traitor, apostle of the devil, bishop of Sodomites; (2) and the extent of his charity to them is to wish that their bowels were torn out, that they were cast into the Mediterranean sea or into the flames, and that they were hurried away to the devil! (3) There are other passages, in great number, too indecent to admit of being translated at all. Indeed, I almost blush to soil my paper with transcribing some of them into my notes below, in the original Latin. (4) His treatment of the king of England, Henry VIII, with

(1) See the whole treatise of Luther against Erasmus, De Servo Arbitrio, in the later editions of which many of the more extravagant expressions that occur in the former are omitted.—The authors of the New Biographical Dictionary deny that Erasmus's work against Luther, Diatribe de Libero Arbitrio, had any thing to do with Luther's dispute with the pope. Luther himself however says directly the contrary, and acknowledges that the question, whether man is possessed of free-will or not, is the very hinge of the dispute. He thus addresses Erasmus: "Hoc in te vehementer laudo quod solus rem ipsam es aggressus, hoc est summam causæ, nec me fatigaris alienis istis causis de papatu, purgatorio, indulgentiis et similibus nugis, potius quam causis, in quibus me hactenus omnes fere venati sunt frustra. Unus tu solus cardinem rerum vidisti et ipsum jugulum petisti." Luth. De Serv. Arbit. tom. ii, fol. 525.

(2) Adversus Papatum passim. Tom. vii. (3) Ibid.

(4) "Sunt (papæ, &c.) desperati & perditi nebulones, latrones, proditores mendaces, et ipsissima sentina omnium sceleratissimorum hominum qui vivunt. Ibid. tom. vii, fol. 151. "Consultius foret, si imperator et status imperii permitterent sceleratos istos nebulones (papam et cardinales) perpetuo ad Satanam properare....Si detractant concilia....facimus eis jus concacandi femoralia et a collo suspendenti."—Our Reformer next addresses himself to pope Paul III, in the following terms: "Progredere caute, care mi Paulule, mi asine ne subsilias. Ah mi pap-aselle ne subsilias, charissime mi asselule ne facias, ne forte labaris.... et si forte inter cadendum tuam podicis animam amitteres, tum toti mundo te ridendum propinares, diceretque: Vah Diabolo ut pap-asinus se totum fœdavit!....Horrebam et profecto

with whom, as I have related, (1) he had at one time a theological controversy, (though afterwards they grew into a better understanding with each other), (2) was not more respectful than his treatment of the pope. Luther makes no difficulty to call his royal antagonist, a Thomistical pig, an ass, a jakes, a dunghill, the spawn of an adder, a basilisk, a lying buffoon disguised in a king's robe, a mad fool with a frothy mouth and a whorish face. He even addresses him as follows: You lie, you stupid and sacrilegious king. (3)

You will probably be offended with this portrait of the first reformer, but remember, Sir, it is not I who traced it, but that it comes from his own pen. There was no question concerning Luther's writing or character, until you introduced a panegyric upon them, in order to make me pass for a writer who had in some indirect way traduced them. But why, Sir, after all, should you be so solicitous for the credit of Martin Luther, since he has before hand excluded you from every degree of religious intercourse or communion with him? For you declare yourself in your writings, to be of the opinion of those, who in the time of Luther were called Sacramentarians, that is to say, you do not admit a

putabam me tonitrus fragorem audire, tam magnam et terribilem crepitum ventris papasinus iste deflabat." Ibid. The same kind of filthy ideas runs through several others of this grave divine's treatises, no less than through that which I have quoted. In tom. ii, fol. 424, we are presented with a caricature wooden print of a *papasinus* or *pope-ass*, according to Luther's idea of one; and fol. 429, with that of a *monacho-vitulus* or *monk-calf*.

(1) Vol. i, p. 321.

(2) See Epis. Luth. ad Reg. Angl. an. 1525, tom. ii, fol. 533.

(3) Contra Reg. Angl. an. 1522, tom. ii, fol. 356, &c. passim. In the original edition of this treatise he addresses the king in the following scandalous terms: "Damnabilis putredo et vermis jus mihi erit pro meo rege majestatem Anglicam luto et stercore conspergere, et coronam illam blasphemam in Christum pedibus conculcare." Opera Thomæ Mori apud Collier, Ecc. Hist. vol. ii, rec. iii.—The most extraordinary circumstance, however, attending this whole dispute is, that Luther, giving an account of his book, reproaches himself with having used too great mildness in it towards the king, saying tha the did so at the request of his friends, in hopes that his sweetness would gain Henry. Ad Maledic. Reg. Ang. tom. ii.

real

real and corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. (1) This was a sufficient motive for him to pour out against you the same foul-mouthed epithets and curses which he employed against the pope. Again and again he devotes you to everlasting perdition; and he even grounds his own hopes of finding mercy at the tribunal of the great Judge on the opposition which he has made to those of your sentiments. (2) See, Sir, how unwisely you act in undertaking the defence of this arch-reformer, since in extolling him you condemn yourself.

You excuse me from the task of reviewing the characters of the other chief reformers abroad, such as Zuinglius, (3) Carlostadius, (4) Œcolom-

(1) P p. 99, 109.

(2) "Hereticos serio censemus et alienos ab ecclesia Dei esse omnes Zuinglianos et omnes sacramentarios qui negant corpus et sanguinem Christi ore carnali sumi in venerabili sacramento." Contra 32 Art. Lovan. Theol. tom. ii, fol. 454. "Sacramentarii heretici, blasphemi, infideles, ethnici, larvati Diaboli," &c. Def. Verb. Cæn. contra Phanatic. Saram. passim. tom. vii. fol. 379. "Alterutram partem (aut Sacramentarii aut Lutherus) a Diabolo exagitari contra Deum necesse est; tertium nullum esse potest." Ibid. fol. 384. "Age ergo quando adeo sunt impudentes et omnes contemptui et ludibrio habent, ideo ego Lutheranam adjiciam cohortationem: maledicta sit in omnem æternitatem illa caritas et concordia (cum Sacramentariis) eo quod talis concordia ecclesiam dilacerat et more diabolico irridet." Ibid. "Hoc testimonium, hancque gloriam ad tribunal Jesu Christi allaturum quod sacramentorum hostes Carlostadium, Zuinglium, Œcolompadium, Stenkfeldium eorumque discipulos toto pectore damnarit atque vitarit." Brerely's Apology and Woodhead's Spirit of Luther ex Serm. German. Lutheri.

(3) Luther declared that he dispaired of the salvation of Zuinglius, because, not satisfied with opposing the sacrament, he admitted the founders of idolatry and the abettors of suicide, such as Numa, Cato, &c. equally to the kingdom of heaven with the apostles and martyrs. Zuinglius at length died sword in hand fighting for the reformation which he preached.

(4) Carlostadius was Luther's first disciple of any considerable note, but who having ventured to make some alterations at Wittenberg, in Luther's absence, in the year 1521, and at the same time denying the real presence, Luther declared war against him and his followers, and condemned them in the terms we have seen above, note (2). Melancthon, another chief disciple of Luther, calls him a brutal, ignorant man, void of piety and humanity, and more of a Jew than a Christian.

padius, (1) Ochin, (2) Calvin, (3) and Beza, (4) by not introducing their names into your panegyric; otherwise it would be an easy matter to trace, from their own writings, and the accounts of their professed friends, separate portraits of them, almost as disgusting as that of Luther himself. You now lead me back into England, in order to contemplate "the integrity and virtue" of the chief champions of the same cause there, namely, of the five Protestant bishops who suffered death in Mary's odious persecution. I join with you, Sir, in commiserating their sufferings, and I do not envy them any fair praise which they

(1) Œcolompadius was a Brigittine friar, who quitting his monastery, married a young wife, and thereby occasioned Erasmus, who had been his friend, to say, that the grand tragedy of the Reformation in most instances had the catastrophe of a comedy, inasmuch at it generally ended in a marriage. Having met with a sudden death, as was afterwards the case with Luther himself, the latter published that he was strangled by the devil. See De Miss. Priv.

(2) Ochin was an apostate Capucin friar, who fled from his order to Geneva, for the purpose of getting a wife. He afterwards wrote in favour of polygamy, and became a professed Socinian. He is accused of having formed a conspiracy at Vincenza in 1546, with Trevisan, Rugò, Maier, Lelius Socinus, &c. for the destruction of Christianity; which conspiracy is said to be developed in the impiety of the present day. See a late work entitled Le Voile Levé.

(3) Calvin was as intemperate in his language as Luther himself, calling his adversaries, at every turn, whether Protestants or Catholics, dogs, swine, asses, fools, madmen, rogues, &c. and much more violent and cruel in his disposition, of which, amongst others, his burning Servetus is a memorable instance. To say nothing of Bolsec's account of his life and death, (who having been an object of Calvin's persecution, may be suspected of prejudice against him), Conradus Schlusselburg, a learned Lutheran, draws an equally frightful picture of them. It will be sufficient to mention one leading part of his doctrine, that "when princes will not reform religion, it is lawful for subjects to do it, even by force of arms."

(4) Beza was a true disciple of Calvin. He has left a monument of his intolerance in his *Tractatus de Hæreticis puniendis*, and of his dissolute manners in his epigrams, printed at Paris in 1548. One of these contains the following lines:

Abest Candida, Beza quid moraris?
Andebertus abest, quid hic moraris?
Sed utrum, rogo, præferam dorum?...
Amplector quoque sic hunc et illam, &c.

are

are entitled to. Nevertheless, I think, that either from pity or partiality, their faults have been concealed and their real characters disguised, by yourself and by most modern writers. The question then is, whether, standing as I do in the character of your literary antagonist, I shall endeavour to shew that your general encomium on these prelates is as remote from historical truth as your statements are in so many other particulars; or whether, in compliance with the prejudices of the public, I shall leave the latter in possession of their mistaken notions on this subject? I think the greater part of them will vote for hearing the evidence on one side as well as on the other.

The first of these prelates whom you mention, was John Hooper, a Cistercian monk, who abandoning his religious order and state of continency, to both of which he was bound by solemn vows, married a Flandrican woman. (1) These sacrilegious perjuries, you, Sir, may be inclined to excuse, on account of the impossibility you have stated "of counteracting the propensities of nature;" (2) but I believe very many Christians of all communions will view them in their true light, no less than myself. You admit, that "Hooper had a certain superstitious narrowness of mind about him, which gave to ceremonies and vestments a degree of importance which they did not deserve." (3) The truth is, he was a thorough-paced Zuinglian, (4) having been trained in that discipline by his master, Bullinger, in Switzerland, (5) and is justly accused of being the founder of that puritanical sect in England, which caused such confusion, tumults, and blood-shed there, during the space of more than a century. (6) You may possibly excuse his objections to the vestments and ceremonial in question, on the score of a mistaken conscience; but how then will you reconcile his compliance in these points, by consenting to wear the vestments, (7) after having engaged the young king to write

(1) Wood's Athen. Oxon. (2) P. 42.
(3) P. 78. (4) Heylin, Hist. Ref. p. 92.
(5) "Cranmer maligned him for his worse than Calvinistical principles." Wood's Athen.
(6) Fox, Acts and Monum. (7) Heylin, p. 92.

to

to Cranmer that these "were offensive to his conscience?" (1) and also his taking the oath of supremacy, after having made his patron, Dudley, write to the same Cranmer, that this oath "was burthensome to his conscience," (2) when he found that he could not get promotion without these steps? Again, how will you excuse his obtaining and holding the bishopric of Worcester, in addition to his former bishopric of Gloucester, especially after having inveighed so strongly as he did, in his sermons against pluralities? (3) In a word, the best friends of the church accuse Hooper of being the principal instrument in those sacrilegious robberies of it, which they represent as having so much disgraced the first establishment of the Reformation here. (4) I cannot close this article without expressing my surprise at the passage, which I have quoted from your Reflections, concerning the alledged "superstition of Hooper, in giving to ceremonies and vestments an importance which they did not deserve." In fact, Sir, is not this censure a two-edged sword, which wounds the church of England as deeply as it does the Puritans? For most certainly one party did not attach more importance to the abolition of these things than the other did to the preservation of them. If there was any superstition in this controversy, it was evidently on the side of the church. But I am convinced this was not the case, but rather that there was a great deal of fanaticism on the side of the Puritans. I shall have other occasions, Sir, of defending this church against the attacks which you make upon her.

Latimer, you say, "possessed perfect simplicity and honesty, without perhaps much prudence or judgement to direct them." (5) His want of prudence and judgement, I think, is very manifest in the sermon which I have quoted above, and might be made still more manifest by citations from other of his sermons, particularly from that on the pack of cards preached at Cambridge. (6) However, I have nothing to do with his

(1) Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 1504, 4th edit. (2) Ibid.
(3) Sander. De Schism. (4) Heylin, Edw. VI, p. 94. Collier.
(5) P. 78. (6) Fox, p. 1731.

simplicity

simplicity, but have only to inquire how far he is entitled to that high character of "integrity and virtue which you, and most modern writers, bestow upon him. For, admitting him to have been conscientiously persuaded of the truth of the Reformation, was it consistent with Christian integrity and virtue to dissemble his religion for twenty years together, and repeatedly to abjure it, as he certainly did as often as he found himself threatened with any serious danger by adhering to it? (1) Was it consistent with integrity and virtue to accept of one of the highest offices, the bishopric of Worcester, in a church which he so much reprobated, and even to take an oath of opposing, to the utmost of his power, all persons who dissented from or were disobedient to it? (2) But supposing you are disposed to overlook all this, what will you say to the share which he took in the religious persecutions both of Henry's and Edward's reign? What will you say when you find him sending Protestants victims to the stake, at which he himself afterwards suffered; (3) or to his becoming the tool of

(1) "He was called up to the cardinall (Wolsey) for heresie, where he was content to subscribe and graunte unto such articles as they propounded unto him." Fox, Acts, p. 1736. This happened in the year 1529. In 1531 he was cited before the archbishop of Canterbury, Wareham, on fresh charges of heresy, and Fox is unwillingly obliged to own that he was forced to sign an abjuration of them, which he sets down, p. 1738. The third time he was called upon, with certain others, to give an account of his opinions, by Henry himself, on which occasion he escaped by an absolute submission of himself to his supreme head in spiritual matters. His fourth and last recantation was when he was deprived of his bishopric, and committed prisoner to the Tower, where he lay till the end of Henry's reign, on suspicion of heresy, and for violating the fast and abstinence of Good Friday. Fox glosses over this matter; but Parsons shews the absurdity of believing that the tyrant Henry, who at this very time forced Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, to recant his Lutheran opinions and to carry a faggot at the burning of four other Protestants in 1546, would have been content with less from Shaxton's fellow prisoner, Latimer, than a solemn abjuration of his doctrines. See Exam. of Fox, p. 222.

(2) Consecration oath in the Pontifical.

(3) It appears, from Collier and Fox, that he was one of the chief bishops who sat upon the trial of the famous martyr, John Lambert, and that he and Cranmer had previously endeavoured to persuade him to subscribe to the doctrine of the real presence. All that has been

of the unnatural Seymour, in bringing his brother, lord Thomas, to th scaffold, on the most frivolous of all pretences? (1) I fear it will b difficult to reconcile all this, either with the virtue of a martyr, or th integrity of an ordinary Christian.

Ridley, you tell us, was "active in the conduct of ecclesiastic affairs." I think, Sir, you will grant, that he shewed rather too much a tivity in these affairs, to be consistent with integrity, after I shall hav reminded you, that, when bishop of Rochester in Henry's days and whe bishop of London in those of Edward, he was as forward in persecutin Protestants and Anabaptists, as Cranmer, Latimer, and the rest of the pre lates were; (2) that he purchased the latter see by alienating the mo valuable of its manors; (3) and that he was one of the most zealous an forward of Dudley's partisans in endeavouring to interrupt the regula succession of the throne, and in raising that rebellion which was attende with the loss of so much blood. (4)

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been said in defence of them is, that they had not yet, in 1558, settled their belief in th leading article. Collier, p. 151. Burnet, &c. See also Latimer's name, in the senten against Joan of Kent, who was burnt for heresy, in 1549. Burnet, Hist. of Ref. part book i, rec. 35.

(1) Heylin, Hist. Ref. Edw. VI, p. 72. Stow, ann. 1549, and other writers, speak of a invective which Latimer preached against the admiral a few days after his execution; b Saunders, who was present on the occasion, says that Latimer paved the way for this pr secution by a previous sermon at Oxford, charging the admiral with treason.

(2) See his signature to a sentence against Van Parre, similar to that quoted above again Joan of Kent, Burnet, ut supra.

(3) Within nine days after his promotion to the see of London, he alienated four of i best manors, and amongst others Stepney and Hackney, to the king, in order to "grati some of the courtiers." Strype, Mem. Ecc. vol. iii, p. 234. The same author says of Poyn the first Protestant bishop of Winchester, that "he passed away all the temporalities of h see conditionally to his preferment to it;" in return for which he was content to recei divers rectories. Ibid. p. 272.

(4) Stow says: "Dr. Ridley vehemently persuaded the people in the title of the lady Jan and inveighed earnestly against the title of the lady Mary." Ann. 1553.—Dr. S. is unjust the memory of Robert Farrer, one of the five Protestant bishops who were burnt in Mary reig

But as the chief agent of the Reformation in this country was certainly archbishop Cranmer, so you, like most modern writers, spare no pains in embellishing his character to the utmost of your power. For my part, I will draw no character at all, but barely relate facts, as I find them recorded by the most celebrated Protestant writers, and then leave yourself, and every other reader who wishes to be guided by truth and not by prejudice, to form an opinion concerning this celebrated prelate. The first remarkable circumstance in the life of Cranmer was his privately marrying a woman of low condition, whilst he was fellow of Jesus' College, Cambridge, (1) contrary to the engagements of his admission. He afterwards, when a priest, married a second wife in Germany, by a much more flagrant violation of his vows of celibacy, (2) and having brought her privately into England, (3) he continued to live with her, (4) in equal opposition to the laws of the church, and of the land. (5) Being a

reign. The truth is, though he was much persecuted by other Protestants, yet the charges against him are much less serious than those against his four brethren. The following short account of him is extracted from the Oxford historian: "Farrer was one of Cranmer's chaplains, and being in great favour with the duke of Somerset, was by him appointed bishop of St. David's. But upon the fall of the said duke, who was an upholder of him and his unworthy doings, 56 articles were drawn up against him by some of his neighbours, accusing him as an abuser of his authority, a maintainer of superstition, covetous, negligent, foolish, &c. all which he being unable to answer, was committed to close custody in London during the remainder of Edward's reign." For the articles themselves, and Farrer's answers, see Acts and Mon.

(1) Acts and Mon.

(2) Besides the violation of his vow of continency, he, in this case, fell into the irregularity attached to bigamy.

(3) He is said to have brought his wife to England in a large chest, which being landed at Gravesend, and set on the wrong end, the poor inclosed woman was obliged to cry out, in order to save her life. For the truth of this story, Parsons refers to Cranmer's daughter-in-law, then living. It is also allowed by Mason, in his Defence of English Consecrations, &c.

(4) This he admitted upon his trial, (Fox, p. 1877); though, when questioned by Henry, whether *his bed-chamber would stand the test of the six articles*, he said that he had sent his wife home to Germany. Collier, vol. ii, p. 200.

(5) Particularly the law of the Six Articles, 31 Hen. VIII, cap. 14. This act made it felony for any clergyman to cohabit with a wife.

Lutheran in principle as far back as the year 1529, (1) he afterwards ac cepted the office of pope's penitentiary, and when named to the arch bishopric of Canterbury, he was content to receive different bulls from th pontiff, to take upon himself the character of his legate in England, an even to take a solemn oath of obedience to him, (2) with an obligation o opposing all heretics and schismatics, that is to say, according to th received sense of the words, all persons of his own religious persuasion. (3 In like manner he must necessarily have said mass, which, in his opinion was an idolatrous worship, both at his consecration, and at an infinite num ber of other times, during the fourteen years that he governed the churc of England under Henry. He must also necessarily have, from time t time, ordained other priests to do the same, and have imposed upon then the obligation of that continency which he did not observe himself. In word, we see his subscription still affixed to a great variety of doctrina articles and injunctions, issued during that reign, which we know to hav been in opposition to his real sentiments. (4)

Every one knows, that Cranmer owed his rise in the church to th part which he took in Henry's divorce from queen Catherine of Arragon I shall here only take notice of the concluding scenes of that transaction This prince then, being tired out with the opposition of Rome, and im patient to be united with his beloved Ann Boleyn, privately marries her Nov. 14, 1533, and Cranmer himself is one of the witnesses of the con tract. (5) On the 11th of the following March this same prelate write a letter to Henry, from "pure motives of conscience" as he declares, (6 but from a pre-concerted scheme as the facts prove, representing th

(1) Fox.

(2) It is true he made an act of protestation in opposition to the tenor of his consecratio oath; but this reservation, so far from diminishing, rather augmented his guilt. Collie vol. ii, rec. 22. (3) Pontif. Rom.

(4) See the two books, *The Institution of a Christian Man*, and *The Erudition of a Christia Man*, subscribed by him, with many other records, in Burnet and Collier.

(5) Heylin, Hist. Eliz. p. 89. (6) Collier, vol. ii, rec. 24.

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necessity there was of terminating the long-depending cause between him and Catherine, and demanding of him the necessary ecclesiastical jurisdiction to decide it. (1) This being granted, he on the 20th of May pronounces a sentence of divorce between the royal pair, and authorises Henry to take another wife; (2) six months after he himself had officiated as witness to his marriage with Ann Boleyn, and only four months before the latter was delivered of an infant, who was afterwards queen Elizabeth. (3) Can you here, Sir, avoid exclaiming, What a scandalous collusion in so important a matter of conscience and public example! In less than three years however the tyrant grows weary of the consort whom he had moved heaven and earth to gain, and becomes enamoured of a new beauty. Nevertheless, appearances must be saved; and Cranmer is the ready instrument in smoothing the way to the gratification of his passions. After a faint effort to save Ann, to whose family he had such infinite obligations, in a cold adulatory letter to the king, which he wrote on the occasion, (4) he lent all his aid to ruin and oppress her, permitting, if not persuading, her (standing as she then did upon the verge of eternity) to confess what he knew to be false; (5) and pronouncing a sentence of divorce, which contained, that she had never been *validly married to Henry*, at the very time that she was lying under sentence of death for violating his bed by adultery! (6) Henry's fourth match was with Ann of Cleves, which was highly satisfastory to Cromwell and Cranmer, on account of her being of the reformed persuasion. On this

(1) Collier, vol. ii, rec. 24. (2) Burnet, Collect. b. ii, n. 47.

(3) The royal pair were married by Dr. Rowland Lee, in the presence of Cranmer, the duke of Norfolk, &c. Nov. 14, 1532. Heylin, Hist. Eliz. p. 89. Stow fixes the marriage two months later, viz. Jan. 25, 1533. Elizabeth was born Sept. 7, 1533.

(4) See the letter in Burnet's Hist. Ref. b. iii, p. 200.

(5) See Burnet, p. 203, who first shews that there was evidence before the two archbishops that Ann Boleyn was under no previous contract when she married Henry; and secondly, that Cranmer did actually divorce her on what he calls "an extorted confession."

(6) "The two sentences, the one of attainder for adultery, the other of a divorce because of a pre-contract, did so contradict one another, that one if not both must be unjust." Burnet.

occasion the latter was commissioned to examine into the nature of a former engagement between that lady and the duke of Lorrain's son. Finding however that it had only passed between the parents of the parties, when they were infants, and that they themselves, when they were of a proper age, had broken it off by mutual consent, (1) he of course pronounced that there was no lawful impediment to the king's marriage with her; which was accordingly celebrated Jan. 6, 1540. Henry however, in less than half a year, becoming compleatly disgusted with his foreign bride, Cranmer was found just as ready to dissolve the matrimonial knot, both in convocation and in parliament, as he had been before to tie it. He now finds that impediment to be valid, which he had a little before pronounced null; and accordingly issues a sentence justifying his luxurious master in proceeding to fresh contracts. Here the primate's ablest friends are forced to abandon him, and to allow that in this doctrinal decision, he and his brethren of the convocation were too much governed by the will of their prince. (2)

Upon Henry's death Cranmer appeared no less obsequious to the protector Seymour, in whose favour he set aside in a great measure the last will of his old master, of which he was the first-named executor. (3) Having raised this ecclesiastical and civil idol to undue power, he was ready to pay homage to him with all the essential authority of the church, taking out a new commission for his archbishopric, under the unheard of pretext that his former power had expired with the former king, and professing to be a prelate no longer than the child Edward, or Seymour himself, should acknowledge him to be so. (4) He had before surrendered more than sixteen manors of the archiepiscopal see to Henry; (5) and

(1) Burnet, part i, b. iii, p. 273.

(2) Collier, Ecc. Hist. vol. ii, p. 178.

(3) "Of which last will how little was performed, and how much less would have been performed if some great persons, his (executors) might have had their will, we shall hereafter shew." Heylin, Edw. p. 28.

(4) Collier, vol. ii, p. 218. Burnet.

(5) Collier, vol. ii. rec. 67.

now

now he alienated above half of its remaining property to the favourites of the day. (1)

Cranmer concurred no less in the other injustices and disorders of this infant reign, than he did in those stated above. He gratified Somerset by subscribing the death-warrant of his brother, lord Thomas Seymour, the admiral; though he had such a fair plea, as the canons of the church afforded him, for keeping his hands clean from that political sacrifice. (2) He was as forward as any of the courtiers in paying his court to the rising power of Dudley, earl of Warwick, when he found the interest of the latter growing stronger than that of the duke of Somerset; and he carried his ingratitude to his deceased benefactor Henry, and his infidelity in the discharge of that prince's last will to such a length, as to concur in excluding his two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, from their lawful inheritance and right to the crown, in order to place it on the head of Dudley's daughter-in-law, the lady Jane. (3) If Elizabeth, Sir, had succeeded to the throne immediately after Edward, she would no more have spared Cranmer and Ridley, than Mary did.

In conclusion, Sir, if Cranmer was burnt to death for heresy, reflect how many persons he himself, whilst he had power in his hands, had condemned to the same punishment, on the self-same pretext. How disingenuously have you disguised and misrepresented this matter, where you say: "When the respectable Cranmer is committed to the flames... I wish to forget that he had procured the execution of an Anabaptist." (4) For is it not true, that he was instrumental in the execution of many other persons, besides Joan Knell, for religious opinions, and that some of them held the very tenets for which he himself afterwards suffered? Though this part of his conduct has been kept out of sight as much as

(1) "Cranmer was forced to part with the better half of the possessions of his see. Ridley, soon after his entry into London, was forced to give away four of the best manors of his see in one day." Ant. Harmer. apud Collier.

(2) See Burnet, part ii, b. i. p. 100. (3) Ibid. p. 224. b. ii, p. 235.

(4) P. 64.

possible,

possible, yet we have certain proofs of his having been one of the chief instruments, under Henry VIII, in bringing to the stake, John Lambert, Ann Askew, John Frith, and William Allen, (1) for denying the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, besides a great number of Anabaptists. In the reign of Edward VI, besides other most severe persecutions which he carried on against Gospellers, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, amongst whom two at least were Sacramentarians, he was the active promoter, and the immediate cause of the burning of Joan Knell, (2) and George Paris or Van Perr, (3) for certain singular opinions. Amongst those who escaped with their lives, a great part of them were forced to recant, through the fear of torments, and to carry lighted tapers and faggots in testimony of their having merited burning. (4) To say something now more particular of

(1) Fox, who disguises the share which Cranmer had in these executions, yet is forced to make the following awkward apology for him: "He purged away (by his death) his offences in standing against Lambert and Allen, or if there were others with whose burning and blood his hands were polluted."

(2) "When he (Cranmer) was on the point of passing sentence upon her,....she reproached him for passing the like sentence on another woman, Ann Askew, for denying the carnal presence of Christ in the sacrament; telling him that he had condemned the said Ann Askew not long before for a piece of bread, and was then ready to condemn her for a piece of flesh." Heylin, Edw. VI, p. 89.—As three other Protestants, Lassels, Otterden, and Adams, were burnt with Askew for the self-same cause, there is every appearance that Cranmer was as instrumental in their punishment as he was in that of Askew.

(3) See the process of their condemnation, in Burnet's Collect. of Rec. part ii, b. i. n. 35.

(4) In 1538 I find a special commission granted to Cranmer, with two other bishops and six other persons, to try *summariè et de plano*, even though they had not been denounced or detected, all Anabaptists, &c. and to deliver them over to the secular arm. Collier, vol. ii, rec. 46. Within a month of the date of this commission, viz. Nov. 24, I find two Anabaptists burnt, and four bearing faggots. Stow. About a year after this, by virtue of a special commission, Cranmer with certain other bishops tried Alexander Seaton for Protestaut opinions, and condemned him to bear a faggot and recant at St. Paul's Cross, which he did accordingly. Collier, vol. ii, p. 184. The same year three other Anabaptists were burnt, by virtue of the former commission. Stow. In Edward's reign, certain "chiefs (of the Gospellers and Anabaptists) were convented, April 12, 1549, before the archbishop (Cranmer) the bishop of Westminster, and Drs. Cox, May, Cole, and Smith. Being convicted, some of

of the execution alluded to, which you admit to have been procured by Cranmer, I maintain, that when it is considered, with all its attendant circumstances, it will be hard to find a more cruel and wanton act of persecution, than this of which Cranmer was the author. The subject of it was a woman, Joan Knell or Butcher, of Kent. The doctrine for which she suffered was of an abstract nature, not calculated to gain proselytes or to occasion any public disturbances. She was barely accused of maintaining, that "Christ passed through the Blessed Virgin's Body as water through a conduit, without participating of that body through which he passed." (1) For no other cause than persisting in this opinion, she was "convented, in the church of St. Paul, before archbishop Cranmer and his assistants, convicted, and delivered over to the secular arm." We have the sentence that he pronounced on the occasion, which is rigorous beyond the usual terms; (2) and we have a certificate of it, addressed to the king, in which, instead of petitioning for mercy, as was usually the case, the convict heretic is expressly recommended "to receive due punishment." (3) Nor was this all, for the royal youth being unwilling to sign the warrant for the execution, Cranmer employs all his theological arguments in persuading him to comply, amongst other things telling him, that "princes, being God's deputies, ought to punish impieties against

of them were dismissed only with an admonition, some sentenced to a recantation, and others condemned to bear their faggots at St. Paul's." Heylin, p. 73. About the same time John Champneys of Stratford was convented before Cranmer, Latimer, and two other doctors, at which time he was forced to recant upon oath certain "heresies and damnable opinions" concerning regeneration, &c. as also to carry a faggot. In like manner John Ashton, priest, being convented before Cranmer, abjured his heresies, &c. and took an oath to submit to whatever penance was enjoined. Ex Regist. Cranm. Collier, part ii, p. 266.

(1) Heylin, Edw. VI, p. 88. Burnet, part ii, b. i, rec. 35.

(2) "Idcirco nos Thomas archiep. &c. te Joannem Bocher alias de Kent....tanquam pertinacem hæreticam, judicio sive curiæ seculari *ad omnem juris effectum, qui exinde sequi debeat aut poterit* relinquimus," &c. See the sentence, ibid. p. 167.

(3) "Brachio vestro seculari dictam hæreticam relinquimus *condigna animadversione plectendam.*" See the certificate, ibid. p. 168.

God."

God." (1) In the end, Edward sets his hand to the warrant, but wit tears in his eyes, telling Cranmer, that "if he did wrong, he (the sai Cranmer) should answer for it to God." (2) At length, by a change i circumstances, the archbishop being condemned as a heretic to suffer tha cruel death, to which, on the same account, he had condemned so man others, he was far from imitating the firmness of the greater part of them It is not however with Cranmer's fear of death that I here find fault, bu with your account of it. Is it then true, that his recantation was th effect of "a momentary weakness," as you describe it to have been? (3 Was it a single act, and that of short continuance? No, Sir, he is prove to have deliberately subscribed six different forms of recantation, at s many different periods, each one of which was more ample and expres than the preceding one; and he remained during the whole five or six las weeks of his life, and until the very hour of his death, either a sincer Catholic or an egregious hypocrite. (5) At length finding that, notwith standing all his retractions, he was upon the point of being executed, h revoked them all, and shewed a resolution at his death which he had ex hibited in no one occurrence of his life.

Methinks, Sir, you will hardly forgive me this statement of fact bearing so hard on characters, which you have celebrated as models "o virtue and integrity." But after all, Sir, reflect, that as I have not in

(1) Burnet, part ii, b. i, p. 111. (2) Ibid. p. 112.

(3) P. 79. Dr. S. seems in this, as in many other passages, to have been misled by th treacherous guide, Hume, whose words are these: "He allowed, in an unguarded hou the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution." Hist. of Tudors.

(4) The two first of these retractations are without date. The third appears to have bee signed Feb. 14. The fourth is dated Feb. 16; and the last is dated March 18. See Strype Mem. Ecc. vol. iii, p. 234. Cranmer retracted his recantations and was executed March 21

(5) Dr. S. is guilty of the greatest inconsistency, as well as uncharitableness, where h ascribes the conduct of Cranmer's enemies in making him recant, to a "refinement cruelty,....in order that infamy might be added to his death." Did then Mary's divin think it infamous to retract heretical opinions? No: they thought it honourable in th world, and advantageous for the next, which latter was the real motive of their persuasions

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vented these facts, or foisted them into those records to which I have referred for their existence, so neither is it in your power to suppress them. And why indeed should you wish to suppress them? You have seen that I have acknowledged and reprobated the crimes of a Sergius, a John X, an Adrian VI, and of every other bad pope, which I have found recorded in genuine history. Why then should you not be equally liberal in abandoning as indefensible the characters of a Luther and a Cranmer. I grant indeed, that the truth or falsehood of a religious system is not so much connected with the behaviour of its later members or superiors, as it is with that of its original preachers and founders. For though we find, at all times, many of God's ministers, who go on *in ordinary succession* to be bad men, yet we never find any but persons of the most eminent piety and virtue charged by him with any *extraordinary commission* of making known his will to men, as we observe in Noah, Abraham, Moses, Samuel, the several prophets, John the Baptist, and the apostles. Still, however, Sir, the cause of truth is inseparably connected with that of religion; and to tell the plain truth ought to be our first concern, both as writers and as Christians. In fact, with the cause of truth that of religion and of public happiness is intimately united. Before I conclude I cannot refrain from making one more reflection of the same tendency with the former. I see amongst the nobility and gentry of our communion, the posterity of several men who were the agents and confederates of king Henry, Somerset, and Cranmer; in the measures which I find fault with; on the other hand, I behold amongst the nobility and even the clergy of your's, the descendants of those who were instrumental in the burnings of Mary's reign. Who knows but your progenitor, between two and three hundred years ago, was a retainer of the latter class, and mine of the former? Thus much I can confidently assert, that if your boasted martyrs, Hooper and Rogers, were now alive, and saw you officiating in your proper habit at the cathedral altar, they would turn from you as from a superstitious papist; and if Cranmer and Ridley were now alive and sitting in judgement on some of your publications, which I shall have occasion to notice, they would infallibly sentence you to the same cruel fate which they themselves suffered. I have, &c.

LETTER VI.

SIR,

OF all the Pagan persecutions which the primitive Christians endured, from the reign of Nero down to that of Julian, they were most sensible to the one which was raised against them by the last mentioned emperor, as mistating the cause of their sufferings, and depriving them of their reputation together with their lives. For this artful apostate, who affected nothing so much as the character of humanity and benevolence, at the very time that he was inundating the whole empire with the blood of innocent Christians, professed to be exempt from every degree of religious intolerance, and to be guided by no other sentiment than zeal for the welfare of his people. (1) The English Catholics, Sir, have reason to make the same distinction between the persecutions which they suffered from Henry VIII, and from his daughter Elizabeth. Those who lost their lives by the former, particularly the two most learned and virtuous men of the whole kingdom, sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher, are universally regretted, as the victims of undisguised and tyrannical intolerance whilst the missionary priests, and other Catholics, who suffered in the latter, though their cause was in all respects the same, yet by the misrepresentation of their enemies, both at that period and since, have passed for criminals who merited their fate. The truth is, no portion of our history has been more poisoned and perverted than that

(1) Furebat adversus nos nefandus imperator, ac ne eos honores qui martyribus haberi solent consequeremur (hos enim Christianis invidebat) primum illius artificium hoc fuit ut qui Christi causa patiebantur, tanquam sontes et facinerosi cruciatu afficirentur....Hoc molitur Apostata, ut vim afferat, et afferre non videatur; ut nos supplicia perferamus, et eo interim honore, qui pro Christi nomine patientibus haberi solet, careamus." S. Greg. Naz. orat. i. in Julian. ex vers. lat.

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of the English Catholics, from the Reformation down to the Revolution. The immediate actors in the tragical scenes here alluded to were influenced by political and selfish motives, which would not admit of being exposed to the world; hence they were under a necessity of inventing the most odious calumnies against the subjects of their oppression, in order to justify their own conduct in oppressing them. The consciousness of their injustices against the Catholics, according to the general perversity of human nature, (1) sharpened their cruelty, and produced in their breasts a confirmed hatred of them. Being otherwise persons on whom Providence was pleased to bestow splendid talents, and great success in their temporal pursuits, hence their calumnies descend to us with redoubled weight, and their whole conduct is viewed through the most flattering medium. Thus every circumstance concurs to overwhelm the reputation of Catholics with odium; and I am by no means surprised that you, Sir, should have adopted the general prejudices against them, though certainly you had no occasion to give scope to them in your answer to my History; unless you had disproved some one or more facts, which I had advanced in opposition to them: a task that I do not see you have attempted to perform.

Notwithstanding all the disadvantages which I have stated, I trust that I shall be able to vindicate the conduct of the Catholic body during the whole period in question, and to wipe off the numerous aspersions which you, after other writers, have cast upon it. The great luminary of the world is not extinguished by the dark clouds that frequently interrupt its rays: It is sure to shine forth again, sooner or later, with fresh lustre, which is often augmented by reflection from these very obstacles. It is a great benefit to me, that part of the road which I shall have to tread, has of late been enlightened before me, by certain Protestant writers, worthy of eternal memory for their impartiality as well as their talents; (2) and it is now proved, beyond the possibility of a reply, that

(1) "Proprium est humani generis odisse quem læseris." Tacit.

(2) Goodall, Stuart, Tytler, Whitaker.

the world, through the calumnies and misrepresentations which I have been speaking of, has been for two whole centuries under the most egregious mistakes with respect to the characters and conduct of those rival queens of the 16th century, Mary of Scotland and Elizabeth of England. Before however I enter upon my subject, I must remind you, Sir, that the English Catholics were not answerable for the politics or conduct of foreign courts, which happened to be of the same religious profession with them: no not even for those of the pope himself, unless it should appear that they were governed by them, and acknowledged them as rules for their own conduct. I must also premise, that I am defending the conduct of the great body of the Catholics, not of each individual that belonged to it. In every great society there will be found certain men of a different spirit from the generality; and more particularly in every church there will be discovered many persons who adhere to it from motives of policy, rather than of religion. You have seen, Sir, in my History, that I have not alledged, either the seditious doctrines or behaviour of Protestants abroad, or the particular instances of sedition or insurrection that occurred in those at home, during the reign of Mary, by way of justifying the persecution which she inflicted upon the whole church of England, because I do not conceive that this church is answerable for the doctrine or conduct of French or Scotch Calvinists, and because I am satisfied that the seditions and insurrections above-mentioned neither infected the great body of her people, nor grew out of her avowed doctrine, but rather stood in opposition to it.

Elizabeth, in her private sentiments, was far from entertaining any aversion to the religion of Catholics. It was chiefly owing to her partiality for the hierarchy, for the decency and regularity of public worship, and for many other points of the ancient faith and discipline, (1) that the church

(1) Heylin, p. 165.—Dr. Harding, in his Epistle to the Queen, printed in the year 1565, commends her for many orthodox opinions which she held, and particularly for having on the preceding Good Friday applauded a preacher who had defended the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. In consequence of this her belief, the declaration which stood against

church of England is what it is, and that it has departed less from the ancient church than any other sect of Protestants whatsoever. Certain it is, that the inclination of most of her Protestant subjects led them strongly to Puritanism; those of higher rank being influenced by motives of avarice, (1) the lower order by those of fanaticism. Nor is this all; for the queen was known in private conversation to ridicule her own spiritual supremacy, and to acknowledge that of the pope; (2) she even intimated a wish, if circumstances would have permitted it, to follow the original faith. (3) But as ambition was amongst all her strong passions the most violent; and as the counsellors, to whom she referred the question of religion, convinced her that it was for her temporal interest to cast off the pope's jurisdiction, and to suppress the ancient religion, (4) which her sister had restored, she took her determinations accordingly, and became, in the end, one of the most violent persecutors of Catholics upon record. Her dissimulation, (5) cruelty, (6) and profligacy of manners, (7) were only inferior to

against it in article 29 of Edward VI, is left out in the corresponding article of Elizabeth. See article 28 among the 39.

(1) It is certain that her three most active ministers, whose characters I shall shortly sketch, Leicester, Cecil, and Walsingham, were all strongly inclined to Puritanism. See Collier, &c.

(2) The author of An Answer to Sir Edward Coke's Reportes, says, that Lansac, who had been sent envoy to Elizabeth on a certain business, declared to many persons, on his return to France, that she had owned to him her conviction that the spiritual supremacy did not belong to her, but to St. Peter's successors; but she said that her parliament and people obliged her to assume it. P. 365.

(3) The same author refers to lord Montague and the earl of Southampton for the truth of the queen's declarations to the aforesaid effect. Ibid.

(4) Camden, Annales Elizabethæ, ann. 1558.

(5) The strongest instance of dissimulation and hypocrisy upon record is Elizabeth's solemn appeal to heaven that she was innocent of Mary's death, and that she abhorred the above mentioned vices, in her letter to James.

(6) See the proofs of her being privy to the murder of Rizzio and Darnley, and of her encouraging different attempts to assassinate queen Mary and king James, in Whitaker's Vindication passim.

(7) See an account of the scandalous amours of this boasted virgin-queen with Leicester, Hatton, Simier, Raleigh, Blount, &c. ibid. vol. ii, c. v.

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her ambition; and as it was not to be expected that her court would b more virtuous than herself, hence it is described, by an eye-witness an member of it, "as a scene of all enormities, where wickedness reigne in the highest degree;" (1) and it has been asserted, with respect to h ministry in particular, by an author of high character, that it was "th most wicked which has been known in any reign." (2)

What has been said of the profligacy of Elizabeth's ministry is appl cable, in the first degree, to the three most distinguished members of who were also the bitterest enemies of the Catholics, and the chief pr moters of those plots and persecutions that were set on foot against ther The first of these, Robert Dudley, whilst he had the fate and dying d clarations of his father fresh in his memory, (3) led a quiet and unblam able life in that mediocrity of fortune to which the catastrophe he alluded to had reduced him. (4) But being afterwards distinguished b the queen for the beauty of his person, and raised by her to the earldo of Leicester, and other high dignities, he launched forth into every exce with all the insolence and impunity of a royal minion. He broke th neck of his first wife, in order to pave the way for his expected unio with the queen. (5) Being disappointed in this hope, he debauched lad Sheffield, under promise of marriage; (6) but getting into an intrig wi

(1) Viz. Nicholas Faunt, under secretary to Walsingham. Birche's Mem. Eliz. vol. i.

(2) Short View of English History, by Bevil Higgons, p. 192.

(3) Viz. Dudley earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland, beheaded for rebelli in the former reign. At his death he professed himself very penitent for his crimes, and convert to his ancient faith. This man's father was the Dudley who was executed w Empson for his extortions under Henry VII. His grandfather was a carpenter.

(4) See a learned but anonymous work, in Latin, published at Augsburg in 1592, intitul Responsio ad Edictum Eliz. Reg. Ang. p. 14.

(5) Ibid. p. 16. See Whitaker and his authorities, vol. iii, p. 558, where other instances his talent in poisoning are mentioned. Camden relates, that when Elizabeth was consid ing of the manner of putting Mary to death, that Leicester proposed poison, and sent a vine to Walsingham to prove that it was lawful so to do. Ann. 1586.

(6) He had a son by her, who lived in great splendor in Tuscany, assuming the title du

with the wife of Walter earl of Essex, he attempted to poison her, and actually poisoned the said nobleman, as he was returning home from Ireland, to revenge the injury that had been offered to him; after which Leicester married that infamous countess. This scandalous behaviour lost him the affections of Elizabeth, but not her protection. Such was his private life. With respect to his public conduct, the celebrated Dr. Heylin has drawn the following sketch of it: "He (Leicester) engrossed the disposing of all offices of state and preferments of the church; proving himself so unappeaseable in his malice, so insatiable in his lusts, so sacrilegious in his rapines, so false in his promises, so treacherous in point of trust, and destructive to particular persons, that his finger lay heavier on English subjects than the loins of the favourites in the two last reigns." He concludes with saying, that Leicester "cloaked all his monstrous vices under a pretended zeal for religion, being the head of the Puritan faction." (1) This last particular is confirmed by another great advocate of the establishment, who says, that Leicester was "the chief of those who said that no bishops ought to be tolerated in a Christian land," and that he had cast a covetous eye on Lambeth palace." (2)

Sir William Cecil was an apt political instrument for the ever-varying and unprincipled times in which he lived. Sprung from an obscure family that had been settled at Stamford in Lincolnshire, (3) he became first known as an inferior agent in Henry's oppressions. In the next reign, having gained the favour of the protector Somerset, he rose to the rank of his principal secretary. But when he found his master's credit sinking, he joined the party of his enemies, and was greatly instrumental in bring-

duke of Northumberland, and who suggested to the grand duke the means of making Leghorn that place of importance which it is. Dodd, Ch. Hist. vol. ii.

(1) Heylin, Hist. of Eliz. p. 168.

(2) Madox's Answer to Neal's Hist. of Purit. p. 187.

(3) His father held an inferior situation in the royal wardrobe; his grandfather kept an inn at Stamford, and was afterwards one of the royal guards. Resp. p. 24.

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ing him to the scaffold; (1) after which he became the confident and assistant of Dudley in all his other criminal measures. These being defeated, and Mary placed on the throne, he was equally obsequious to the views and inclinations of this Catholic sovereign, being assiduous in hearing masses, repeating offices and litanies, and dropping his beads, which he had seldom out of his hands. He is even said to have mounted the pulpit in his parish church at Stamford, and there to have made a voluntary abjuration of his apostacy from the ancient faith. (2) By this hypocrisy he imposed upon cardinal Pole, sir William Petre, and others; but not upon the queen herself, who refused to place any confidence in him. Upon Elizabeth's succession he soon made it appear that he was of the religion of those who think *that gain is godliness*, (3) declaring for that system which promised him and his associates the greatest share of church plunder. In the sacrilegious scramble which then took place, he contrived to secure for himself the greater part of the endowments of Peterborough cathedral, which made an adequate estate to support his new dignity of lord Burghley. (4) In a word, without speaking of the innocent blood of the queen of Scots and of the other Catholics shed at home, this unprincipled politician was the chief agent in promoting those rebellions and civil wars amongst the subjects of foreign princes, particularly in Scotland, France, and Flanders, and those various acts of piracy in the West Indies, South America, and our own seas, by which the government of Elizabeth was rendered so infamous in the eyes of the other powers of Europe. (5)

(1) He is said to have drawn up the impeachment of Somerset. Ibid.

(2) Ibid. p. 25. (3) 1 Tim. vi, 5.

(4) "During the vacancy of the see of Norwich, and during his (Dr. Scambler's) incumbency, sir William Cecil, principal secretary of state, possessed himself of the best manors in the Soke, which belonged to it, and for his (the bishop's) readiness to confirm them to him, he preferred him to the see of Norwich." Heylin, p. 138.

(5) The celebrated exploits of Drake, Cavendish, Holkstoke, &c. also the sending of troops to the insurgents in the Netherlands, the capture of the Spanish treasure galleon shipwrecked on our coast, were all contrary to the law of nations, having taken place in the time of professed peace.

Next to Cecil, for subtility in contriving plans of treachery, corruption, assasination, and forgery, but superior to him for boldness and dexterity in executing them, was his fellow secretary of state, sir Francis Walsingham. To his savage nature the actual perpetration of cruelty, independent of the advantages to be derived from it, was peculiarly grateful. He was accustomed to beat and kick the Catholic prisoners who were brought before him for examination; (1) and his mistress knew his disposition so well, that when she had signed the death-warrant for the execution of Mary, she ordered it to be immediately carried to Walsingham, as the most efficacious cordial for raising his spirits, then depressed by a severe illness. (2) He was the master artificer in those horrid forgeries, for which a writer of high character still living, and a clergyman of the established church, says the heads of the Reformation at that time were infamous, both in England and in Scotland. (3) Finally, he was the more immediate agent in those murderous arts, both of assasination and perverted justice, which Elizabeth's ministers employed to shorten the days of the illustrious queen of Scots, (4) and of others against her son James I.

When men of such principles had the wealth and power of a great kingdom in their hands, we may easily conceive to what lengths of calumny, oppression, and cruelty, they were capable of proceeding against any man or body of men who had the misfortune to incur their hatred or their jealousy, as was the case with the hapless professors of the an-

(1) Respon. p. 19. See an account of the secretary's savage behaviour to the priest and fellow of New College, John Mundyn. Mem. Miss. Pr. vol. i, p. 158.

(2) See Davidson's Apology, ap. Whitaker, vol. iii, p. 547.

(3) "Forgery, I blush for the honour of Protestantism while I write it, seems to have been peculiar to the reformed...I look in vain for one of those accursed outrages of imposition amongst the disciples of Popery." Whitaker, Vindic. of Mary, vol. iii, p. 2. See also p p. 45, 46, &c.—"Forgery appears to have been the peculiar disease of Protestantism." Ibid, p. 54.

(4) Mary, at her trial, reproached Walsingham "with having practiced against her own and her son's life." Camden, Annales Eliz.—He was deep in the Gowry conspiracy, &c. See more of this afterwards.

cient religion. We are indeed not left to our suppositions on this hea or to the mere relations of the sufferers themselves, but we have detailed account, by a cotemporary writer of the first rank and a profess panegyrist of Elizabeth, of the infamous arts which her ministry employ against the above mentioned. We learn from him, that many " unde hand artifices were practiced to discover people's inclinations." (1) that it was not enough for the subject to be blameless in action, b methods were taken to extort his private wishes and thoughts. " Forg letters in the name of the queen of Scots and of the English emigran abroad were conveyed into the houses of Catholics." (2) Other forg letters in their names were conveyed to the queen of Scots. (3) Thus fairly acknowledged, what Catholics always suspected, and what is othe wise proved to have been the case, both in Elizabeth's and in the subs quent reigns, that their enemies hatched seditious and treasonable plo and then made use of their agents to see how many persons of that co munion they could draw into them, either to get rid of the parties ther selves, or to throw a general infamy on the whole body to which th belonged. " Emissaries were dispersed abroad every where to colle vain rumours and to catch unguarded words." (4) It is certain, that su impostors were not only employed in England to feign themselves Cath lics, and thereby to discover the priests who were hidden, but also many them were sent into foreign countries, to Rome, to Paris, to Douay, & where they took notes, and sometimes portraits, of all the students, a other Catholics whom they met with, so that upon their arrival at a sea-port in England they were sometimes immediately known and seiz

(1) " Certe ad explorandos hominum animos subdolæ artes fuere adhibitæ. Cam. A 1584.

(2) " Litteræ ementitæ sub regina Scotorum et profugorum nominibus clam submissæ in pontificiorum ædibus relictæ." Ibid, 1586.

(3) " Subrepserunt emissarii et submissæ sunt tam fictæ quam veræ literæ quibus in p niciem impelleretur " Ibid.

(4) " Emissarii ubique ad colligendos rumores et verba captanda dispersi." Ibid.

upo

upon; (1) at other times the above mentioned notes were employed in fabricating pretended, or extending real, plots. The emissaries in question were sometimes criminals or other prisoners, who procured their freedom by accepting of such base employments. Sometimes they were out-laws, who were permitted to return to England on the same conditions. (2) Not a few were disorderly youths who had been dismissed from the seminaries, or other apostate Catholics who were actuated by resentment, want, or the fear of persecution. (3) Finally, we are even told, that "false informers were encouraged," (4) when their errand was to accuse Catholics, and that the latter complained of being surrounded with such snares that it was impossible for them to escape the imputation

(1) Mem. Miss. Pr, passim.

(2) Such was Egremond Radcliff, half brother to the earl of Sussex, who having been out-lawed for the share he had in the Northern rebellion, wrote the most earnest letters from abroad to Cecil, in which he repeatedly offered himself to perform any service that might be put upon him, or to undergo any danger to which he might be exposed, provided he might obtain his pardon. He accordingly came over to England, in 1577, where he conferred with Walsingham, and was again sent abroad: soon after which he was executed, with his servant Grey, for an attempt upon the life of Don John of Austria, governor of the Low Countries. Camden acknowledges, that the Spaniards testified his having confessed, at his death, that he was commissioned by Walsingham to undertake this assassination, but that the English denied the fact. It is impossible, however, to read that wretch's several letters to Burghley, in Strype, and to compare circumstances together, without the fullest conviction that what the Spaniards asserted was true. Upon the death of Mary an English assassin was sent to take off her son James, by poison or some other way, as Whitaker proves from Moyse's Memoirs. See Vindication, vol. i, p. 265.—Different attempts were made upon the life of cardinal Allen, and the common well of the seminary of Douay was poisoned, which crimes were with just cause ascribed to the emissaries of Walsingham. See Rishton's Append. to Sanders, &c. Schism, Angl. c. v.—See afterwards the history of W. Parry.

(3) Such were Elliot, Munday, Sledd, Norton, also the apostate priests Tyrrel, Nichols, Bennet, &c. It is true these last mentioned retracted their depositions, and asked pardon of those whom they had accused, as may be seen in Rishton, Dodd, Strype, and Challoner's Memoirs, passim.

(4) "Vana deferentes admissi." Camd. ibid.

of disloyalty; (1) which account is confirmed by the historian himself who says, speaking of them, "innocence itself, when guarded by prudence, was no security to them." (2) These observations are proper to be suggested to every person of candour, who peruses the general account of the Catholics during the long persecution that Elizabeth carried on against them, and more particularly the inflamed charges by which you endeavour to vindicate that persecution. I may apply to the whole of this historical controversy the judicious and candid remark of the sagacious historian, whom I have referred to above, concerning that part of it which relates to the queen of Scots, "Thus surrounded," he says, "as we are by artifice and imposture on every side, when we find in the records of the times any thing that looks like real evidence, we cannot but suspect it of being sophisticated." (3)

In proceeding to state your arguments against the fidelity of Catholics under Elizabeth, were not you struck with the contrast that occurred between their behaviour at the beginning of her reign, and that of the chief Protestants, both clergy and laity, at the beginning of the reign of her sister Mary? The latter you know rose in arms and endeavoured to enthrone a usurper, of their own religion, (4) in the place of the lawful sovereign

(1) "Baro Pagettus car. Arundellus cum aliis conquerebantur reginam malis Leicestrii Walsinghami artibus ab ipsis immerito abalienari, singularia fraudis genera excogitari, tendiculas occultas poni, ut laqueis læsæ majestatis, velint nolint, improvidi irretirentur, nedomi spem salutis ullam." Ibid.

(2) "Vix præsidio erat innocentia prudens." Ibid.—The most singular circumstance in the whole account is, that Camden excuses all this oppression upon a pretence which would justify the cruelty of every tyrant upon record. His words are these: "Nec hujusmodi quidem artes, et prona credulitas vana censenda, cum de principis salute timeatur." Ibid. —How far a just government is allowed to proceed in detecting conspiracies that actually exist, I am not prepared to say; but to invent or encourage them, in order to get rid of obnoxious persons, is a practice that ought to be confined to those wicked spirits who tempt men to sin here, in order to punish them hereafter.

(3) Whitaker.

(4) The lady Jane, who was supported by Cranmer, Ridley, Jewel, and the whole council that had effected the change of religion in the former reign.

and when suppressed and treated with lenity, they renewed their rebellion a second time in little more than the space of half a year; (1) whereas the Catholics, tho' unquestionably at that time the more powerful party, made not the smallest opposition to the accession of Elizabeth, notwithstanding the illegitimacy of her birth in the eye of the canon law, and the refusal of that "violent old pontiff," as you call him, (2) Paul IV, (whose conduct I blame no less than yourself,) to acknowledge her title. All the bishops indeed, except Oglethorp of Carlisle, declined to officiate in the ceremony of her coronation; (3) but they never disputed her right to the crown, since it was recognized by the legislature, and the Catholic nobility beheld her violate her coronation oath, and make the most important changes in the established religion, (4) by her own authority, and previously to the meeting of parliament, without the smallest symptom of sedition or disloyalty. The case is, for want of evidence on this occasion at home against the Catholics, you are obliged to seek for it abroad, and accordingly you tell us, that "the king of France, not succeeding in his endeavours to procure from the pope Elizabeth's excommunication, ordered his son, the dauphin, and Mary queen of Scots, to assume the title of king and queen of England, &c. and that after his death they retained the same pretensions." (5) But pray, Sir, inform me, did any of the English Catholics acknowledge the justice of these pretensions? If

(1) The rebellions of the duke of Suffolk, lord Grey, bishop Poynet, sir Thomas Wyat, &c. Dr. S. expresses himself in terms of implied approbation of the latter, where he says, "Wyat's insurrection was occasioned by the just apprehension of the public, both on account of religion and national independency." P. 70.—I wish he would speak out fairly and tell us, whether it is equally unlawful for every sect to rebel against a government of a different religion from themselves, or whether some one or more sects have an exclusive privilege of this nature.

(2) P. 55. (3) Heylin, p. 106.

(4) "By a proclamation, published Dec. 30, 1558, she required that all such rites and ceremonies should be observed in parish churches as were used in her chapel." Heylin, p. 104. (5) P. 66.

not,

not, this first argument you have brought in justification of the penal laws against them is the strongest recommendation of their fidelity, and afforded the most equitable claim, on their part, to the protection and favour of a just government: for it proves, that if they had been disposed to raise a rebellion in behalf of their religion, they would not have wanted the assistance of one of the most powerful princes in Christendom. You are not less unsuccessful, Sir, in your attack upon the pope, in the passage I have quoted, than in that upon the English Catholics. For, whereas you undertake to demonstrate that "every attempt directed against Elizabeth was carried on under the avowed patronage and sanction of Rome;" (1) you are forced to acknowledge that the very first attempt of this nature met with a direct opposition from that quarter; the pope refusing, as you inform us, to excommunicate the queen, at the solicitation of the court of France. Your next instance is as little to the purpose as either of the former, in criminating either the Catholics or the pope. You say, "In 1561 a conspiracy was formed by two nephews of cardinal Pole, in favour of Mary." But, Sir, neither your author, Hume, (2) nor any osher author, has pretended to trace this conspiracy to Rome, or to the English Catholics, nor has any of them furnished grounds to believe, that these two young men were even of the Catholic communion. In a word, this foolish conspiracy was not, after all, directed against the person or government of Elizabeth, but only calculated to support the succession of Mary, in case of the former's decease, which some astrologers had taught them to expect within the compass of a year. (3) By following the above-mentioned treacherous guide you have fallen into an egregious error in making the duke of Norfolk the author

(1) P. 73.

(2) How servilely Dr. S. follows Hume appears by his copying even his anachronisms. Thus, in the present instance, he follows this very inaccurate historian, in placing the present conspiracy in 1561, whilst Heylin, (Eliz. p. 154) whom they both equally quote, refers it to 1562, as also Camden, Strype, &c. (3) Camden, ann. 1562.

of

of the Northern rebellion, where you write as follows: "An insurrection, occasioned by the duke of Norfolk, who wished to marry Mary, took place in 1569." (1) It is true, that Hume, who, like a dramatic writer, is ever intent on thickening his plot, endeavours to connect together those two events. But the following authentic facts entirely overthrow his and your theory. Norfolk was a prisoner in the Tower, in punishment of his matrimonial project, (though concerted with all the queen's ministers except Cecil and Bacon) at the time of Northumberland's taking up arms in the North, (2) when, so far from aiding the rebellion, he gave orders to his vassals and tenants to afford all their assistance in quelling it. (3) Finally, it is unjust in you to alledge the conduct of Norfolk, whatever that might have been, by way of criminating Catholics, as this nobleman lived and died a professed Protestant. (4) But still it may be said, (though you, Sir, have overlooked this strongest ground for your charges,) that a rebellion was actually raised in the North by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, for which the abrogation of the Catholic religion was one of the foremost pretexts. This, Sir, I grant, nor am I surprised that persons in their situation, who had taken up arms against government, should make use in their manifesto of so popular an argument as that in question still was amongst the majority of the nobility, gentry, and peasantry, at a distance from the capital. But, Sir, there were other motives which had a much greater weight with the authors of this insurrection than those of religion, namely, a jealousy of the undue

(1) P. 66.

(2) Norfolk was committed prisoner to the Tower, Oct. 11. Northumberland, being egged on by the particular artifices which Camden describes, took up arms Nov. 14. It is a circumstance which has escaped all our historians, that the original plan of Norfolk's marriage with Mary was laid at the marquis of Winchester's house in London, in 1568, at a meeting of the prime nobility, one of whom was the earl of Leicester, who afterwards betrayed the secrets of the meeting to Elizabeth. One part of their plan was to prosecute Cecil and Bacon and to get them executed. Respon. ad. Edict. p. 32.

(3) Camden. Echard. (4) Camden, ann. 1572.

influence

influence of Cecil and his friends over the mind of their sovereign, (1) and resentment for a particular injury which the duke of Northumberland had suffered, in the seizure of a rich mine that had been discovered upon his estate, by the officers of the crown. (2) In a word, Sir, whatever may be said of the immediate authors of this insurrection, the incident itself only served to display the fidelity of the Catholics at large throughout the kingdom, to a Protestant and a persecuting sovereign, in the most advantageous light. For we are assured, that they were universally solicited to take advantage of the situation of public affairs and to join in the rebellion; which if they had done, considering the power and influence of the nobility and gentry at that time, I am convinced they might have acted the same part by Elizabeth in England, which Mary's Protestant subjects were then acting by her in Scotland: but they knew their duty too well to violate their allegiance, in order to redress their religious grievances. Accordingly we are assured by unquestionable authority, that "the greater part of them sent the letters and messengers which they had received for the above-mentioned purpose to the queen, and that all of them offered their lives and fortunes in her defence: so that she was highly delighted and returned thanks to God for this singular proof of the loyalty of her subjects." (3)

(1) "Ut multitudinem imperitam contraherent, alios imperarunt ut armati se conjungerent ad reginam tutandam, aliis innuerunt universos Angliæ proceres ad Romanam religionem restaurandam conspirasse aliis se necessarie adactos ut arma sumerent ne prisca Angliæ nobilitas a novis hominibus concul caretur." Camd.—It is to be particularly remarked, that in their manifesto they did not deny, but expressly acknowledged the queen's title. "Declarant se in reginam nihil moliri, cui obsequentissimos subditos esse et fore devovent." Camd.

(2) Ibid.

(3) "Literas ad pontificios circumquaque per regnum missitant, ut vires conjungerent. Tantum autem abfuit ut se consociarint, ut plerique acceptas literas cum latoribus ad reginam transmiserint; suamque singuli ex omnibus regni partibus operam et opes contra illos, et ipse etiam Norfolcius, certatim obtulerint. Adeo ut summam certe et singularem subditorum fidem in ipsam perspexerit, et hoc nomine divinam benignitatem gratissimo animo agnoverit." Camd.

To

To proceed with your catalogue of charges against the Catholics: "Pius IV," you say, "in 1570, published a bull against Elizabeth, excommunicated her, declared her title to the crown void, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance." (1) Not to speak of your mistaking Pius IV, who died in 1565, for Pius V, and the year 1570 for 1569, (2) I shall here, previously to my answering the substance of your objection, make a very necessary and striking distinction. I presume then, Sir, you will not dispute the pontiff's right of declaring who are, and who are not, members of his communion, or, in short, of exercising the mere spiritual right of excommunication, with respect to every individual who is, or who pretends to be, a member of the universal church, of which he is the head. At all events the Catholics acknowledge this spiritual authority in him, and I must abide by any unfavourable consequences that you are able to draw from this avowal. But, Sir, the case is very different with respect to the claim of deposing princes, or depriving other persons whomsoever of their temporal rights, which some pontiffs have asserted and exercised. For this has ever been contested with such pontiffs, in the very zenith of their power, by Catholics of the most orthodox principles, and the most exemplary lives; nor have the popes, on account of this resistance, ceased to hold communion with them: as the example of the whole Gallican church proves. To form a clear idea of this matter, you must remark, Sir, that the abettors of the deposing power maintained it, not as an article of Catholic faith, but as a scholastic doctrine, which they thought they could defend by sufficient arguments of theology: they grounded it not on any supposed temporal dominion of the successor of St. Peter, but upon his authority to arbitrate amongst Christians, and to decide that nice point, which the reformers decided for themselves, (3) namely, when the tyranny of superiors is grown to be so oppressive

(1) P. 66. (2) See the date of the bull, viz. 5° Kal. Martii, 1569. Camd.

(3) Dr. S. introduces a note, p. 66, in which he attempts to answer a theological exposition of the doctrine of oaths, which I had occasion to give in my History, vol. i, p. 258,

oppressive that submission to them ceases to be a conscientious obligation
I now, Sir, come to speak of the case which you have proposed. It i
true, that the pope did issue a decree pretty nearly of the tenor whic
you have described. But the grand question recurs, how far this affecte
the allegiance of the English Catholics? Did they receive that sentenc
of deposition against their sovereign? Did they act up to the spirit of it
The fact is, only one person in their whole number, John Felton, a la
gentleman, who affixed it to the door of the bishop of London's house, i
known to have approved of it, for which act he died, condemned by th
whole Catholic body no less than by Protestants. (1) You go on: "I
1571. Norfolk entered into a new conspiracy, for which he suffered. Bot
these attempts were made in concert with the duke of Alva." In th
name of common sense, Sir, how are the English Catholics, or the pop
answerable for the matrimonial intrigues of that Protestant nobleman, o
for the political views of the governor of the Low Countries?

From England you carry us to France and the Netherlands, in order t

by sarcasms instead of arguments, and pretends to argue, in particular, from the gener
practice, that Catholics consider their oaths of allegiance to Protestant sovereigns to be suc
as admit of being dispensed with. This is a very unfortunate remark on his part, as
has been demonstrated by Dr. Patinson, Parsons, and others, that more sovereign princ
were deposed, in the whole or in part of the dominions, by their protestant subject
during the first century after the Reformation, than were deposed by the popes from th
time of their first pretending to any such power.

(1) "Hanc bullam pontificii plerique modestiores improbabant, multique eorum in debi
deinceps obedientia firmi permanserunt, cum vicinos principes et Catholicas provinci
assuetis cum regina commerciis minime abstinere et bullam tanquam vanum verboru
fragorem contemni viderent." Camd. an. 1570. Amongst those who disproved of the ex
communication, we are assured, were cardinal Allen and bishop Watson, who wished "th
the whole business had been left to the judgement of God." Patinson, Image of Churche
p. 503. This writer remarks, that Pius V must have had some very particular reasons f
the conduct in question, as Elizabeth was the only one of our Protestant sovereigns wh
was publicly excommunicated by the see of Rome, and as none of the foreign princes, wh
embraced the Reformation, were subjected to this disgrace, in Germany, Sweden, Den
mark, Scotland, Berne, &c.

stat

state certain transactions which have already been noticed. All that I shall say further concerning them is, to request you, Sir, to lay your hand upon your heart, and to answer me sincerely, whether you think the behaviour of the Catholics, that is to say, the professors of the ancient religion of this country, towards their Protestant sovereign, Elizabeth, would suffer by a comparison with the conduct of the Huguenots of France towards their Catholic monarchs, or of the Calvinists of the Low Countries towards Charles V and Philip II, even previously to the arrival of the duke of Alva amongst them? I will not pay so bad a compliment, either to your information or your candour, as to doubt, whether this single question would not make you wish to withdraw all your charges against the fidelity of the English Catholics.

Your next attack is made upon the foreign seminaries: "About this time," you say, "institutions were formed and levelled against the religion of the country. These were seminaries at Douay, Rheims, and Rome, under the direction of the Jesuits, for the express purpose of educating English ecclesiastics, who were to act as missionaries, to inspire the queen's subjects with detestation of her as an heretic and devoted to perdition, and to encourage them to execute on her the papal sentence." (1) This is an abridgement of the unfaithful and calumniating Hume's account of this matter, and almost in his words. But, Sir, if I make it appear, that you and your guide are guilty of the most egregious errors with respect to plain matter of fact in your account of these seminaries, I think no one will give you credit for your opinions concerning the intentions for which they were instituted. In the first place then, you yourself assign two different dates for the first establishment of this nature, and both of them different from the real date of it. In the passage above quoted, you ascribe this institution to about the year 1572. In another place you say, "the hostile seminaries of Rheims and Douay were instituted about the 23d year of Elizabeth's reign," (2) which corres-

(1) P. 67. (2) P. 73.

ponds with the year of Christ 1581. In the second place, you describe the seminaries of Rheims and Douay as two distinct establishments whereas there was but one and the same society, which having been first founded in 1568 at Douay, by Dr. Allen, (1) (who had been formerly principal of St. Mary's-hall, Oxford, and became afterwards cardinal) was forced, by the popular commotions in the Low Countries, to retire to Rheims in 1578, where its members continued until the year 1593, when the commotions being quelled, they returned to Douay. (2) Lastly, both yourself and Hume impose a direct falsehood upon your readers, where you assert, that the seminaries of Douay, Rheims, and Rome, "were under the direction of the Jesuits." The grand establishment that removed from Douay to Rheims, and from Rheims again to Douay, (being the chief nursery for Catholic priests, as having alone furnished 150 of that order who laid down their lives for their religion) was never under the direction of the Jesuits, and even the small college at Rome was not originally subject to them. But, Sir, to meet your accusation more directly, tell me, in what respect the seminaries were more "levelled against the religion of their country," or more "hostile" to it, than the

(1) David Hume, who is as much a romance-writer as he is an historian, introduces the king of Spain as pondering on the necessity of giving the Catholic youth and ecclesiastics "some species of literature in order to support their doctrine and controversies, and for this reason founding the seminary of Douay." He adds, that "the cardinal of Lorrain imitated his example by erecting a like seminary at Rheims." The fact is, Philip and his government, so far from founding the seminary at Douay, which was done at the expence of Dr. Allen himself and his friends, did not even afford it effectual protection. Camden, however, expresses himself in too strong terms of the Spanish governor, Requesens, where he says of him, "that he dissolved the seminary of Douay at the request of the English ambassador Wilson." Ann. 1575.—Strype, who was a much more careful historian, though a more virulent writer than Hume, makes cardinal Allen himself a Jesuit. He was so ill informed in Catholic affairs, as to say, that Douay college was transferred into Scotland; but what is infinitely worse, he puts down a false and forged form of oath, which he pretends to have been taken in that seminary. Vol. ii, p. 630.

(2) Dodd, vol. ii, p. 46.

English

English Protestant societies, under the direction of Cox, Knox, Fox, Jewel, Horn, Goodman, and Whittingham, at Zurich, Franckfort, and Geneva, had been in the reign of queen Mary? It is true they were instituted for preserving the ancient religion of England, being the only means left for this purpose, when the means of obtaining a liberal education and Catholic ordination were intercepted at home by the persecution of Elizabeth's government; but it is a shameful calumny, that the "express purpose of educating English ecclesiastics in them was to inspire the queen's subject with detestation of her, and to encourage them to execute on her the papal sentence," or, as Hume more openly expresses it, that "sedition, treason, and sometimes assassination, were the expedients by which they (the seminary priests) purposed to effectuate their purposes againt her." (1) So far from any thing of this sort being true, I will venture to say of the seminaries in question, and of the other colleges which were afterwards founded in imitation of them, that from the time of their institution until they were swallowed up in the present deluge of impiety and anarchy, they were models to all places of education throughout Christendom, for the religious piety, the strict morality, the regular discipline, and the constant application to study, which prevailed in them. The young men that chiefly peopled them in the reign of Elizabeth were students from Oxford, who had quitted all their wordly comforts and hopes, and exposed themselves to the most ignominious and cruel death, in order to embrace the religion which their consciences most approved of, and to communicate it to others. (2) They were taught indeed to prefer this to every other consideration, but they were also instructed to be *subject* to their princes and civil magistrates in all points, except those of a religious nature, *not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake.* (3) They were particularly admonished to acknowledge the queen's title to the throne, notwithstanding the sentence of excommunication that stood out against her; and the question concerning the

(1) Eliz. c. iv.
(2) See Memoirs of Miss. Pr. Dodd's Hist. passim.
(3) Rom. xiii, 5.

pope's

pope's claim to depose princes was absolutely shut out of their schools, and prohibited from being canvassed, even in private conversation, amongst them. (1) We have still in our hands many publications that issued from these seminaries, and so far from inculcating the seditious lessons that yourself indirectly, and Hume more openly, charges them with, they will be found to teach directly the contrary. (2) In particular we are assured, that on the occasion when they were most heavily calumniated, namely, on the disclosure of Babington's plot, "they, the divines of Rheims, directed a pastoral to the Catholics of England, warning them against disturbing the government, and telling them, that prayers and tears were the only arms which they ought to make use of against their persecutors." (3) Hence, Sir, you will not find more than one Catholic, whether priest or layman, amongst the 200 sufferers for their religion under Elizabeth, that refused to acknowledge her title to the crown, (4) and not more than one seminary priest, out of above 130 of that description then executed, who appears to have been concerned in any real conspiracy. (5) It is true, a pretended plot, against the queen's person and government, which you hint at, (6) that was said to have been formed at Rheims and Rome, was sworn to by a set of perjured hire-

(1) Cardinal Allen's Answer to Cecil's Execution of Engl. Just. This work has been misrepresented by a croud of writers, who never saw a page of it, as teaching quite opposite doctrines to those which it actually contains. A summary of it may be seen in Strype's Annals of Ref. vol. iii, p. 66.

(2) See the Rheims Testament with the Annotations upon it, where the learned translators strongly enforce the conscientious obligation of performing "every duty of obedience to lawful princes, even though they are infidels." P. 301. See also the Survey of Religions, by the celebrated Dr. Kellison, fourth president of Douay college, in which he demonstrates "no loss of authority to accrue from the loss of faith."

(3) Collier, Ch. Hist. vol. ii, p. 599.

(4) James Leyburn, executed at Lancaster in 1583, whose name is therefore omitted in Dr. Challoner's Memoirs.

(5) John Ballard. (6) P. 73.

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lings, against the priests, Campian, (1) Sherwin, and about a dozen others, and they were actually put to death upon the charge at the close of the year 1581. But the falsehood of the whole accusation appears from the account of the queen's professed advocate, Camden. This author admits, that Elizabeth was overcome, by the entreaties of her ministers, to consent that Campian and his companions should be tried for treason, which would not have been the case if she had really thought them guilty of it. He moreover acquaints us with the motives for these trials and subsequent executions, namely, to appease the minds of the multitude, who thought that the Protestant religion was in danger, in consequence of Elizabeth's projected marriage with the duke of Anjou. (2) Finally, we are to observe, that their lives were severally offered to most of them on the condition of changing their religion; (3) which every one must see would have been no atonement for real treason.

The villainy of William Parry, which was in fact a plot of Elizabeth's unprincipled ministry against the lives of Catholics, is now adduced by you as a conspiracy of their's against her life; which conspiracy, you say, was "encouraged by a Jesuit, a nuncio, a cardinal, and the pope." (4) Such I know is the account of your author, Hume, whose wrong date

(1) F. Campian was a man who had been distinguished by his talents and public exercises at Oxford, previously to his embracing the Catholic faith. Upon his return to England, he addressed to that university a work, still extant, called Decem Rationes, distinguished by its purity of style and perspicuity of reasoning. Amongst other persons of consideration whom he reconciled to the ancient church, was the bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Cheney. Strype's Annals, vol. ii, p. 107. On his trial he entirely overthrew all the arguments brought to establish his guilt, to the satisfaction of all present, and the attorney-general, Popham, was constrained to signify to the jury, that it was her majesty's pleasure the prisoner should suffer. See the authorities cited in Mem. Miss. vol. i.

(2) "Post Andini in Angliam adventum, regina ut formidinem demeret, quæ multorum animos occuparat religionem immutatam iri, et pontificios tolerandos, importunis precibus evicta permisit ut Edm. Campianus, R. Sherwin, &c. sacerdotes judicio sisterentur ex lege xxv Edw. III," &c. Camd. Ann. 1581.

(3) Mem. Miss. Pr. vol. i, p. 51, &c. (4) P. 67.

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you again adopt (1) with the rest of his errors, and of some other superfi cial and prejudiced writers. That romancing author begins his account c this egregious impostor as follows: "William Parry, a Catholic gentle man, had received the queen's pardon for a crime by which he wa exposed to capital punishment, and having got permission to travel he re tired to Milan, and made open profession of his religion, which he ha concealed whilst he remained in England." (2) There is hardly a word c truth in the whole of this exordium. The fact is, he was a Protestan of the meanest birth, and of a still more sordid and vicious mind, (3 though by some means or other he contrived to get the degree of LL. D and a place in the queen's service. (4) Having committed a burglary, an wounded a man with an intent to rob him, (5) he redeemed his forfeite life by engaging in the dangerous service of a foreign spy (6) to Walsing ham and Burghley, from the latter of whom he also obtained a pensior This happened in 1580, in which, and during the three following years we have proofs of his executing his commission to the satisfaction of hi employers, by his letters to Burghley from Paris, Lyons, Venice, and othe places, in which he communicates intelligence concerning Catholics, both natives and foreigners, and boasts of the mischiefs that he had done them particularly in "shaking the seminary of Rheims, and overthrowing th pensioners at Rome, by courses strange and extraordinary." (7) He di not fail, however, to solicit for more ample supplies of money, by mean

(1) Viz. 1584, instead of 1585, which is assigned as the real date of the conspiracy i consequence of the supposed disclosure of it. See Camden, Stow, &c.

(2) Eliz. c. iv.

(3) His father kept a miserable ale-house at Northop, in Flintshire. He himself wa guilty of divers frauds and other crimes in Wales. Strype, vol. iii, p. 252.

(4) Camd. Ann. 1565. (5) Ibid, Strype, vol. iii, p. 255.

(6) "This man (W. Parry) had earnestly requested of Burghley to travel abroad to do th queen service, as a spy and private intelligencer in the Popish countries:" Strype's Annal vol. ii, p. 593.

(7) Ibid, pp. 648, 649, vol. iii, pp. 79, 80, 188, 255, 256, &c.

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of which he promised to do still greater things. The more effectually to impose upon Catholics, he twice went through the ceremony of abjuring Protestantism, and of being solemnly received into the Catholic communion, namely, at Paris and at Milan. (1) His grand object was to get access to persons of distinction and note. Some of these, amongst whom was the experienced F. Parsons, kept him at a distance, suspecting him to be what he really was, a spy to the English ministry. (2) With others he succeeded in forming more or less of an acquaintance, either in person or by letters. Amongst other persons, to whom he got recommended, was cardinal Cosmo, the pope's minister at Rome, who being assured that he was a person who had it both in his power and his inclination to render great service to the afflicted Catholics in England, (3) wrote him a letter of compliments, telling him that the pontiff applauded his zeal, exhorted him to persevere, and gave him his apostolical blessing in the usual form. There is not a word in the letter that so much as glances at the horrid crime of assassinating Elizabeth. (4) It is true, according to his own account, that he sounded some persons abroad concerning it. Amongst these, if we believe this account, Creichton the Jesuit, and Watts the priest, absolutely condemned the project, and only Thomas Morgan, an agent, to the queen of Scots at Paris, and Edmund Nevil, kinsman to Cecil, approved of it. (5) In 1583 he returned to England and gave an account of his proceeding to the queen in person, and also to her ministers, who were so well satisfied with his conduct that they consented or rather concurred to his getting a seat in Parliament. In this situation he conti-

(1) See his last speech, Strype, vol. iii, p. 250. His being reconciled twice over proves that the whole was a mere farce and imposition.

(2) Patinson, Image of Ch. p. 513.

(3) He got a letter conveyed to Cosmo by Raggazoni, the pope's nuncio at Paris, in which he acknowledges that he had done the Catholics much mischief, but said he was returning to England to repair it. Ibid, p. 516.

(4) See a translation of the letter, Strype, vol. iii, p. 249.

(5) Camd. Annal. Strype, vol. iii. Append. n. 46. Patinson.

nued to act the same hypocritical part, patronizing the Catholics in publi
in order to deceive them, and communicating with them in priva
in order to betray them. He over acted his part so much on the occasio
of a new penal law against Priests and Jesuits, in the beginning of the ye
1585, exclaiming against the proposers of it in the most violent term
that he was taken into custody, most probably by order of the speak
of the Commons, and being called upon to explain his conduct, he refus
to give any account of it, except to the queen's council. (1) In fact, the
were in the secret of his behaviour, and accordingly they ordered him
be discharged. In conclusion, growing sullen and mutinous at bein
refused the mastership of St. Catharine's, and also a pension, for bot
which he solicited, and having a quarrel about the same time with h
former acquaintance, Nevil, now become lord Latimer (each one accusi
the other of treason, and the question being which of them was the du
and which the impostor) he was abandoned by his old master and left
the severity of the law: on which occasion he exclaimed, that he ha
been the author of his own fate by his inconsistency of conduct. (2)
in any circumstances, a false hypocritical wretch of this description is
be believed, it is upon the scaffold, when his wiles being exhausted,
finds himself on the point of suffering the consequences of his villain
Accordingly, in this situation, Parry made the most solemn declaratio
of his being, and ever having been, the most faithful servant of Elizabet
pleading the goodness of his intention towards her in all that he had don
but acknowledging his fault in having made that two-fold recantatio
mentioned above; which alone proves that he never was a Catholic. (
Being charged by the pursuivant, Topcliff, with cardinal Cosmo's lett
as a proof that he intended to murder Elizabeth at the suggestion of t
pope, he replied, "O! Mr. Topcliff, you clean mistake it: I deny su
matter to be in the letter." (4)

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(1) Camd. (2) "Mihi moriendum video qua mihi ipsi minime constiterim." Cam
(3) Camd. Strype, vol. iii, p. 250.
(4) Ibid.—Dr. S. by his note on this matter, and what he says of pope Gregory X
elsewh

You now lead us to the completion at once of the triumph and of the infamy of Elizabeth and her ministry, namely, Babington's plot, "to which," you say, "Mary acceded, and for which she suffered." The fact is, this plot was contrived and carried on by that ministry, whose tools, Babington and his associates were, for the express purpose of her destruction. It has been proved that each one of those great trials and misfortunes, with which this most amiable and innocent princess had been previously afflicted, was either directly caused, or efficaciously promoted, by her envious and unprincipled rival, Elizabeth, and her still more remorseless ministry. These were the numerous seditions and rebellions against her in Scotland, the assassination before her eyes of her faithful secretary, Rizzio, the strange murder of her husband, king Henry Darnly, with his servants, and then the infamous charge, supported by daring forgeries, of having caused that murder, which the perpetrators of it endeavoured to throw off themselves upon her. (1) Having, at length, taken refuge in this country, by the pressing invitation of its sovereign, from the blood-thirsty fury and fanaticism of her own rebellious subjects, instead of an hospitable reception she met with a prison, where she was detained a captive the 19 last years of her life, subject to constant vexations, insults, and persecutions, and denied, even till the last moment of her life, the private exercise of her religion. (4) So early as the year 1572, that is to say, within the fourth year of her captivity, ministry was

elsewhere, is very desirous of making him pass for a man of blood and the assassin of Elizabeth. How much Dr. S. wrongs his memory, in the latter particular, appears by a letter from Anthony Tyrrell, a priest from Rome, then confined in prison, which he addressed to her by way of recanting certain falsehoods, that the fear of torments had extorted from him. He says "As to pope Gregory I protest, as I hope to be saved, I never heared him speak any thing for your prejudice. But I have seen him shed tears for your Majesty, and he has by his own mouth commanded us to pray for you, and not to intermeddle with any thing but what directly concerned our profession." Strype, Annal. vol. iii. Append. p. 158.

(1) See these several points proved by Whitaker, in his Vindication of Mary.

(2) Camden, An. 1587.

resolved upon bringing her to a public execution, (1) and the acticles of h impeachment were actually drawn up; (2) but the haughty Elizabet who dreaded the degradation of royalty, even in the person of an enem put a stop to the proceedings. Upon this, the chief minister, Cecil, mad offers of delivering up the royal victim into the hands of her rebelliou subjects, *upon security being given that she should be put to death*, (3 on a charge of that very murder which they themselves, with his con currence, had committed. What petitions were not procured, wha associations were not formed, what acts of assassinations were not at tempted against the life of this unfortunate queen, merely because she wa a Catholic and the heir apparent of the crown! (4) It is certain, tha each one of that ministerial junto, described above, at different time used means to get her privately murdered, and that Elizabeth herse

(1) See letters of that date to the said effect from Burghley, Leicester, and Walsingha Strype's Annals, vol. ii, b. i, c. 15.

(2) Ibid.

(3) See Cecil's letter to Killigrew. Murdin's State Papers, p. 225.

(4) "Leicestrius, qui credebatur de pervertenda legitima successione moliri sicarios su misit ut perhibent nonnulli, qui illam se medio tollerent. Drurius autem recti honestiq cultor scelus ex animo perosus, omni accessu prohibuit." Camd. An. 1584.—In 1586, previous to any trial of Mary, Leicester proposed his usual expedient to get rid of her, namel "poison, and he sent a divine to convince Walsingham that this was lawful." Camd. B in fact there was no need of the casuistry of divines to persuade that unprincipled ma whose *conscience was seared with a hot iron*, that any thing was lawful which was expedien Mary charged him upon her trial, with having "practiced, as she had heared, both again her own life and that of her son." Camd. We have his letter, subscribed also by h fellow secretary of state, Davison, to Mary's keeper, sir Amias Poulet, urging him *to ta the burden of shedding blood off* Elizabeth, and to find *some way to shorten the life* of Mar making use of motives of religion and conscience, amongst others, for this purpose. S the letter in Whitaker's Vindic. vol. iii, p. 550. But the principal contriver and actor this bloody scene, was the hoary hypocrite, Cecil, lord Burghley, as this author prove ibid, p. 563; though it seems to have escaped him, and other late writers, that Cecil w on this account driven from Elizabeth's presence, and treated with the same feigned r sentment by Elizabeth as Davison himself was. See Cecil's Letters to Eliz. Strype's Anna vol. iii, b. ii, c. i.

promote

promoted and urged the execution of the bloody project; (1) which would inevitably have taken place, had not Mary's keepers felt some sparks of conscience within their breasts, or rather had they not foreseen that in this case, they would have been left to the infamy and punishment of their crime,

(1) " Porro Powlettum et Drurium culpavit (Elizabetha) quod eam hac cura non liberassent et optavit ut Walsinghamus eorum animos hac de re tentaret." Camd. Ann. 1587. See Davison's Apology, from which the above passage is taken, more at length in Whitaker, vol. iii, Append. n. 16, with that sagacious writer's comments upon it. Amongst the records of this important transaction, which have been so industriously sought out by late writers, I am surprised that none of them have met with a letter from Elizabeth herself to sir Amias Poulet concerning it, being the master-piece of that queen's characteristical hypocrisy and cruelty. Strype, vol. iii, p. 361, from MSS. Cecil. It will remind the readers of Shakespeare of the scene between king John and Hubert, when the former endeavours to work up the latter to undertake the murder of his nephew Arthur.

" *To my faithful Amyas,*

" Amyas my most careful and faithful servant, God reward thee treblefold in the double for thy most troublesome charge so well discharged. If you knew, my Amyas, how kindly besides dutifully, my grateful heart accepteth your double labours and faithful actions, your wise orders and safe conduct, performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your troubles and rejoice your heart. And (which I charge you to carry this most just thought) that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgement, the value I prize you at: and I suppose no treasure to countervail such faith: and condemn myself in that fault which I have committed if I reward not such deserts. Yea let me lack when I have most need, if I acknowledge not such a merit, with a reward *non omnibus datum.*

But let your wicked mistress know how with hearty sorrow her vile deserts compel those orders; and bid her from me ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealings to the saver of her life many years to the intolerable peril of her own. And yet not content with so many forgivenesses must fall again so horribly, far passing a woman much more a princess. Instead of excusing whereof, not one can serve, it being so plainly confessed by the actors of my guiltless death. Let repentance take place, and let not the fiend possess so as her best part be lost. Which I pray with hands lifted up to him that may both save and spill. With my loving adieu and prayer for thy long life,

Your assured and loving sovereign in heart, by good desert induced,

Elizabeth Regina."

The unusual style of flattery which prevails throughout the former part of this letter, we see, is admirably calculated to work up Paulet's vanity and expectations to the greatest height possible, after which his whole vengeance is directed against his prisoner, Mary, as the

crime, in order to serve the passions of others. (1) At length it bein resolved upon to have recourse to legal execution, an express act of pa liament was procured for Mary's destruction, in which the objection th had hitherto stood in the way of ministry, namely, that she was not a English subject, was obviated. All then that now remained to be don was to engage some rash young men of the Scotish, or the Catholic part in a conspiracy, to set Mary at liberty, with some intended violen against the person of Elizabeth or the peace of the realm, and then procure evidence real or forged of Mary's being implicated in it; and th work, Walsingham, by means of his band of spies, hypocrites, an forgers, was soon enabled to accomplish.

We are not to be surprized if the account that has reached us of th dark and complicated conspiracy should be imperfect and confused, as a the evidence concerning it has passed through the hands of a party con cerned in it, who are proved to have been guilty of the most shamefu frauds and forgeries in conducting it. Hence no writer yet has been ab to furnish a consistent or plausible account of it. Camden, who is o every account entitled to the most credit, is nevertheless proved to hav made many mistakes, and confounded the order of events. Thus muc is clearly ascertained, that the aforesaid secretary of state acted the prin cipal part in the beginning, in the progress, and in the conclusion, of th mo

the intentional murderer of his benefactress and friend, Elizabeth. He is left to execu this in any manner that he himself may devise, provided he exhorts the victim to *repentan* so that *her better part* (her soul) *may not be lost*.—In the end, these delicate hints, and afte wards other downright directions, both to Paulet and Drury, proving ineffectual, Elizabe called them "*nice and precise fellows who in words would do great things for her safety, but deed perform nothing*. She concluded that the work should be done without them, and sai that Wingfield, with some others, would undertake it." Davison's Apol. See Whit. vo iii, p. 556.

(1) See Paulet's answer to Walsingham, in which he excuses himself from "doing act which God and the law forbideth." Ibid. Upon Elizabeth's urging that her riv should be privately taken off by her keepers, Paulet and Drury, secretary Davison "to he

most bloody tragedy. Giffard, (1) who is mentioned as being active in corrupting Savage, the principal assassin, and who was afterwards employed in attempting to ensnare the poor captive Mary herself, was the chief agent of Walsingham. (2) "The vile impostor Maud, who took the priest Ballard with him abroad," in order to get the English emigrants and some foreign power to take part in the plot, was the hired emissary of Walsingham; (3) and that "master of deception, Polley," who, by

her, that it was a marvellous extremity she would have exposed those gentlemen unto. For if they should have done that she desired; she must either allow their act or disallow it. If she allowed it, she took the matter upon herself, with an infinite dishonour. If she disallowed it, she overthrew those faithful gentlemen." Apol. ut supra.—We can have no doubt what Elizabeth would have done in this case. For if she made such loud and confident protestations, throughout Europe, of her innocence of Mary's death, when the latter was executed by her own warrant; and if she punished Davison so severely for obeying her repeated orders to that effect, we can have no doubt but she would have exclaimed and lamented with tenfold violence, and have made Paulet and Drury die the most cruel death of murderers, if they had put their royal prisoner to death illegally and without her warrant, however desirous she was of their doing it.

(1) This was not Dr. Giffard, a superior in the seminary of Rheims, who was afterwards archbishop of Rheims, as Echard supposes, nor was he a priest at all, as Hume and even Camden relate, but a degenerate young man, by name Gilbert Giffard, of the Chillington family, whose father was at that time a prisoner for his religion in London. Being at Paris in 1585, he compleatly deceived Mary's agent there, Morgan, who recommended him to her as a person capable of doing her great service. See Morgan's Letter to Mary in Murdin's State Papers, p. 454. This Giffard afterwards went abroad, where being cast into prison, for the wickedness of his life, he died in great misery. Camden.

(2) Camden.

(3) "Ballardus sacerdos in Galliam commitatus Maudo, Walsinghami emissario vaferrimo, qui illi impudenti fucum fecerat redit." Hume transforms Maud also into a priest, and writes of him as follows: "That artful minister (Walsingham) had engaged Maud, a Catholic priest, whom he retained in his pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France." To judge of this historian's accuracy, I request, that the sentence, just quoted, may be compared with Camden's original given above. Is it that Hume did not understand Latin, or that being indifferent to the truth of history, he was only anxious to weave a plausible narration?

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his affected zeal for the service of Mary, (1) drove the rash youths with whom he associated into greater excesses than they would otherwise have thought of, "had every day access to this minister, in order to give him an account of what was going forward." (2) Even Babington himself was, for some days previously to the disclosure of the plot, entertained by Walsingham at his house as a guest, and proposals passed between them of his enlisting in the service as a spy upon the Catholic emigrants. (3) In the mean time the secretary was busily employed with his clerks, Thomas Philips and Arthur Gregory, who were trained to such arts, in writing forged letters with the name and private cypher of Mary or of other persons, and in opening their real letters and inserting such postscripts in them as tended to increase the guilt and number of the conspirators. (4) He even procured a picture of the assembled conspirators, with a suitable motto beneath it, to be made, which he shewed to Elizabeth, at once to recommend his own diligence in detecting the plot, and to work her up to a proper degree of fury against the unfortunate Mary, in whose behalf it was carrying on. (5) He wished to have spun out the affair to a still greater

(1) It appears, from another letter of Morgan's to Mary, dated July 20, 1585, that Polley had been abroad, and had imposed upon him no less than Maud did, and had even procured money through his means. Murdin, p. 446, &c.

(2) "In societatem (conjuratorum) se insinuavit Pollius in reginæ Scotorum negotiis apprime instructus, simulandi et dissimulandi peritissimus, qui omnia eorum consilia Walsinghamo indies aperuisse et juvenes in mala pronos *pejora suggerendo*, præcipites impulisse creditur." Camd.

(3) Camd. (4) Ibid.

(5) That a picture of Babington, surrounded by his fellow conspirators, was painted from the life, and shewn by Walsingham to the queen, who said that she knew the faces of none of them, except that of Barnwell, I fully believe on the credit of Camden, who relates it; but I cannot admit his supposition, which has passed current with all subsequent writers, that this picture was executed by the order of Babington himself, and that every one of the 15 persons concerned would consent to put his life into the hands of a common painter, and of innumerable other persons who might chance to see it, merely to gratify a momentary vanity. For we are to observe, that the figures were portraits shewn to the queen, to see if she could recognize the features of any of them.—On the other hand, we know

greater length, but Elizabeth required him to cut it short; (1) when it proved an easy matter for him to seize upon the 14 unfortunate dupes of his villainy, and not a more difficult one to get them condemned and executed with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. They died acknowledging and deploring their guilt, particularly the six who had been acquainted with and engaged in the scheme of assassination. (2) This circumstance alone suffices to acquit these men's religion of that guilt which you and other writers endeavour to affix to it in consequence of their crime.

But the grand catastrophe was not yet unfolded; a more noble prey was wanting to grace the savage triumph of Walsingham; in short, the queen of Scots was indicted upon the late act, which had been made for this express purpose, as being a party to the conspiracy for murdering the queen of England. Never did a prisoner at the bar labour under greater disadvantages than Mary did on this occasion. She had to contend with 45 of the ablest men (3) that their age and country could produce, amongst whom were her sworn enemies, Leicester, Burghley, and Walsingham. She had neither advocate to plead for her, nor counsellor to advise her. (4) She was even deprived of the use of her papers, all which were in the custody of her enemies. Besides this, she had to fight against the dreadful engine of forgery, which was employed against her in this trial, as it had been before in her examination, concerning the

know that Walsingham was accustomed to procure portraits of those whom he suspected, and it was an easy matter for him, being possesed of those of the conspirators, to get them put into one picture. I have shewn above what useful purposes this picture was calculated to answer for his ends.

(1) Camden. (2) Ibid.

(3) So many names of persons appear in the commission for trying her.

(4) Consiliariis sum destituta; chartæ et notulæ sunt ablatæ, nullus est qui patronum mihi se præbere audet." Camd.—Even the unfortunate Louis XVI and Antoinette, in the midst of Jacobinical daggers and guillotines, found, and were allowed to have, faithful and able official defenders, before they met with that fate, to which Mary, amongst sovereigns, first led them the way.

death of her husband, Darnley. But what was the most cruel circum stance of all, her own secretaries proved unfaithful to her, and charged he behind her back, with having dictated certain letters concerning th assassination, which they themselves had written without her privit The fact is, they were now prisoners in the hands of men who knew fu well how to employ the motives both of hope and terror, in order to ben them to their views; (1) and indeed they had no other means of saving the own lives, but by pleading that what they had written was by the order their mistress. Still, however, the conscious innocence of Mary, and th native powers of her mind, supported her under all these difficulties, an enabled her to make a defence which still stands an invincible monumen of her innocence and her characteristic virtues. (2) On this occasion sh defied her accusers to produce a single line of her own hand-writing, a single living witness, to prove her to have been privy to the crimes which she stood accused. She said, that letters might have been writte in her name and cypher, either by one of her honourable judges the present (Walsingham), who was a practitioner in such arts, (3) or by h secretaries, who frequently took the liberty of writing in her name wh she had never dictated; that it was very possible for Babington and h companions to suppose that the letters they had received came from he and that it was still more likely that when apprehended, the fear of to ments and death might make them pretend they had acted by her order In a word, she said, that if her enemies intended to make use of the evidence against her, they ought to have confronted them with her. Sh

(1) Camden says, it is proved by letters, that when Mary's secretary Curl demanded h promised reward of Walsingham, the latter reminded him of the special pardon which had received, thereby intimating that it was enough for him to have escaped with his li Hence this author concludes his account of Mary with this sentence: "Amanuensium a sentium, qui pretio corrupti videbantur, testimoniis oppressa."

(2) Camden. See also Causin's Holy Court.

(3) "Facile esse aliorum characteres & cyphras ementiri; vereri etiam ne hoc in suu caput jam factum per Walsinghamum." Camden.

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acknowledged that she had, at different times, sought to regain that liberty of which she had been near 20 years deprived, contrary to all the laws of hospitality and of justice, and that she had earnestly wished to procure relief for the poor persecuted Catholics; but she protested, that however earnestly she desired the accomplishment of these ends, she would not procure them by the death of the meanest wretch upon earth, much less by that of her cousin Elizabeth; adding emphatically, that *she loved her own soul too well to defile it with such a crime*; (1) in short, that she had chosen Hester for her model and not Judith. She referred to her papers, then in the possession of her accusers, for proofs that she was averse to any service being rendered to her by crimes or violences of any sort; and in particular, she said, it would appear from them that her partisans had begged her pardon for not informing her when they meditated any thing of that nature, knowing that she would not consent to it. With respect to the testimony of her secretaries (which is universally allowed to be the hinge on which the whole evidence against her turned) (2) she proved they were not competent witnesses against her for many reasons, particularly, because they were sworn to keep her secrets, and therefore, by the very attempt to criminate her, would prove themselves perjured wretches, undeserving of credit. She alledged that they very often had written in her name without her authority; and finally, she required that, if they were still living, they might be confronted with her, declaring, that they would not dare to charge her to her face with being privy to the assassination in question. (3) The refusal of any prosecutor to accept of such a challenge would alone suffice to overturn this

(1) "Animæ naufragium conjurando in perniciem charissimæ sororis nunquam fecerim." Camden.

(2) "Sententiæ ex amanuensum fide tota pependit." Camden. Hume makes the same concession.

(3) "Certe scio quod si (amanuenses) adessent me extra omnem culpam causamque ponerent." Camden. This author remarks, that by a statute of the reigning queen it was required that all witnesses should be confronted with the accused.

charge in the minds of every equitable jury now a days, and to draw from them a verdict of *not guilty* in favour of the most ill-famed wretch who could be brought before them. In short, it is impossible to conceive that Elizabeth's ministers would have neglected to bring Nau and Curl to support their testimony openly in the presence of their mistress, even tho' she herself had not required it, if they had not been conscious that these poor intimidated and bribed secretaries could not stand her examination without overwhelming them with confusion. In the end, she was officially informed by lord Buckhurst and Beal the clerk of the council, that she was condemned to die, and "that public security required that she should suffer, because the established religion was thought not to be secure *whilst she was in being*." (1) The same cause was still more clearly expressed by Henry Grey, earl of Kent, who was appointed to superintend her execution: "Your life," said he, "will be the death of our religion, and your death will be the life of it." Upon this, turning to Burgoign, her physician, she exclaimed, "How great is the force of truth; I am condemned for conspiring against the queen's life, but now the earl of Kent has confessed that I am to suffer for the security of their religion."(2) I need not say any thing of her conduct at her death, except to remark, that it is not thus conscious murderers die. This, even as related by her greatest enemies, exhibits the meek fortitude of a Christian heroine, and the edifying sanctity of a martyr. (3) If from Mary's dying scene we turn to that of Elizabeth, where all was sullen melancholy, deep remorse, and fixed despondency, (4) we shall have no difficulty in determining, without

(1) Camden. (2) Ibid. (3) Hume, Echard, &c.

(4) Collier, speaking of Elizabeth's death, says, "Without pronouncing on the cause, it is certain her last scene was dark and disconsolate." One of her courtiers, Robert Cary, earl of Monmouth, in the Memoirs of his own Life, cited by Whitaker, Vindic. vol. i. p. 46, gives some particulars of this scene. He says, that he found the queen, in her last sickness, "*seated upon cushons*," where she persisted in remaining, on the ground, "four days and nights at least;" that he "used the best words he could to persuade her from this melancholy, but that it was too deeply rooted in her heart to be removed;" that in her discourse

without further proof, which of these rival queens laboured under the real guilt of murder. I think, Sir, you have not consulted the interest of your cause in introducing the Catholic queen as conspiring against the life of the Protestant sovereign, and thereby rendering the present comparison of them necessary.

You charitably spare me the task of unravelling and exposing the ridiculous plots of Squires and the poisoned saddle, and of the Jew physician, Lopez; though these are regularly enumerated by other writers who have preceded you in the employment of denouncing the crimes of Catholics, and in justifying the penal laws that were enacted against them. Instead of bringing these upon the carpet, you present me with a view of the Spanish Armada, and of the fresh excommunication and deposition denounced against the murderer of Mary by the Roman pontiff. (1) But how, Sir, did this projected invasion of the kingdom by foreigners criminate the English Catholics, if, so far from co-operating with it, they joined with their fellow-subjects in opposing it to the utmost of

course with him "she fetched not so few as 40 or 50 great sighs," whereas he had "never known her fetch a sigh before, except when the queen of Scots was beheaded;" that "she refused all sustenance, or to go to bed, and that she grew worse and worse "because she would be so,....and refused all remedies." Camden adds, that she called herself "a miserable forlorn woman;" and exclaimed, "they have put a yoke about my neck: I have none to trust in: my condition is strangely changed." The account of Parsons, (in his Discussion of Barlow's Answer,) which he received from some of Elizabeth's prime courtiers, agrees with the authors above quoted in the circumstances which they relate, though he enters into a greater detail, and softens some of them. Nevertheless he adds the following singular particulars: That the queen told two ladies of the court, that as she lay in her bed, at the beginning of her illness, she thought "she saw her own body lean, fearful, and in a light of fire;" which circumstance will perhaps account for her obstinate refusal to be put any more to bed; that "she cholerickly rated the prelates who came to her, bidding them be packing;" that she seemed to place more confidence in charms and spells, than in prayer to God; that she wore a piece of gold in her ruff, by means of which an old woman in Wales was said to have lived to the age of 100 years; that the card called the queen of hearts was found nailed to the bottom of her chair, &c.

(1) P. 68.

their

their power, as you very candidly admit to have been the case? The truth is, the king of Spain in his manifesto published the motives which induced him to undertake this war, and they are purely of a political nature, namely, to repel the numerous acts of hostility which had been committed by Elizabeth upon his dominions, both in Europe and America, and to avenge the common cause of sovereigns, which had been outraged in the person of the queen of Scots. His general, the duke of Feria, assured the English ambassador, that he neither knew, nor was concerned about the Pope's bulls against Elizabeth, (1) but merely acted in obedience to the orders of his sovereign. Not one English Catholic is known to have been concerned in this expedition; (2) and so jealous was Philip of them, that he confined the persons of this description, who resided at Lisbon, whilst it was in agitation. (3) In a word, the English Catholics not only petitioned to be placed in the foremost ranks of their countries army against the common enemy, as I related before, (4) but even your favourite historian, quoting another of higher authority, (5) allows that "some of their gentlemen, when they could not obtain commissions in the army and navy, served in them as volunteers: some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to Protestants: others were active in animating their tenants, vassals, and neighbours, to the defence of their country." (6) To me, Sir, it appears, that this instance of fidelity and loyalty of a large and powerful body of people to a government that oppressed them, in opposition to every motive of interest and ambi-

(1) Camd. Ann. 1588.

(2) Camden remarks, that he refused to entrust the earl of Westmoreland, Stanley, or any other English fugitive, with a command in the expedition, though the last mentioned was one of the bravest and ablest generals of his age. Echard objects, that above 100 Jesuits and monks were on board the Spanish fleet, under the superintendance of cardinal Allen. The fact is, cardinal Allen was at that time at Rome in a very infirm state of health. There were, indeed, chaplains in the fleet, a particular account of whom is to be seen in Strype, vol. iii, but not one of them appears to have been an Englishman.

(3) Dodd. (4) Hist. vol. i, p. 384. (5) Stow's Annals.

(6) Hume's History, Eliz. c. v.

tion,

tion, is the most singular and glorious that history can afford. By what logic then do you introduce it in justification of that persecution which continued to rage against them? In fact, this example demonstrates better than a thousand arguments, that Catholics will not forfeit their allegiance even to promote that religion for which they are ready to shed their blood; and what is no less important, it proves, that there is no danger to a Protestant state from the ecclesiastical supremacy acknowledged to reside in the bishop of Rome; because, if from passion or policy, he should exceed the just bounds of his spiritual authority, and attempt to depose their lawful sovereign, they will not obey him.

But, to draw towards a conclusion of the present subject, in proportion as the loyalty of the Catholics was more conspicuous, and the danger to be apprehended from tolerating them (had any danger really existed) was further removed, by the death of Mary and the defeat of the armada, Elizabeth's government aggravated its cruelty and oppression upon them. This was chiefly attributed to the counsels of that wicked Haman, the earl of Leicester, who expressed his wish to "see the streets of London washed with the blood of Papists;" and who, having caused many Catholics to be put to death, had made out a list of fresh victims for the sanguinary tribunals of that reign, (1) when he himself was suddenly summoned away by death, in this same year of the invasion, to a more just and awful tribunal; being supposed to have fallen a victim to his own arts of poisoning, by the contrivance of his infamous countess, whom he was conveying to Kenilworth, in order to confine her, and who afterwards married the object of his jealousy, Blount. (2) To have been opposed and persecuted by such a character as Leicester, (3) was itself a recommendation of any person or cause. What is certain, is, that in the year of the Spanish expedition, 1588, six new gallowses were erected in London,

(1) Memoirs Miss. Pr. vol. i, p. 210.

(2) Resp. ad Edict. p. 18. Strype says that he died at an inn as he was going to Kenilworth, and that there were suspicions of foul play.

(3) See his character above, from Dr. Heylin, p. 130.

or

or adjoining to it, and 32 Catholics, priests and lay persons, suffered t death of traitors, for the mere exercise of the religion of their ancestors. (To shew more fully the spirit by which the queen's head ministers we actuated with respect to the objects of their persecution, it will be su ficient to mention, that when a great number of them, priests as well lay gentlemen, had drawn up and signed a most loyal address to Elizabet expressive of their firm attachment to her government, and their abho horrence of every disloyal principle and practice attributed to them, b at the same time praying for some relaxation of the penal laws, and h procured it to be presented to her as she walking in the park of Greenwic by one of their number, Richard Shelley, esq. of Mainfield in Sussex; t only notice taken of this address was, that this gentleman was seized up and cast into the Marshalsea prison, where he continued until death s him free, for having presumed to offer such a petition to the quee without the permission of the council. (2) The truth is, these m dreaded not the disloyalty, but the loyalty of Catholics, which being on recognized, would have deprived them of their pretext for plunderi and tormenting them.

In opposition to all that yourself and other prejudiced write have advanced against the behaviour of Catholics during the reign Elizabeth, I maintain that it was eminently loyal and meritorious. have answered the several objections which you have brought agai them, in such manner as to prove that they reflect much more hono than disgrace upon them. But if even every one of these charges h been well founded to the utmost extent at which you state them, ho small a proportion of that body would they affect? Not a thousandth pa of the whole. Of course it would have been the height of injustice a cruelty to punish the Catholics at large for the faults of the few indi duals in question. In one word, Sir, if you persist in screening the intol

(1) Rishton, Append. De Schism. Mem. Miss. Pr. vol. i. Dodd, vol. ii.
(2) Pattinson's Image, &c. p. 496. Memoirs, vol. i, p. 170. Strype's Annals.

a

ance of Elizabeth and her ministry towards the professors of the ancient faith, and in asserting, that those amongst them who were plundered, imprisoned, tortured, and executed, suffered not for their religion, but for their civil crimes, or for that state necessity which you talk of, give me leave to ask you what did Lewis and Kett, with the other Arians and Dissenters who were burnt to death in this reign, suffer for? It is unworthy the candour which you profess, and sometimes display, either to deny the prevalence of this intolerant and persecuting spirit, or to attempt to justify it on hollow and false pretexts. I repeat it, the conduct of the great body of the Catholics at that period is unrivalled for its fidelity. They saw a princess mount the throne, whose title was invalid by their church law, and whose conduct in their regard they anticipated in idea, without offering the smallest resistance to it. They saw her violate her consecration oath, by changing the religion of the kingdom, which had been established in it almost 1000 years before, and beginning her reign with enacting the penalty of death against the profession of it. (1) They experienced pecuniary mulcts and corporal punishments, multiplied and aggravated without number or measure, in order to extirpate them from the land of their nativity; they found themselves, at every turn, accused and punished for pretended conspiracies; and, what was the most cruel circumstance of all, they perceived innumerable snares, and the most scandalous arts of seduction and forgery employed by ministry to draw as many as possible of their number into real ones. In the mean time they were told by the head of their church that they were no longer obliged to obey; and they beheld the most powerful prince in Europe sending an armament, that passed for *Invincible*, to invade the realm, the success of which would at once have placed them over the heads of their persecutors. Yet, in spite of all this, they continued, priests and laity, when at liberty and when in prison, in their hiding places and under the gallows, to acknowledge the title of their unnatural sovereign, to pray for her pros-

(1) By the Act of Supremacy, 1 Eliz.

perity, and to condemn all enterprises to secure their lives and the fre exercise of their religion at the expence of the public peace and of th lawful government. We have moreover seen, that when the occasio called for such exertions, those who had it in their power to make them supported the established government, in opposition to the interests o their religion, with their purses and their swords. If you turn your eye from England to the surrounding nations of Europe during the period o this reign, I ask, in which of them did the professors of the new religio prove the same loyalty to their Catholic sovereigns or magistrates wh persecuted or opposed them? Did they not universally in such cases fl to arms, and overturn the governments, if it was in their power to do so You should have glanced at the conduct of the Anabaptists and th Lutherans in Germany, the Huguenots in France, the Gueux in the Nether lands, the Zuinglians in Switzerland, the Presbyterians in Scotland, an the Calvinists at Geneva, before you charged the Catholics of Englan with disloyalty to queen Elizabeth. But, Sir, I spare you the recital o the histories I here glance at; and

I have the honour, &c.

LETTER VII.

SIR,

IF you have been unable to make good your charge of disloyalty against the English Catholics under the last sovereign of the house of the Tudors, you will find it still more difficult to effect this during the several reigns of the Stuart family. It is true, you will not want pretexts for accusing them; because the heat of popular prejudice against them continuing rather to increase than diminish during the whole 17th century, a succession of conspiracies and other crimes were continually imputed to them. Hence, whatever party prevailed, the penal laws went on increasing in number and severity, and the general cry was kept up for a more rigorous execution of them. Just so we read that in the Pagan persecutions, under every foreign and domestic misfortune, the people of Rome were accustomed to clamour for the Christians to be devoured by wild beasts. (1)

It must appear extraordinary to those who have not searched into the causes of this fact, that the Catholic religion, amongst all others, should have been so long the peculiar object of national prejudice and persecution. The Calvinists or Puritans, wherever they prevailed, were sure to overturn both the civil and ecclesiastical ertablishment of the country. The Anabaptists, in their native provinces of Germany and Holland, had been guilty of more frantic excesses and horrors, than those which Jacobinical fury has produced at the present day, the principles of which they still

(1) "Christianos ad leonem." Tertul. Apolog.

maintained. The Quakers, at their first rise, were as frantic and turbu lent, if not so sanguinary and violent, as the former, and they still per sist in refusing to join their fellow-subjects in many duties essential t the common welfare, particularly in bearing arms against its declare enemies. Yet the hatred and persecutions against these several sects, wer at all times comparatively moderate, and gradually subsided; whilst thos which were raised against the ancient religion of the country, to whic it was indebted for its Constitution and its Christianity, and from whic the established church differed in less essential points than from any o the sectaries mentioned above, went on, as we have remarked, with in creasing force during the whole dynasty of the house of Stuart. It not necessary to assign all the several means by which these effects, s fatal to Catholics, were produced; it will be sufficient for my preser purpose to mention some of them, namely, intrigues and jealousies i the cabinet and the senate, and misrepresentation and calumny in th pulpit and the press.

James I was not only the son of the Catholic heroine, Mary, as you Sir, remind me, (1) but he was also himself baptized in the Cathol church, (2) and retained during his own life the strongest bias toward its faith and discipline, (3) as his Puritanical enemies did not fail to objec to him. He had corresponded from Scotland with the Roman pontiff, (4 as also with several English Catholics, clergymen as well as laymen. On of these was the priest Watson, mentioned in my History, (5) who wa a warm partisan of his interest against that of Spain, and to whom amongst others, he made strong promises of shewing indulgence to th Catholics of England, whenever he should mount the throne of th country. He declared in open parliament, that he considered the churc

(1) P. 80. (2) Dodd's Ch. Hist. vol. ii, p. 346.

(3) See an account of James's remarkable conference with the French envoy, the arch bishop of Embrun. Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 406.

(4) See his letter to pope Clement VIII, Sept. 24, 1559. Rushworth's Collect. vol. i.

(5) Vol. i, p. 391, &c.

of Rome as "the mother church, though defiled with some corruptions;" (1) and in his theological writings he went so far as to admit the pope to be the patriarch of the West, (2) which implied that he acknowledged some degree at least of ecclesiastical supremacy belonging to him. Such were the genuine sentiments and inclinations of this king, particularly when he first succeeded to the English crown. But, on the other hand, we are to remark, that a strong spirit of Puritanism, the most opposite of all others to that of the ancient church, was at this period fermenting throughout the nation. The inflexible severity of Elizabeth had kept it within bounds; but under the weak government of James, it swelled to such a pitch as soon after to sweep away both the church and the throne. Add to this that there was still a Cecil at the head of the royal counsels; not indeed the insidious William, lord Burghley, the contriver of Babington's plot and of Mary's murder, for he was now no more, but his son Robert, lately created earl of Salisbury, the true inheritor of his father's treachery and cruelty. He had betrayed his late mistress, Elizabeth, in the decline of her age and vigour, to her hated rival, James; and now, in return, he required that James should sacrifice his mother's and his own genuine friends to his hereditary detestation of them.

Cecil began his ministry, under the present reign, by playing off that most absurd and incoherent farce, called sir Walter Raleigh's plot, (3) by means of which, he got rid of one man peculiarly obnoxious to him, the aforesaid priest, Watson, who was privy to the king's promises in favour of Catholics. He endeavoured to get rid of other persons of higher rank, who were equally odious to him, on different accounts, but James's conscience interfered and saved them, as they were on the point of execution on the Castle-green of Winchester, in the extraordinary manner that I have related. (4) This artful minister was not long without an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance upon the whole Catholic body, and

(1) Stow, Echard. (2) Perron's Answer. (3) See vol. i, p. 390, &c.
(4) Ibid, p. 395.

which

(which was his principal object) of dissolving all the ties by which th king was united with them. This he accomplished by means of the fa mous Gunpowder Plot, of which he was either the original author, or a least the main conductor, as his father had been of that by which thi king's mother was brought to the scaffold. You tell me, Sir, that " th Catholic writers have called in question the reality of this atrocious de sign," particularly " Philips, in his *Life of Cardinal Pole*." (1) I hav not however met, in the course of my reading, with any Catholic write that denies the fact, and as to Philips, I cannot find that he so much a mentions it. Let us examine this matter at once, with historical an with Christian candour; not as is usually done by passionate writers an preachers on the 5th of November: after which you shall be at liberty t pronounce how far the Catholic body was then deserving of those aggra vated penal laws which were enacted against them on the occasion, an how far they have been deserving, during almost two centuries that hav since elapsed, of being held up to the abhorence of their fellow subject on this account.

In the first place, you speak of this diabolical conspiracy as being th act and deed of the Catholics at large, in revenge for the king's disap pointing the hopes which they had entertained of meeting with indulgenc from him. (2) Accordingly you justify the rigorous treatment which th whole body of them afterwards met with, on the score of this plo Now, Sir, how many individuals amongst them were concerned in th villainy? Only 16 persons are so much as accused of it in the act attainder that passed on the occasion; (3) and it does not appear tha more than seven were acquainted with the worst part of it; (4) the re being only concerned in the scheme of an insurrection, (5) or barely know in

(1) P. 81. (2) Ibid. (3) 3 Jacob. I, c. 2.

(4) Catesby, Piercy, Fawkes, Thomas Winter, Keys, Bates, and Tresham.

(5) Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, Rockwood, John Wright, and Christoph Wright. These six persons appear only to have been acquainted in general that somethin of importance was going on for their party, in which their services would be wanted. The according

ing it as a conscientious secret, and which they used every means in their power to discourage and prevent. (1) What was the weight and character of these conspirators amongst Catholics? They were rash youths, (2) comparatively of small consequence, who, by their conformity with the established religion, were looked upon as apostates and outcasts in the said body. (3) The first Catholic of rank and character whom Cecil endeavoured

accordingly agreed to be ready for the purpose with their horses and servants. The first mentioned of these, a most accomplished youth only 24 years of age, and father of sir Kenelm Digby, pleaded guilty to his indictment, and suffered death with great compunction; declaring at the same time that he was not let into the whole foulness of the plot; which if he had known, he would not have concealed it to gain the world. Stow, Contin.

(1) Three Jesuits are mentioned in the act as being consenting to the conspiracy, viz. F. Garnet, Tesmond or Greenway, and Gerard. The last of these, though apprehended and confined in the Tower, was never brought to any trial; which seems to argue that there was no proof of guilt against him. The second escaped abroad; but his case was exactly the same with that of F. Garnet, who suffered on this occasion, and was peculiarly hard. They were both of them successively consulted by Catesby, as divines and under conscientious secresy, concerning the lawfulness of the plot, and they both of them strongly condemned it, intreating that infatuated wretch to lay aside the thought of it. Garnet, in particular, when he found that his arguments were ineffectual, by way of gaining time and in the end defeating the villainy, begged of him to send a messenger to consult the pope concerning it; knowing well, as he said, that the latter would never give his consent to such a horrible crime. Catesby was at liberty to speak of this consultation, though Garnet was not. He accordingly informed his companions of it; in consequence of which, Tresham, when a prisoner, by way of gaining favour for himself, accused Garnet and Tesmond of being privy to the plot. The former was accordingly apprehended, as was also F. Oldcorne, for having entertained him at Henlip; and the jury, who paid no attention to the manner in which he came by his knowledge of the plot, brought him in guilty of it. At his death he exhorted the Catholics to avoid all conspiracies against the state, declaring that if the one which he had known but was not at liberty to reveal had succeeded, he should ever have hated it and the persons concerned in it. See Dodd, vol. ii, p. 395, and his authorities; also Mem. Miss. Pr. vol. ii, p. 476.

(2) Except Piercy and Tresham.

(3) A cotemporary and well-informed writer speaks of the conspirators as follows: "They were a few wicked and desperate wretches, whom many Protestants termed Papists, although the priests and true Catholics knew them not to be such: nor can any Protestant say that any

deavoured to draw into a share of the guilt, lord Monteagle, carried the anonymous letter he had received, to the real author of it, Cecil himself; and thereby occasioned what was called the discovery of the plot; that is to say, he obliged the last mentioned to break the thread of the conspiracy and make the matter known about the court ten days sooner than he had intended. Yes, Sir, the world has a right to know, what has been industriously concealed from it, that, if Catesby and Piercy were nominal Catholics, lord Monteagle was a real one, having, no less than his father and mother, been a great sufferer for the Catholic cause in the preceding reign. The earl of Worcester also and the earl of Northampton, who, with the latter's kinsman the earl of Suffolk, were the principal persons in detecting the conspirators, were both of them Catholics. This observation leads me to ask another question: If the explosion had taken place, (of which however there was no danger, as Cecil was the invisible manager of the whole business), who would have been sufferers by it? The king, I grant, and the heads of the Protestant cause both in church and state; but not more so than the supporters and chiefs of the Catholic interest, 20 of whom sat at that time in the house of lords; (1) for none of them received notice to be absent from parliament except lord Monteagle. A more important question for our present purpose than any of the former is, Did the conspirators act in conformity with the principles of their religion, even as they conceived it, and did they think the horrid attempt in which they were engaged, to be lawful and meritorious? You intimate that they did so; and Hume, in unison with other modern writers, asserts that "no one of these pious devotees," as he calls them, "ever entertained any compunction with regard to the cruel massacre which they projected." The falsehood of this will appear from their dying behaviour.

any one of them was such as the law terms Popish recusants." Prot. Plea for Priests, p. 56. Ann. 1621.

(1) Amongst these were the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, and Arundell, the lords Montague, Morley, Abergavenny, Digby, Stourton, Mordaunt, &c.

After

After the seizure of Fawkes, when Catesby, Piercy, the two Wrights, and some of the other conspirators, found themselves surrounded, at Holbeach house in Staffordshire, by the party of sir Richard Walsh, and that they must necessarily die either at the gallows or in the field; " in the first place *they fell upon their knees and asked God pardon for the villainy they intended*; (1) they then opened the gates of the house, resolved to break through their opposers or to die fighting. Catesby and Piercy were killed with one shot, and Winter was wounded and made prisoner." (2) In like manner, when this Winter and the remaining conspirators came to suffer the just punishment of their crimes, " they all of them, excepting Grant, died very penitently; Fawkes declared his repentance more remarkably than the rest, and exhorted all Catholics never to engage in any such bloody enterprise, it being a method never allowed nor prospered by God." (3) It was not extraordinary, that F. Garnet, the Jesuit, who had endeavoured to prevent the conspiracy when it was first made known to him, should express his detestation of it when he came to suffer for not having revealed what it was not lawful for him to reveal concerning it. With respect to the Catholic body at large, the king himself, in his speech in parliament, immediately upon the disclosure of the plot, takes care to acquit them of the guilt of it, and goes so far as to declare the Puritans worthy of fire who will admit no salvation to any Papist. (4) They unquestionably felt the most lively horror of that desperate scheme, the execution of which would have proved still more fatal to themselves than to the nation at large, and they expressed it by every means in their power. In particular, the arch-priest, Blackwell, and the other heads of the Catholic clergy, immediately circulated a pastoral letter, in which they qualified the late attempt *detestable* and *damnable*, assuring the Catholics that the Roman pontiff had always condemned such unlawful practices. (5)

(1) King James's Works, quoted by Collier, vol. ii, p. 689.
(2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.
(4) Collier, vol. ii, p. 689. Guthrie Gen. Hist. of Eng. vol. iii, p. 651.
(5) Collier, p. 670.

Having, a few months afterwards, received a brief from Rome to the said effect, they published a second pastoral in the same spirit with the former. (1)

I have already mentioned some of the reasons there are for supposing that Cecil, earl of Salisbury, was as deep in this plot, as his father, lord Burghley, is proved to have been in that of Babington. Certain it is, that these reasons have had equal weight with many intelligent Protestants, as with Catholics. One of them calls it, "a neat device of the secretary;" (2) another says, that he "engaged some Papists in this desperate plot, in order to divert the king from making any advances towards Popery, to which he seemed inclinable, in the minister's opinion." (3) James himself was so sensible of the advantages which his minister reaped from this plot, that he used afterwards to call the 5th of November Cecil's Holiday. Finally, a third Protestant writer assures us, that "this design was first hammered in the forge of Cecil, who intended to have produced it in the time of Elibabeth;....that, by his secret emissaries, he enticed some hot-headed men, who, ignorant whence the design first came, heartily engaged in it." (4) Thus much seems certain, that the famous letter delivered by an unknown messenger (5) to lord Monteagle never was written by a real conspirator, whose life was concerned in the issue of the plot. Such a character would not unnecessarily, and with infinite risk to himself and his cause, have given notice to his friend of the approaching danger ten days before hand; whereas, supposing the letter to have been sent by Cecil in order to draw that young lord into a participation of the crime, a certain space of time was requisite, that it might be seen whether he would make the contents of it known to ministry; which if he had neglected to do, there is no doubt but the same snare

(1) Collier, p. 670. (2) Osborne's Histor. Memoirs of James I.
(3) Pol. Gram. (4) Short View of Eng. Hist. by Bev. Higgons.
(5) We may observe, that Babington was first drawn into the plot for which he suffered by such a letter, delivered to him by an unknown person.

would

would have been laid for other Catholic peers; and probably, in succession, for all of them.

2dly, The secretary's delaying for the space of five days to communicate a business of that importance to his master, and his purposely deferring to have the cellars under the parliament-house examined previously to the very day of opening the session, prove that he had the management of the plot in his hands, and that he delayed the disclosure of it in order to have time for throwing his net over a greater number of persons and those of higher quality than were yet engaged in it. (1)

3dly, The character and history of Francis Tresham, esq. one of the conspirators, leads us to suspect that he was to the earl of Salisbury in this plot, what Maud and Polley had been to his father, lord Burghley, and Walsingham, in a former plot, almost 20 years before. Tresham was of a restless and intriguing disposition, and had been concerned in the conspiracy of the earl of Essex. He was well acquainted with Cecil, and is known to have had some communications with him concerning the affairs of Catholics. At the disclosure of the plot, he never attempted to fly, presuming, no doubt, that he was sufficiently protected at court; but, on the contrary, he offered his services to apprehend the conspirators. (2) Being however seized upon and committed to the Tower, he met with a sudden death in the course of a very few days, before any trial or examination of him took place. On this occasion a report was spread abroad, that he was carried off by the strangury, which is not a disorder that takes a sudden turn; whereas the physician who attended him pronounced that he died of poison. (3)

Lastly, The fraudulent art and consummate hypocrisy with which it is now evident that Cecil acted in disclosing this plot, confirms the idea that he had the management of it from the beginning. It is proved then from this secretary's own papers, that he had known of a conspiracy

(1) See a Relation of the Discovery of the Gunpowder, &c. preserved in the Paper Office, and corrected in the hand writing of Cecil, earl of Salisbury. Archæol. vol. xii, p. 204.

(2) Baker's Chron. (3) Wood, Athen. Oxon.

amongst the Papists, of some kind or other, three months before the letter was brought to him by Monteagle, Oct. 26. (1) It is proved by his own confidential letter to the ambassador at the court of Spain, written immediately after the breaking out of the plot, (2) that he was acquainted with the whole diabolical malice of it, viz. that it was intended to blow up the parliament with gunpowder. He accordingly, for his own security as soon as he had received the letter, communicated it to the lord chamberlain Suffolk, whose office it was to see to the security of the parliament-house when the king was to go thither: they conversed about the different apartments adjoining to it, and particularly about the great vault under it. (3) They agreed however (that is to say, the prime minister thought it best) that the search in it should not take place before the session of parliament, which was not to take place for ten days, in order, as he confesses, that "the plot might run to full ripeness;" (4) and to see whether any "other nobleman would receive similar advertisements," (5) that is, to allow him time to send fresh letters to persons of that rank (whom most of all he wished to entangle) if he found it expedient; finally, to attack the king on his weak side, by making him pass for the Solomon of Great Britain, and to work up the nation to a paroxysm of fury against the Papists, by the apparent imminent danger to which all that was illustrious in it would appear to have been exposed. Having a letter of this importance to the nation and the king's person in his custody, he nevertheless declined giving James any information concerning it, by writing or messenger, at Royston, where he then was, during five days, that is to say, during half the time that was to run before the winding-up of the catastrophe; because he wished to deliver it in person, in order to guide both the king and the plot to his intended ends. On the last day of October, (6) the king being then at Whitehall, he presents the letter privately; no one but himself and the earl of Suffolk being present. They

(1) Archæol. vol. xii, p. 203. (2) Nov. 9, 1605.
(3) Guthrie, vol. iii. Winwood's Mem. (4) Relation of Discovery.
(5) Ibid. (6) Ibid.

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neither of them delivered any opinion of their own concerning its contents, attending to hear "his majesty's conceit;" and there is no doubt but Cecil then addressed to him that fulsome and ridiculous compliment, which he afterwards committed to writing as his genuine sentiments concerning him, viz. that "his majesty was endued with the most admirable guifts of piercing conceipt, and a solide judgement that was ever heard of in any age; but accompanied also with a kind of divine power in judging of the nature and consequence of such advertisements." (1) Such a bait was too well seasoned for James's appetite, not to be swallowed by him. Accordingly, at the opening of parliament a few days afterwards, he declared himself to have been supernaturally assisted in detecting the plot, (2) by interpreting the letter in a different manner from what any other learned man, however well qualified, would have done (3). His artful minister, still more to indulge his vanity and afford him greater matter of subsequent triumph, affected to ridicule the whole business, telling him, that "the letter must be written either by a fool or a madman, because of those words in it, *the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this letter*; for if the danger were so soon past, what need of any warning." (4) The king however persisting in interpreting the letter as every other man, without his majesty's inspiration, would have done, namely, that there was a mine stored with gunpowder under the parliament house; and accordingly he ordered it to be searched for. Cecil however makes him insensibly fall into the measure which he had previously concerted with the lord chamberlain, that of deferring the examination until the very eve of the parliament's meeting. Accordingly, late in the evening on that day, the said chamberlain surveys the parliament-house and the vault under it, and finds every thing just as he expected. He sees the heap of faggots under which the powder was concealed, and

(1) Relation of Discovery, p. 205.

(2) "The discovery would be thought the more miraculous by you all, were you as well acquainted with my natural disposition as those be who be near about me," &c. King's Speech, Nov. 9. Journal of Lords.

(3) Ibid. (4) Echard's Hist. of Eng. Baker's Chron.

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he meets with Guy Fawkes, who had been engaged to set fire to it. A midnight, Knevet, a justice of peace, is sent to secure that wretch, an to uncover the barrels of powder. Thus Cecil gained his second point in rousing the nation to a greater sense of horror, in proportion as it ap peared to have approached nearer to the brink of destruction, and i making its escape appear more extraordinary and miraculous. Accordingl the people were taught to believe, that as nothing less than inspiratio had enabled the king rightly to interpret Monteagle's letter; so nothin short of a miracle (1) had enabled ministry to find 36 barrels of gunpow der lying on the ground, and only covered over with faggots, a few hou before they were to have been fired; whereas, we have seen, that the knew of gunpowder being lodged in the very cellar where it was found at least ten days before, and that they agreed together not to loo for it till this very time, that is, till the very day of the parliament meeting.

I have one more observation to make on this subject. You, Sir, no les than the writers whom you quote, exhaust your eloquence in representin the crime of those wretched dupes of Cecil's villainy as a wickedness un exampled as well as unequalled in history. (2) It is impossible that yo should detest it more than I do; but when you speak of it as a new an unheard of species of guilt, you pay a oompliment to the inventiv genius of the contriver of it, whether that was Cecil or Catesby, whic he is not really entitled to. For, Sir, did you never hear of the precedin conspiracy of the Protestants in the Netherlands to blow up the princ of Parma, governor of those countries, with all the nobility and magistrate belonging to them, at a solemn procession in the city of Antwerp? (3 If you have not heard of this, you cannot at least be ignorant that th

(1) The inscription still extant in the Tower, is a striking monument of this infatuation "Deo Opt. Max. Triuno, Sospitatori....conjurationis nitrosi pulveris....in ipso pestis der pente inferendæ articulo, (1605, Nov. 5°) tam *præter spem* quam *supra fidem, mirifice divinitus* detectæ....vindici," &c. Archæol. vol. xii, p. 196.

(2) P. 81. (3) Michael ab Isselt de Bell. Belg.

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father of the very sovereign, against whom the gunpowder treason was devised, king Henry Darnley, was actually blown up and destroyed, as were all his servants, with gunpowder, in his house of Kirk-a-field, at Edinburgh, as he lay sick in bed, by a conspiracy of the earls of Murray, Morton, Bothwell, Lethington, sir James Balfour, &c. with the privity and consent of lord Burghley, the earl of Salisbury's father. (1) The chief difference between this original and too successful gunpowder plot in Scotland, and its bungling imitation here in England, is, that the Protestants who devised and executed the former, were the heads and founders of the Reformation in that country; whereas the Catholics that were concerned in the latter, were the disgrace and outcasts of their religion in this.

Having exhibited this enlarged and faithful view of the powder plot, I may be permitted to ask, where is the charity, nay, where is the justice of those acrimonious sermons and services, (2) and of those tumultuous rejoicings, which have been annually made and directed against the Catholic body on that account for almost 200 years? It is undoubtedly

(1) Whitaker's Vindication, vol. iii, p. 255.—This author, with his usual candour and zeal for truth, admits, that the gunpowder plot in England was the imitation and offspring of that in Scotland; and he applies to them both those lines of Virgil:

Crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?
Improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque mater.

(2) In the first collect of the service in question, the Almighty is thanked for the deliverance of king James I, &c. from *Popish treachery*; thereby transferring the crime of 13 self-convicted wretches to the whole church of which they were the disgrace. In the last prayer the Catholics are indiscriminately called *cruel and blood-thirsty enemies*.—I once had occasion to hear one of those annual philippics against Catholics from the pulpit. Having afterwards complained of the calumnies and misrepresentations contained in it, a worthy literary character expressed his surprise that I should be dissatisfied with the discourse; saying that *it was a very good fifth-of-November sermon*.—My answer was as follows: So then I find that the Catholics, like Shrovetide poultry, are once every year fair game for every one who chooses to pelt at them; and I am left to understand that what is false every other day in the year, is true on the fifth of November.

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proper to return thanks to the Almighty for all public blessings; but the
have been other deliverances no less important and still more extraordina
than this, for which no festivals or rejoicings have been instituted,
which after being instituted have fallen into disuse and oblivion. (1) Th
Catholics, who are so commonly charged with uncharitableness, had
festivals abroad to commemorate the discovery of the conspiracies
Amboise and Meaux. Those at home do not meet, either at church
board, on the day when their grand enemy, Shaftsbury, fell into th
disgrace and punishment which he had prepared for them. They hav
already forgotten that it was on the 9th of June, in the year 1780, whe
100,000 Protestant rioters, that were up in arms to exterminate ther
and to anticipate the horrors of Jacobinism in this country, were beyon
expectation, and almost beyond hope, quelled, and themselves and the
country saved. To speak the truth, Sir, your candour on this, as
some other occasions, breaks through the cloud of religious and party zea
You express a wish that the commemoration of the powder plot we
abolished, as " tending to perpetuate ancient animosity;" and you argu
very justly on the inconsistency of " tolerating the Catholics as friend
and treating them as enemies." (2)

Whatever may be said of the above-mentioned conspiracy in oth
respects, certain it is, that it answered the most sanguine wishes of th
enemies of the Catholics, during the reign of James I. That weak prin
was ever afterwards obliged to dissemble his partiality for them, and h
relations with them. When importuned by the bigoted clamours of th
Puritans, who every day gained new strength, to promote the glory

(1) The fifth of August was appointed a day of thanksgiving for James's deliverance fro
the Gowry conspiracy, on which occasion, if we believe the king himself, he was in mu
greater danger of being assasinated by the Protestant earl of that name and his brothe
and afterwards of being blown up with all his attendants by a second Protestant gunpowd
plot on the part of the burgers of Perth, than ever he was from that concerted five years a
terwards by Catesby and his associates. See Collier, Ch. Hist. vol. ii. p p. 663. 664.

(2) P. 82.

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God by shedding the blood of Catholics (1) he found himself constrained to affect a severity which was foreign to his heart; and, notwithstanding his avowed principles of toleration, he actually sent to the gibbet and the block 18 priests and seven laymen, for the mere exercise of the Catholic religion; (2) besides 128 persons of the former description, who were cast out into perpetual exile, and without mentioning the heavy fine of 20l. per month upon every Catholic who did not attend the church service. This penalty he dispensed with at the beginning of his reign; (3) but it was rigorously exacted after the disclosure of the powder plot.

I cannot close my observations on this reign, without reminding you, Sir, that you have overlooked a much more plausible, though, after all, an unjustifiable pretext for these persecutions, than the treason, however black, of the before mentioned 13 conspirators; I mean, the refusal of the Catholics to take the oath of allegiance that was then offered to them. Yes, Sir, it is true, that infinitely the greater part of their body, laity as well as clergy, refused to take that oath; some of them even when they might have redeemed their lives by so doing. The truth however is, they did not object either to the duties of allegiance or to a solemn profession of that allegiance; (4) but only to the insidious terms in which the oath

(1) See the Petition of both Houses of Parliament against Popish Recusants, in which the petitioners having begged him "generally to put in execution the laws against them," conclude that "this will much advance the glory of Almighty God." Rushworth, Col. vol. i. To see more clearly the dreadful spirit of persecution that then pervaded the highest and most learned as well as the lowest ranks of persons, it may be proper to look at the letter of the archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, to the king, on the proposal of a toleration, in which the primate assures him, that "this act is hateful to God....and that it will draw down upon him and his kingdom God's heavy anger and indignation." Ibid.

(2) See their names and history, Memoirs Miss. Pr. vol. ii, also Dodd, Ch. Hist. vol. ii. From this catalogue the reader will see how much the public has been imposed upon by Hume, where he says: "The severity of death was sparingly exercised against the priests by Elizabeth, and almost never by James."

(3) Protest. Plea for Pr.

(4) It is worthy of observation, that two of the priests who were executed in this reign

oath in question had been drawn up, by a prelate (1) of a very different spirit from our present liberal bench of bishops, and by an apostate Jesuit, (2) whom the lord treasurer Cecil's son had seduced from his college at Rome. By this formula they were not only required to make the usual declarations of allegiance, and to abjure the deposing power, which several of them had already done, but also to swear that the doctrine in favour of it was *heresy, impiety, and deserving of damnation*; as likewise that the civil power, *in pronouncing* upon these abstract *theological matters*, did no more than exercise *its just authority*. (3) These objections against the form of the oath, however insuperable they were to Catholics, were not of a nature to strike the generality of Protestants. Nevertheless they were foreseen by the Machiavelian policy of its framers and abettors, who did not wish for a fair test of Catholic loyalty, but for a fresh pretext to persecute and calumniate them as lurking traitors.

The following reign was, as we all know, a reign of calamity and confusion. Nevertheless, amongst the various and extraordinary scenes by which it was distinguished, one circumstance is found to be prominent and unchangeably the same; namely, the Catholics were still calumniated and oppressed. In all those inflammatory petitions, with which the unfortunate Charles I was persecuted and insulted, the execution of the penal laws against the Papists was still the burden of the song; the Papists were ever described as the occasion of all public calamities; just as

for their priestly orders, and who might have saved their lives by taking the oath of allegiance, Robert Drury and Roger Calwallador, had in the last year of the late queen's reign subscribed, with other heads of the clergy, a solemn Protestation of Allegiance, which seems to have satisfied her at that period. In this Protestation, amongst other things, they abjured the deposing power, without however swearing that the acknowledgement of it was heresy. The priest, whose name was at the head of the subscribers, William Bishop, was afterwards appointed, by the see of Rome, the first Catholic prelate and V. A. that had been seen in England since the Reformation.

(1) Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury.

(2) Perkins, afterwards dubbed sir Christopher Perkins.

(3) See the oath. Dodd, vol. ii, p. 463.

I have said the primitive Christians had heretofore been by their Pagan persecutors, (1) and their blood was considered as a remedy for all public grievances. (2) The old expedient of forging state plots, in the name of the Catholics, was now more frequently resorted to than ever; but being managed by men who were destitute of the talents, as also of the advantages of situation, which the Walsinghams and the Cecils possessed, they came forth such mis-shapen tools, as would have created ridicule, instead of any serious alarm, in times of greater quiet. At one period the Catholics were accused of a plot to murder their best friend, the king, and of exciting the Scotch rebels against him; (3) at a time when they were draining their estates by a voluntary contribution, in order to enable him to suppress those insurgents. (4) At another time, they were solemnly denounced as "the sowers of discord between the king and his faithful commons." (5) Now the nation was terrified with the report of "an army of Papists training to the use of arms under ground;" (6) then the inhabitants of London were frightened with the intelligence of a new gunpowder plot for "blowing up the river Thames, and drowning that faithful Protestant city." (7) At last, one Beale, a taylor at Cripplegate, was introduced to the house of commons, (by no less a man than John Hampden, esq.) who, "walking in the fields near a bank, overheard, from the opposite side of it, the particulars of a plot concerted by the priests and other Papists for 108 assassins to murder 108 leading mem-

(1) "Si Tiberis ascendit in mœnia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si cœlum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues statim *Christianos ad leonem.*" Tertul. Apolog. c. 40.

(2) The Petition of the Commons in 1628, reduces "all public misery to the increase of idolatry and superstition, or in other words of Popery." Guthrie, Gen. Hist. vol. iii, p. 873, —The Petition of 1640, the Remonstrance of 1641, and most other acts of this nature at that period, breathe the same spirit. Nalson's Collect. vol. i, p. 738.

(3) See the particulars of a plot, communicated to archbishop Laud by Andrew ab Habernfield. Nalson's Collect. vol. i, pr 469.

(4) Guthrie, vol. iii, p. 957. (5) Remonstr. of Parl. an. 1641.

(6) Exam. of Neal's History of Puritans by Grey, vol. ii, p. 260. (7) Ibid.

bers of parliament, at the rate of ten pounds for every lord, and of forty shillings for every commoner so murdered." (1) To shew, Sir, the bigotry of the first men in the nation at that time against the Catholics, it will be sufficient to mention, that upon this very deposition of the Cripplegate taylor, stuffed with other circumstances equally absurd, the parliament proceeded to the most violent measures against them; (2) and under pretence of greater security, ordered the train bands and militia of the kingdom to be in readiness, and placed them under the command of that real traitor, the earl of Essex. (2)

At length, Sir, a great and eventful crisis in the affairs of the nation arrived, when the allegiance and fidelity of the subject was to be tried, not by boasting professions and extravagant oaths, but by actions and sufferings in the cause of duty. In short, a civil war broke out, when those boasted patriots who affected to dread such danger to the state from the treason of Papists, were generally found in arms against their king and constitution, which arms they refused to lay down, until they had murdered the one and overturned the other; whilst the Papists on the other hand were seen lavishing their blood and treasures in defence of a country from which they had little to hope, and had hitherto experienced rather the harshness of a stepmother, than the affection of a natural parent. They would have still refused the oath of allegiance, had it been tendered to them; but they, one and all, in their respective stations, performed the several duties of allegiance with a heroism which has extorted the praises of their more candid enemies, (4) and even your's, Sir, amongst the rest (5) No sooner was the standard of loyalty erected, and permission given for Catholics to serve, than the whole nobility of that communion, the Winchesters and Worcesters, the Dunbars, the Carnarvons, the Powises, the Arundels, the Cottingtons, the Monteagles, the Langdales, with an

(1) See the deposition at large in Nalson's Collect. vol. ii, p. 646, &c.
(2) Ibid, p. 648. (3) Ibid, p. 649.
(4) Exam. of Neal, vol. iii, p. 67. (5) P. 83.

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equal proportion of Catholic gentry and yeomanry, were seen flocking round it, impatient to wash away with their blood the stain of disloyalty, which they had been unjustly constrained to suffer during the greater part of a century, that is, ever since the accession of Elizabeth. Those who were possessed of castles and strong holds, turned them into royal fortresses ; (1) and the rest of them raised what money their estates could afford, in support of the king and constitution. (2) We may judge of their exertions by their sufferings in this cause. Of about 500 noblemen and gentlemen, who are computed to have lost their lives in it, the names of 194 Catholics, being nearly two-fifths of the whole number, have been collected. (3) Their pecuniary sufferings on this occasion bore a still greater proportion to those of other loyalists. Above one half of the lands confiscated by the rebels, were Catholic property. (4) In the mean time we may be sure that the penal laws were not permitted to sleep over those who were particularly obnoxious to them. One priest and one layman had been executed on account of religion at the beginning of Charles's reign ; (5) and a little before the breaking out of the civil war, the lives of two other priests were extorted from him, in the same manner as his minister Strafford's was, by his sanguinary enemies. (6) But when these had taken the executive power into their hands, no fewer than 17 priests were executed ; to whom are to be added two others that suffered death under the protectorship of Cromwell. (7) Yet, notwithstanding the distinguished exertions and uncommon sufferings of the whole Catholic body in the cause of loyalty during the civil wars, such has been the incurable malignity of their calumniators, that, after the Restoration, they were accused of having been the promoters and actors in the rebellion

(1) Such were Winchester castle, Arundel castle, Wardour castle, Ragland castle, Basing house, &c. (2) Dodd, vol. iii, p. 27. Echard, vol. ii.

(3) Lord Castlehaven's Apology, cited by Dodd, vol. iii, p. 28, and Challoner's Memoirs, vol. ii. (4) Ibid.

(5) F. Arrowsmith and R. Hurst, in 1628. (6) In 1641.

(7) See Memoirs of Miss. Pr. vol. ii.

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and the murder of their sovereign, It has been confidently asserted b respectable writers, that several priests were sent into the rebel army b the pope, in the character of Puritans, &c.; that the bodies of many know Jesuits were found amongst the dead troopers of the parliamentary arm after the battle of Edge-hill; in short, that the infamous judge Bradshaw and the very executioner who beheaded the gallant Charles, were both them Jesuits. (1)

The Catholics were not daunted by the fate of their late master, or de pressed by their own sufferings, but continued to prove the same un shaken fidelity to Charles II, that they had shewn to his royal father. great number of them shed their blood in the fatal battle of Worceste on the issue of which the king's life was entirely in their hands, durin the six following days that he spent at White Ladies, at Mosely, and i the Royal Oak at Boscobel. The names of 52 persons of their commu nion, and amongst the rest of three priests, are upon record, who durin that interval were acquainted with the dignity of the royal fugitive, n one of whom was tempted to betray him, either by the immense reward or terrible punishments that were held out to all the subjects for this pu pose. (2) On one particular occasion the king owed his life to the ca and ingenuity of a priest, who concealed him in the hiding-hole which wa provided for his own safety. (3) I have mentioned these circumstanc because they are invidiously suppressed by the generality of writers.

The church being now suppressed, together with the state, the mem bers of the former had occasion to taste of that cup of calumny, hatre and oppression, of which the Catholics had been so long forced to drin The pulpits were filled with what the parliament termed "a godly, faithfu

(1) Salmonet, Bramhall, Dumoulin, &c. cited by Echard, Hist. of Eng. vol. ii, p. 66 Dodd, vol. iii, p. 26.

(2) See the names in Dodd's Hist. vol. iii, p. 181, from the Observator, by sir Rog L'Estrange. Dodd, ibid, p. 28.

(3) F. Orleans' Revol. d'Ang. Dodd.

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painful, gospel-preaching ministry," who railed against the malignancy, treachery, barbarity, superstition, popery, and idolatry of their predecessors in office, with as little moderation or regard to truth as the Catholics had before experienced in the anniversary discourses on the 5th of November. The Presbyterians however did not long retain their power; for Cromwell being tired of their yoke, put himself at the head of those who were for a more perfect equality and independency in church affairs than the former were willing to allow. Accordingly his highness in person sometimes mounted the pulpit, and modelled the scriptures, as he had modelled the laws, to the views of his own ambition. In the end however, when this usurper found himself assailed with the extravagancies of the Quakers, (1) and the anarchical ravings of the Fifth-monarchy-men, who would admit of no other ruler but Christ himself, and of other frantic enthusiasts, (2) each of them with his bible in his hand prepared to demonstrate his system to be the only one therein revealed, he must have felt the fatal consequences of that unlimited right of interpreting scripture which he had supported. It was absolutely necessary to restrain sedition, yet this could not be done without violating that pretended right.

From what has been said, it will appear what just claims the Catholics had, not only to common protection, but also to a certain degree of favour, upon the restoration of Charles II. But you, Sir, it seems, are of a contrary opinion; in conformity with which you justify not only the continuance of the old penal laws, but also the framing of those new and unprecedented statutes against them which marked that prince's reign. It is not however against the Catholics alone that you declare yourself, but the restored monarch also comes in for a share of your censure; you accordingly lament, that " the nation re-admitted him with open arms, almost unconditionally, and had not the prudence....to fix more exact boundaries to the prerogative of the crown and the liberty of the people." (3)

(1) See the Life of G. Fox, by Penn, fol.

(2) Exam. of Neal's Hist. vol. iv, p. 92, &c.

(3) P p. 84, 85.

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Amongst other things, you complain of the king and his brother th duke of York for having both been converted to the "Roman Cathol religion, during their exile abroad."(2) Had this been true, as it was ce tainly false,(3) yet I cannot see how Charles would have forfeited any pa of his right to the allegiance of his subjects by so doing, as the laws the stood; any more than Elizabeth did by choosing her own religion; muc less can I see how this would have justified those black calumnies, thos sanguinary combinations, and that cruel persecution, to which the Ca tholics found themselves exposed from the beginning till the end of h reign. Not a session of parliament passed over without the most impo tunate solicitations for the lives and fortunes of Catholics to be sacrifice as of enemies not only to the civil constitution, but also to the king's pe son; not a public calamity took place, but what, as in the former reig was laid at their door. We have a striking instance of this in the fat fire of London, which, though it took place on the very day on which was proved that some of the late executed rebels had conspired to pe petrate that crime,(3) and though there was not the shadow of a proo that any Catholic whosoever was concerned in it, yet was the guilt it ascribed to them: just as the burning down of Rome had been charge

(1) P. 84.—Dr. S. says, on the authority of Hume and the Depot des Affaires Etrang. th Ch. II entered into a pecuniary treaty with Louis XIV, for the purpose of settling the Ca tholic religion in England. It seems certain, however, that nothing was done on the sid of the king and Catholics towards the execution of such a treaty. On the other hand, it clear from the said Depot, that the boasted patriots and enemies of Catholics, Algernc Sidney, Hampden, Armstrong, Shaftsbury, &c. were pensioners of France, and that lor Russel himsel fwas in an intrigue with it. Dalrymp. Mem. Append. p. 315.

(2) Charles II, though a convert to the Catholic religion in his own private opinion som time before, as appears by the two papers found after his death in his strong box, did no become a member of it until his death-bed scene, when he was reconciled by F. Huddle stone. See the latter's account of this transaction abridged by Dodd, vol. iii, also Dal rymple's Memoirs: James II was not a Catholic until after the death of his first wife, th earl of Clarendon's daughter, who herself died a Catholic. They were both converted b reading Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation. See Orleans' Hist. of Revol.

(3) Sept. 3, being Cromwell's fortunate day. Echard, Hist. p. 832.

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by Nero, the real incendiary, to the primitive Christians. (1) We need not historians for proof that this unblushing calumny was actually brought against the Catholics, since that lofty Monument, which, as the poet says, "like a tall bully, lifts the head and lies," (2) (inscribed by a magistrate (3) convicted of perjury) still remains to attest, not the crime of Catholics, but the dreadful bigotry and intolerance of the times when it was raised.

In this state of the public mind nothing was wanting but the contrivance of a Walsingham or a Cecil to forge a new Popish plot, and thereby to furnish a pretext for exterminating the whole race of English Catholics, and for involving the royal family in their ruin. Such an artist was found in the hoary traitor, Shaftsbury, who having begun his career, as he afterwards finished it, in the darkest conspiracies and treasons, was best qualified to forge plots against others. He had associates worthy of himself in the two infamous clergymen, Dr. Tongue and Dr. Oates, the latter of whom gave his name to the plot in question. (4) For a real plot it was, and a most fatal one, being contrived not by the Catholics, but against them and their royal protectors. It had been considered as the summit of malice, in the rebellious parliament under the former sovereign, to oblige him to send his faithful minister, Strafford, to the scaffold, as a traitor to him. But this villainy was exceeded in this reign, by the king's enemies constraining him to sign the death-warrants of those tried friends who had saved his life after the battle of Worcester, under a pretence that they had now conspired to take it away by poison, by gunpowder, and by the sword. (5) It is not necessary for me to enlarge on the revolting absurdity of the plot itself in its several parts, on the blasted characters of

(1) Tacitus, Annal. (2) Pope's Ethic Epistles.

(3) Sir Patience Ward. He was convicted of perjury in the trial of Pilkington. See Echard.

(4) Dalrymple ascribes the formation as well as progress of the plot to Shaftsbury. When the absurdity of it was mentioned to him, his answer was, "We shall do no good with the people if we cannot make them swallow greater nonsense than this." Mem. of Great Brit.

(5) Deposit. of Oates.

the witnesses who were admitted to give evidence concerning it, on the corruption and violences that were alternately employed to seduce other witnesses, since these are admitted and detailed by your favourite historian and by other writers, who do justice to Catholics in hardly any other instance. Let it suffice to say, that the nation was nearly two years under this fatal delirium, that the reality of Oates's plot was voted by two different parliaments, and that one peer, lord viscount Stafford, was beheaded, and seventeen other Catholics, priests or laymen, were hanged drawn, and quartered, as being guilty of it; (1) besides a great number of others who were tried or imprisoned on the same account, amongst whom were five other peers and four baronets; without mentioning seven more priests who were executed about this time for the mere exercise of their spiritual functions, (2) whom the king did not dare to reprieve at such a juncture. I should have expected, Sir, from your candour, that admitting as you must do the horrid oppression and cruelty exercised upon the Catholics, at least in this concern, you would have stated that some reparation was due to them from the justice of their country as soon as the delusion was withdrawn. The least I should have looked for would be, that the gunpowder treason should have been balanced with Oates's plot, and that henceforward they should both be cast into the gulph of oblivion. Instead of this, I find you vindicating the penal statute, (I mean the exclusion of Catholics from their seats in parliament) which was grounded on that very deed of forgery and barbarity. (3) Yes, Sir, that ignominious expulsion, which neither the plots of Babington nor of Catesby, though containing some reality, had drawn upon the Catholic peers and gentry, was now voted, in consequence of a trumped up plot in which there was not an atom of reality on their part, except that they were really condemned and executed for it.

It is in times most distinguished by faction and sedition that the outcry

(1) See an account of them in Dodd, vol. iii, and Mem. Miss. Pr. vol. ii.
(2) Ibid. (3) 30 Car. II. c. 11.

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of tyranny against lawful government is heard the loudest. What homage, in a neighbouring country, was not paid to the boasted equity of a Louis XIV at the end of the last century! and what terrible vengeance has not been taken for the pretended tyranny of a Louis XVI at the end of this! Thus, in our own country, *the good queen Elizabeth*, who ruled by prerogative and punished by martial law, (1) is still the boast of ignorant and prejudiced patriots; whilst the royal brothers, Charles and James, who professed to make the law the boundary of their authority, are held up by most writers, judging by later instead of former precedents, no less than by yourself, as the very models of despotic tyrants. In opposition to this idea, your favourite historian will inform you, of what is otherwise evident, that, from the beginning till the end of the 17th century, that is to say, during the whole dynasty of the house of Stuart, the parliament continued to "gain upon the prerogative, and to acquire powers favourable to liberty." (2) It is well known, that Charles rejected Shaftsbury's proposals to make him absolute and independant of parliament; (3) and that, in revenge for his disappointment, this modern Ahitophel (4) returned to the traitorous practices of his early life, which brought him to ruin and an ignoble end. With respect to the other brother, he began his reign with solemn declarations, both in council and in parliament, that he was "determined to preserve the government both in church and state as he found it established, and that the law was sufficient to make him as great a king as he wished to be." (5) Towards the close of his life, when, with every thing else, he had lost his hopes also, and could have no interest in deceiving, he assured his confidential friends, that it ever had been his intention to govern according to law. (6) That such was actually his intention seems to result from the care which he took in causing the

(1) See Hume, Hist. Eliz. c. vii. Stow. (2) Hume.

(3) Dalrymp. Mem. vol. i, p. 33. Orleans' Revol. Higgons.

(4) The name given to Shaftsbury in Dryden's beautiful poem of Absalom and Ahitophel. See 11 Sam. c. xvii. (5) Dalrymp. Mem.

(6) See the discourse between James and sir Edw. Hales, Dodd, vol. iii, p. 421.

most obnoxious branch of his prerogative, the dispensing power, to be tried in the court of King's Bench, and decided upon by the judges. With all this honesty and good intention, which I believe James to have possessed, I am ready to grant, that he was ignorant of the state and constitution of the nation which he had undertaken to govern, and that he was precipitate, violent, and head-strong. But God grant that no future sovereign of this country, who is devoid of these defects, may be ever exposed to the same unfavourable circumstances, as those in which he was placed, with a people worked up to madness by religious prejudices and forged plots, with judges who misled him, with counsellors who deceived him, with a prime minister who intentionally and systematically led him on to destruction, (1) and with the most heart-breaking treachery amongst his dearest domestic ties.

In speaking of that change of the government and constitution of this country which took place in the year 1688, it neither is my intention now, nor was it when I wrote my History, to throw any reflections upon it. I have solemnly submitted to that change, and have sworn to support the consequences of it. There are indeed some circumstances in the language and conduct of the Tories who took a part in it, which I should have felt a satisfaction in discussing with you, as mere literary questions, (for the Whigs acted a consistent part, and so far I respect them); but I judge from your book, now before me, that you, and other respectable characters, are not possessed of sufficient temper to hear this discussion from me, however patiently you have already heard it from others. I wave then the agitation of all constitutional questions, after having declared with all sincerity, that whatever the law considers as illegal in the conduct of the deposed monarch, that I admit to be illegal also. In a word, I mean to confine myself entirely to my province as an historian, and your antagonist, in barely comparing certain instances

(1) See lord Sunderland's letters to king William, in which he boasts of the share which he had in bringing about the Revolution. Dalrymp. Append.

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of tyranny which you object to me, with former precedents that I have met with in my reading. This is the line which I followed, in the few remarks I made on the event in question, in my History. I flatter myself that I have there brought forward some very strong and interesting cases in point, (1) which, on a subject that you dwell so largely upon, you were bound by the laws of literary warfare to have noticed, either by disproving them, or by shewing that they are not conclusive. Instead however of this more difficult task, you choose to walk in the beaten path of general declamation against the imprudent and illegal behaviour of the misguided James. The subject on which you insist the most, is the right claimed by him of dispensing with the persecuting statutes against Catholics. On this I need say the less, as an historian, since the author whom you principally consult, has proved in an ample dissertation that the dispensing power had been exercised on certain occasions by all our preceding sovereigns. (2) With respect to the penal laws against Catholics in particular, it is demonstrated, from better authorities, that the execution and the relaxation of them had depended almost entirely on the will of the sovereign, in every reign since they had been enacted. Charles II, Charles I, James I, and even Elizabeth, (3) employed Catholics in their armies, navies, and about their persons; sometimes in greater numbers than James ever had. (4) Each one of these sovereigns had also frequently

(1) Vol. i, p. 439. (2) Hume, Hist. of James II, c. i.

(3) Amongst a great number of other Catholics employed in those reigns were the following noblemen: Under Elizabeth were the earls of Worcester and Northumberland, the former ambassador in France (see Strype), the latter an admiral against the Spanish armada, &c. Under James I were the earl of Northampton, lord Digby, &c. Under Charles I, were the earl of Bristol, lord Cottington, as well as his fellow secretary of state, sir F. Windebank, &c. Under Charles II, were the lord treasurer Clifford, Arlington, &c.

(4) The only Catholics of any note whom I find to have been employed by James in his council, were the lords Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, Dover, Tyrconnel, Castlemain, Peterborough, and F. Petre. Those in public offices, were the lords Widdrington, Langdale, Cecil earl of Salisbury, and Thomas Howard, the baronets Tichborne, Hales, and Butler. Messrs. Brown, Porter, and Bonaventure Giffard. The Catholic officers in the army, were the

frequently mitigated or entirely suspended the execution of the persecut ing statutes; (1) and however loudly the actual exercise of this merc was complained of, as detrimental and irreligious, by the puritanical pa liaments of James I and Charles I; yet the right of exercising it wa never called in question, being then considered as an unquestionab branch of the prerogative. With respect to certain imprudent acts James in the exercise of the religion that he professed, which you brin forward on this occasion, I shall content myself with saying, that the is much misrepresentation on your part as to the facts themselves, muc misapprehension as to the meaning of the existing laws, and that the are not wanting precedents in former reigns to excuse some of the mo obnoxious of these acts, particularly the suspension, by virtue of the su premacy, of Bp. Compton and Dr. Sharp. (2)

But of all the arbitrary acts of James II, that which you most insi upon is his issuing a mandamus for the election of a president of Magda len college, Oxford, and enforcing his supposed right to do so. Th also some other gentlemen of your acquaintance have dwelt upon i their publications, as a most unwarrantable invasion of private pr

the duke of Berwick, the lords Dunbarton and Montgomery, and colonel Hamilton. In t navy, the only Catholic officer was sir Roger Strickland.

(1) Even Elizabeth granted dispensations for the exercise of the Catholic religion. Co dry-house was a privileged place for all priests. Mrs. Felton, wife of John Felton, me tioned before, p. 142, having been a favourite court lady of Elizabeth, though a Catholi had the privilege from her of protecting one priest, to officiate for herself and her famil Dodd, vol. ii, p. 152. It may be added, that all the numerous proclamations which to place in all the persecutions, were so many dispensations of the penal laws, which required th Catholics should be put to death. Strype, Annals, vol. ii, p. 329. Dodd, &c. See, in pa ticular, the Instructions of James I to his Ministers, &c. exempting the Catholics, at a ce tain period, from prosecution. Dodd, vol. ii, p. 439.

(2) Archbishop Grindal was suspended by Elizabeth, for refusing to suppress prophesying archbishop Abbot of Canterbury and bishop Williams of Lincoln were both suspended Charles I, on different pretexts, but in reality for opposition to Government; and bish Goodman of Gloucester was not only suspended but also imprisoned, for refusing to sub scribe to Laud's synod.

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perty; (1) and your author declares it to have been "the most illegal and arbitrary act of violence of all those committed during the reign of James." (2) On this point you even challenge me to the test of precedents, where you say, "No other king, I believe, ever claimed visitorial power over any college to which a particular visitor was appointed by its founder." (3) I own, Sir, I am surprised that yourself, and the gentleman whom you appeal to with such confidence, should be so uninformed upon a subject relating to yourselves as members of colleges. Be that as it may, I will meet you upon the proposed ground, after having briefly observed, 1st, that I condemn the monarch as being guilty of the greatest imprudence in committing himself with the fellows of a college concerning the meaning of their statutes. He would have acted much more wisely in overlooking that affront at Oxford, as well as a similar one at Cambridge, where Alban Francis, whom he recommended for the poor distinction of M. A. was rejected, because he was a Catholic, though a professed Mahometan had been recently elected to it. (4) 2dly, I do not undertake to shew, that James's conduct in this very business was legal, even as the laws then stood, much less as they are supposed to stand at present; having professed that I have nothing to do with legal questions, but merely to state matter of fact. 3dly, On the same ground I feel myself dispensed from examining the weight of those arguments, by which yourself and those other writers attempt to aggravate the alledged injustice of the sovereign in that transaction. I now, Sir, call your attention to the chain of precedents collected in the notes below, (5) from the

(1) Hampshire Repository, Append. pp. 131, 132. (2) Hume, Hist. James, c. 1.

(3) P. 105. (4) The secretary to the ambassador of Morocco.

(5) In the year 1534 the act of Supremacy passed, by which the king was declared "to have full power to visit and reform all heresies, abuses, &c. which by any manner of spiritual authority may lawfully be ordered or reformed." 26 Hen. VIII, c. 1. The very next year, Henry made his visitation of the universities. Dr. Leigh was his commissioner at Cambridge, whence he carried away the charters, bulls, and rentals, at the same time introducing a new set of injunctions or statutes. Amongst other things he undertook to new model the studies

the very time of passing the act of supremacy, in the reign of Henry VIII down to that of the dispute in question. When you have examined this which

studies of the university. Collier, vol. ii, p. 110. Strype, Mem. Eccl. vol. i, p. 209. Th following is an extract from the despotic mandate of the royal visitor: "Has leges & in junctiones jam tulimus, reservantes nobis & præfato Thomæ Cromwell visitatori generali po testatem quascunque alias injunctiones indicendi, cæteraque pro nostro sive ejus arbitrio fa ciendi, quæ nostræ ipsiusve discretioni visum fuerit." Ibid. rec. 58. The deputy visito at Oxford was Dr. Layton, whose letter to vicar-general Cromwell, giving an account o his arbitrary proceedings and punishments in that university, particularly at Magdalen co lege, may be seen in the last quoted author. Mem. Eccl. vol. i, p. 210.

In the year 1549, under Edw. VI, a college visitation of a very rude nature was set o foot by the protector Somerset. The visitors were empowered, in virtue of the supremacy not only to make new statutes, but also to suppress certain colleges, and to convert som theological fellowships into others for the study of the laws. Bishop Ridley, who was on of the number, being touched with the complaints of the students, and jealous for th honour of his own profession, wrote to Somerset, excusing himself from executing the la ter part of his orders. But the protector persisted in his measures, telling him in answ that the public service required them. Burnet, Hist. Ref. part ii, p. 120. Ibid. rec. 59, 6 The latter, with archbishop Cranmer, had in a preceding year, in a summary way, ap pointed two foreigners divinity professors in the universities, Peter Martyr at Oxford, an Martin Bucer at Cambridge. Mem. Eccl. vol. ii, p. 121.——In 1552, "The king and coun cil provided two new masters for colleges, the one in Cambridge, the other in Oxford. D Walter Haddon was intended for the presidentship of Magdalen college in Oxford, Dr. Oge thorp, the president, having been dealt withal to resign it. But it happened, that neith Ogelthorp was after willing to resign, nor the fellows to elect Haddon. Which caused th king, after one letter to that college without success, to send them a second angry on But at last he was placed there." Mem. Eccl. vol. ii, p. 386.——In Mary's reign, ann. 155 both universities were visited, not indeed by virtue of the royal supremacy, but by that the primate cardinal Pole. Burnet, part ii, p. 345.

Queen Elizabeth having resumed the supremacy, continued, during the whole of h reign, to exercise the most unbounded jurisdiction over the universities and colleges. Eve before that act passed, she had made some changes in the colleges of Winchester and Eton but soon after it she made a general visitation of all churches, collegiate as well as cathedr and parochial, throughout the whole kingdom; and all other power or jurisdiction, wheth of visitors, bishops, or others, was suspended whilst this was performing. The royal visitor (who were almost all of them laymen of various creeds and characters) or any two of ther were authorized to examine and punish, by ecclesiastical censures, imprisonment, &c. a mann

which I could have extended to a greater length had it been necessary, I am of opinion that you will candidly retract your above-cited assertion, that "no other king (except James II) ever claimed visitatorial powers over any college to which a particular visitor was appointed by the founder."

manner of ecclesiastical persons, bishops as well as others, and to reform all heresies, irregularities, &c. according to their own judgment. Collier, vol. ii, p. 435. Strype, Ann. of Ref. vol. i, p. 167. In this visitation, amongst other things, Cozins, master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, having been forced to resign, Bill the visitor would not permit the fellows of it to choose his successor, but wrote to the primate to nominate one. Life of Parker, by Strype, p. 89. In 1561 the said archbishop not only visited Eton college, by commission from the queen, but also framed new statutes for it contrary to those which had been sworn to, asserting that no statutes whatever ought to stand in opposition to better order. Ibid. p. 105. Append. rec. 16. The same year the queen, being displeased in her progress to see "so many wives, women, and children in cathedrals and colleges, which," she said, "was contrary to the intent of the founders, and so much tending to the interruption of studies,....issued an order to forbid the resort of women to the lodgings of cathedrals and colleges, upon pain of losing their preferment. And the order was to be entered into the book of statutes. The copy of this order was sent to the two archbishops and to the chancellors of the universities for their charges." Life of Parker, pp. 106, 107. The same year, Covency, president of Magdalen college, Oxon, having been turned out, Laurence Humphreys, a noted Puritan and afterwards dean of Winchester, made interest with the archbishop and the bishop of London to obtain the place. The fellows however refused to elect him, urging that their consciences would not permit them to choose a man who was disqualified by their statutes. But in the end they were content to submit to the court favourite. Ibid. p. 112. In the year 1572, lord Burghley being chancellor of Cambridge, sent down several new statutes for that university. Collier, vol. ii, p. 537. Three years afterwards, great dissentions prevailing there, (in St. John's college,) "a new set of statutes was framed and established for that house," by a royal commission. Ann. of Ref. vol. ii, p. 373. About the same time there was great confusion at Christchurch, Oxford, in consequence of numerous letters from the queen, appointing different persons to fellowships there, contrary to the established rules and practice of that college. Ibid. p. 374. The same method of obtaining benefices at Cambridge was so frequent, that we are assured "the ordinary application was to courtiers, for their letters to the heads of colleges for *mandamus's* from the queen for preferment: so that free suffrages for preferment was impeached." The university repeatedly begged of Burghley to interpose his credit with the queen for removing this grievance; but instead of such an effect, "there were more *mandamus's* and dispensations with the statutes sent down than ever." Annals, vol. ii, p, 540.

der." I think also you will admit, that it was neither from "ignorance of the subject," nor from any wilful mistatement of it, that I maintained "the dispensation of the crown, by virtue of the supremacy, to have been the only ground on which the fellows of colleges could have excused their non-

In 1581 we have an instance nearer home for my present purpose, which I should have expected a Wykehamist would have been better acquainted with than myself. Elizabeth sent a letter to the college of this city, requesting a long lease to be granted of their rectory of Downton, in order to gratify therewith the clerk of the council, Mr. Wilkes. The answer of the warden and fellows to this requisition, still extant, shews great embarrassment on their part. Recollecting, I presume, that *Ense petit supplex potens*, they indeed grant the lease for the term of 40 years; but they earnestly intreat that they may not be urged with similar requisitions in future. They fail not to mention their oath of preserving the foundation; but conceive that their departing from it in the occurring instance will be excused by the performance of their duty as obedient subjects. Annals, vol. iii, p. 54.

In proof of the authority claimed and exercised by James I over colleges, I may content myself with another domestic example, already mentioned in my History. Being in want of a spacious building in this city for the accommodation of the judges, when the law term was to be kept there, he peremptorily orders the warden, fellows, and students to withdraw themselves from the college, and to give it up to him for so long a time as he should want it for the said purpose. What appears most extraordinary is, that no opposition or objection to this act of the royal visitor seems to have been made by the sufferers, on the score of their statutes, oaths, or the like. To speak the truth, he dispenses with their observance of those obligations. See History, vol. i, p. 390. James's mandate to this effect has since been published in the Hampshire Repository, p. 111.

During the reign of Charles I, archbishop Laud insisted upon visiting the universities in his own right as primate. This claim they resisted; but, at the same time, they formally acknowledged the king's right to visit them, and offered to receive Laud, provided he came to them in virtue of a royal commission to this effect. The question was debated in council, and in the end the king decided that the primate was competent to make this visitation without any such delegation. Guthrie's Compleat Hist. of Engl. vol. iii, p. 938.

The long parliament, assuming all the authority of the executive power visited the university of Cambridge in 1642, and that of Oxford in 1648. In the former, 12 heads of colleges and above 200 students were displaced, and others were appointed in their place, by the parliamentary visitor, the earl of Manchester. Similar violations of statutes took place at Oxford, Winchester, &c. Collier. Ant. Wood.

Upon the Restoration, new commissions were issued by Charles II to reform those seats of learning; and we find frequent mention of royal letters for fellowships and degrees in behalf of

non-observance of different statutes of their founders." (1) To render your mistake, in a point which you state with so much confidence, more clear to you, I need but place before your eyes extracts from the speeches of James's visitor, Dr. Cartwright, bishop of Chester, on one hand, and of Dr. Hough, the champion of the refractory fellows of Magdalen college, on the other. You will therein see the respective grounds on which the king rested his claim to appoint their president, and on which they opposed it. After some general observations on the duty of obedience, the bishop of Chester, addressing the fellows, proceeds as follows: "The king hath bound himself, by his sacred promise, to protect our altars, at which he does not worship, and, in the first place, to maintain our bishops and archbishops, and all the members of the church of England, in their rights, privileges, and endowments. No doubt but he will do his own religion all the right and service he can, without unjust and cruel methods, which he utterly abhors, and without wronging ours, which is by law established.....But though you have been very irregular in your provocations, yet the king is resolved to be exactly regular in his proceedings, and accordingly as *he is supreme ordinary of this kingdom,* which is his inherent right, and of which he never can be divested, and the *unquestionable visitor of all colleges,* he hath delegated his commissioners with full powers to proceed according to the just measure of the laws, and his royal prerogative, against such offenders as shall be found amongst you, and not otherwise." (2) You yourself have helped me to Hough's answer to the commissioners, from the State Trials, which I might otherwise have overlooked, and which you say, deserves to be recorded in his own words: "I must be plain with your lordships. I find that your commission gives you authority to change and alter the

of favourites, during his reign, Wood, Athen. Oxon. et Fasti Oxon. Amongst other instances, in 1666 a mandamus was issued for the election of Dr. Andrew Sparrow to the mastership of Queen's college, Cambridge. Nevertheless a majority of the fellows persisted in the choice of Dr. Patrick, afterwards bishop. In consequence of this, some, if not all the opposition members were expelled the college. Wood's ad dict. an.

(1) P. 96. (2) Dodd's Hist. vol. iii, p. 530.

statutes, and to make new ones, as you think fit. Now, my lords, we have an oath not only to observe these statutes (laying his hand on the book) but to admit no new ones or alterations in these. This must be my behaviour here. I must admit of no alteration from it, and by the grace of God I never will." (1) I am astonished, Sir, you did not perceive the opposition there is between your defence of the fellows of Magdalen college and Dr. Hough's. In fact, the former does not deny the king to be *supreme ordinary of the kingdom*, or the *unquestionable visitor of all colleges*, as you do; he does not ground his disobedience on the want of authority in the sovereign, but on the indispensable nature of his own oath. He does not say, I cannot admit of your Majesty's right to qualify Mr. Anthony Farmer, or the bishop of Oxford, to be our president, unless it is supported by the two other branches of the legislature; (2) but he says: "We have an oath to observe these statutes, and not to admit of any new ones or alterations in these, and by the grace of God I never will." Now, Sir, this answer not only proves the defectiveness of your statement, but also demonstrates, what I further asserted in my History, that Dr. Hough and his associates were guilty of the greatest hypocrisy in this transaction. (3) They declared themselves to be bound by an indispensable oath to observe the statutes of their founder, the good bishop Waynflete, and yet it was notorious that they were living in the constant breach of a great proportion of them.

I have professed only to speak of rules and precedents previously to the Revolution; nevertheless as you, Sir, and my other antagonists, so

(1) P. 95.

(2) It is certain that the legislature never exercised its authority with respect to a great number of subordinate statutes that are still extant in the codes of different colleges, such as, *De non exeundo foras sine socio*; *de canibus et feris non alendis*; *de morâ non faciendâ in aulâ*, &c. In regard to many other statutes of founders of greater weight, it is certain that the legislature has never prohibited the complying with them. There is no law, for example, which hinders a fellow from saying such a portion of David's psalms every day which constitutes the divine office. There is no law which obliges the principal or fellow of any college to marry, &c.

(3) Vol. i. p. 440.

loudly

loudly call upon me to produce an instance of a king of the Brunswick line having claimed the authority of nominating to a college benefice, where he himself was not the regular visitor, (for the passage in my History (1) only refers to ecclesiastical livings of that description); I answer, Sir, that you will find, upon examining the public offices, that such a one occurred with respect to the very college in this city. When the duke of Newcastle was secretary of state, I think it was in the year 1726, John Trenchard Broomfield obtained a royal mandate for a fellowship in Wykeham's college of Winchester, to the great displeasure of the warden and fellows, who opposed his nomination. In the expostulation which they made on this occasion, they recurred to the same arguments that had been employed in the contest at Magdalen college; and, in particular, they endeavoured to discredit the practice of mandamus's, as having been a reproach to the reigns of Charles II and James II; though in fact these princes, as we have seen, made much less use of them than most of their immediate predecessors, In conclusion, the duke of Newcastle writes for answer, that as the society disputed his majesty's right to make the nomination in question, his attorney-general must settle the business with them. I need not add, that Mr. Trenchard Broomfield obtained his fellowship.

There is one circumstance relating to the transaction in question with which you are evidently much embarrased. You acknowledge that James's "Declarations of Indulgence were the critical acts by which his destiny was determined." (2) In other words, he lost his crown by declaring, that as long as he was king, no Catholic, Arian, or Anabaptist should be put to death, and that no Quaker, Dissenter, or other Protestant, should be whipped, fined, or imprisoned, as had been the case in all the preceding reigns, for the mere profession or exercise of his religion, whatever that might be. The question is not here, Sir, concerning the legality of James's declarations, but about the consistency of your own. The reader will recollect the warm controversy I have had with you concerning the

(1) Vol. i, p. 440. (2) P. 87.

execution

executions of Mary's reign, and your repeated assertions, that "if she w
a persecutor it was in virtue of her religion that she was so." Unfort
nately for the truth of these you are forced to allow, that the very ne
Catholic sovereign who mounted the throne was dispossessed of it becau
he refused, in any manner whatsoever, to concur in the work of pers
cution. And we know, that his conduct, in this particular, was approv
of by all the Catholic world. In vain, Sir, you try to extricate yours
from this perplexing situation, In vain you labour to defend, at the sa
time, the opposite causes of persecution and toleration. You flound
from one contradiction to another, so as to move the pity of every intel
gent reader. In the first place you say, "It is a gross imposition to repr
sent James as a patron of toleration, because he belonged to the most i
tolerant of all religions." (1) This, Sir, I must remind you, is wh
logicians call a *petitio principii*, or begging the question. By this tir
the reader will be enabled to judge of this point for himself, and to d
cide by facts, not only with respect to our religions, but also to the te
per of our minds, in this particular. In vindication of James's sinceri
I have to remind you, not only that he did effectually screen all other re
gions from persecution as well as his own, whilst he supported the chur
of England, in much the same manner as is the case at present, but al
that he exerted the utmost zeal and liberality in protecting and supporti
the French Protestants, who fled from their own country into this, on t
revocation of the edict of Nantz. (2) I must add, that he had promot
the abolition of the statute De Heretico Comburendo in the form
reign. (3) This behaviour cannot be rationally accounted for on any oth
principle than that of genuine toleration. In proof, however, that
was guilty of deception in his declarations, you alledge, that "
threatened the clergy." (4) But with what did he threaten them? W
it with arbitrary expulsion or degradation in the style of Edward, Eliz

(1) P. 90. (2) See Hist. of Winch. vol. i. 438.
(3) Collier, vol. ii, p. 897. (4) P. 91.

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beth, or James I? No, Sir, we have seen in the speech of his visitor, the bishop of Chester, that he threatened the fellows of Magdalen college with the effect of the law, and of that alone. (1) With the same intent you complain that he imprisoned the seven bishops. (2) The fact is, they were resolved to be imprisoned. For they not only refused to find bail for answering to the king's charges, but also to stand bail for one another, when this privilege was offered them. No doubt they afterwards repented of the storm which they had raised, when they found themselves shipwrecked in it, and deprived of their bishoprics, but they triumphed for the moment, and were reverenced as confessors of the faith.

I consider it, Sir, as the greatest proof of perplexity into which you have brought yourself upon the subject of toleration, that you stoop to threats and hold out against me the terrors of the law. Having mentioned in my History, what you also are constrained to allow, (3) that the deposed monarch fell a victim of toleration, I added the following short reflection: "To fall in such a cause was worthy of a King." In return, you ask, "If I had no apprehensions when I wrote this of being prosecuted by the Attorney-general?" and you assert, that this expression "deserves such a prosecution much more than Mr. Reeves's unfortunate metaphor." (4) I might here reply to you, Sir, in the words of your patron, bishop Hoadly, where he says, "For one Christian divine to tell another that he contradicts acts of parliament, would have an odd appearance." (5) But I do not wish to adopt the sentiments of that prelate either on constitutional or ecclesiastical questions; and I am ready to meet your charge on the footing of fair argument. Is it then a doubtful point, after all your animated panegyrics on toleration, whether the practice of it is a right and commendable thing, or the contrary? If it is right and commendable, can any power on earth hinder it from being honourable and worthy of a King? The present, Sir, is not a question of law,

(1) See above, p. 199. (2) P. 91. (3) P. 87. (4) P. 91.
(5) Answer to Dr. Snape's Letter.

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but of ethics. I admit the change of government under consideration t
have been legally effected, because the legislature has decided that it wa
so. But this my concession, as a subject, does not preclude me, as an hi
torian, from observing, that the deposed monarch derived honour to him
self from the circumstances of his fall. Let us suppose that Charles
had persisted, in opposition to his parliament, in refusing to send h
faithful minister Strafford to die the death of a traitor. I believe there ca
be no doubt that in this case he would have lost his crown sooner than h
actually did. But would you have joined with those divines who recom
mended that measure, (1) which stung him with so much remorse at h
own death. Or let us suppose that Charles II had refused to sign the deat
warrant of the virtuous lord Stafford and of the other Catholics, victim
of Oates's infamous plot, every intelligent person must be satisfied th
he would have been the deposed monarch instead of his brother. But
he had possessed the firmness of mind, or rather the Christianity, to hav
sacrificed his crown in this cause of humanity, would not his fall hav
been worthy of a King? But why need I state imaginary cases, whe
you yourself furnish me with a real one? You assert, that archbisho
Sancroft and the other five bishops who lost their sees for refusing
abandon their doctrine of passive obedience and to swear allegiance
king William, " would not have shewn more virtue by concurring in th
measures of the Revolution, under the new government," (2) than the

(1) The famous Usher of Armagh, and Morton of Durham, Williams of Lincoln, a
Potter of Carlisle. See Collier, vol. ii, p. 801.

(2) P. 95.—Dr. S. boasts, that the university of Oxford, which carried its theory of ob
dience so high in its decree of 1683, should be the first to refute it in practice. P. 88.—T
same observation is applicable to certain dignitaries of the first rank at that period. Till
son, who replaced Sancroft in the see of Canterbury at the Revolution, having, togeth
with Burnet, attended lord Russel at his execution, in 1683, required him to abjure t
doctrine of resistance, as *incompatable with the Protestant religion and all hopes of salvati*
See his letter to lord Russel. Echard.——Tillotson's successor, Dr. Tennison, in his Ex
mination of Hobbes's Creed, had written thus: " Wo to all the princes of the earth if t
doctrine (of resistance) be true, and become popular....Such as own these pernicious do
trines, so far from deserving our love and care, ought to he destroyed at the public charge
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did by opposing them. So then, according to you, Sir, there was virtue (and of course I presume honour) in opposing the Revolution even after it had been established by law. This is a great deal more, Sir, than I asserted in the passage you have denounced to the attorney-general; which implies no more than that one of the causes which previously led to it was honourable. See, Sir, into what absurdities your want of candour, or your want of logic, has betrayed you! Your friends and admirers who happen to cast their eyes on this page, will no longer boast of the advantage which they suppose you have gained over me; and you yourself will no more venture to object to me, that I have weakened his majesty's title to the crown. (1) I have already said, that I submit to the doctrine of the constitution on this point; in the mean time I may be permitted to settle this title in my own mind on what appears to me the most solid and secure of all foundations, the same by which every ancient freeholder claims and holds his estate, viz. long established and undisputed possession; to which, in the present instance, must be added, the oaths, the interests, and the affections of the whole community. Had I indeed advanced any thing like what your friend and fellow disciple has done upon this subject, in a work which you yourself constantly cite with applause, I should not be without fear for my safety.(2) Nor should I be quite satisfied at least with my own conscience, in such times as these, if some of the passages which occur in your dissertation upon it, in the pages now open before me, were to be met with in any publication of mine, For example, in aggravating the alledged tyranny of James II, you say, "He had seen the miseries into which the nation had been plunged by attempts to extend the royal

(1) P. 91.

(2) "The prejudices of the people and the circumstances of the times concurred in placing William, a stranger and a soldier, on the throne of Britain. Hence a door was opened to innumerable evils, some of them remaining to this day, and likely to remain to the latest posterity." Discourses by Thomas Balguy, D. D. dedicated to his present Majesty. Disc. iv. On the Restoration. p. 68. What these *prejudices of the people* were, we are not informed; but from what is said p. 58 and other passages we are left to conclude, that they are those in favour of monarchy.

authority beyond its legal bounds, and the invincible spirit of the peop with which such attempts were resisted." (1) Here the whole misery a tendant on the civil war is charged to the account of the honest and r ligious Charles I; and no part of it to the republican spirit of Puritanis to the hypocrisy of the Covenanters, to the turbulence of Pym, to th enthusiasm of Peters, to the pride of Hampden, to the ambition of Crom well, and to the democratic fury of the times. On the contrary, the be haviour of Charles's enemies is unqualifiedly approved of. Your inten tions are no doubt very innocent, but certainly your language is sin gularly imprudent in such times as these. I must say the same of anothe passage which I meet with on the same subject, where, speaking of th inconveniencies attendant on the dispensing power, you say, that if th be admitted, "all that our ancestors obtained from Charles would go fo nothing." (2) Does not this expression convey an implied approbation that absurd and fatal principle of false patriots, that *whatever power extorted from the crown, is so much real gain to the subject?* In fa we know, that our infatuated ancestors gained from Charles I, the abo lition of the hierarchy, the command of the fortresses and the militia, an the disposal of the purse. If you did not mean to approve of all the acquisitions at that period, you ought not to have expressed yourself i such vague and unqualified terms. I think your theological doctrine still more faulty in this matter than your constitutional principles are particularly where you intimate that the passages of the apostle: *Be sub ject to every ordinance....whether it be to the king as supreme*, &c. 1 Pe c. xi, v. 13, and that other, *Honour the king*, v. 17, do not apply to " constitutional English monarch." (3) But the most singular passage i the whole dissertation is the following, where, speaking of the obedienc enjoined to civil government by scripture, you say, "It does, as in othe instances, give a general rule, and leaves the application in each particula instance to the good sense and virtue of individuals." (4) When I mee

(1) P. 91. (2) P. 87. (3) P. 88. (4) Ibid.

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with these and some other passages in your Reflections, I am forced to look at the form and title of the work, to satisfy myself that I have not by mistake laid my hand on some work of Dr. Priestley or Gilbert Wakefield. For my part, when I have occasion to mention those texts of St. Peter, I teach that the obedience enjoined in them is no less due to his present majesty, than it was to the Roman emperors under whom St. Peter wrote, that the obligation of it is incontestible, and that the application of it is to be determined, not by the virtue of individuals, but by the laws and constitution of the state in which we live.

" James having sacrificed his crown to his religion, and that religion being declared a disqualification in future to any claims of succession," you tell us, that Catholics " were placed in a situation still more adverse to government." (1) This you alledge in vindication of " the new penal laws with increased severities enacted against them." (2) In your account of the preceding reigns, particularly that of Charles II, you and other writers have represented the strength of Catholics in those times, and the favour of government to them, as motives for the fresh penal acts and persecutions they then experienced; and now you describe their weakness, in consequence of the Revolution, and the disfavour of government in their regard, as furnishing equal grounds for " new penal laws and increased severities against them." Thus, in the most opposite situations of public affairs with respect to Catholics, it seems that their sufferings were always a measure of expediency: and, according to an ancient proverb, *every tree was good to make an arrow to shoot against them.* The additional arguments which you bring forward in support of this fresh persecution, are equally delusive and absurd. You signify that James's claim was supported by Louis XIV. (3) For that very reason it was opposed by Austria, Spain, and other Cathoiic powers, who were jealous of the too great power of France. " Ireland," you say, " was full of Catholics." (4)—This was the very reason why, in sound policy, setting justice apart,

(1) P. 92. (2) P. 93. (3) P. 92. (4) Ibid.

the Catholic religion ought to have been protected. The fatal conse quences of sacrificing the peace and welfare of a whole nation to th virulence and avarice of a small party, have been a vast drawback upo the prosperity of the British empire, from a period much anterior to tha in question, but have never been so severely felt and so openly acknow ledged as at the present time. "Plots were formed of the most desperat kind" against king William and his government. (1)—I grant there were but the chief authors of them were the declared enemies of the Catholics viz. those very Whigs who, but a year before, planned and effected the Re lution.(2) "A conspiracy was formed in 1696 to assassinate the king."(3 —True; but the assassins were all Protestants. "A great part of the natio was dissatisfied, from an habitual attachment to the deprived family."(4)— Therefore it was right to single out the Catholics for punishment. Wha a consequence! The Presbyterians in Scotland were mostly attached t their native royal branch, as the subsequent rebellions proved. A grea part of the landed gentry were of the same political principles, whic they shewed by their parliamentary opposition to government. A larg and respectable society of Nonjurors continued to support their ancien doctrines of non-resistance and indefeasable right; and even in that ce lebrated university where you, Sir, received your education, it was uni versally known that the same opinions were for a long time cherished, an success to the exiled family hailed *with the sincerity of wine.* (5) Not withstanding this, repeated acts of parliament passed in favour of th Dissenters, the gentry and clergy were left in full possession of all th good things which the nation afforded, and even the Nonjurors were le unmolested whilst they were guilty of no overt act against government Only the little, retired, and unresisting body of Catholics were persecuted They became the *scape-goat* on whom the political sins of the whol community were charged. This is conformable to your own account where, having described the dangers to which king William's governmen

(1) P. 92. (2) See Dalrymple's Memoirs and Records.
(3) P. 92. (4) Ibid. (5) Junius's Letter to the Earl of Mansfield.

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was exposed from foreign wars, domestic plots, and by "the general feelings of a great part of the nation" for the Stuart family, you gravely tell us, that "to meet these new dangers, new laws were enacted with additional severities and restraints" against Catholics. (1) In fact, they were harrassed with domiciliary visits in search of arms, with double taxes and other imposts, with the seizure of their horses, &c. They were banished from the metropolis, rendered incapable of inheriting or purchasing, required to enregister their estates, and a reward of 100l. was held out to informers for the conviction of every clergyman of their religion. These penalties were not all of them imposed in the time of king William; but some or other of them continued to be enacted in every reign, until that of his present majesty, and the penalty of them has been frequently enforced even during the course of his reign.

I will venture, Sir, now to assert, that your laboured defence of the persecution of English Catholics is solidly refuted, and that these are now proved to have been for the space of two hundred years an injured and oppressed people. The visor of civil justice and public security is torn off from the hypocritical face of bigoted intolerance, and she stands confessed in all her native hideousness. Were I to pass from the department of historical to that of theological controversy, and to exhibit the gross falsehoods and misrepresentations which those divines, whose writings you celebrate as invincible, a Stillingfleet, a Tillotson, and a Burnet, (2) are guilty of, in exhibiting the religion of all the saints in the calendar as a system of idolatry, immorality, and perjury. (3) I should shew by what means

(1) P. 93. (2) P. 97.

(3) As a specimen of the virulent declamation and shameful calumnies, to which many of the most respectable characters have, even until a late period, been accustomed to give scope, in a situation where they were not liable to be contradicted, and where Popery was the theme, I will transcribe the following passage from a Discourse of Dr. S. himself, which he has not scrupled to entitle, *On Moderation with respect to Religious Differences*, amongst others in the same spirit. Having enlarged on the alledged past corruptions of the Catholic church, which he signifies are sufficient to justify the application to her of the passages relating to Antichrist and the whore of Babylon, he proceeds to state "some doctrines," which he says, notwithstanding

means that spirit of bigotry and persecution was excited and kept up, and should be enabled to produce a picture of equal deformity with that which I have already held up to view. The task would be light and easy compared with that which I have performed. But you, Sir, have not challenged me upon that ground.

At length the prejudices of persons in the higher ranks of life wearing away, and the wisdom of uniting the inhabitants of this island in one interest, becoming every day more manifest, at a time when America was nearly lost, and France began to threaten, a deputation of the Catholic body was permitted to approach the throne, and to pour into the bosom of the father of his people those sentiments of veneration, loyalty, and affection, with which they were truly and universally penetrated. This auspicious measure was followed by a certain relaxation of the penal laws, in 1778, which, however small in itself, was as great as the temper of the times would bear. For now the *green-eyed monster* of religious jealousy, which had so long slept over his unresisting prey, at the first

notwithstanding her present more decent and moral conduct, "remain fixed upon her by virtue of her own principles. To propagate religion....by persecution armed with all it terrors, by slaughter, by devastation, by executions; to consider every crime, even of the blackest kind, sanctified by this end; to offer the human expedients of pardons and indulgencies, in order to exempt men from moral obligations, and to make them easy under the violation of them, are doctrines and practices, which still remain authorised by the infallible voice of her popes and the decrees of her councils." Disc. xvi, pp. 327, 328. It is impossible to be a man, and not to feel such bitter reproaches, especially when made under the mockery of *Religious Moderation*; and it is impossible to be a divine, without possessing the ability of refuting such mingled ignorance and falsehood. But a Catholic consoles himself in such circumstances with the reflection, that the meek, amiable, and unresenting disciples of Jesus, even in the golden age of the Apostles, were accused, convicted, and put to the most horrible kinds of death, precisely on the charge of their *hating all mankind*. "Odio humani generis convicti sunt." Corn.Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. To shew the force of the prejudice, which even liberal minds are liable to on the subject of religion, it will be sufficient to mention, that this celebrated historian, in the same passage, terms the Christians, "sontes reos, novissima exempla meritos....per flagitia invisos," and their religion itself, "exitialis superstitio." Ibid.

appearance

appearance of its escape from his cruel fangs began to rouse himself to all his past fury. The pulpits of the lower sort, particularly those of John Wesley and his associates, (1) resounded, and the presses of the metropolis groaned, with hypocritical lamentations on the pretended increase of Popery, and the fatal consequences to be apprehended from the late indulgence granted to its professors; a religion, which it was asserted, "had slain its thousands by its cruelty, and its tens of thousands by its ignorance." (2) By these, and other inflammatory harangues, a society was collected together at the beginning of the ensuing year, 1779, under the title of *The Protestant Association*, professedly instituted on the plan of similar associations in the last century, (3) and particularly on that of the Solemn League and Covenant. The pretext which they held out to the public, whom they loudly called upon, especially the clergy of the metropolis, (4) to join them, was the preservation of the civil constitution and the Protestant religion, by petitioning parliament for a repeal of the late act; but it was plain, from the beginning, that they meant to carry their measure more by intimidation and force, than by humble supplication. In the course of the same year, *An Appeal from the Protestant Association to the People of England* was published and dispersed all over the kingdom, inviting the people to form similar associations in the different counties, and, at the same time, to appoint com-

(1) See John Wesley's Popery Calmly Considered, 1779; and his Defence of the Protestant Association, 1780.

(2) See Deed of the founders of the Protestant Association, and the Plan of ditto, in Wesley's Strictures on the State and Behaviour, pp. 32, 34. In the same strain of intolerance, these enthusiasts, in their Appeal to the People of England, after "bewailing the loss of millions of poor people who are prohibited by Papists from reading the scriptures," (though it were a charity, says the judicious and lively O'Leary in his Answer to Wesley, to teach them first to spell) they go on: "To tolerate Popery is to be instrumental in the perdition of immortal souls, and of millions that only exist in the prescience of God, and is the direct way to provoke the vengeance of a holy and jealous God against our fleets and armies." Appeal from Prot. Assoc. p. 18.

(3) See the above-quoted pamphlet, p. 32. (4) See Plan of Prot. Assoc. ibid, p. 37.

mittees

mittees for transacting their business, and corresponding with the gra
Association in London. Subscriptions were also opened at the houses
three eminent bankers, and at that of Jabes Fisher, secretary to the s
ciety, for defraying the expences of the grand undertaking. (1) At
general meeting, towards the close of that year, it was unanimous
resolved, that " on account of the noble zeal for the Protestant intere
which had distinguished the parliamentary conduct of lord George Go
don, he should be requested to become the president of the Association
(2) In consequence of the above-mentioned Appeal, various clubs in di
ferent parts of the kingdom were formed, on the model of that in Londo
many of which sent up petitions to parliament, breathing rancour a
persecution against their fellow subjects of the Catholic communio
under the pretexts of religion and humanity. The 2d of June, in t
year 1780, will ever be memorable in the history of this country, for t
presentation of the grand petition of the London Associators to the Hou
of Commons, containing 44,000 signatures, and carried thither by a p
pulace of 50,000 men. On this occasion the members of parliament we
attacked as they passed through the streets, and required to promise
swear that they would vote for the repeal; soon after which, on t
same day, the chapels and houses of the Catholics began to be burnt dov
and demolished; which riots continued during the six following da
or extended their dreadful effects from the habitations of the Catholi
to the prisons, the pay-office, the bank, the palace, and to almost eve
other part of the metropolis, and more or less of the whole kingdom.

It is not, Sir, for the purpose of complaint or of recrimination that
recal these horrors to your mind, of which you were a spectator, and
to a certain degree, was a victim, (3); (though I greatly doubt, wheth

(1) See Plan, &c. p. 37. (2) Ibid, p. 39.

(3) Having received incendiary letters, and being indebted for protection to a strong m
litary guard. Though no Catholics were put to death by the rioters, yet a very cousidera
number of them, particularly women and sick persons, lost their lives by the terrors wh
they suffered, and the agitation of their minds, in being driven from their homes, and hun
from place to place.

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you would have been so generous, if history had furnished you with an instance of such wanton and deliberate malice on the part of a similar number of Catholics against peaceable and unoffending Protestants); these, I say, are not the objects which I have in view, but only to illustrate the past history of the enemies of the Catholics, by the events which have passed under your own eyes, and to exhibit, as in a mirror, the canting hypocrisy, the counterfeit patriotism, the unrelenting bigotry, and the impudent falsehoods of a lord Shaftsbury and other persecutors of Catholics during the time of Charles II, in a lord George Gordon and his fellow associators during our own. We have a glaring instance of the last-mentioned vice, (which however has many parallels in the last century) in the attempt of the Protestant Association to remove the blame and punishment of the above excesses, when they had failed of obtaining their intended objects, from themselves to the Catholics. They accordingly asserted with great earnestness, and attempted to make the world believe, that it was a Popish mob, which, seizing by force upon the blue flags and cockades of their 50,000 quiet petitioners, (1) insulted the members of parliament, obliging them to cry out, *No Popery*; (2) which committed all the other violences that brought the British empire to the very brink of ruin, and which even burnt down their own houses and chapels! Yes, Sir, these impudent and revolting falsehoods were maintained, not

(1) Some accounts make them amount to 100,000 men. Polit. Mag.

(2) The managers of the Association foreseeing the consequences of assembling together so large a body of people, particularly on such a business, (for lord G. G. declared that he would not present the petition if 20,000 men did not attend him, and March 8, 1780, he boasted that he had 100,000 men at his back) a plot was concerted before hand for throwing the blame of the ensuing riots upon those very persons against whom they were directed; and with this view, whilst this immense mob was collecting in St. George's Fields, a handbill was distributed amongst them, giving them notice, that there was "great reason to believe a great number of Papists would assemble, with the intent of breeding a riot at the peaceable and lawful meeting of the Protestants to attend their worthy president, lord G. Gordon, therefore all Protestants were requested to be patient, and not to resent any insult, &c." See Strictures, &c. also Political Mag. for June 1780, &c.

only in the publications of the Association, (1) but also in the solemn courts of justice. (2)

In conclusion, this Corresponding Protestant Society seems to have transformed itself into the *Corresponding Society for Political Information*; and its honourable president, who had professed such ardent zeal for the Protestant religion, abjuring the name of Christ, became a Jewish proselyte, and ended his life in Newgate a prisoner for sedition. After all, Sir, the riots served to purge away the black bile of many bitter enemies of Catholics, and to open the eyes of others, who were of a more liberal turn, to the real characters both of the persecuted and the persecutors. Hence the wise and beneficent act of toleration, which passed in 1791, met with no enemies in parliament, and with very few out of it. It was deemed indeed expedient to throw out a tub to the leviathan of public prejudice, if this were still lurking in the deep, by requiring the Catholics once more to abjure a number of wicked and absurd doctrines which they had never held. In this, and in the whole business of their emancipation, they were assisted by the talents and virtues of several of the greatest and best men of whom this nation can boast; and more particularly by that illustrious character, to whom it was principally indebted

(1) "It was a preconcerted scheme to bring an odium on the Protestant Association... Papists destroyed two chapels of foreign ministers, (the Sardinian and Bavarian) and attempted to charge innocent persons with the crime." Wesley's Strictures, p. 63. The same writer equally accuses the Catholics of burning down the chapel in Moorfields and Newgate prison, and of attacking the bank, &c. pp. 65, 68. "One of the rioters shot in Fleet-market proves to be a Roman Catholic. Three men shot in Cornhill (at the attack of the bank) prove to be of the same religion, one of whom appears to be a noted Jesuit, who has resided in this kingdom for many years." Polit. Mag. for June 1780, p. 246. Also Wesley's Strict. p. 68.—It is a greater trial of patience to be insulted with these unblushing calumnies, than to be exposed to such wanton and cruel persecutions.—N. B. John Wesley's name is not affixed to the Strictures here quoted, but only the initial *W*. There is however good reason, from that preacher's connexions with the Association, from the stile of the work, and other internal evidence, to believe it to be his composition.

(2) See the trial of lord G. Gordon and of the other rioters.

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for its salvation at a certain crisis from that precipice of anarchy, on the brink of which it hung. It may be permitted me, now that he is no more, to proclaim how much the Catholics, and especially that portion of them in whose concerns I was employed, were indebted on that occasion to the wisdom, experience, and exertions of the immortal Edmund Burke. Those respectable characters also who have been mentioned above are entitled to all the merit which you have ascribed to them, and you yourself, Sir, shewed a liberality of mind which I have always acknowledged with pleasure. *What hath fascinated you* to trace back steps which did you so much honour, and to force me into the situation in your regard in which I now stand?

I have the honour, &c.

LETTER VIII.

SIR,

I COME now to the most important charge, or a least that which has produced the greatest sensation in this city, amongs all those which have been brought against THE CIVIL AND ECCLE SIASTICAL HISTORY OF WINCHESTER; I mean the censure which I hav passed on its famous prelate, Hoadly. (1) Had I left this celebrate champion of liberty and the low church untouched, I have reason to be lieve, that all the disrespectful things which I am accused of sayin against other eminent or favourite characters, would not have procure me the honour of your public notice. I most unfeignedly respect an applaud your gratitude to a benefactor, who cannot now bestow an further favours upon you. In return, Sir, I hope you will give me cred for the uprightness of my motives in the disapprobation which I hav expressed, and must ever continue to express, for the theological principl which this able writer was chiefly instrumental in propagating throughou the nation. As an individual I can have no private pique against a eminent man, with whom I never had the most distant relation, and who endowments and manners, I make no doubt, were as commendable an amiable as you have represented them. As a writer I cannot but respe a personage, who not only supported the cause of literature by his ow learned and acute writings, but also by the patronage which he afford to men of genius and application, of which you, Sir, are a livin proof. As a Catholic even it will appear improbable that I shou

(1) Vol. i, p. 445. vol. ii, p. 32.

be displeased with an author who has given such evident advantages to the religion which I defend, and has eventually proved, that the professors of it are entitled not only to an exemption from penal laws of every sort, but also to the honours and emoluments of the state. Yes, Sir, it is an incontestible fact, that bishop Hoadly has surrendered a great part of the leading points of controversy, which the Catholic authors of the two preceding centuries had loaded the shelves of libraries in endeavouring to prove. Your most learned and able writers have seen and lamented the event. (1) On the other hand, this prelate carried his principles of toleration so far as to declare, in times of great religious acrimony, that even Catholics could not be excluded from civil offices on any pretext, except that of disaffection to government. (2) Now, Sir, this pretext being abandoned in your writings, and done away by the acts of the legislature itself, it follows that a mere principle of self-interest would lead me to raise Hoadly's authority to the highest point possible. I say nothing of the advantage to be derived from yielding to the current, and supporting the popular side of each question, by every writer that is desirous of gaining applause. You will ask, what then is the motive of my opposition to this celebrated writer? I answer, a regard for the general interests of Christianity, and for the peace and welfare of the community. If I cannot persuade Christians to admit of that living speaking

(1) "Your lordship tells Dr. Snape, that he sayeth and unsayeth, to the great diversion of the Roman Catholics. But if your lordship would unsay some things you have said, it would be a greater mortification to them than all that ever you said or writ in your whole life. To deny the necessity of any particular communion, to expose the validity of the sacraments, and rally on the uninterrupted succession of priests, and pull down every pillar in the church of Christ, is an errand on which Rome hath sent many a messenger." W. Law, in his Answer to the Bishop of Bangor's (Hoadly) Sermon, p. 17.—The New Biographical Dict. says with truth, that Hoadly's "ablest opponent was the celebrated William Law, who in many points may be said to have gained a compleat victory."

(2) "I cannot justify the exclusion of a Papist from civil offices on any account but that of his open avowed enmity to civil government, as now settled in this land." Hoadly's Common Right of Subjects.

tribunal

tribunal in the pastors of the universal church, which I conceive to be as necessary for preserving it in absolute peace and unity, as the living speaking tribunal of judges and magistrates is found to be for the safety of the state, I wish to prevent them from frittering away their religion, and launching into that latitudinarianism, with which Hoadly has been so generally and justly reproached; (1) being persuaded that this is the direct and short road to the philosophic incredulity of modern times. If they will not be good Catholics, I am desirous that they should remain good Church-of England-men, convinced that thereby the sacred code of Revelation will be much less violated, and the public peace and happiness much more effectually secured.

Before I enter upon the question before me, I must premise, 1st, That it is not my intention to refute the doctrines of Hoadly by arguments drawn from scripture, or from any other theological source, but barely to contrast them with the articles and liturgy of the church of England, not by way of justifying the expression in my HISTORY, (2) which has been the source of all your opposition to me and the religion I profess, but of demonstrating the fact itself, to which that assertion relates, with the view of opposing the further progress of incredulity, and of guarding our common country against the consequences that are to be apprehended from it.

(1) It is well known, that a representation was drawn up by a committee of the lower house of convocation against bishop Hoadly's Sermon of March 1717, and his Preservative, as "tending to subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ, and to reduce it to a state of anarchy and confusion, and as making void those powers with which he himself was vested, and which he was bound to exercise in conferring orders, inflicting censures," &c. This representation was to have been carried up to the prelates in the higher house; when the ministry of that day, in tenderness to their favourite bishop, caused the convocation to be dissolved, which has never been allowed to proceed to any business since. If the bishop did not procure this measure, he at least approved of it, as proceeding from "a sincere regard to the constitution in church and state." See Hoadly's Preface and Answer to the Represent. ch. iv.

(2) "Thus it may be said with truth of Dr. Hoadly, that both living and dying he undermined the church of which he was a prelate." Vol. ii, p. 32.

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2dly, I shall not take the unnecessary pains of tracing this system in the voluminous works of Hoadly himself, through all the ambiguities, disguises, and contradictions, which his rank in the church and the opposition of his able opponents obliged him to adopt, in order to palliate it; since I find it exhibited in a more concise, open, and systematical manner by two of his most illustrious disciples; than whom none can be better qualified by their talents and other advantages to comprehend it and do justice to it. I shall therefore make much more use, in the present discussion, of the writings of the scholars than of the master. There are other reasons for this conduct. One of the respectable characters whom I allude to, is still living to defend himself, or, if he pleases, to retract his errors. This gentleman has adopted and made his own the publication of the other, which I shall have occasion to refer to. In a word, he is no other than my present opponent, the very person who has taken such uncommon pains to exhibit me to the nation as a writer that has weakened the establishment in church and state.(1) It will now be seen whether he or I is most deserving of this character. The points on which I shall contrast the plain doctrines of the Establishment with those of Hoadlyism are, the nature and form of the Church, the Sacraments, the Christian Mysteries, and the assent and subscription that are required to the xxxix Articles and the Book of Common Prayer.

1. The nature of the church is particularly described in the xxth of the above mentioned articles, as follows: "The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered." The xxvii article asserts, that "men are grafted into the church by *baptism*, as by an instrument," and and the whole liturgy of this sacrament, in the Common Prayer Book, is grounded upon that doctrine.(2) Again, the xxxiiid article teaches, that a person

(1) Reflections on Popery, pp. 6, 111, &c.

(2) Before baptism the minister prays, that the person to be baptised, whether a child or one of riper years, "may be received into the ark of Christ's church." Immediately as he pours the water he says, "We receive this child (or person) into the congregation of Christ's

person may, "by open denunciation of the church, be rightly cut o from the unity of the church and excommunicated," in which case "h ought to be taken of the whole multitude as an heathen and publican,. until he be received into the church by a judge which hath authori thereunto." It is needless to add, that the sentence of excommunicatio is strictly conformable to this doctrine. (1) Finally, the xviiith article go so far as to pronounce, that "they are to be had accursed who presum to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professet so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the lig of nature."

With respect to the authority and constitution of the church, she claim in her articles, not only "the power to decree rites and ceremonies," b also "authority in controversies of faith." (2) She teaches, that th orders of her ministers have descended from the apostles, and are a pointed by God; (3) and that the power given to them in the ceremon of ordination is communicated by the Holy Ghost; (4) moreover, th t

Christ's flock." In conclusion he thanks God for having "adopted and incorporated h into his church." See the Common Prayer Book.

(1) This censure is of the same tenor in the kirk of Scotland and other reformed co munions. See the sentence of deposition and excommunication against the four Scot bishops for receiving consecration to the office of episcopacy. Collier, vol. ii. rec. 113.

(2) Art. xx. (3) See the prayers appointed in the form of ordaining, &c.

(4) The order of priesthood is conferred in the following words of scripture, agreeal to the Roman pontifical: *Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiv and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.* St. John xx, 22, 23. The form of co secrating bishops is: *Receive the Holy Ghost, and remember to stir up the grace that has b given you by the imposition of hands.* Burnet, Hist. Ref. tom. ii. In addition to the spirit powers mentioned above, which are claimed by the Church of England, must be allow that of absolving from sin, expressed in the form of ordination of priests, unless the gre est perversion of language, and that upon the most solemn occasion, be supposed. confirmation of this assertion, the reader may consult the *Warning for the celebration of Communion*, in the Common Prayer Book, where such as cannot otherwise quiet their c sciences, are directed to come to the minister, "in order to receive the benefit of absc tion." This is more clearly inculcated in the *Order for the Visitation of the Sick.* "H s

the form of episcopacy is divine and essentially necessary to her existence. In proof of this we observe, 1st, that it is required by the act of Uniformity (1) that no person shall be allowed to hold any living who has not received episcopal ordination; though, from the confusion which had prevailed in the kingdom for almost twenty years before the passing of that act, this had been impracticable with respect to the generality of ministers: 2dly, that the practice of the Church of England ever has been to admit the ordination of the Catholic clergy, and of others ordained by bishops, who have passed over to her communion, but to reject that of Dissenting ministers of every class, whether natives or foreigners, to whom this hath been wanting. (2)

In opposition to these tenets, Hoadly himself defines a church to be "the number of persons, whether great or small, whether dispersed or united, who are sincerely and willingly subjects to Christ alone, as to a lawgiver and judge, in matters relating to the favour of God and eternal salvation." (3) According to this definition, neither purity of doctrine, nor the right administration of the sacraments, are essentially necessary

shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession the priest shall absolve him in this sort: "—— Our Lord, who hath left power in his church to absolve sinners, &c. forgive thee, and I by his authority committed to me absolve thee from all thy sins."

(1) 13 & 14 Car. II, c. 4.

(2) Collier, vol, ii, p. 619. Strype's Life of Whitgift. The cotemporary of this archbishop, viz. Aylmer, bishop of London, condemned the Puritan minister Wright, for preaching, as being only a layman, though he was ordained in a foreign church. Hist. of Churches in Engl. and Scotl. vol. ii, p. 234. In 1661, episcopacy being restored in Scotland, four ministers in Presbyterian orders having been nominated bishops, and sent to be consecrated by the bishop of Winchester and other assistant prelates, they were previously re-ordained, after disclaiming the validity of their former ordination. Collier, vol. ii, p. 887.——The importance that has been attached by the established clergy to the controversy concerning the Lambeth Register of Archbishop Parker's Consecration, from the time of Mason, 200 years ago, down to that of Courayer, within our own memory, may be also alledged in proof of the Church of England's opinion concerning the necessity of regular and uninterrupted succession from Christ and his Apostles in the sacred ministry.

(3) Serm. March 31, 1717.

to constitute the church of Christ, but only a general disposition, in any collection of people whomsoever, to be subject to Christ as a lawgiver and judge, which every sect and heresy, however impious or infamous from the time of the apostles, has professed no less than the church of England does: for surely there never was a Christian, of any description from Simon Magus down to Jack of Leyden and David George, (1) who did not acknowledge, and that with sincerity, Christ to be his lawgiver. In conformity with this latitudinarian tenet, which tends to render men indifferent about all religious doctrines and practices whatever, and to make them ground their title to God's favour upon a pretended sincerity of mind, (which, in fact, those are destitute of who neglect carefully to examine and practice what he teaches and commands) Hoadly asserts in express terms, that every one may "find it in his own conduct to be true, that his title to God's favour cannot depend on his actual being or continuing in any particular method *(of religion)*, but in his real sincerity in the conduct of his conscience." (2) It was impossible to reconcile with these tenets the belief of any efficacious ministry in the clergy of any description to admit persons into the church by baptism or to exclude them from it by excommunication. Nor could it be of any essential consequence whether the pastors derived their ministry and authority in a regular line from the apostles, or from any other source. Accordingly he instructs his royal and noble audience, "When they are secure of their integrity before God,....not to be afraid of the terrors of men or the vain words of regular and uninterrupted successions, (3) au-

(1) The former was an enthusiastic Anabaptist, who made himself king of Munster, and committed the greatest extravagancies and horrors. The second was of the same religion and pretended to be the successor of the Messiah, and the nephew of God. Hist. Reform. Païs Bas, vol. i. (2) Preservative, &c.

(3) It is true that H. has written *A brief Defence of Episcopal Ordination*, by way of persuading the Dissenters to unite with the established church. But, in conformity with his general principles, he says in this very treatise, "I cannot argue that episcopacy is essential to a Christian church because it is of apostolical institution."

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thoritative benedictions, excommunications,....nullity or validity of God's ordinances on account of niceties and trifles, and any other the like dreams." (1)

I need not mention that the late Dr. Thomas Balguy is the disciple of Hoadly alluded to above, whose sentiments on church-authority you adopt with so much warmth, as to declare, that " this subject has been treated by him in his Discourses, with a precision of thought and correctness of reasoning almost peculiar to the author." (2) His definition of a church is still more extensive than that of Hoadly, and applies not only to all Christians, but likewise to the greater part of Pagans. In his principles " a church is a number of persons agreeing to unite in public assemblies, for the performance of religious duties." (3) According to this definition, we may speak with propriety of the church of Diana of Ephesus, of the church of Jupiter Capitolinus, and of the church of Venus of Paphos, to which in fact the greater part, if not the whole of this dissertation that you so much admire, is as applicable as it is to the Church of England or to any other Christian church whatsoever. He proceeds to ask, in the next page to that which I have quoted, " Why men should meet at all for the performance of religious duties?" (4) And it appears, that he is totally unacquainted with any institution or appointment of Christ to this effect, in regard of his followers: for he answers the question solely on the ground of human arguments and apparent expediency. He is equally destitute of convincing arguments, from revelation or tradition, to prove the necessity of religious pastors or ministers of any description whatsoever; for he declares it to be " highly *expedient*, if *not absolutely necessary*, that the offices of religion should be committed to some certain persons, and regulated in some certain manner."(5) He is however clear,

(1) Preservative. See also Sermon on Superstition. (2) Reflections, p. 22.

(3) Discourses on Various Subjects, by Thomas Balguy, D. D. Archdeacon and Prebendary of Winchester, &c. dedicated to the King, 1785. Disc. vi on Church-Authority, p. 89.

(4) P. 90. (5) Ibid.

that "to what persons these are to be committed, and in what manner performed, the society itself must judge or appoint others to judge for them." (1) This is as much as to say, that Christians are left to decide according to their own judgment or inclinations, whether they will be governed by presbyters or bishops; whether they will have men to officiate for them, or women, as the Collyridians had; (2) whether the public worship shall consist in prayer, or in dancing and public games, as was the case, in a great measure, amongst the heathens of Greece and Rome. These points being thus settled, Dr. Balguy pronounces, that "we have here the first sketch of what may be called church-authority. For a power in the society of appointing its ministers, implies an exclusion of others from the ministerial office. In like manner, a power in the society of prescribing the forms of its public offices, implies an exclusion of all others." (3) In conformity with this doctrine, so far from teaching that excommunication renders a person like a heathen or a publican, he makes it consist in nothing more than in "declaring the incapacity of any person to remain in a certain society;" (4) and he signifies, that as the community retains its authority over its ministers, so "it may take away what it has given," viz. the power and character of ecclesiastical ministry. (5)

Dr. B. next informs us, that a religious society or church may exercise their pretended church-authority, "either collectively, (that is to say by democratic assemblies) or they may commit it, if they please, and as much as they please, to representatives (for example to bishops); nay, that they may very properly commit the executive part of it to a single person" (for example to a king). In short, he says, "various forms of government may be assigned, any one of which would be sufficient for

(1) P. 91.

(2) An obscure heresy in the fourth century, mentioned by St. Epiphanius. In like manner the office of the vestal virgins, and of the priestesses of Apollo, proves that women formed part of the public ministry of ancient Paganism.

(3) P. 94. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid and p. 99.

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the ends proposed of appointing ministers, of prescribing forms, and of enforcing obedience." (1) He then points out the expediency, when a number of congregations have freely, and by their own choice, united to form a church, of exercising their essential power by representatives, and concludes, that as "in civil societies, even of the freest kind, however the people may have reserved to themselves the supreme legislative authority, yet the ordinary administration of government is committed either to a prince or a senate; so by a like delegation of power, either single men, or small bodies of men, may and must be authorized to govern the church." (2)

If this doctrine be true, what becomes of the grace communicated in the sacraments? Can a popular assembly confer the power of adminisrating this? I know that the Hoadlyites deny the existence of such sacramental grace, but I also know that the Church of England maintains it. Again, what an empty farce, in this case, is the boast of a regular succession in the clergy, the doctrine concerning the necessity of their being ordained by bishops, and the liturgy in which the spirit of God is said to be communicated in the ceremony under consideration! For it is as clear as the noontide light, that in Dr. Balguy's system, a deacon, a priest, or a bishop, might as well and as validly be ordained by a justice of the peace, or by the town crier, with the mere help of his bell, if the people either collectively, or through their representatives, determined that it should be so, as by the primate and the whole bench of bishops. And what is the cause of this strange departure from the doctrine of the establishment, and of all Christian antiquity, and for the invention and propagation of such an unheard-of and incoherent system? It is evidently for the purpose of introducing Hoadly's favourite doctrine of Whigism (3) into the church as well as into the state; to make all power, ecclesiastical

(1) P. 95. (2) P. 97.

(3) I will here transcribe a note from Dr. S. to prove that greater and abler men than I am, at the present day, see Hoadly's character in the same point of view that I do. "He (Hoadly)

ecclesiastical as well as civil, center in the people; and, by destroying
pretensions in the pastors to any degree of authority from Christ, to fou
a mere philosophic system of natural religion, such as Hoadlyism actually

But you will probably ask, if Dr. Balguy has not admitted that t
Christian church has a divine origin, and that it derives its authority fro
God; and if you yourself have not taken care to quote that passage
your REFLECTIONS, p. 20? I grant, Sir, that you have each of y
taken the precaution of adding the words which I shall insert in the no
below, (1) by way of stifling the complaints which you had reason
expect from a too open disclosure of your system. But this stratagem
literary warfare is easily counteracted by any person of ordinary tale
who has made that system his study. For, 1st, if it is the peo
who authorize, by a delegation of power, single men, or small bodies
men, to govern the church; if they may either exercise church authori
themselves collectively, or commit it, in case they please and as much
they please, to representatives, there is evidently no room left for th

(Hoadly) did not deserve for this to be called *the Republican Bishop* by bishop Horsley, i
note, p. 12, of a sermon preached before the House of Lords, Jan. 30, 1793." Refle
p. 98.

(1) "But it may not be improper to obviate an objection, which may seem to strike at
very foundation of the doctrine here advanced. It will be urged perhaps, that I have co
dered a church as an institution merely human, whereas the Christian church derives its aut
rity from God.—This will be readily admitted, but the divinity of its origin is a circumsta
of no moment in the present inquiry. For there is not the least reason to presume that
founders of our holy religion intended it to be governed by any rules, or on any princip
opposite to those which nature and reason prescribe. They appointed indeed ministers
offices of religion: it was scarce possible for any religion to subsist without them. T
established church-government: for the church must be governed *in some form*, or th
could be no government. But their directions to us are for the most part very gene
Even their example must be cautiously urged in different circumstances. In this
point they are clear and explicit, that authority once established must be obeyed." P. 1
We may observe the author admits, that the objection here stated "seems to strike at
very foundation of his doctrine" on church authority. Whether or no he has answered t
objection, the learned reader will judge by what I have said in the text above.

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kind of authority, derived from Christ and his apostles, which is universally understood by the terms, *divine authority* of the church. But, secondly, we are enabled to gather from this very passage, what is more clearly expressed in others, that the *authority* of the church is considered no otherwise *divine*, except in as much as it is the will of God that the church, no less than the state, should be regulated according to the principles of nature and reason; and that the *origin* of the church is no otherwise *divine*, except that the apostles did model the church in some form or other, and appoint some officers or other, during their own life time; because no institution can subsist without *some shape*, nor last, even for a short time, without *some ministers*. But Dr. B. and yourself both plainly tell us, that the apostles have given no rule for subsequent ages to follow in these particulars, and that we ourselves are left at full liberty, either to continue their method of public worship and church government, or to adopt any other that we may think will suit our circumstances better. That the passage under consideration is destitute of that precision for which you praise the dissertation in general, is evident to every reader, and the circumstance is easily accounted for; but that I give a faithful exposision of the author's meaning will be still plainer from what follows.

In his second Consecration Sermon your learned friend, overlooking the text of scripture appointed in the liturgy for the occasion then present, (1) and the final commission of Christ to his apostles, (2) can find no stronger ground in scripture for building church-authority upon than this: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of *man* for the Lord's sake." (3) Accordingly he sets out with asserting, that there is "the *same reason* for submitting to *ecclesiastical* as to *civil* ordinances;" (4) namely, because "the benefits of society cannot be obtained without submission to public

(1) Receive ye the Holy Ghost. St. John, xx, 22. See Form of Consecrating Bishops. N. B. This Sermon was preached at the consecration of Dr. Hurd for Worcester, and of the present primate, Dr. Moore, for Bangor.

(2) St. Mat. xxviii, 9, 28. St. John, xx, 21, &c,

(3) 1 Pet. ii, 13. (4) P. 110.

authority,

authority, and that God having made us social beings, wills us to discharg the essential duties of society ;"....but he says, that " the particular man ner in which this authority is to be constituted, whether it is to be veste in single men, or in general assemblies, these are points left to huma prudence:" (1) in short, that " supernatural direction being withdrawn the guides of religion are ordained of men." This is just as much as t say: it is the will of God that religious no less than civil societies shoul organize themselves in some manner, so as to secure the benefits of peac and order amongst themselves. Whilst the supernatural guides, the apo tles, were living, it was necessary to retain the episcopal form of church government which they established; but as soon as Timothy and Titus, an the rest of the bishops ordained by the apostles, were no more, there wa no obligation of obeying the bishops whom the latter had consecrated, bu the people were at liberty to form ecclesiastical monarchies, or aristocracie or democracies, accordingly as human prudence might direct them; bu these forms being once established, it became a duty not only of natura but also of revealed religion, which tells us *to submit to every ordinan of man for the Lord's sake,* to comply with the regulations of them. Suc is Dr. B.'s method of establishing a divine authority in the church, for preach ing the word of God, and administering the sacraments. But unfortunate after all this demonstration, it will appear, that bishops and clergyme have in no other sense authority from God in their ecclesiastical function than constables and bailiffs have in apprehending prisoners. In the end D B. himself is obliged to admit this consequence, where he says, " every proper sense of the word, the ministers of the state, as well those of the church, receive their authority from God." (2)

Your own sentiments, as may be well expected from what h been said above, are strictly conformable to those of bishop Hoadly an Dr. Balguy. In your *Discourse on Religious Establishments,* (3) yo

(1) P. 112. (2) P. 114.

(3) Discourses chiefly on the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, by Jo Sturges, LL. D. Chancellor of Winch. &c. 1792.

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tell us, that " in the first planting and propagating of Christianity the means employed were miraculous; (1)....that when the gospel had once taken root in the several countries where it had been planted, it seems conformable to the divine wisdom to leave the care of it to the ordinary and natural abilities of its professors, (2) who were to employ proper means in order to support it;" (3) that, for reasons which you enlarge upon, it was requisite " the doctrines and precepts of the gospel should be inculcated and enforced.(4) Hence," you say, " the necessity of religious services and religious instruction; and consequently of a succession of men whose office it shall be to administer them." (5) So then, it seems, Sir, you are seriously of opinion, no less than Dr. B. that notwithstanding religion could not subsist without public services, instructions, and ministers, yet the apostles were so unwise or so negligent as to provide none of these things in the churches which they founded, at least none of a permanent nature, no not so much as the very sacraments, but left both the necessity of them and the means of procuring them to be found out " by the natural abilities of the professors of the gospel!" The same reflection is applicable to your doctrine concerning the form of church-government; which is briefly this, that as the Almighty has not settled any determined form of governing the state, so neither has he of governing the church; but has left the people at liberty either to consitute bishops, as is the case in England; or to establish presbytery, as they did at Geneva; or to have temporary and occasional ministers, as the Quakers, Muggletonians, &c. have ordered it. That I may not be accused of misrepresenting your doctrine in this instance, I will insert below certain extracts from your publications, in which every man who is capable of reasoning will discern the tenets here laid down. (6) But why this departure

(1) Disc. xvii. On Religious Establishments. P. 336.

(2) P. 338. (3) P. 339. (4) Ibid. (5) P. 340.

(6) " It is not my intention to enter into the arguments deduced from scripture on the form of church-government.....To whatever opinion different parties may be inclined on these arguments, it seems pretty apparent, that neither Christ nor his apostles meant to

parture from the doctrine of the Church of England and of all Christia
antiquity? For it is notorious, that in no one church, from Judea to India
on one hand, and to Spain, on the other, is there any trace of such
formation of an ecclesiastical constitution, or of such a beginning t
public services, instructions, and a ministry, or of such a delegation o
power from the people to the pastors, as you have described. On th
contrary, it is demonstratively proved, that wherever the apostles founde
churches, they ordained bishops and priests in them, with the obligatio
of instructing the faithful and administering the sacraments; that the
also appointed stated times of public worship, and particularly the Lord
day

prescribe minutely those regulations by which the future church should be governed in th
several countries where it was to subsist. What we meet with in scripture are intimatio
and examples of their practice concerning this government, rather than direct commands.
Considerations on the Present State of the Church Establishment, in Letters to the Rt. Re
Lord Bishop of London, by John Sturges, LL. D. Prebendary of Winchester, &c. 1779, p
58, 59. See also the Discourses, p. 344.——"I have always considered the government
civil and religious societies as much on the same footing....Society and religion are bo
equally of God's appointment. It is as much his will that the civil laws be obeyed,....as
is that we should believe those truths and observe those precepts which more immediate
constitute our religious duty. But the particular means by which these purposes are to
obtained, the particular regulations which will best produce them, are left in both cases
be determined by human wisdom, and to be accommodated to the different circumstanc
of the societies for which they are wanted." Consid. pp. 60, 61.——"I do not see the in
propriety of this mode of governing, viz. by bishops, in any country; but if it be thoug
that there should be a sort of analogy in all countries between the ecclesiastical and civ
constitution, I should say, that in our own the episcopal form was more proper than a
other for the government of the church, from its being more analogous to that of the state
Ibid. p. 62.——"In all Christian countries provision should be made for explaining th
truths and inculcating the precepts of the gospel. It is also highly expedient that this pr
vision should be adapted to the different circumstances of each country....Many things r
specting the outward form of religious institutions are in themselves indifferent, and not d
termined by Christ or his inspired followers, and may therefore safely be committed to huma
discretion, which will select, dispose, and modify them as the character of each countr
may require; provided always that those truths and precepts are preserved in their purit
of which the outward form is only the instrument and vehicle." Discourses, &c. p. 343.-
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day; and that they established a public liturgy, the most sacred part of which was *the breaking of bread,* as it is called in scripture, (1) or the ministration of the Holy Eucharist. It is a matter of fact equally demonstrated, that these bishops, so ordained, as one of their number died, consecrated another, (2) and thus have perpetuated themselves, together with their essential authority and institutes, without a moment's interruption, during 18 centuries down to the present day. The only answer then that can be given to the question stated above, is, that it was necessary for Hoadly and his followers to overturn the ancient system of ecclesiastical government and authority, because it was impossible to reconcile with it their fundamental tenet of the original and fundamental power of the people in these matters, and to escape the thunders of the convocation, which hung over the former's head, in consequence of his dangerous innovations in various particulars.

By way of more securely guarding the Palladium of Hoadlyism, as the tenet in question may justly be termed, I find that you have answered an objection which I do not see noticed by Dr. B. The xxth article of the establishment defines, that " the church hath authority in controversies of faith." What *degree* of authority she claims is quite at present out of the question, because it is repugnant to your creed to allow her any such authority at all. Hence there is seen to be a necessity of eluding the

Each of these quotations tends to the same conclusion, viz. that Christ and his apostles instituted no form of church-government to remain to future times, whether episcopalian, presbyterian, or independent, but left Christians to settle this most important matter according to their own human discretion, and the state of their civil government, whether this was monarchic, aristocratic, or democratic. This is confirmed by the analogy between civil and ecclesiastical government, which our author points out, after Dr. B., where he says, in concluding this subject, " There is no doubt that God designed man for a social as well as a religious being,....but he has not dictated the laws or prescribed the precise form of each society ; it being the province of human wisdom to accommodate these to each particular case," &c. Ibid. p. 344.

(1) Acts, ii, 42, 46. xx, 7.

(2) See Euseb. Ch. Hist. S. Iræn. adv. Hær.

evident meaning of this article in some shape or other. What you say is that the *authority of the church*, here mentioned, " is a power of de claring her judgement, in order to determine, what her sense of scriptur is, and her interpretation of it concerning them." (1) But pray, Sir, ha not every man a power of declaring his judgement concerning the sens of scripture? What need then of an article requiring assent and subscrip tion to determine that point, in favour of the whole, or even of a nationa church? In fact, such a power, as is here spoken of, was never denie or doubted of by any divine whomsoever or other individual in his senses Again, Sir, if the church is so uncertain in her creed, as you represent where you barely allow her " the power of *declaring her judgement*, *&c.* I ask, with what justice can she require the unfeigned assent an consent of all the clergy to it? Another branch of authority claimed b the church you do not even attempt to vindicate, but openly condemn I shall cite your own words: " Excommunication, my lord, is unfor tunately the instrument, by which the ecclesiastical jurisdiction is t assert its authority. I have no scruple in saying, that the instrument i improper and bad." (2) When you wrote this, I believe, you were no chancellor of the diocese. But I never heard that when you accepted o that office, to which the assertion of the power and the use of the instru ment in question are particularly attached, you retracted this passage. need not remind you, how strange a declaration the following would b from any judge in a civil court: *I am forced to pronounce a sentenc which I believe to be improper, and which I do not even think I hav authority to pronounce.* (3) Now, Sir, the learned world shall deter mine whether you or I have contributed most to disgrace and weaken th

(1) Letters to Bishop Lowth, p. 24. (2) Ibid. p. 70.

(3) According to the principles of Hoadlyism, it is not in the power of any perso whomsoever to cut off the most scandalous sinner from the church of Christ, as the word of excommunication import. Nor did even St. Paul attempt this in the case of the in cestuous Corinthian. See Hoadly's Answer to the Representation of the Lower House Convocation, sect. vii.

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established church. For do you think that the people will bear any great respect for clergymen, who openly disclaim all authority from God to preach and to minister, other than constables have for the discharge of their menial office. And is there no danger that some financiering politicians, without supposing them to be infidels, may not calculate upon how much cheaper terms the church may be served than it is at present, if they shall hear the most learned and respectable dignitaries of it proclaiming that the established form of it does not descend from Christ and his apostles, but that any other may be conscientiously substituted for it, which the people or their representatives in the legislature may prefer to it?

II. From comparing the doctrine of the Church of England with Hoadlyism concerning the nature and formation of *the Ark of Christ's Church*, as it is called in the established liturgy, (1) I proceed to a comparison of them on the general means of salvation, namely, the Sacraments. Yes, Sir, this church teaches in her code of public instruction, that the two sacraments which she acknowledges, "Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are generally necessary to salvation." (2) This doctrine, which is absurd in the highest degree on the principles of Hoadlyism, is consistent and necessary according to her definition of a sacrament, which in fact is much the same with that of Catholics; namely, "an outward and visible sign of *inward and spiritual grace*, given unto us by Christ himself, as *a means whereby we receive the same*, and a pledge to assure us thereof." (3) With this definition of a sacrament in the Catechism, agrees the description of it in the Articles.(4) "Sacraments...be not only badges and

(1) See the first prayer in the Ministration of Baptism, where, after recounting the salvation of Noah in the ark from the deluge, the Church of England prays that the person to be baptised, "may be washed, sanctified with the Holy Ghost, delivered from God's wrath, and received in the ark of Christ's church."

(2) Catechism in the Common Prayer Book. (3) Ibid.

(4) Article xxv amongst the xxxix of the Church of England. In the Latin text of the articles, which is of equal authority with the English, the sacraments are defined, "Signa efficacia gratiæ & bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei." Burnet's Exposit.

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tokens,...but rather sure witnesses and *effectual signs of grace and God free will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us,*" &c The most material part of this description is confirmed in the boo of Homilies, (1) where it is said, that "a sacrament setteth out to th eyes and other senses the inward working of God's free mercy."(2) Wit respect to the "inward and spiritual grace" of baptism, in particular is declared to consist in "a death unto sin, and a new birth to righteous ness, so that being by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, w are *hereby made the children of grace.*" The plain doctrine containe in this exposition concerning the present spiritual effects and the necessit of baptism is illustrated and confirmed by every rubric, every exhorta tion, and every prayer in the public liturgy appointed for the ministratio of it. (3) The articles also declare, that "Baptism is not only a sign difference between Christian-men and others that be not christened, bu also a sign of regeneration whereby, *as by an instrument,* they that re ceive baptism rightly are grafted into the church, and the promises the forgiveness of sin and of our adoption, &c. are visibly signed," & (4) To form a clear and precise idea of the nature of that death to s and "regeneration" or new birth to righteousness, which the establishe church describes in these passages as the chief effect of baptism, it necessary to attend to her express doctrine concerning Original or Birt Sin. On this point she pronounces that "Original Sin standeth, not the following of Adam, but in the *fault* and corruption of every ma of the offspring of Adam,....and in every person born into the world deserveth God's wrath and damnation." (5)

In opposition to the whole of this system, we have witnessed the r

(1) This book in the xxxvth article is said to "contain a godly and wholesome doctrine and as such is "judged to read in churches."

(2) Homil. on Common Prayer and Sacraments, &c.

(3) See the same in the Common Prayer. (4) Art. xxvii. (5) Art. ix.

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dicule which Hoadly casts upon authoritative benedictions, (1) of which the sacraments are evidently the chief, and in short, upon all exterior means of salvation, with respect to those whom he vainly describes as "secure of their integrity before God." We have seen your own account of the naked and unprovided state of the church, as you suppose it to have been left by the apostles, without a public liturgy or ministry of any kind, and with nothing but the uncertain resource of human prudence for the discovery even of the necessity of them. (2) Now, Sir, it is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that you could never have asserted any thing of this sort, had you admitted, with the established church, that there are and of course were then, two sacraments *generally necessary to salvation*, instituted by Christ, and consisting of outward and visible signs, as a means whereby we receive inward and spiritual grace, and a pledge to assure us thereof: because, in fact, such outward and visible signs would have constituted a public service then, as they still constitute the most essential part of it, and would have required, at all times, public ministers and those possessed of other powers, than they could possibly derive from the people, either collectively or by their representatives. Such are the inevitable consequence with respect to the sacraments of the joint principles of yourself, Bishop Hoadly, and Dr. Balguy. However, as the last mentioned divine has left us a Charge, addressed to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Winchester, in his official capacity, on the present subject, in which he attempts to reconcile his opinions upon the sacraments with those of the church, (3) it is peculiarly incumbent on me to examine how far he has succeeded in this undertaking.

Of all the controversies that have been agitated of late years concerning the sacraments, the most important is evidently, whether they do or do not confer a real interior and spiritual grace. I have shewn that the

(1) See p. 222. (2) See p. 229.

(3) "In this inquiry the Church itself shall be my guide." Charge vii. On the Sacraments. P. 296.

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Church of England asserts the affirmative of this question in the plaines words that can be employed; but I have remarked, that it is essential t deny the existence of this sacramental grace in the principles of Hoadly ism. Accordingly Dr. B. tries his skill in endeavouring to make th doctrine of the former bend to that of the latter. With this view he set out with inquiring, what is meant by the "interior aud spiritual grace, which is said in the Catechism "to be given by means of the sacraments. (1) In a word, he denies that "the assistance of God's holy spirit" i signified thereby; and maintains, though without the shadow of an ar gument, that it means no more than "a spiritual benefit;" (2) which be nefit he afterwards explains to consist in the mere empty sign of a fu ture benefit. (3) But in using this notorious violence with the definitio of the Catechism, why did he not equally try his skill in perverting tha of the Articles, which asserts that the sacraments are the "*effectua* signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by which he doth *wor* invisibly *in us*, and not only *quicken* but also *confirm faith*," and als the words of the Homily quoted above? But it was too difficult a tas even for the abilities of a Balguy to attempt the explanation of these i his sense; and therefore he prudently avoided noticing them. Notwith standing these and other equally conclusive passages of the Articles an Liturgy, he goes on to assert, that a sacrament is "a sign declarator only, not efficient." (4) I shall add no more on this head than barel to remark, that if *efficient* and *effectual* are the same word differentl inflected, as I take them to be, there is not only an opposition in meaning but also in terms, between the Church of England and Dr. B. The for mer says that the sacraments are *effectual signs* of grace; the latter say that a sacrament is *not an efficient sign.*

Our author proceeds to investigate the first of the sacraments, baptism but he finds an invincible obstacle by the way in the doctrine of origina

(1) P. 297. (2) P. 298.

(3) "The grace signified by Baptism is repentance; the grace signified by the Lord' Supper is pardon." P. 318. (4) P. 298.

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sin. He is aware, that if this be admitted, the efficacy of baptism would follow of course with other doctrines, to the utter ruin of Hoadlyism. What is to be done in these streights? He suppresses the strong and express texts of scripture, which support the above mentioned mysterious tenet; (1) and produces another, which is susceptible of different interpretations, (2) as the ground work on which it stands. In the mean time he spares me the trouble of confronting his Pelagian doctrine with that of the church, in the passages above referred to, by fairly abandoning the latter as untenable. His words are these: "The passages in our articles (3) which might seem to favour such an expression, have long been understood, as it were, by common consent, to admit of some latitude in their interpretation." (4) But it soon becomes necessary, for the accommodation of Hoadlyism, to apply the same latitude of interpretation to the words of Christ in the institution of baptism. Our Saviour says to Nicodemus: *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and of the spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* (5) To this Dr. B. answers: "Our Saviour's assertion amounts to this, that no man can enter into the kingdom of heaven without the profession of Christianity and the observance of its laws." (6) In the conclusion of this subject our author tells us, that he does not "exclude the assistance of the spirit" from baptism. This, however, is but a delusive symptom of returning orthodoxy: for he immediately afterwards tells us, that though we have "an assurance of receiving this assistance on all fit occasions, yet there is no such assurance of receiving it expressly conveyed in the rite of baptism." (7) I will add no more at present, than barely to

(1) Rom. iii, 23. v. 12. (2) Ephes. ii, 3.

(3) He might have added, the whole liturgy of baptism, of which the following address, appointed to be made by the minister, is a specimen: "I certify you, &c. concerning the baptising of this child; who being born in *original sin* and in *the wrath of God*, is now, by the lavour of regeneration in baptism, received into the number of the children of God and heirs of everlasting life," &c.

(4) P. 301. (5) St. John, iii, 5. (6) P. 303. (7) P. 304.

observe, that the Hoadlyan system, so far from rendering the doctrine of the sacraments more simple and intelligible, encumbers it with a great number of perplexing consequences, which tend to multiply these divine rites, and to blend them together in the strangest manner possible. In particular, I here solemnly maintain, in the face of the learned world, that the ceremony of washing of feet, mentioned in the gospel, possesses every requisite to constitute a true sacrament of the Christian church in the principles of your learned friend Dr. B. And I here, Sir, call upon you to disprove this very serious consequence, if there is a possibility of doing so. (1)

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(1) In proof of this assertion, let us first hear the gospel account of this ceremony: *Now before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that his hour was come....having loved his own....he loved them to the end....And supper being ended....he riseth from supper and laid aside his garments, and took a towel and girded himself. After that he poureth water into a bason, and began to wash the disciples feet and to wipe them with a towel....Peter sayeth to him: Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answereth him, if I wash thee not thou hast no part with me. Peter sayeth unto him, Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head. Jesus sayeth to him, he that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every where: and ye are clean, but not all. For he knew who should betray him....So after he had washed their feet he said....if I your Lord and master have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one anothers feet. I have given you an example that you should do as I have done to you.* St. John, xiii.—Let us next attend to the church definition of a sacrament, viz. "An outward visible sign of inward spiritual grace, instituted by Christ himself," &c. Let us lastly observe Dr. B.'s comments upon this definition, and his illustration of it. "The grace, here spoken of, does not mean the assistance of God's holy spirit, but a favour or benefit." P. 277. "The sign (or sacrament) is a *means of grace*, by declaring our acceptance of the benefit and God's promise to confer it....The sign is declaratory only, not efficient." 298. "The promises of God are shadowed out to us under the images of the sacraments." P. 302. "Baptism represents a purification from sin." Ibid. "No assurance of God's spirit is conveyed in baptism." P. 304. "The benefits of the Lord's Supper are not present but future. The sacrament is no more than a sign or a pledge to assure us thereof." In one word, the essential difference between the doctrine of the Catholics and Protestants, on one hand, and of Dr. B. with other disciples of Hoadly, on the other, is, that the former maintain a real present grace or assistance of God to be conveyed in the sacrament to the worthy receiver; whereas the latter assert, that nothing more than a sign or figure of such grace is afforded. Let us now collect the result of the whole. In the ceremony of washing feet (still practised in religious communities, and at our court on Maundy Thursday) there is evidently, 1st, a *visible sign*; 2dly, the

I come now to treat of that which is called *The Sacrament*, by way of excellence. Of this its divine institutor himself speaks in each of the four Evangelists in the most impressive terms, and represents it as a rite equally mysterious and beneficial. (1) The holy fathers and ecclesiastical authors of all countries and all ages have vied with each other in extolling it as the master-piece of the divine bounty. Whatever disputes Catholics and Protestants have had concerning the nature of it, they have agreed in representing it as of so supernatural an order, that the participation of it is necessarily attended either with the most salutary or the most fatal effects to the souls of the receivers, according to the good or bad dispositions they bring with them to it. But to speak more particularly of the definitive doctrines of the Church of England on this point. She positively asserts that the "body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper," (2) and she requires her ministers to signify the same in the very act of distributing it. (3) Conformably with this tenet, she asserts, in her articles, that

the *institution of Christ*; and lastly, the *sign or figure of invisible grace*, namely, of purification from sin: *If I wash thee not thou hast no part with me....You are clean, but not all: for he knew who should betray him.*

(1) *Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.* He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him, &c. St. John, vi, 54, 55, 56. St. Mat. xxvi, 26. St. Mark, xvi, 22. St. Luke, xxii, 19.

(2) Catechism, in the Common Prayer.

(3) "The body of Christ, &c. preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. The blood of Christ," &c. Common Prayer.—Dr. Heylin, in his Introduction to the Life of archbishop Laud, shews, that these words, which stood in the first liturgy of Edward VI, were afterwards, when Zuinglianism obtained, expunged, as approaching too near to the Catholic doctrine, and then again restored to the present liturgy in the time of Elizabeth. The reason of this Burnet shews in his History of the Reformation, viz. because it was resolved upon, that the articles and liturgy should be so framed as to suit the consciences of Protestants who believed in the *Real Presence*, amongst whom was the queen herself. For the same reason the passage in the 29th article of Edward VI, which declared that the body of Christ being now in heaven, cannot be also in the sacrament, was suppressed, in the corresponding 28th article of Elizabeth. Heylin, in the passage above quoted, proves, that a

that, "to those who worthily receive, the bread is a partaking of the body of Christ, and the cup is a partaking of the blood of Christ." (1) The whole liturgy and public homilies of the Church of England announce the same tenet of an actual communication with Christ, and of a present grace derived from this communication. In particular, the first part of the homily which treats of this subject, says, "thus much we must be sure to hold, that in the supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremonie, no bare signe, no untrue figure of a thing absent, but, as the scripture sayeth, the table of the Lord is the bread and cup of the Lord, the memorie of Christ, the annunciation of his death, yea, the communion of the body and blood of the Lord in a marvelous incorporation." (2)

In contradiction to this doctrine of the established church, delivered with so much precision and energy, concerning the mysterious sublimity and boundless efficacy of the sacrament, bishop Hoadly teaches that it is a mere positive rite, containing no mystery at all or efficacious grace, even with respect to the most worthy receiver; (3) and you, Sir, step out of your way (4) on purpose to pronounce a panegyric on the justice and conclusiveness of the arguments on which he builds this *Socinian scheme*,

great number of the chief lights of the Church of England, before the time of Laud, firmly maintained that doctrine, particularly, bishop Ridley, Nowel prolocutor of the famous convocation of 1562, Bilson and Andrews, bishops of Winchester, and Morton, bishop of Durham. To these names may be added, that of the learned Bramhall, bishop of Derry, who writes as follows, in his Answer to Militiere's Triumph of Truth: "No genuine son of the Church of England did ever deny a true real presence. Christ said, *This is my body*; what he said, we do stedfastly believe. He said neither *con*, neither *sub*, neither *trans*. Therefore we place these amongst the opinions of schools, not amongst articles of faith. P. 74. Amongst the divines of the present day, who have not been ashamed of the genuine doctrine of the Church of England in this point, is the prelate above cited. He says: "The great object with our Reformers was, whilst they *acknowledged* the doctrine of the *Real Presence*, to refute that of transubstantiation; as it was afterwards to refute the notion of impanation or consubstantiation." Bishop of Chester's Sermon, Nov. 25, 1787, p. 2.

(1) Art. xxviii.
(2) Hom. on the Sacr. part I.
(3) Plain Account.
(4) Reflect. p. 99.

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as a learned divine, who is at present upon the bench of bishops, terms it. (1) You seem sensible indeed that this scheme stands in opposition, not only to the authority of the ancient fathers and modern divines in general, for which you declare, in the words of Dr. Pearce, that you "have long since divested yourself of all prejudice," to the end you may "in matters of faith learn to go *alone*," (2) but also to that of the Church of England. In fact, you claim the approbation and the thanks of all true Protestants in favour of your friend, the bishop, for "recalling them to the authority of scripture alone on a subject which," you say," had been overwhelmed with misapprehension and superstition." (3) If, Sir, you were not of opinion that the Church of England, like the rest, had been involved in error and superstition on this point, it is evident that Hoadly would not be entitled to the merit that you here ascribe to him. It is true you boast of having scripture on your side: And what extravagant or impious innovator in the church during 18 centuries has not made the same boast? If every other argument, demonstrating the necessity of a living speaking tribunal, to determine the sense of scripture, were wanting, the confidence with which yourself and others of the most learned divines of the present day appeal to the four Evangelists, in proof that the sacraments are devoid of all mystery and grace, would alone be sufficient to convince me of it.

It remains for me to shew, what your learned friend and fellow disciple in the school of Hoadly has asserted concerning the Sacrament, in his Charge to the Clergy on this subject. (4) Having mentioned the doctrine of the Church of England, namely, that "the body and blood of Christ are *verily and indeed* received in the sacrament, he is equivalently forced to own that it cannot be reconciled with the tenets of Hoadlyism. It would be too much however to expect that he should sacrifice the latter

(1) Sermon on the Sacrament, before the University of Oxford, Nov. 25, 1787, by the lord bishop of Chester. 2d ed. p. 7.

(2) Reflect. p. 100. (3) Ibid, p. 99.

(4) Balguy's Discourse on the Sacraments. 1781.

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to the former. What he says is, that it would " be uncandid to charg the Church of England with favouring the doctrine of transubstantiation (1) which he conceives would be the consequence of admitting *veril and indeed* in their plain natural sense to mean *really*. He proceeds " The words cannot have this meaning, whatever else they may mean (2) But he himself is incapable of devising any other sense for them and accordingly he leaves them as he found them to speak for themselve What method, Sir, I ask you, can possibly be devised of escaping th present dilemma? Have the most learned prelates and divines of Eliza beth's reign been guilty of framing an obscure and delusive expositio of the most sacred rite of their religion; or was your friend, who wa one of the most acute and learned scholars of his age, really incapable understanding a catechism for children?

Having said thus much, in opposition to the avowed doctrine of th established church, he proceeds still further to undermine it, by subst tuting a new and unheard-of phantom of spiritual grace in the sacramen instead of that actual communication with Christ, *in deed and reality for the strengthening of the soul*, which the said church confesses t take place in it. In a word, he asserts, that the grace received is nothin more than " an acceptance of the benefit of Christian redemption....Th due administration of the sacrament has the force of a promise made b God, and humbly accepted by the devout communicant." (3) Was ther ever a greater mockery of words, I appeal to the common sense of man kind, on the part of Dr. B. if we believe the scriptures and the establish ment, or on the part of these, if we give credit to Dr. B.! In fact, Si what is there more sacred and awful in his idea of the sacramental com munion, than there is in reading the scriptures, or in performing publi worship and prayer? Have not these confessedly the force of a promise o the Christian redemption on the part of God, and of an acceptance of on the part of the devout believer? What necessity should there be of

(1) P. 306. (2) Ibid. (3) P. 307.

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stricter self-examination in one case than in another, (1) and what greater reason to apprehend "diverse diseases and sundry kinds of death" (2) from unworthily receiving the *empty types* of bread and wine, than from unworthily reading the written word of God? Our learned archdeacon seems sensible how strange and capricious this explanation of the sacrament, (by which the act of receiving bread and wine is made barely to signify our faith in Christ) (3) will sound in the ears of Christians. To obviate their objections on this head he has recourse to the sacrifices of the Pagans, (4) and he leaves us to conclude, that our Saviour borrowed his idea of the Lord's Supper from their impious rites and profane feasts. (5) Having again repeated, in different forms of speech, his two funda-

(1) Dr. B. seems sensible of this, where explaining the qualification of self-examination required in the catechism of the church, he says in opposition to her: "The *necessity* of the self-examination may first perhaps have been suggested by a mistaken interpretation of a passage in one of St. Paul's Epist. 1 Cor. xi, 28; and it ought not to be dissembled, that there is no passage in scripture which expressly requires it of us, as a condition of receiving the sacrament." P. 315.

(2) "As the benefit is great,....so is the danger great, if we receive unworthily. For then we *are guilty of the body and blood of Christ*; we kindle God's wrath, and provoke him to plague us with diseases and sundry kinds of death," &c. See Common Prayer; also 1 Cor. xi, 30.—The prelate above quoted justly remarks, in answer to the advocates of the theory in question concerning the alledged profanation "of the Sacramental Test, that they leave nothing in the sacrament which can well be profaned." Bishop of Chester's Sermon before the Univ. Nov. 28, 1790, p. 2. (3) P. 308.

(4) "Nothing can be clearer or more reasonable, if we attend to the forms of religion which had been established all over the world at the time when this rite was instituted. The religion of Pagans to a very great degree consisted in sacrifices; that is, in feasts given to the gods. In many of these feasts there was a sort of community between gods and men....The participation of the victim was understood to imply a share in the benefits expected from the sacrifice." P. 309.

(5) "Whether these Pagan ideas were originally derived from the institutions of God himself, or he was pleased to accommodate his own institutions to the prejudices of mankind, is a point on which I have no occasion to speak." P. 310.—He admits indeed that the Jewish sacrifices were of divine appointment; but the tenor of his argument leaves us to suppose that the Lord's Supper was borrowed rather from the idea of the Pagan than of the Jewish sacrifices.

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mental principles, that the Lord's Supper is "an offer and an acceptanc of redemption," (1) and that Christ "instituted it in analogy to the sacri ficial feasts then in use, (2) he concludes this strange theory with assert ing the grand principle of Hoadlyism, for the sake of which it was in vented, viz. that "the benefits of this feast are *not present* but *future* : in other words, that the sacrament is *no more* than a sign or a pledge t assure us thereof." (3)

III

(1) P. 311. (2) P. 312.

(3) P p. 112, 113.—I cannot quit this *Socinian scheme* of the Sacrament, as the bishop Chester calls it, without examining an argument which Dr. S. borrows from bishop Pearc in recommendation of it, in the following words: "Nothing has occasioned the loss of tha due reverence which is owing to the sacraments so much as the making more of them tha scripture has done, and representing them as *mysteries* when they are plain religious action The unintelligible parts of a sacrament is what the free-thinkers have chiefly ridiculed Had the Eucharist been represented, as I have represented it, it never could have been men tioned by infidels with disrespect; at least *it would have given them no occasion* of treating it wit any." Reflect. p. 100. To judge properly in this case, I will suppose an intelligent Gentoo wri ting from this country, in order to give an account of its religion to his correspondent in Hin dostan. His account of the matter that has been treated of above must necessarily be to the fo lowing effect: "Having informed myself of the doctrine of Christians, concerning the natu and attributes of the Deity whom they acknowledge, and of the salvation which the believe to have been wrought for them by Christ, I asked, whether there are any rites ceremonies by which they conceive the Deity may be rendered propitious, and this re demption applied to their souls? They answered me, that there are two such, instituted b Christ himself, and acknowledged to "*be generally necessary to salvation.*" Upon inquiry found that these ceremonies consist in washing a new born infant, or other person that is t be initiated into their society, with water; and, for those who actually belong to it, in the eating bread and drinking wine. I took pains to inform myself whether there was n mysterious meaning, or supernatural grace, supposed to be annexed to these simple an ordinary ceremonies. The person to whom I first addressed myself for this information wa a very learned man, the disciple of a famous doctor who died about forty years ago, and wh wrote near 100 books great and small, named Hoadly. His answer to me was, that thes ceremonies had been "involved in a great deal of misapprehension and superstition, before his master published a certain book called *A Plain Account*, &c. but that now the were proved to be mere positive ceremonies, without any mysterious meaning or effe whatsoever.—And does then your Messiah, I replied, require, as the conditions of h favours, and as means *generally necessary to salvation*, two mere animal functions, viz. washin

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III. I have shewn, that the denial of all real grace in the sacraments necessarily follows from what I take to have been Hoadly's original and fundamental error, namely, that of Ecclesiastical Whiggism, in grounding the authority and constitution of the church upon the power of the people. I am also clearly of opinion, that the system in question goes great lengths of itself towards philosophic infidelity, and in its consequences leads directly to it. For my own part I will assert nothing more on this subject than I am enabled to prove; but I should not do justice to my readers, if I were to withhold from them the opinions of other men, better qualified from their station, their experience, and their talents, to judge and pronounce upon it, than I am. We have heard the alarming censure under which a Right Rev. Bishop, who is the ornament of the diocese of Chester and of the university of Oxford, qualifies the Hoadlyan scheme of the sacrament. Nor was it a hasty epithet that he employed when he termed it *Socinian*: for he deliberately asserts, at the end of a long dissertation on the subject, that the work of your celebrated patron which you, Sir, so highly extol as "a specimen of just and conclusive argument, (1) (I mean the Plain Account of the Sacrament, &c.) "has been so much cried up of late years by some for the sake of its connection with Socinian no-

and eating? This is really as absurd as what our bramins teach concerning the waters of the Ganges and the cattle of Brumah. Since writing the above I have conversed with two other teachers, who joined in condemning the explanation that I had heard from the former, as an irreligious novelty. Concerning the ceremony of washing they agreed, that the Almighty has attached a most essential purification of the soul to it. With respect to the bread and wine, one of them told me, that these are the means by which Christ actually communicates himself to his followers; the other added, that this implies a real presence of Christ, and that, in fact, by a continuation of that love which made him appear during a certain number of years, in a human shape, he is truly present under the appearance of bread and wine: in the same manner as, he said, the Holy Ghost and Angels had been seen in exterior forms. In the discussion that took place I could not deny, that all this was possible to Omnipotence, and I was forced to own that if the arguments in favour of these mysterious effects were sufficiently convincing, the ceremonies to which they were attached would no longer appear absurd, but on the contrary exceedingly awful." (1) P. 99.

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tions." (1) At the beginning of the dissertation in question, the learned prelate quotes Dr. Waterland to shew, that "in general, discussions which had for their object immediately to lessen the dignity and importance of the Lord's Supper, were in reality designed as so many attacks upon the Divinity of Christ." (2) The bishop proceeds to confirm this important assertion; remarking, that "as the Socinians, by denying the Divinity of Christ, do necessarily lower the dignity and advantages of this rite, so whoever considers this rite simply as a remembrance of his death, doth, in effect, deny the Divinity of Christ: For example; the idea of the sacrifice of Christ's death, just as it is allowed or denied, decides ultimately and at no great distance upon the truth of Christ's divine nature." (3) In a word, Sir, the two grand mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, namely, that there is one God in three distinct and co-equal persons, and that one of these persons became man and wrought our salvation upon the cross, are the fundamental tenets of the Church of England, as I shall proceed to shew, and have ever been considered as the very groundwork of Christianity itself: now that bishop Hoadly agreed in opinion with his friend Dr. Clarke, the most redoubted enemy of this doctrine whom later times have produced, seems to be the notion of his friends (4) no less than of his enemies, and evidently follows from the nature of the commendations which he bestows upon him. (5) You also, Sir,

(1) Sermon before the University of Oxford, Nov. 28, 1790, p. 38.

(2) Ibid, p. 3.

(3) Ibid. See also his satisfactory reasoning on this head, p. 4.

(4) See the article *Hoadly* in the Supplement to the old Biographia Britannica, one part of which is stated to have been drawn up by the bishop's son, the late chancellor of the diocese. Of this the following is an extract: "From this account of Dr. Clarke, and his (bishop Hoadly's) extraordinary veneration for that divine, it has been inferred, that his lordship inclined to Dr. Clarke's doctrine concerning the Trinity; which indeed, though not improbable, yet it is evident, if he did so, that he knew how to distinguish between a private opinion and the doctrine of the church."—This is saying, that Hoadly offered divine worship to Christ as God in public, which he believed, in his own mind, to be idolatry.

(5) See Hoadly's Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. Clarke, in which he

Sir, as well as Hoadly, place the name of Clarke amongst those "who have most excelled in establishing the great truths of *revealed* no less than of natural religion." (1)

The following are some of the definitions and declarations of the Church of England, with respect to the above mentioned mysteries, contained in those articles and that liturgy, which are so often assented and subscribed to by all her dignified and officiating clergy. "There is but one God....And in Unity of this Godhead there be three Persons of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." (2) "The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature....so that the godhead and manhood were joined together in one person, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man." (3) "I believe in Jesus Christ....very God of very God, being of the same substance with the Father." (4) "The Catholic faith is this, that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity: neither confounding the persons nor dividing the substance, &c. This is the Catholic faith: which, except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved." (5) In confirmation of the importance attached to these fundamental articles of Christianity, by the Reformers no less than by Catholics, I might

he asserts, that in this capital enemy of the divinity of Jesus Christ, the Arius of the 18th century, "the world was deprived of as bright a light and as masterly a *teacher of truth* as ever appeared amongst us;" adding, that his greatest ambition is that his own name may go down to posterity closely joined with Clarke's.

(1) P. 97.

(2) "Articles agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London in the year 1562, for avoiding diversity of opinions, and establishing consent touching true religion." Art. i.

(3) Art. ii. (4) Nicene Creed. Com. Prayer.

(5) Athanasian Creed, ibid.——N. B. In the aforesaid Articles it is decreed, that "The three creeds, Nice creed, Athanasius creed, and...Apostles creed ought to be thoroughly received and *believed*, for they may be proved by certain warrant of holy scripture." Art. viii.

again recount the stories of Servetus and Gentilis, of Joan Butcher and Edward Wightman, and of a whole hecatomb of other Arians and Socinians, who have been burnt to ashes in this and other Protestant countries, at the instigation of the very apostles of their religion, (1) not by way of expressing my approbation of these sanguinary measures, but of proving how incompatible with the very name of *Christian*, those men held any doubt or variation to be in the two great mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation.

I have shewn what grounds there are for questioning Hoadly's orthodoxy on these points. It is true, his elevated rank in the established church, the power and abilities of his antagonists, and still more, the general spirit of orthodoxy that prevailed in his time, rendered him cautious in expressing himself concerning them; nevertheless he has spoken sufficiently plain, as I have said before, to convince the learned world that he agreed with Dr. Clarke in his capital tenet of Arianism. The same motives, Sir, must have operated, to a certain degree, upon Dr. B. and yourself; but it will be evident, by the passages which I am going to quote from your printed works, now in the hands of the public, that neither of you have thought it necessary to speak with quite so much caution as the bishop did.

Your learned friend, Dr. B. in his 4th Charge to the Clergy of his Archdeaconry, lays down a general maxim on the subject of Mysteries, which at once cuts them all up by the root, and destroys not only those of the Trinity and Incarnation, but also those of the Sacraments and Original Sin mentioned above, as likewise the Atonement of Christ, the Existence of Grace, the Resurrection of the Flesh, the Creation of the World, and all other truths of natural as well as revealed religion, however certain, which are not clearly understood by us. To explain myself better, it is proper

(1) The reader will recollect, in particular, the assurances which Cranmer made to young Edward VI, that it was not lawful for him to tolerate wretches like Joan Butcher, who erred concerning the mystery of the Incarnation. See pp. 123, 124.

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to observe, that heretofore the divines of every communion agreed in pronouncing faith to be an act of the mind supernaturally aided, by which we believe certain truths, precisely *because God has revealed them.* Hence they have universally allowed that when Christ and his apostles preached the truths of the gospel to mankind, the business of the latter was to attend to their credentials, and if these appeared incontestible, in the miracles which they wrought, the prophecies which they uttered, and the other motives of credibility which they contained, those persons were inexcusable who refused to believe the said truths, on account of their being unable to comprehend them. (1) On the same ground they have taught, that obscurity in the articles proposed to be believed is an essential condition to the merit of faith; (2) that when we see a thing by the light of reason become evident, we no longer believe it, precisely *because God has revealed it,* and the understanding no longer pays its proper homage to him. This, they maintain, is the reason why, according to the doctrine of the apostle, (3) there will be no faith, any more than hope, in the region of perfect charity; the obscurity of faith being enlightened by vision, and hope being swallowed up in fruition.

Let us now hear Dr. B. "It is no way essential to a mystery to be ill understood: the word evidently refers to men's past ignorance, not their present. In this sense the revelation of a mystery destroys the very being of it. The moment it becomes an article of belief, it is mysterious no longer." (4) I need add no more to prove, that Dr. B. in effect denies the whole mass of doctrines of the Church of England, quoted above from her Articles and her Creeds; because it is universally allowed that the said mysteries are and must be "ill understood," as he expresses it; that is to say, imperfectly comprehended: in a word, it is admitted that they continue still, what they are termed, mysteries. In conformity with this doctrine, our author says, in terms much fitter for a sentimental novel,

(1) See St. John, xv, 24. (2) See Heb. xi, 1.
(3) 1 Cor. xiii. (4) Discourses by T. Balguy. D. D. p. 237.

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than a doctrinal Charge to the Clergy of an Archdeaconry, that " Tr religion is a practical thing: not addressed to the head, but the hea Articles of faith are of no further significance than as they direct or ar mate us in the discharge of our duty." (1) If this doctrine be accura undoubtedly the greater part of the Articles of the Church of Englan Faith, not only concerning the Trinity and Incarnation, but also concer ing a great number of other points, " are of no further significance since evidently they are not of a " practical " nature, and are rather " a dressed to the head than to the heart." The following assertions in t same Charge are liable to a still heavier censure: " As far as I unde stand the proposition (that we are saved by Christ) I firmly believe it. It is our business to apply God's mercy...to active obedience;...not scrutinize the reasons of the divine dispensations; not to explain t mysteries of God's grace by the maxims of vain philosophy; not to sw out the *slender articles of belief* contained in scripture by mere hum inventions; and least of all to censure and persecute our brethren, pe haps for no better reason, than because *their nonsense and our's* we a different dress. Scripture doctrine lies in a narrow compass. It confined to a few very general propositions, which give us only just lig enough to direct our steps in the way to eternal happiness. They w pretend to see more, see less than nothing, and mistake the illusions fancy for the objects of faith," &c. (2) This language, though expres in general terms, is very significant, and no less strongly militates agai the Articles and Creeds of the Church of England, as swelling out t alledged " slender articles " of scripture doctrine with human inventio and dressing them out in nonsense, than it does against any other syst of theology whatsoever; since the former are not less copious, diffusive, a precise, at least upon the grand mysteries under consideration, than a of the latter are.

In the passage, however, which I shall next quote, Dr. B. declares

(1) P. 187. (2) P. 192.

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meaning in more plain and direct terms with respect to the said mysteries. His words are these: "A man will have no cause to fear that he believes too little, if he believes enough to make him repent and obey. If we are firmly persuaded that Jesus was sent from God; if we are sincerely desirous to obey his laws, and hope for salvation in and through him; it will never be laid to our charge that we have misconceived certain metaphysical niceties, which have been drawn from obscure passages of scripture by the magical operation of Pagan philosophy." (1) Every one knows, that the Socinians and Free-thinkers have accused the orthodox Christians of learning the doctrine of the Trinity from the Pagan philosophy of Plato; we see plainly then, that "the metaphysical niceties," here censured, mean nothing less than the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, together with the 1st and 2d articles amongst the xxxix of the Church of England. This is announced to one of the most considerable and respectable portions of its clergy, in an official charge from their archdeacon, and they are assured, that after all the zeal which their own church, as well as every other Christian church, has manifested in defending the divinity and consubstantiality of our Lord Jesus Christ, against Arius, Socinus, Servetus, Clarke, and other anti-trinitarian heretics, ancient and modern, nothing more is required than to believe that Jesus was sent from God, to be *desirous of obeying him*, and to *hope for salvation in him and through him*. If nothing more is required to be believed of Jesus, than that "he was sent from God," it is plain, that the Mahometans have orthodox faith in Christ, no less than Christians: for they believe him to have been a true prophet sent from God: only they suppose Mahomet to have been a greater prophet. The French Theophilanthropists also have inscribed the name of Jesus in their temples, together with those of Confucius and Luther, as teachers divinely commissioned. But it may be asked, do these Turks and French philosophers "hope for salvation in and through Jesus?" I answer, yes they do, as far as Dr. B.

(1) P. 178.

judges

judges this to be necessary: for he has proposed a number of schem any of which he conceives sufficient to verify the general scripture prop sition, that *Christ is the author of eternal salvation.* Amongst the are the following: Christ may be said to save us either by his doctrine, by his example,—or " by *the authority that is given him* to confer pa don, &c." (1) Now the very admission of Christ as a teacher divine sent, implies a certain confidence at least, in the effects of his doctri In conclusion: it might be expected, that from the little account whi our celebrated prebendary makes of the speculative truths that are ger rally supposed to have been revealed in the gospel, he would ha expressed the greatest respect and gratitude for that most sublime a perfect system of morality, which Christ brought with him from heave and opened in his sermon on the mount. (2) But no such thing: he a sures the clergy, and the public in general, that " Revelation is no system of ethics; that such a system was not wanted at the time of c Saviour's appearance; that if it had been wanted, the New Testame would not have supplied the defect; that Xenophon, Aristotle, and Cice have left us a rule little short of perfection; and, that what was deficie in the writings of the philosophers, common sense and common utili in a great measure, supplied." (3)

I come now, Sir, to consider your own doctrine on the Christian My teries, upon which I had reason to expect the greater satisfaction, as y have an express Discourse on this subject. Previously however to r

(1) " A man may understand and believe a general proposition who is not able to ass the particular mode of it....Thus we are taught in scripture, that *Christ is the author of eter salvation.* There are who maintain that he effects our salvation by bringing us to repentan there are who contend that he makes our repentance effectual. Those who maintain the f mer may say, that he saves us by his doctrine, or by his example....or by the author given him to confer pardon, &c....Some may doubt, whether any or all of them be in p tsession of the truth....Yet take which opinion you please, it is still intelligible and tr h at Christ is the author of eternal salvation." Pp. 239, 240.

(2) St. Matt. v, 21, 27, 33, 38. (3) Pp. 194, 195.

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first examining this, I must inform you, I diligently read over your preceding Discourses on the *Coming*, the *Death*, and the *Resurrection* of Christ, in order to discover whether you any where expressed yourself conformably to the doctrine of the established church in her articles and creeds concerning the nature and dignity of the world's Redeemer. So far from this, I every where remarked a studied distinction between *God* and *Christ*. (1) It is true you term him "a divine person;" (2) you admit that he "made a propitiation for the sins of the world;" (3) and you even call him "the Son of God." (4) But all this you are aware, Sir, has been said by Dr. Clarke and other Arians, ancient as well as modern, who allowed the Messiah to have been the *adoptive* Son of God, in a certain manner, but who never could stand the test of that term *consubstantial*, and of those explicit creeds which the ancient Catholic Church invented, and which the Church of England has borrowed from her, as a safeguard against the impieties in question.

Coming now to your Discourse on the Mysteries, I find the same general doctrine concerning them which I have confuted in Dr. B., viz. that the object of revelation is not barely to make us *believe*, but also to make us *comprehend* the truths that are proposed to us. (5) The consequence of this wrong principle is evident: We are all conscious that we cannot comprehend the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation; and therefore, in your opinion, they have not been revealed to us. You illustrate your system by giving an instance of what you conceive to have been actually revealed to mankind by the inspired messengers of God, viz. his own "Unity and Spiritual Nature." (6) You say, that a *divine revelation* was necessary to make mankind understand these truths; and yet Dr. Clarke has demonstrated, in those works for which he is truly deserving of praise, (7) that *natural reason* plainly and directly conducts to the knowledge of these truths; and it is known to every one, that

(1) Pp. 112, 115, 117, 149. (2) Pp. 94, 121.
(3) Pp. 98, 114, 115. (4) Pp. 120, 122, 131. (5) P. 180.
(6) P. 181. (7) Discourses concerning the Being and Attributes of God.

Socrates and Plato and Cicero, and a thousand other Pagans, by the ligh of reason alone, without any revelation at all, have attained to it.

But to return to the main question; which is, how far you admit th Almighty to have revealed those fundamental articles of the Church England, and of Christianity at large, concerning the Trinity and the In carnation, that I have before quoted? (1) This question you quickly re solve. "The great object," you say, "of the Jewish law was to preserv amongst mankind the notion of God uncorrupt; that he was one God and that he was a spirit, and therefore that no likeness of him could be ex pressed by any bodily representation. The Christian religion inculcate on us every where the same truths....But if we carry our inquiries beyon this, if we are not satisfied with knowing that there is one only God and that he is a spiritual being, and would endeavour to comprehend how and in what manner he exists, to form clear and adequate notions of hi as we do of one another, we find ourselves immediately at a loss; an if we expect to have what is wanting supplied by revelation, we expe more than it professes to give, more than we are enabled to receive fro it." (2) The question is not about comprehending the nature of God and forming clear and adequate notions of him, (for the brightest seraphi in heaven is unequal to that task) but barely to determine, whether th incomprehensible being has deigned to make known to us any circum stances concerning his divine nature, and the redemption which he ha wrought for us, beyond these two simple articles, that there is one God and that God is a spirit? It is more particularly to settle, whether th Articles and the three Creeds of the Church of England, in which s many other particulars concerning the mysterious nature of God occu are or are not founded on revelation? You declare that revelation do not supply us with any information, and that we are incapable of re ceiving any beyond those two points. After some metaphysical commo place on the limited nature of the mind, you return to the same poi and express yourself as follows: "So impossible is it for man to have

(1) P. 247. (2) P p. 182, 183.

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perfect knowledge of the nature of God." (No reasonable man ever pretended to have a perfect knowledge of the nature of God.) "Of this, if Christians had been sensible," (all *well instructed* Christians *are fully sensible* that an infinite being can never be *comprehended* or perfectly known by a limited understanding) "the mysterious union of the Son and Holy Spirit with the Deity," (Christianity teaches that they are the Deity himself) "would never have been the subject of so much unprofitable dispute." (1) (The Church of England does not believe it to be unprofitable to defend the *bulwark of Christianity* against the attacks of infidels, and she actually requires of you, Sir, by your assent and subscription, to take part with her in this very dispute. In general men may rationally argue concerning what they actually know of any matter without professing to comprehend the whole of it.) "The unity of God, as it stood foremost in the law of Moses, has also the same place in the gospel of Christ. The gospel has received and confirmed every part of the law which was applicable to mankind at large....and must never be understood to teach any thing inconsistent with this truth, the basis of all religion. But in the New Testament the Son and the Holy Ghost are spoken of as intimately united with God the Father, and divine qualities are attributed to them." (2) (Then, it seems, the scripture has supplied us with some information concerning God beyond that of unity and simplicity.) "Here then it must be allowed is a great difficulty:" (it would not be prudent to say a great *inconsistency*, though your minor proposition, to correspond with your major, evidently requires the word inconsistency) "But how should it have been treated? Would it not have been better to confess that to be inexplicable, which never has been and never can be explained," (the church does not attempt to explain *how* one Godhead can subsist undivided in three divine persons, she only proposes it as an article of faith to be believed on the credit of manifest revelation) "than to perplex men with endless disputes, and involve the Christian world in animosity and discord?" (3) (The church does not encourage

(1) P. 186. (2) Ibid. (3) P. 187.

 disputes

disputes and discord, but condemns them. She must not however, any more than civil government, abandon the fundamentals of her constitution, and permit absolute licentiousness and anarchy, because there are pertinacious innovators who refuse to admit them.) I am sorry, Sir, to be obliged to point out the defectiveness of your logic as well as of your theology. If, however, any person will read your text without my commentary upon it, he will certainly attach this sense to your imperfect syllogism: "The gospel must never be understood to teach any thing inconsistent with that truth which is the basis of all religion, and stands foremost in the gospel as well as in the law of Moses, namely, the Unity of God:" but the union of the three persons, as "it is *spoken of* in the New Testament," is inconsistent with the Unity of God; therefore the gospel is not to be understood to teach it. That I offer no violence to your argumentation is clear from the principles which you so often repeat, and which all your dissertation is intended to illustrate, namely, that "what is revealed to men is as intelligible, and appears as evident, as those things which their own inquiries could discover, and their own reasoning ascertain." (1) The plain consequence is, if the union of the three persons here spoken of were revealed in the gospel, it would form no difficulty at all. In a word, you have expressly told us, that "if we carry our inquiries beyond this, that there is one only God, and that he is a spiritual being,...we expect more than revelation professes to give, more than we are enabled to receive from it." (2)

IV. A late biographer of bishop Hoadly, having mentioned his departure from the doctrines of the church, expresses his "wonder upon what principles he continued throughout life to profess conformity with it!" (3) The

(1) P. 180. (2) P. 183.

(3) New Biographical Dictionary. Article Hoadly. The same author asserts very justly, that the bishop's latitudinarian tenet, concerning "the sufficiency of sincerity, whatever are our opinions, is far from being defensible on the genuine principles of Christianity." He moreover relates an anecdote, which proves that archbishop Secker was of the same opinion: It is to the following effect: A person having said, in his grace's hearing, that certain reviewers

The same observation seems applicable to the disciples no less than to the master. Let us, Sir, first see what the laws civil and ecclesiastical require on that head, and then what the Bishop, Dr. Balguy, and yourself have published more immediately relating to it. To omit former acts of parliament to the same effect, by the 13th Eliz. c. 12, it is enacted, that "no person shall be admitted to any benefice with cure unless he shall have subscribed the articles, (1) in the presence of the ordinary, and publicly read them in the parish church, with a declaration of his unfeigned assent, &c. nor shall any person be permitted to preach, without a testimonial from the bishop of the diocese of his professing the doctrine expressed in the said articles." (2) The act of Uniformity, which is the Magna Charta of the Church of England, confirms all former acts of the same nature, particularly that just quoted, and enacts, that no person shall be admitted as a lecturer, or be permitted to preach, &c. unless, "in the presence of the bishop, &c. he read the xxxix articles, with declaration of his unfeigned assent to the same...and that every person who is appointed or received as a lecturer, &c. shall, the first time he preacheth,... and also upon the first lecture day of every month, openly and publicly, before the congregation, declare his unfeigned assent and consent unto and approbation of the book (of Common Prayer, &c.) according to the form aforesaid,...viz. *I, A. B. do here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book, intituled The Book of Common Prayer,*" &c. (3) In conformity with these acts of the legislature, the Church of England has decreed as follows: "Whoever shall affirm any of the xxxix articles...are superstitious or erroneous,...let him be excommunicated ipso facto, and not restored but by the archbishop, after repentance and revocation of such his

viewers were Christians, the latter made answer: "if they are so, it is certainly according to the Winchester system: *secundum usum Winton.*"

(1) Viz. the xxxix Articles which had been published by the Convocation of 1562.

(2) 13 Eliz. c. xii. See Collier, vol. ii, p. 519. (3) 13 and 14 Car. II, c. iv.

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wicked errors." (1) By a subsequent canon, made at the same time with the former, all ministers are required to subscribe "willingly and ex animo, that they acknowledge all and every one of the xxxix articles to be *agreeable to the word of God.*" (2)

It is reasonable to suppose that bishop Hoadly satisfied his own conscience, in swearing to the doctrine of the established church, (3) which he disbelieved in so many instances, by the same arguments that he made use of to persuade the Dissenting ministers to concur in this measure. In a word, he maintains that nothing more is required of the clergy than to declare their assent and consent to THE USE of the *Book of Common Prayer, &c.* whatever their opinion may be of the contents of it. (4) This he endeavours to prove by a forced construction of a particular expression in the act of Uniformity, which, after all, only regarded the clergy who enjoyed any ecclesiastical benefice at the time of passing the act. (5) With respect to their successors, there is not so much as a pretence for the evasion of assenting and consenting to *the mere use* of the book, but it is absolutely required that they should, once every month, declare their "unfeigned assent and consent unto, and approbation of the book" itself; and "if the sermon or lecture is to be preached or read in any cathedral or collegiate church, the lecturer shall openly declare his assent and consent to *all things contained* in the said book, according to the form aforesaid." (6) That form has been given above, and

(1) Canon v of the Church of England. passed in Convocation in 1603. See Gibson's Codex, vol. i, p. 396. (2) Canon xxxvi.

(3) I cannot for my own part consider a solemn profession of faith, appointed by law and made in a place of worship, in any other light than as an oath.

(4) "I must entreat you to consider, that we are commanded to confine this *assent* and *consent* to the *use* of all things contained and prescribed in this book by the express words of the act itself; and forbid plainly by it to refer the *consent* to the *use* of all things, and the *assent* to the truth of every proposition as plainly as we can be." See Hoadly's Reasonableness of Conformity, part i.

(5) See the act itself, where the passage which Hoadly comments upon will be found to regard only the "parsons, vicars, &c. who were to read the Common Prayer, before the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662. (6) See the Act.

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suffices alone to refute the bishop's perversion of the particular expression referred to. Supposing, however, that nothing more were required of a subscriber than barely to make use of the Book of Common Prayer, with what conscience could he, for example, read the several passages in the communion service, and teach the catechism contained in it, concerning the mysterious efficacy of the sacraments, believing in his own conscience at the same time, that they are mere possitive rites, productive of no such effect at all as is there ascribed to them? And when all this is got over, what will Hoadly and his disciples say to the subscription required to be made *unfeignedly* and *ex animo*, that "all and every one of the xxxix articles are agreeable to the word of God?" (1)

Had not my subject led me to point out certain particular instances of your own, and Dr. Balguy's dissent from the doctrine of the establishment, I might have satisfied myself with producing the passages from your publications, in which this is *generally* expressed. It would be inconsistent in me to find fault with the learned archdeacon's liberality of sentiment in regard of those who differ in opinion from himself, or from the established church, some instances of which I have already quoted.(2) But the question now is, how far, according to his doctrine, a man is

(1) Even Hoadly's admired friend, bishop Burnet, whose conscience was not of the most delicate kind, proves, that the subscription required of the clergy is declaratory of "their own opinion, and not a bare consent to an article of peace, or an engagement to silence and submission." See Burnet's Exposition of the xxxix Articles. Introduction, p. 8.

(2) "The most unbounded freedom is the most favourable to truth....The reception of truth, I mean religious truth, can never be prejudicial to society....It follows, that the followers of every religion should be left at full liberty to declare their sentiments to the world, and to explain the reasons on which they are founded. It follows, that opposition to the established religion, if carried on by no other instruments than the tongue and the pen, ought not to be considered as a crime. To suppose otherwise is to make all reformation impossible, it is to justify the persecutions of Christians under Pagan emperors, it is to justify the persecution of our own Protestant martyrs, and, in some instances, the inquisition itself." Charge iii, pp. 224, 225...."The magistrate most certainly has no pretence of reason for exempting his own form of religion from public examination, and it is impossible it ever should be examined, if men are not permitted to speak and to write against it. Ibid. p. 229.

obliged

obliged to believe in what he solemnly assents and subscribes to? Firs then, in the Discourses which you, Sir, so warmly commend, (1) he insinu ates a very disrespectful, though indistinct charge against the liturgy an doctrines of the church, where he asserts, that in the former, "doubtles there are some things found capable of amendment, though, upon th whole, we may think it lawful to use it and subscribe to it; (2) and with respect to the latter, that the clergy "are not obliged, in their dis courses from the pulpit, to explain or defend *every* particular doctrine se forth in the articles of religion."(3) In a subsequent passage, of the sam Discourse, he allows the clergy, not only to abandon the defence of cer tain doctrines which they have solemnly assented and subscribed to, bu also to speak, and even to write against them, provided they do not at tack them officially and from the pulpit. His words are these: "I am fa from wishing to discourage the clergy of the established church fron thinking for themselves, or from speaking what they think: not eve from writing, where the importance of the occasion may seem to de mand it, and where no weightier reason forbids it. I say nothin against the right of private judgement: against the freedom of speech. only contend, that men ought not to attack the church from those ver pulpits in which they were placed for her defence." (4) Our learned di vine elsewhere assigns his reason for this restriction: it is not, howeve such a one as at all relates to the truth or falsehood of the doctrines them selves, or to any obligation of a Christian's believing the articles an creeds which he professes and signs; but is merely grounded on prudentia motives and expediency. He says, "Nothing is clearer than that th uniform appearance of religion is the cause of its general and easy recep tion. Destroy this uniformity, and you cannot but introduce doubt an perplexity into the minds of the people. When they hear in the sam town, perhaps in the same church, the most irreconcileable contradictio of doctrine: when they are told, suppose, in the morning, that Chri

(1) Reflect. p. 22. (2) Discourses, p. 116. (3) P. 118. (4) P. 120.

cam

came down from heaven, that he died for the sins of the world, that he has sent his holy spirit to assist and comfort us; and are told, in the afternoon, that he did *not* come down from heaven, that he did *not* die for the sins of the world, that he did *not* send his holy spirit: what must they, what can they think? Would you have them think for themselves? Would you have them hear and decide the controversies of the learned? Would you have them enter into the depths of criticism, of logic, of scholastic divinity? You might as well expect them to compute an eclipse, or decide between the Cartesian and the Newtonian philosophy, &c." (1) In short, he concludes that the effect of such contradictory doctrines in the same religion will be to "destroy all religious principle and the state itself." (2) His argumentation on this point carries conviction along with it. But, Sir, give me leave to ask you, in the place of your deceased friend, if such consequences are to be apprehended from the opposition of different clergymen belonging to the same communion, what may not be expected when the first dignitaries of the church, such as bishops, chancellors, archdeacons, and prebendaries, are found to contradict themselves? When, in compliance with their public ministry, they inculcate, for example, the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, the efficacy of the Sacraments in the Articles, Creeds, and Liturgy, which they publicly read and subscribe, and then, making use of the freedom of speech and writing, which we have before heard of, they as publicly, though not so officially, undermine all these tenets? Can any thing have so fatal an effect on the minds of the people in extinguishing every spark of religion in them, as an opinion that the ministers of it do not themselves believe the doctrines which they teach?

There are other passages in our late learned prebendary's writings that contain a general avowal of his dissent from the doctrines of the establishment, (3) the chief heads of which have been pointed out above. I shall however

(1) P. 257. (2) P. 258.

(3) "Non is sum qui contendam nihil esse quod corrigi possit aut *fortasse debeat in ecclesiâ Anglicanâ*," Concio pro gradu Doctoratus. P. 336.

satisfy myself with producing one more extract to this effect from his Discourses; which I have selected chiefly because it seems to point out the principle on which he reconciled it to his conscience to subscribe them. "The Articles, we will say, are not exactly what we wish them to be. Some of them are expressed in *doubtful* terms: others are *inaccurate*, perhaps *unphilosophical*: others again may chance to *mislead* an ignorant reader into some *erroneous opinion*. But is there any one amongst them that leads to immorality? Is there one in the number that will make us revengeful, cruel, or unjust?" (1) If the innocency of a theological system, as to such effects as are here pointed out, be sufficient to justify our solemnly assenting and subscribing to it, we may, I believe, safely subscribe the ABRACADABRA of Basilides, and far the greater part of the Koran of Mahomet.

Your own doctrine, Sir, on this, as on other points which I have had occasion to examine, is in unison with that of Dr. Balguy. This will appear from the following extracts from your Letters to Bishop Lowth: "I confess, my Lord, that our Articles appear liable to these objections; the particulars of them are *too numerous*; the subjects of some of them are of a *most obscure and disputable kind*, where it may seem unnecessary and perhaps *improper to go so far in defining*; on both these accounts, the *assent required* from our clergy may appear *too strict*." (2) Give me leave, Sir, here to ask, upon what principle you pronounce that the Articles are *too numerous*, if you do unfeignedly assent to them all as being true, and "acknowledge all and every one of them to be agreeable to the word of God?" Has God then been too liberal in his revelation to us? Or is there any point which we believe him to have revealed, and yet are desirous to avoid openly declaring? To be brief, Sir, if you had no difficulty in publishing that the xxxix Articles were too numerous, me

(1) P. 293.

(2) Considerations on the Church Establishment, by John Sturges, &c. Prebendary of Winchester, &c. p p. 27, 28.

think

thinks you ought to have mentioned how many, and which of them, you were desirous of having suppressed.

You object in the second place, that " the subjects of some of them (the xxxix articles) are of a most obscure and disputable kind." We are not at a loss to guess which articles those are that you particularly glance at; but whichever they are, in case, Sir, you really believe that the Church of England has pronounced a true decision concerning them, is it not evidently an inestimable advantage to have obscurities in matters of religion cleared up, and doubtful points determined? But if you understand by that expression, as your words seem to imply, that the said church has declared some articles to be certain which still remain disputable and doubtful, you not only accuse her of error in defining them, as she has done, and cut yourself off from her communion, (1) but also you proclaim the unlawfulness of your subscribing or assenting to the Articles at all. For it is avowedly unjustifiable even in the ordinary communications amongst mankind for any person to assert as a positive truth that which he believes to be doubtful. After some prefatory compliments paid to the English Reformers, you proceed to recommend that " their work should be corrected and improved." (2) You then propose, as a motive for such a " revision of the articles and forms " of the said church, that " *the ease* of her own ministers would be consulted by it;" (3) which sufficiently shews that you think them burdensome to the consciences of many of the said ministers, as they are now subscribed to; and you conclude with recommending, that in the new Reformation which you call for, " the basis of the establishment should be made as broad as possible, and nothing retained in the forms of public worship but, what you term, " the striking features and leading tenets of religion." (4)

I think, Sir, that I have now demonstratively vindicated that expression which has proved so offensive to you and to several of your friends, and has

(1) " Whoever shall affirm that any of the xxxix articles are in *any part* superstitious or erroneous, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*," &c. Canon v. Eccles. Angl. A. D. 1603.

(2) Considerations, p. 29. (3) Ibid, pp. 29, 30. (4) P. 31.

probably given occasion to the present controversy, namely, that bishop Hoadly has, by his doctrines, UNDERMINED THAT CHURCH OF WHICH HE WAS A PRELATE. (1) Of the nature and tendency of those doctrines, I can judge as well as any other divine, endowed with common sense and information; but as to the extent of their influence upon the minds of others, you have opportunities of knowing this superior to what I possess; I have reason, however, to apprehend that it is great indeed; and I particularly lament that, amongst the persons infected with them, should have been two of the greatest ornaments of this learned city, and chief dignitaries of this venerable cathedral; to the moderation of one of whom (if the same cannot be affirmed of the other) it has been owing that he did not rise to the very first rank in his profession. Nevertheless, it has not been so much for the sake of vindicating the expression, as of refuting the system itself, and of stopping the course of the prevailing incredulity and irreligion, which I am convinced are the natural growth of it, that I have entered into the present discussion. You observe that I do not take the obvious advantages that I might take from the doctrines of Hoadly, on one hand, and the arguments, drawn from the supposed right of private judgment, by which he supports them, on the other, in favour of the Catholic rule of faith and the authority of the ancient church; but I have contented myself with defending the Church of England, as far as she agrees with the great body of Christians, in different ages and countries, in those articles which are the indispensable constituents of Christianity itself. Yes, Sir, however strange a sight it may appear to those who judge in these matters by men's dresses and situations in life, I, who do not communicate with the Church of England, have defended it, and that not unsuccessfully, against you, who hold so distinguished a post in it; and I will venture to affirm, that there is not one of its great lights, in the two last centuries, who, if he were reduced to the necessity of holding communion with a Catholic or a Hoadlyite,

(1) Vol. ii, p. 32.

would

would not prefer uniting with the former. Yes, Sir, if a Ridley, a Jewel, a Parker, a Hooker, a Bilson, an Andrews, a Pearson, a Laud, a Gunning, or a Ken, were now living to witness the new and unheard-of doctrines, which I have quoted from certain late publications, and contrasted with the articles, creeds, catechism, and liturgy of the Church of England, I appeal to the judgement of the learned, who are acquainted with the history, the opinions, and the character of those divines, whether he would not express himself to the following effect:—It is of infinitely less consequence *whether we should desire the saints in heaven to pray for us or not,* than *whether we should acknowledge and worship Jesus Christ as true God, consubstantial with the Father, or not.* Again, he would say, that ancient question, *in what manner Christ is present and communicates his grace to us in the sacrament?* is not at all of such importance, as this new one, viz. *whether he communicates any grace at all, or is present there in any manner whatsoever?* Finally, he would exclaim, the business now is not so much to determine, *which is the true church of Christ?* as to decide, *whether Christ has any church whatsoever upon earth that is divinely instituted?*

But, Sir, there is another point at issue between you and me concerning bishop Hoadly; I mean, the character of his political sermons and other writings. You celebrate these as highly commendable; I, on the other hand, have signified that they are exceedingly pernicious and blameable. We have heard in our days of *the holy duty of insurrection,* (1) and the whole world has felt the effects of this inflammatory language: but after all it is not so extraordinary in the mouths of those who are found to make use of it. But to observe a Christian divine unceasingly inculcating the doctrine of resistance to lawful authority, from the pulpit and the press, and proclaiming such sentiments as those quoted in the notes below, (2) is hardly less extraordinary, than to hear from the same character

(1) See the the harangues of Mirabeau, and other demagogues, at the commencement of the French Revolution.

(2) "When the higher powers do not promote the happiness and good of human society, they

racter such theological opinions as those which I have confuted. It is not, Sir, that I am an advocate for the tenet of passive obedience; the Catholic Church never made it an article of faith, though the Church of England did. I know that cases may occur, in which it will become lawful to resist and bind a parent, or to eat another man's bread without his consent; but such doctrines are not to be preached to the people, who will not want any instructions or exhortations to make use of the law of self-preservation when such extreme and very rare cases occur. On the contrary, it is the business of the true Christian preacher to assist his hearers in repressing those congenial vices of pride, ambition, and resentment, which naturally incline them to raise themselves up against the lawful authority of their superiors, and to imagine or magnify grievances, to their own disturbance and that of the state. Even in the case of an unavoidable revolution in government, the same public language is necessary, for the security of the new government. On the contrary, those who are incessantly boasting of the principles and merits of a past revolution, are incontestibly busy in sowing the seeds of a new one. Notwithstanding the evident conformity of these positions both with sound policy and genuine Christianity, I find you, Sir, extolling bishop Hoadly, for teaching and acting in direct opposition to them; you even boastingly proclaim of him, that "civil liberty perhaps owes more to one great man of the clerical profession (Hoadly) than to any other single writer of any

they cannot be said to be from God: any more than an inferior magistrate may be said to act by a prince's authority, when he acts directly contrary to his will." Serm. before the lord mayor, Sept. 29, 1705. "In answer to what he (Dr. Sherlock) observes, that he endeavours to justify the legislature and the laws of his country,...I beg leave, once for all, to tell him that the whole question is, whether the laws we defend be good and just, equitable and righteous, and not whether they be the laws of the land or not." Common Rights of Subjects, &c." I have shewn that it is a prostitution of the Holy Sacrament to apply it (by virtue of the Test Act) to a different purpose from what the great institutor solemnly appropriated it."—In this point, viz. in endeavouring to get the Test Act abolished and the Dissenters admitted to equal privileges with the Churchmen, I do not find that Dr. B. and Dr. S. concur with their great leader.

denomination."

denomination." (1) What, Sir, does this cause owe more to Hoadly than it does to the delusive Locke?—than to the clamorous Wilkes?—than to the daring Junius? If this be true, how deeply guilty is this democratical bishop in that wild uproar which has unhinged society, and carried devastation round the globe!

As the important subject just mentioned here presents itself to our view, and as a great deal of foul and prejudicial misrepresentation as to the real source of the calamities in question, has been industriously propagated throughout the nation, it seems, Sir, to be an act of justice due to the community at large, no less than to the immediate sufferers by these falsehoods, to refute them, and to point out the real causes of those evils. It has been lately asserted, in different ways, by a hundred writers, chiefly of the theological class, that the Catholic religion gave rise to the impiety and anarchy of the French Revolution. Such a charge must appear strange and absolutely inconceivable to a candid reader, who is unacquainted with the malice and bigotry of the spirit which dictates it. But after having, in the preceding sheets, seen the professors of this religion represented as the authors of the grand Rebellion against Charles I; after having beheld them tried and put to death for plotting to murder Charles II, and after having heard them accused of burning down their own houses and chapels in the Riots of 1780, we are prepared for the charge of their being the primary cause of that anti-christian persecution, of which they are exclusively the victims. Is it not notorious to the whole world, that the impious and seditious contrivers of all the horrid scenes which we have witnessed, despaired of being able to execute their projects, whilst the Catholic religion prevailed in France, and whilst there were Catholic priests to instruct the people in their social and religious duties? Have not those boasted patrons of toleration, for this purpose, murdered more than 600 of the officiating clergy of France by the dagger and the guillotine, and driven the rest out of it, to starve, as they vainly hoped, in foreign lands, to the number of 60,000; one-tenth part of

(1) Letters to Bishop Lowth, p. 165.

whom

whom have been hospitably and charitably received and saved by the sovereign and people of England? Does not the sentence of death, or of transportation to the poisonous swamps of Guyana, stand decreed at the present day, and is it not frequently executed upon such priests as are convicted of exercising the Catholic religion? And have those apostles of Deism and Atheism, paid this homage of persecution to any other system of Christianity except the Catholic? In many parts of France the Protestants were more numerous than the Catholics; they had ministers in abundance, and the exercise of their religion was legally tolerated, previously to the Revolution. (1) But who has heard of any one of the aforesaid ministers suffering death or exile at the hands of these enemies of Christ? So far from it, they have, in the times of their greatest distress, refused so much as to take the property set apart for the support of the said religion. (2) They have observed the same line of conduct in the different countries which they have reduced. I do not hear of a single Protestant clergyman of Geneva, Holland, or Switzerland, that has been persecuted on the score of his religion; whereas I have very good reason to know, that the numerous Catholic clergy of the once happy and religious provinces of Brabant and Flanders are punished in the same manner as those of France are, if they are convicted of practicing or administering the rites of their church.

Yet notwithstanding this declared and striking opposition between the cause of Catholicism, on one hand, and that of anarchy and impiety, on the other, the writers whom I have alluded to above, pretend to have discovered the most intimate connection and alliance between them. Dr. Rennell exclaims: "To this superstition (the Catholic religion, which he had just before termed Idolatry and Anti-christianism) it is impossible not to

(1) Viz. in 1787.

(2) It will be found, upon consulting the public papers, that within the last five or six months, a motion having been made in the Convention for appropriating to the necessities of the Republic, the funds in France appointed for the support of the Protestant worship, it was got rid of by the order of the day.

trace

trace the greatest part of what Europe now feels and fears." (1) He next asserts, that "Popery generated Atheism;" (2) and, on a subsequent occasion, attempts to shew, at length, that "Atheism reproduces Popery." (3) In fact, he reproaches his learned audience, at Cambridge, that none of them has yet discovered from Revelation what he had ascertained from "Pagan wisdom," viz. that "so closely are Atheism and Superstition joined, that they act reciprocally, as cause and effect," upon each other.(4) But not to contend with an author of such acknowledged depth and precision of thought on a metaphysical subject, I shall rather congratulate my countrymen on the prospect which Dr. R. holds out to them of a return of the reign of Superstition, now that Atheism has reached its zenith; since whatever that is, in other respects, it is acknowledged to be infinitely less baleful than Atheism to the peace and safety of Europe. With Dr. R. in sentiments and language, on this as on every other subject, agrees the anonymous note-writer in the Pursuits of Literature. (5) Of course the same observation is applicable to them both, if they should prove to be separate personages. A croud of other fanatics next present themselves, who seeing in the calamities of Italy and France the long wished for destruction of Anti-christ and the Harlot of the Revelations, are obliged, like Dr. R., to represent the same events as reciprocally cause and effect to each other. What a pity it is, for the consistency of this system, that the kingdom of Anti-christ should be thus exhibited as divided against itself, and that his firmest supporters should be found, in such numbers, laying down their lives for the name of Christ!

A much more respectable character than any of the former, rather hints, than positively affirms the fact in question, namely, that the Catholic religion is the cause of the French Revolution. His words are these: "There is one material difference between Popery and Protestantism, which I am willing to think furnishes some ground of hope, that English-

(1) Sermon at St. Paul's, notes. (2) Ibid.
(3) Sermon before the University of Camb. note 5. (4) Ibid, p. 24.
(5) Advertisement to part iv, p. 12.

men can never be guilty of such enormities as have been committed in France. It is amongst the maxims of Popery, by forbidding the reading of the scriptures and by performing service in an unknown tongue, to keep the lower ranks in extreme ignorance: hence their minds, enslaved by blind superstition, are peculiarly liable to receive any evil impressions.... But can it be believed that persons whose minds have been....improved by the gospel....who have been accustomed to join in the devout prayers of the liturgy....will ever trample on the obligations of morality and religion?" (1) It is difficult to enumerate all the falsities that are here assumed for facts. It is supposed, that the common people of France were less instructed in the religion which they professed, and in the general morality of the gospel, than persons of the same description are at home. It is supposed, that the whole collection of the inhabitants of France, and particularly those who were most scrupulously attached to the tenets and practices of their religion, (2) became at once "divested of the common feelings of human nature, set at defiance the majesty of heaven, and trampled upon morality and religion." (3) In fact, such an idea seems to be too prevalent on this side of the water. But does the heroical firmness of the officiating clergy in general, of a great number of the religious men, and of all the religious women, throughout France, of most of the people in Poictou, Anjou, Normandy, &c. and of an innumerable multitude of other inhabitants of France, the particulars of which are little known in this country, under such a persecution as has raged in France during almost ten years, favour such an idea? There is too much reason to fear, that the greater part of the people in every country profess the

(1) Sermon of the Bishop of Lincoln, quoted by Dr. Rennell.

(2) The observation here signified is a sufficient answer to the anonymous writer of a work quoted by Dr. S. called Considerations addressed to the French Emigrant Bishops and Clergy. In this the author attempts to shew, that the Revolution, of which they were the victims, was owing to their previous strictness in requiring absolute uniformity of faith, and an exact observance of a very rigid discipline of devotion and self-denial.—I answer in one word, not an individual who was faithful to the precepts of his church in those particulars was afterwards found to be a Jacobin.

(3) Sermon, ut supr.

religion

religion of it more from habit than conviction. But has not the number of sufferers, in the cause of Christianity and morality, been as great in France, as there is reason to expect, in similar circumstances, from the inhabitants of any country whatsoever? The middle of the last century beheld similar scenes in England to those which are now going on, avowedly in imitation of them, in France, viz. a king beheaded, a government overthrown, and an oppressive and cruel tyranny established under the name of liberty; but I appeal to all the histories of that period, whether these crimes were owing to the want of a Bible in the mother-tongue, or to the opportunities which this very circumstance afforded for the most ignorant and ill-disposed persons to interpret it in conformity with their own passions? How unjust would it have been in foreigners to judge of the religion and morality of the inhabitants of this country, by the conduct of the English republicans in Cromwell's time! Should God, in his mercy, at length drop the scourge with which he chastises France, it will be seen that he hath reserved to himself, not barely seven thousand, as in the apostacy of Israel, (1) but seven millions of people, who have never bowed the knee to the Baal of Anti-christian apostacy.

Lastly, it is presumed in the passage which I have quoted, that no persons except those who had been Catholics were guilty of the crimes under consideration. But of what religion were Necker, Chenier, (2) Emeri, La Source, Rabaud, and a great number of others who have acted the most

(1) 1 Kings, xix, 18.

(2) The following extract of Chenier's speech, made July 26, 1798, in the Council of Five Hundred, in the name of the Committee appointed to report on the situation of Geneva, seems to deserve attention on the present subject: "Hasten to determine the fate of those happy regions that have always deserved well of the sciences, human reason, and philosophy; where the liberty of writing and thinking *ushered in the dawn of Republican principles*; where the 16th century beheld Calvin treading in the vestiges of Luther, and breaking down some steps of the papal throne; where the 17th century saw the satellites of Emanuel discomfitted by citizen soldiers, and after the lapse of thirty years the downfall of the popedom; where the 18th century saw Bonet starting up a rival to Newton, Jean Jacques Rousseau proclaiming the code of nations, and Voltaire infusing into Europe the impulse of philosophy." See the Star, for August 3, 1798.

distinguished parts in these tragical scenes? Of what religion were the men of Nismes, who, in the first year of the Revolution, fell suddenly upon their Catholic fellow citizens, particularly upon the priests and religious, and murdered six hundred of them? (1) They had read the Bible and had heard the service performed in their vulgar tongue, yet they were amongst the most determined of the democratic insurgents. Accordingly the whole party had determined, in case of a defeat, to concentrate their force in the neighbourhood of Nismes. (2) I have yet to take notice of another celebrated writer, respectable for his rank and talents, who urges the same charge against the Catholic religion, though upon different grounds. He asserts, that it would be an easy matter to shew with respect to those impious philosophers of the age, who, as I agree with him, have been the chief contrivers and instruments of the calamities we lament that "the superstition of the Church of Rome made them infidels." (3) He then proceeds to paint the tenets of Catholics in the most injurious and false, as well as the most odious and ridiculous colours; in order to confirm this revolting assertion. Does he then really believe that it was for want of being acquainted with a more rational and evangelical system of Christianity than that of Catholics, that Rousseau, Voltaire, Frederic II, D'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, with the whole tribe of infidel philosophers of the present age, declared against the gospel and professed themselves Deists? The supposition is too absurd to be dwelt upon: and the fact is, that some of these were educated in Protestant tenets, from which, like innumerable others in this country, claiming the right of private judgement, they immediately launched forth into infidelity. The first mentioned of these, in particular, who was by far the most able reasoner as well as the most fatal enemy to Revelation amongst them, was educated a Protestant, and was well acquainted with the grounds of the controversy between the Catholic religion and his own, yet he has not hesitated

(1) See Barruel's Hist. du Clergé, p. 88. (2) Ibid, p. 87.
(3) Address to the People of England, by the Bishop of Landaff.

to

to bear the following testimony to the arguments in favour of the former: " Si j'etois Chretien, je me ferois Catholique demain."

Whence then, in conclusion, have these disturbers of the world principally borrowed those arms, with which they attack and threaten to eradicate the religion of Jesus Christ? In the cure of every malady, moral as well as physical, the first grand requisite is to trace it to its original cause. The necessity of this is more evident in the present case; because it seems to have been ordained in the wise counsels of Providence, that the course of this wide-wasting pestilence should be chiefly stopped by efforts made in that country, where its ravages were at first principally apparent. Let us hear, upon this subject, the celebrated Protestant historian, Mosheim, in his account of the early part of the present century: when that rank seed was sown, the harvest of which we are doomed to reap. He says: " There is no country in Europe, where infidelity has not exhaled its poison, and scarcely any denomination of Christians, amongst whom we may not find several persons, who either aim at the total extinction of all religion, or at least endeavour to invalidate the authority of the Christian system. But no where have these enemies of the purest religion, and consequently of mankind, appeared with more effrontery, than under the free governments of Great Britain and the United States. In England, more especially, it is no uncommon thing to meet with books, in which not only the doctrines of the gospel, but also the perfections of the Deity, and the solemn obligations of virtue, are called in question and turned into derision." (1) With this account of the Lutheran doctor agrees, as far as relates to our own country, that of a celebrated divine of the Church of England, who was particularly qualified to pronounce in this case, from the unremitting attention and labour that he bestowed to counteract the evil which he described. His words are these: " Never in any country, where Christianity is professed, were there such repeated

(1) Ecclesiatical History by J. L. Mosheim, D. D. translated by A. Maclaine, D. D. vol. vi, p. 7.

attempts

attempts to subvert its divine authority (as in this) carried on, sometime under various disguises, and at other times without any disguise at all.' (1) But independently of these authorities, it is a fact generally known that *the patriarch of philosophy*, as Voltaire was called, learnt the greate part of his irreligious lessons in London, and drew almost all of his ar guments against the Bible from the English infidels who preceded him Much the same may be said of many other celebrated modern philoso phers, as they are pleased to call themselves, in foreign countries. Th original cause of the mischief is hinted at by Mosheim, namely, that li centiousness in matters of religion, which you, Sir, so much extol under th name of *religious freedom*; the consequence of which is, that men refus to acknowledge any authority here upon earth, even in the assemble pastors of the universal church, to explain the sense of scripture, and t guide them in the service of God. From an endless diversity of opinion that prevailed here in expounding the essential doctrines of the Bible many were led to question the authority of the Bible itself. The fo reigners who of late took up this fatal principle of religious liberty, uni versally carried it to all the lengths it was capable of conducting them and at once rushed into Deism or Atheism. (2) The only expedien to prevent the same religious evils at home, which are witnessed abroad is to support and enforce the established Creeds and Articles that contai

(1) Leland's View of Deistical Writers. Pref.

(2) That an *extravagant* passion for civil liberty in many individuals in this country, ha occasioned that political licentiousness abroad which has subjugated Europe under the pre tence of setting it at liberty, is too manifest a point to require proving. Whence was tha chimerical and pernicious principle derived, that men are slaves unless they at the same tim possess sovereignty, and form the laws by which they are governed. I love the constitutio of our own country, and believe it to be the best adapted to our situation, but the peopl of the continent are by this time thoroughly sensible, that representatives, and juries, an ustices of the peace, are in themselves no safeguard against tyranny, and no sufficient pledg for the security of person and property: in a word, that *just laws equitably administered* are wha constitute the civil happiness of a state.

most

most of the leading articles of Christianity. How far this is generally practicable and consistent with the right of private judgement claimed by Luther, Calvin, Chillingworth, &c. it is not for me to explain, nor can I explain it. So far however is certain and self-evident, that the disciples of Hoadly, who freely profess and subscribe those Creeds and Articles, and yet make such great advances towards infidelity, as their publications demonstrate, are without excuse.

I have the honour to be, &c.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

SIR,

HAVING discussed the controversial charges which you have exhibited to the public in your REFLECTIONS ON POPERY, I proceed to the less important objections, which alone ought to have employed your pen, in case you were disposed to draw it against me, namely, those which immediately regard my late CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF WINCHESTER. But here I have to notice the strictures of other critics besides yourself. They will undoubtedly expect that I should pay some attention to their observations on my work; but they cannot reasonably expect, that, having a controversy of the present magnitude on my hands with a person of Dr. S.'s character for learning and abilities, I should separately engage with each one of them. I shall therefore, Sir, continue to address myself to you, in the answers which I shall make to their criticisms, as well as to your own. The remarks which you yourself, Sir, make, are on every account entitled to be first considered; but, turning as they do upon a great variety of matter which would require ample dissertations thoroughly to unfold, consisting also very frequently of loose conjectures, rather than of positive assertions, and sometimes even conveying very handsome compliments to the History, it will not be expected that I should animadvert upon them all. I purpose however to say something on every subject that you have started which I conceive will prove particularly interesting or curious to the reader.

In the first place, Sir, I am surprised that, as a friend to literature and the inspired writings, you should be inclined to dispute the merit of the late excellent Rocher du Guerin's and Bonnaud's discovery, (1) which gained them so much deserved applause throughout Europe, namely, that there are certain traces of the captivity of the Hebrew people amongst the Egyptians, amidst the heterogeneous particulars which the father of history, as Herodotus is called, has gleaned up concerning that ancient people. I need not observe, what a strong argument for the veracity of the sacred writings this discovery furnishes, if it is admitted to be well founded. Some traditionary records of the state of innocence, the creation, the deluge, the ark, and other particulars related in the book of Genesis, have been discovered amongst pagans and barbarians in most ages and countries: no wonder then that more circumstances of the same history should have been preserved 2200 years ago in the country

(1) POSTSCRIPT to the REFLECTIONS, p. 113. N.B. I do not subscribe to these authors' problematical conjectures concerning the siege of Troy, though I certainly do to their clear discoveries concerning the ancient Egyptian history.

where Moses and his people sojourned for so long a time. The strongest argument hov ever in favour of the curious work which I have particularly referred to, (1) is, that ma circumstances of the Egyptian dynasties related by Herodotus are perfectly unintelligib and mere nonsense without the key that Bonnaud applies to them from the Bible; whic with the help of it, form the clearest sense.

The object of your second criticism is to take away from the late History of Winchest the credit of first pointing out the relics of Druidical worship, that abound in and near The merit of this discovery however I am not disposed to surrender to you, without bett arguments than you have brought against it. You assert, that huge sand-stones, simil to those which I have called into public notice, are to be found on the sea-shore opposi to the Isle of Wight, between high and low water mark. (2) Supposing this to be the cas and that our huge stones were fetched from the sea-shore, instead of the neighbourho of Frimley, the question still remains, for what purpose were they conveyed hither, a journ of 25 miles, before hard roads were made? For you yourself are unable to discover an in their natural situation, at a less distance. They are evidently useless, as I have observe for carving or for building; hence they are generally found lying neglected by the sides streets and roads. And yet they must have once answered some important purpose, to rep the toil and expence of transporting them. They could serve no such purpose that we c discover to the Normans, the Danes, the Saxons, or the Romans; whereas we know certain, that the ancient Britons made use of the very same kind of stones, both as to m terial and shape, for their temples and altars, and that they were accustomed to convey the from distant situations for these purposes. (3) This is so well ascertained, that it would a just matter of surprise if in an ancient British city, of the importance of Caer Gwent, remains of Druidical temples or altars were to be found. Such were the arguments on whi I grounded my theory concerning the Druidical relics that I had discovered. Rather hov ever than allow the antiquary's merit, you call upon the naturalist to assign a cause for t appearance of these stones in their present situations. Do you then seriously mean th they were rolled by an earthquake, or shot by a volcano, from the sea-shore or from Frimle heath, to our ancient city, instead of being conveyed by human labour and art? If so, y will, on the same principle, readily account for the structure of Stonehenge by a natu cause; and it will henceforward be idle for the antiquary to enquire at what period, or what purposes, or by what mechanism, that stupendous work was executed.

The narration of the martyrdom of St. Ursula and her 11,000 companions, (4) is not co nected with the truth of any religious system that I am aware of; nevertheless, after all t

(1) History, vol. i, p. 2. (2) P. 113.

(3) No such stones as those of which Stonehenge is composed are to be found in their natural situatio within fifteen or twenty miles of that place.

(4) The Martyrology only commemorates *St. Ursula and her companions*, without determining a number of them. But the circumstances of their history, according to the best accounts we have receiv of it, renders it by no means unlikely that they might amount to the number therein mentioned.

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ridicule that you and other writers have thrown upon it, I should be glad to know, precisely on what ground you pronounce that "it exceeds the bounds of legendary exaggeration." (1) All history, profane as well as ecclesiastical, assures us, that this island was, about the time assigned for the tragedy in question, twice stripped of all its young men capable of bearing arms, who never returned back to it, but settled in the province of Bretagne, where their descendants retain the British language to the present day. In such circumstances, was it unlikely that these young men should wish to have wives from their own country? Was it unlikely that a proportionable number of young women could be found to accept of their honourable proposals? Was it unlikely that a fleet of transports bound down the channel, might be driven up it by strong westerly winds upon the coast of Holland? Or finally, was it unlikely that Christian virgins, betrothed to youths of their own religion and country, should prefer death at the hands of a band of Pagan pirates to their adulterous embraces? I am sorry, Sir, you should form so bad an opinion of the virtue and heroism of the sex, to which elsewhere you have expressed so strong an attachment.

My mentioning that the untimely death of William Rufus in the New Forest was considered by cotemporary historians, as a mark of divine vengeance on the family of the Conqueror, who depopulated that district, occasions you to reproach Catholics, in the words of the irreligious Father Paul, with their credulity in ascribing the untimely ends of the famous Reformers Zuinglius and Œcolompadius to the justice of Providence. (2) Whatever Catholics might think of these events, it is certain that the tragical death of the former, on the field of battle, fighting sword in hand for his religion, was a great subject of scandal amongst Protestants; and that the sudden death of the latter is positively ascribed, by the patriarch Luther, (who afterwards himself met with the same fate) to the immediate operation of the devil. (3)

I am glad you admit the ecclesiastical historian Collier to have been an able man, and still more so, that you have not found any cause to impeach his veracity. (4) This being the case, how idle is it in you to ascribe the use which I have made of his authority, to a partiality for him, in consequence of his having been a Nonjuror!

To your correction I bow with due submission, where you remind me, that Edward IV was not the *son*, but the *grandson* of the earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded at Southampton. I cannot however agree with you, Sir, in admitting Edward's claim to the crown to have been superior to that of Henry VI, after the father and the grandfather of the latter had enjoyed the quiet and undisputed possession of it for so many years, and had even received the homage of Edward himself and of his progenitors.

You now, Sir, conduct me into a wide field of architectural criticism, in which however I find very little said by you that affects my positions on the same subject; except your concluding lines, in which you say, that "Wherever Lowth or Warton are concerned, Mr. M. is a very willing critic." (5) To shew how far this is from the truth, I beg leave to refer

(1) P. 113. (2) P. 114. (3) De Unct. & Miss. Privat. tom. vii.
(4) P. 114. (5) P. 116.

to

to the prefaces of both my volumes, in which I explicitly state my opinion concerning th high and just character of those writers, as likewise to the passages themselves in whic I am obliged to correct their oversights. It will be found that this is always done wit the respect that is due to literary men of the first rank. You begin with admitting th justice of my censure both upon Warton's account of the supposed Saxon architecture of th east end of the cathedral, and upon Lowth's theory which supposes it to be of Norma workmanship. As to what you afterwards urge at great length in defence of the last men tioned writer, who was your particular friend, I cannot perceive that you have disprove a single point in which I differ from him. If you think otherwise, I am content that th intelligent reader should form his judgement from the pieces that have been already pub lished, and from his actual survey of the edifice, without adding another word on my par These pieces are bishop Lowth's celebrated account of Wykeham's architecture in th cathedral; (1) my remarks on this account, in *The History and Survey of Winchester*; (2) an your commentary on the former, in *The Reflections*. (3) By way however of illustrating m leading notion, viz. that a great deal more of the Norman prelate Walkelin's original work wa left standing and incorporated with the new work of Edington and Wykeham, than Lowt supposes, and by way of shewing in what manner the Saxon architecture of our churche was very frequently transformed into the Pointed, or Gothic, I must refer you and other ar chitectural virtuosi to the grand conventual churches of St. Alban in the town of that nam and to Rumsey church in this county. In both of these, you will see the operation i question begun without being finished, some of the Saxon pillars being cased in cluster and some of the round arches being contracted to a point, in what is called the Gothic styl whilst others are left in their original simplicity.

To your own observations on the architecture and original disposition of our cathedra you add the favourite system of the respectable Dr. Warton, and his learned brother, th laureate, which I have heard them descant upon, with the greatest eloquence, on the sp itself. Their idea was, that the high altar originally stood close to the wall, directly und the great east window, before bishop Fox erected the present altar-screen at a certain distan from it, in order to leave sufficient space for his own mortuary chapel, with the oth two chapels adjoining to it. They were also of opinion, that the choir extended no farth in a westward direction, than to the line of the eastern walls of the transepts. It is true, so far m et their ideas as to grant, that the present extent of the choir westward is a defec This defect however unavoidably arose from the circumstance of the church having bee built by piece-meal at different periods. For it was necessary to make the choir large enoug on one hand, for a community of 60 or 70 monks, besides chaplains, novices, and choriste and, on the other, it was impossible to remove the altar-screen to a sufficient distance eas ward, without destroying a considerable part of the venerable old church, built, for the la

(1) It is quoted at length in all the former Histories, Descriptions, and Guides of Winchester.

(2) Vol. ii, p. 16. (3) Pp. 115, 116.

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time, by bishop De Lucy. Such a measure was still more improper in Fox's time than it had been before, in consequence of the magnificent chantries of his predecessors, Beaufort and Waynflete, that had been erected there. In a word, I deny, Sir, that there is any proof or the smallest probability, that the choir, including the presbytery and altar, reached further towards the east before Fox's time than it did afterwards. Certain it is, that the intermediate chapels, between the altar-screen and the great east window, existed in Beaufort's time, when Thomas Rudborne wrote his *Historia Major*, that is to say, 70 years before Fox's alterations, (1) no less than they did afterwards. One observation which incidentally falls from you on the present subject, and which seems to be amongst those for which you own yourself indebted to the respectable gentlemen named above, I do most emphatically protest against. You say, that "in many churches the view from the choir is carried on, through the arches and pillars behind, in a perspective which has a very *beautiful effect*. (2) This alludes to the practice of the half-learned Gothic architects of the present day, in levelling the altars and altar-screens, and introducing the low disproportioned arches and slender pillars of the Lady chapel into the grand view of the nave, thus destroying the proper effect of them both; as is the case in Salisbury cathedral. I have demonstrated, in an express Dissertation on this subject, that the practice in question is as contrary to the rules of the *Beautiful and Sublime*, as laid down by the great Burke, as it is to the original and proper disposition of a cathedral, to the rubrics of the Church of England, to the interests of science, and to the sacred rights of the dead. (3)

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(1) Vol. ii, p. 57. (2) P. 117.

(3) A DISSERTATION ON THE MODERN STYLE OF ALTERING ANCIENT CATHEDRALS, as it is exemplified in THE CATHEDRAL OF SALISBURY, 4to. Nichols, Robbins, and Coghlan.

As the present matter in debate regards the internal beauty of a Gothic cathedral, I take this opportunity of pointing out one of the most barbarous devastations and grossest violations of uniformity of style any where to be met with; which is annually gaining ground in our venerable cathedral, and which, if not stopped, threatens the destruction of all its appropriate decorations. To enable a person at a distance to form a clear idea of the barbarism in question, it is necessary to paint to his imagination the massive cluster columns, in the centre of Wykeham's magnificent work, like the trunks of huge trees in a grand visto, shooting out their main branches to form the grand arches of the nave, and thence towering up to a vast height, ramifying into the various intersections of the vaulted ceiling. Corresponding with those branches, but in a different direction, are boughs, which meeting in a point with other boughs that grow from a series of smaller cluster columns on the opposite sides, form the enchanting perspective of the long-drawn side isles. The intercolumnations of the nave are of course open; those of the side isles form the principal windows, down to within about 15 feet, by computation, of the pavement. These spaces have been decorated by the taste and skill of Wykeham with cinque-foil arches and mouldings, exactly corresponding with the mullions of the windows, and being in fact a continuation of them down to the ground. Thus the whole main body of the church, as it came from the hands of its last immortal founder, was uniformly ornamented, with a tasteful elegance that hardly admitted of any addition, and with a chaste simplicity that certainly allowed of no diminution. Now what has been done in our times and under our own eyes, not in consequence of poverty, but of profusion and by way of ornament?

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With respect to Mr. Thomas Warton's "elaborate and curious MS. Essay on the Lady Chapel in our Cathedral;" in case he there asserts, according to your intimation, (1) that Philip and Mary were married at the high altar, and not in the said chapel, in opposition to local tradition, I shall not contest the point with him, but only observe, that he himself has said directly the contrary in his printed work. (2) I hope, Sir, you will have interest enough to procure that this Essay may be communicated to the public, and that in the perfect state in which the author left it. One thing is certain, that the discoveries which I had the good fortune to make in that chapel, by explaining the curious paintings on the walls, (3) which had never before been attempted, were highly applauded by that worthy antiquary, and first procured me the honour of his acquaintance.

In speaking of Barton farm, near St. Cross, I observe, that it was formerly called *De la Berton*. This derivation you find fault with, and endeavour to disprove. Nevertheless it is certain, that in the assertion which I made I was guided by no less an authority than that of William of Wykeham, who in some of his deeds calls it by that name.

Happily there is but one point of religious controversy that occurs in your whole POSTSCRIPT. Bishop Lowth having occasion to remark the extraordinary solicitude which hi

That beautiful arch-work just mentioned, which is so necessary for the perfection of the plan above described, has in most of the intercolumnations of the isles been wholly covered over with screens of dead white stone-work, without the smallest decoration whatsoever, or they have been disfigured and blocked up with heavy inside buttresses of the same material and colour, and equally unornamented. This has been done, in both instances, merely to support a marble tablet wish an urn, or some other smaller ornament which could have been fixed against the wall, without, at least, so great a demolition of the original decorations as the aforesaid screens and buttresses occasion. In fact it will be found, that the few tablets, other mural monuments of a small size, which were placed in the cathedral during the last century and the early part of this, have been fixed in the above-mentioned manner. But why should not all monuments be constructed in the style of the edifice in which they are placed? Any person, moderately skilled in the Pointed or Gothic architecture, would show how a monument of any dimensions whatsoever, from a simple shield to a gorgeous mausoleum, might be so constructed as not to disfigure, but rather to decorate an ancient cathedral. Would it be too much to require of the opulent relatives of distinguished personages who are desirous of placing memorials of their friends in such a place, that they should not injure the uniformity of its style and ornament? On the other hand, how inconsistent is it in persons, who every day point out to their friends the incongruity of Inigo Jones's elegant Corinthian screen at the entrance of the choir, at the same time to countenance those barbarisms that are year after year taking place in the side isles? I have been chiefly moved to make this representation by observing, that since I published my HISTORY, the system here reprobated has been carried from Wykeham's part of the cathedral into that of St. Lucy; where one of those hideous buttresses is built up, near Beaufort's unparalleled chantry, in order to support a mural tablet to the memory of Dr. Turner, and has thereby buried a part of that beautiful series of projecting columns and trefoil arches, which ornament that part of the cathedral on both sides of it and afford a beautiful species of the early Gothic.

(1) P. 113. (2) Description of Winchester, &c. p. 77.

(3) See Monuments of Ancient Sculpture and Painting, by John Carter, Architect. vol. i.

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pious founder Wykeham expressed to have prayers offered up after his death for the repose of his soul, launches out into a dissertation in order to explain the origin of the practice of praying for the dead, in which he asserts, though without the shadow of any proof or authority, that the idea of the utility of such prayers arose from the ignorance of the people, in observing that prayers generally accompanied funerals. (1) In opposition to this chimerical hypothesis, I referred to the most illustrious bishops and fathers of the church in the fourth, fifth, and following ages, who expressed the strongest conviction of the benefit of this practice to Christians dying in a state of imperfect justice. Some of them even trace this practice and opinion up to the apostles themselves. (2) By way of answering this argument, you deny that the authority of an Ambrose, an Augustin, a Chrysostom, and a Bede, is "sufficient to justify this practice." (3) But, Sir, you will please to observe that the question at present is not about *justifying the practice*, but about *accounting for its origin*. The determination of this point depends upon deciding whether bishop Lowth in the 18th century, or the above mentioned primitive fathers of the church, are best qualified to pronounce upon the true origin of a religious practice of Christianity that subsisted in their times. How necessary, Sir, is the science of logic amongst literary disputants! Yet how much neglected is it by them at the present day!

I shall now reply to your complaint concerning the injury which I am supposed to have done to the memory of the late Rev. Mr. Wavell, the friend and predecessor in office of the gentleman to whom you have inscribed your REFLECTIONS. The accusation against me is, that I have, in my late History of Winchester, mentioned uniformly a former anonymous History of the same place, in two small volumes, as the work of Mr. Wavell; and the most ridiculous as well as invidious causes are assigned for my ascribing a work full of errors to him. You signify that my prejudice against him may be accounted for from his being described in his epitaph as "a searcher into true religion, unadulterated with the commentaries of men," and from the circumstance of "bishop Hoadly having been his patron." (4) The fact however is, that I never knew any thing of the deceased, or of his epitaph, except what you and your correspondent were pleased to communicate, nor have I to the present day heard any thing of his studies or his writings, except that he was the author of the aforesaid History, which, I will venture to say, was the general opinion in this city until of late. So fully convinced was I of this being a fact, that six or seven years ago, at a time when I had never examined into the merits of the work, a question having been proposed in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, whether the late Mr. Porter of this city were not the author of it; I myself returned an answer in the negative, asserting that it was the composition of the late Rev. Mr. Wavell. The said query and my answer to it will be found in looking a few years back into that Miscellany. Let me here ask, why you or some other friend of the deceased did not contradict that assertion when I first published it in the manner that I have related, or even inform me then of my mistake as you have done since?

(1) Life of Wykeham, p. 250. (2) Vol. ii, p. 27. (3) P. 117. (4) P. 107.

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The fact, Sir, is, to have been considered as the author of the work in question was though no disgrace to Mr. Wavell or to any one else, (for it held an honourable place in libraries, an a high price in booksellers' catalogues) until my late HISTORY AND SURVEY detected an exposed part of its gross errors and contradictions. If you wish to know why I generally quote that faulty work rather under the name of *Wavell's History*, than as *The History of Winchester* I beg leave to assure you, that it was merely for the relief of the reader's memory, wh might not be able to distinguish in his own mind the several publications that have take place on the same subject, by their titles, viz. *The Description of Winchester,—The Antiquiti of Winchester Cathedral,—The History of the Antiquities of Winchester,—The Winchester Guid* &c. For the same reason, you will find, that I always quote the names of Gale and Warton rather than the titles of their aforesaid works, when I have occasion to refer to them. N sooner, however, did your correspondent assure me, by a private letter, that to his certai knowledge Mr. Wavell wrote no more of the faulty History than the account of Magdale Hospital, in the 2d part of it, consisting of 55 pages, than I inserted in the Preface to m vol. II, which was the only part of it not then printed, an extract from that gentleman letter, and a formal retractation of assertions and suppositions which I had made to th above-mentioned purport. (1) And do you call this "a cold and reluctant deed, and a ver poor amends to Mr. Wavell?" (2) I am sorry to meet with so little candour from you in transaction, of which you as an experienced writer are so well qualified to judge. In th mean time, Sir, to convince you, your correspondent, and the public in general, how litt disposed I was maliciously to injure the posthumous fame of the late Rector of St. Maurice' I now find it necessary to assure you, that the very account of Magdalen Hospital, whic you allow to have been written by him, (3) and which you describe as being "authent to the utmost minuteness," (4) besides being intollerably dull, contains some very gro errors, which prove the writer to have been a very ill-informed antiquary. This I hav never before hinted, but I pledge myself to prove it, if you or your correspondent choo openly to contest the point with me.

I proceed, in the next place, to notice the work which the Rev. Dr. Hoadly Ashe has do me the honour to address to me, (5) in vindication of the bishop, "whose name his prese

(1) Vol. ii, Pref. p. 2. (2) P. 106.

(3) I am bound to believe that he wrote no more than the said 55 pages, because Mr. N. positively sa that he wrote no more, and yet some ONE person, tho' without a name, stands forward in the Dedicati as author of the whole; and, by all that I can learn, Mr. Wavell was the man, who applied to the la Mr. Duthy for the use of the Trussel MSS. which are appealed to in various parts of the work.

(4) P. 106.

(5) *A Letter to the Rev. John Milner, M. A. F. S. A. Author of the Civil and Ecclesiastical History Winchester, occasioned by his false and illiberal aspersions on the memory and writings of Dr. Benj min Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester, by Robert Hoadly Ashe, D.D.*

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Majesty, *by a particular indulgence*, allowed him to prefix to his own." (1) In a word, Sir, whatever the degree of connection may be between the present writer and the deceased prelate, I applaud the sentiments of respect and gratitude which prompt him, as they have done you, to stand forth in that prelate's defence; and I sincerely wish that it were lawful in me to gratify them by disavowing my charges against a character, which I sincerely believe to have been greatly instrumental in exciting that spirit of civil and religious licentiousness which is so exceedingly dangerous at the present time. The first part of Dr. H. A.'s letter consists of objections to what I have advanced on the subject of the bishop's monument. These, as far as they consist of arguments, and agree with what you, Sir, have said with more conciseness on the same subject, I mean to reply to; for I shall not follow him through all the flights of fancy in which he indulges his poetical genius on the present occasion. The latter part of the pamphlet, consisting of an attempt to vindicate the bishop's theological system, I shall certainly not attempt to answer, as we do not agree together even in the use of professional terms. After all, I think that Dr. H. A. will not be offended (he most assuredly has no reason as a friend to bishop H.) that I should prefer discussing that important matter with you, rather than with himself.

I am not to be imposed upon, nor do I think the public will be imposed upon to believe that the violent outcry which has been raised against me on the subject of bishop Hoadly's monument in the cathedral, has been occasioned merely by my observations on the obvious incongruity of the emblems with which it is charged, or on the excavation of one of the main columns of that sacred edifice, that has taken place in order to receive it. No, Sir; it is the allusion which I have made to that other kind of "*undermining the church* of which he was a prelate," by degrading her asserted prerogatives, jurisdiction, doctrine, and sacraments, that excites so great a ferment in this ecclesiastical city. However, as very acrimonious accusations have been brought against me on the subject of the monument itself, I must answer them in the best manner I can. The first, or at least the most important, question relative to the present subject is, whether or no the placing of the monument in its present situation has in any degree weakened the great cluster-column in which it is inserted? If the affirmative of this question is proved to be true, I shall be satisfied with the decision of every reader of candour and taste on the propriety of the expressions in my HISTORY, as far as relates to the monument; namely, "that the column against which the monument is placed has been cut away to a considerable depth, evidently to the weakening of the whole fabric; and that thus it may be said with truth of Dr. Hoadly, that living and dying he undermined the church of which he was a prelate." (2) I shall therefore leave Dr. H. A. in possession of whatever advantages he can derive from the sagacious queries: How a dead man can be said to undermine a pillar? and how, in particular, this can be true in the present instance, since the prelate's remains are not close to the monument and the pillar, but at a certain distance from them? (3) On the same principle, Sir, I do not think that it is of the least con-

(1) Dr. H. A.'s LETTER, p. 31. (2) Vol. ii, p. 32. (3) Letter, p. 29.

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sequence to determine, whether the monument was inserted in the pillar by the bishop friends at the time of his decease, or by the dean and chapter at a subsequent period, c which business you spend so many words. The only questions regarding the present co troversy are the two following: Has one of the main columns of the church been cut in in order to make room for bishop Hoadly's monument? Has that cutting away in any d gree weakened the column and the church? You yourself, Sir, positively say, "the pill was not cut away, but the monument placed against it;" and yet it is obvious to eve spectator, that it has been "cut away to a considerable depth," as I expressed it in m HISTORY. (1) Dr. H. A., with all his circumlocutions, must say the same, or else l says nothing by way of disproving my assertion. Unfortunately, however, the very te timony of the professional man, Mr. S. Walldin, stone-mason of the cathedral, which D H. A. has taken the pains to procure, clearly confutes his and your assertion, and confirm mine. He positively says, "the pillar against which the monument is erected,...was ev dently *cut away for the purpose!*" (2) The first question being thus determined, I think th second will not bear disputing upon; namely, whether the cutting away of the pillar at th bottom of it, has weakened it, and thereby, in a certain degree, undermined the churc which it so materially contributes to support? It is true, Dr. H. A., by a similar artifice altering my expression with that which I have just now detected in yourself, charges m with asserting, that "the monument has *endangered the whole fabric*; whereas what I sa was, that it has been "cut away, to the *weakening* of the whole fabric." (3) The questi is evidently not about *the degree* in which the column has been weakened, but simply, wh ther it has been *weakened at all?* However, I have no objection to hear the remainin part of Mr. Walldin's report on the subject referred to him. He says, "Although the pill was evidently cut away for the purpose, (that of receiving the monument) yet I cannot pe ceive the smallest appearance of its having sustained any injury." You will please to ob serve, that he does not deny the pillar to have suffered any injury, but only that he cann perceive *any appearance* of the injury at the present day. He probably thinks that there no danger to the cathedral from this circumstance for a century or two to come, which is period far beyond what modern architects extend their calculations. He goes on to give us th dimensions of the pillar. "The diameter," he says, "I found to be 10 feet 4 inches, the gi or circumference I imagine to have been, before cut away, 30 feet 8 inches." The most im portant point for him to have ascertained would evidently have been, the quantity of th column that has been actually cut away; but to this point he declines speaking at all, b

(1) P. 101.—It is an evident proof of a desperate cause, when a writer of Dr. S.'s reputation is forc to mis-state the assertion of his antagonist, in order to combat it. In the words above quoted he repr sented me as affirming, in an unqualified manner, that "the pillar was cut away," that is to say, c *quite away*, whereas what I wrote was, that "it has been cut away *to a considerable depth*."

(2) P. 28.

(3) "How is it possible for a little monument, &c. to *endanger* the whole fabric? When a gra historian *writes thus*, I cannot believe that he is serious." P. 29.

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cause, as he intimates, he cannot speak with absolute precision. In the mean time, Sir, for want of a more authentic report on this business, I will venture to say, that the bottom part of a three-quarters circular shaft, of from 10 inches to a foot in diameter, is removed; which shaft now terminates immediately above the monument in a modern corbel. In the next place, there is a mass, of about five feet in its greatest length and of about two feet in its greatest depth, hewed out of the main cluster-column, part of which cavity is now occupied by bishop Hoadly's elegant, but unsubstantial monument. (1) It is clear, Sir, that Dr. H. A. has still more weakened his own cause, by setting on foot the present inquiry, than even the pillar is weakened by the prelate's monument.

Amongst the emblems carved on the monument that I found fault with, were the *democratic pike* and cap of liberty, as being very improperly associated and placed in saltire with the pastoral crosier. In return, you deny that any pike is there represented; (2) and Dr. H. A. maintains, that what I call a *pike*, is nothing but a *wand*, asserting, on the authority of Spence, that the Roman Goddess of Liberty is always characterised by a wand; though he admits that the Gallic Liberty wears a pike. (3) The fact is, the former is sometimes found upon coins with a wand, sometimes with a spear, and sometimes with two poniards. As to the proper name of the instrument that supports the cap in the present instance, a spectator will certainly pronounce of it by its appearance; and since the part which is exposed

(1) The part of the excavated pillar which overhangs the monument, without the appearance even of any support, I judge to be in depth, including the above-mentioned shaft, from 15 to 18 inches.

(2) P. 101.

(3) P. 44.—The mention of the pike on bishop Hoadly's tomb causes Dr. H. A. to forget all his manners and all his Christianity. In the spirit of Dr. Rennell on the same subject, he describes the deluded Irish insurgents as "kissing the *consecrated* pikes, which," he says, "they are *bound* to plunge into the breasts of his Majesty's Protestant subjects," P. 44.—This is intended as an insinuation that the Irish rebels acted in conformity with the tenets of their religion, and the instructions of their pastors, in the late unhappy tumults in their country. It is, however, undeniably true, that whatever their own religion was, their seducers and their generals were almost universally of the Protestant persuasion.—Of the Catholic clergy not one in a hundred was found wanting in loyalty and duty on that occasion: the great body of them, and particularly the bishops, exerted themselves in the cause of allegiance and social order in an heroical manner that has never been surpassed: and their energetical REMONSTRANCES to their flocks, which have been reprinted in this kingdom *(by Coghlan)*, deserve to be circulated all over Europe, for their credit, and for the information of unfortunate wretches who have been blinded and led astray by Jacobinical artifices. Nor has it been by addresses only that the Catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland have evinced their loyalty and zeal for public peace and order, but by every other kind of active exertion, and by their sufferings also in the same cause. Amongst others the example of my respected friend, Dr. Moylan, tho Catholic bishop of Cork, will be ever memorable for the display of the abovementioned virtues in their full lustre. At the unexpected moment, when Hoche's fleet and army appeared in the pride and vigour of their unbroken strength on the neighbouring coast, when all was despair in the city of Cork, and English bank notes were waste paper, he did not calculate chances or wait

exposed to view is full three inches in diameter, it is certainly much more natural to consider it as a pike than as a wand. There is the greater reason for this, as, by my opponent's own confession, the proper attribute of the reigning Goddess of Liberty, whose throne bishop H. has been so instrumental in raising, is a pike.

In return for the mortification which I may have given yourself aud Dr. H. A. in the preceding observations, I am now, Sir, going to afford you both a compleat triumph for the time that it may last. In a word, I unequivocally acknowledge the error into which I fell in my late work, where I insinuated that bishop Hoadly, amongst his other numerous productions, had composed certain dramatical pieces; and, in making this acknowledgement, I feel the greatest satisfaction, that this and the other mistake, concerning the author of the anonymous History of Winchester, are the two greatest, if not the only two errors, which the sagacious criticism of my numerous opponents has been able to point out in as many quarto volumes, containing an infinite variety of new matter; (1) I intimated above, that your own and Dr. H. A's. triumph would be of short continuance. In fact, Sir, what is the consequence of aggravating the error in question, by calling it "an illiberal aspersion," and "an insidious attack," as this gentleman does, (2) except to transfer the redoubled load of disgrace, whatever he and you may make of it, from the shoulders of the bishop, to those of your more intimate friend, and Dr. H. A.'s

wait for intelligence, but consulting only the genuine principles of his religion, he took an instantaneous and decided part, in issuing that eloquent, loyal, and truly Christian exhortation to his numerous flock, which was acknowledged in the official letters of the lord lieutenant to have been so highly beneficial in confirming their loyalty. If it be asked, to what causes that fatal rebellion was owing? I say, that it has been ascertained by the official reports to have been caused by the revolutionary artifices of ambitious men, who move at right angles with respect to the religion of genuine Catholics. The grinding misery of the Irish peasantry must also be taken into the account; and still more, the rancour and malice of a party, that is much more numerous in Ireland than in England, which, like Dr. H. A. in the passage above quoted, stops at no degree of calumny or insult in order to oppress Catholics. The idea of Dr. H. A.'s "consecrated pikes" seems to be borrowed from Chenier's play of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which was exhibited, gratis, at the beginning of the Revolution, in order to flesh the populace for the ensuing slaughter of the 2d of September, 1792.—In this the cardinal of Lorraine was introduced consecrating the pikes to be used in the massacre of the Protestants, though history informs us that he was then absent in Italy, and though the other clergy instead of taking part in it opposed it. See p. 79.

(1) Dr. H. A. will see that I am too candid to avail myself of his generosity in furnishing me with a proof that the bishop did actually write the prologue to the play of *All for Love*, as it was acted at Blenheim, in 1718, which prologue he now publishes, pp. 19, 91.—I shall say nothing of the propriety or impropriety of this composition with relation to the bishop's character, but merely to the occasion of its production. In a word, I cannot agree with Dr. H. A. that a stage play was "an oil of comfort" so becoming a prelate "to pour into the wounds of an expiring" Christian, as a good act of contrition would have been; especially when the dying man was John, duke of Marlborough.

(2) Pp. 12, 24.

nearer

nearer relative, the bishop's son? If it is so very indecorous and improper an employment, as you and Dr. H. A. represent it, for a bishop to employ himself in theatrical compositions and representations, it is evidently but one degree less so, for a prebendary and the chancellor of a diocese to be thus employed. Now, Sir, both yourself and Dr. H. A. signify, (1) what the world is otherwise informed of, how passionately addicted the personage here alluded to ever was to this kind of writing and amusement; and, Sir, it is a certain fact, that it was by confounding together in my own mind the compositions of the late chancellor of the diocese, Dr. John Hoadly, with those of his father, the bishop, (2) that I fell into the mistake, with which you and the above-mentioned gentleman so unadvisedly reproach me.

Dr. H. A. having exhausted his eloquence upon me for the remarks which I made upon some of the emblematical ornaments of the monument, next finds fault with me for not taking notice of certain others which are there exhibited, though he very inconsistently asserts, that if I had noticed them, they would have been equally "the objects of my calumny." (3) These are, *the dove* upon the Hoadly crest, which he informs us was given to the family by Charles II, in reward for the share which they had in effecting the Restoration; and *the pelican* in the coat, which, he says, the college of heralds allowed to that family as a lively emblem of their patriotism. (4) He then runs into an episode of several pages concerning the last mentioned bird, in which many of his positions are still more incongruously assorted, than the ornaments are on the bishop's tomb. Amongst other things he says, that "it is absurd, impious, and blasphemous, to represent Christ shedding his blood for mankind by the emblem of a pelican feeding its young with its blood," because it is a vulgar error to suppose, that this bird does actually open its breast for that purpose. (5) He admits, however, that this very emblem, notwithstanding the aforesaid fictitious circumstance, is very properly adopted as "a lively emblem of a true patriot, who is ready to shed his blood for his country." (6) He goes on to term this religious emblem, "an absurd, impure, and unclean image," (7) for no better reason than because this bird was reckoned amongst those which it was unlawful for the Jews to eat of, and which, on this account, were called unclean in the ancient law. But surely our biblical student might have recollected, that the eagle, the lion, and other animals, stood in the same class of prohibited food, and yet, being possessed of noble qualities, are employed in the bible to characterize the most sacred personages and things. (8) Lastly, he does not "scruple to say, that this

(1) See Reflect. p. 102. Letter, p. 13, &c. The New Biographical Dictionary, art. Hoadly, John.

(2) Both Dr. S. p. 101, and Dr. H. A. p. 17, positively assert, that I have ascribed the composition of a comedy, called *The Suspicious Husband*, which it seems was written by the bishop's son, Benjamin H. the physician, to the bishop himself; and the latter asserts, that the dean and chapter at their audit did me the honour to mention me as being possessed of "certain proofs" of that fact. The truth however is, that I was so grossly ignorant in dramatic literature, as never to have heard of the aforesaid physician as a writer in that line, or so much as of the existence of the play called *The Suspicious Husband*.

(3) P. 41. (4) P. 50. (5) P. 48. (6) P. 50. (7) P. 47.

(8) Ezek. i, 10. Rev. v, 5. St. John, iii, 14.

very bird is an emblem unworthy not only of a Protestant church,...but even of a Catholi church." And yet it is certain, that it was placed in the situation which it at presen holds, carved as large as life, and emblazoned with gilding and other ornaments, in th centre of the gorgeous canopy over the communion table, by an eminent bishop an dean of Winchester, both staunch Protestants, in the reign of Charles I; (1) and it i equally obvious, that if Dr. H. A. were at liberty to destroy, as he seems to wish, ever figure of the pelican which occurs in the cathedral, to the number of some hundred times both within and without, his prejudices against this alledged unclean bird, would prov no less injurious both to its outside and inside beauty, than bishop Horne's and hi associates' enmity to the figure of the cross has proved. (2)

I come now, Sir, to take some notice of those critics by profession, who have don me the honour of noticing my HISTORY in their Reviews, the first of whom is th author of THE HAMPSHIRE REPOSITORY. Without inquiring, whether this writer ha proved his title to the magisterial chair in which he has seated himself, by observing th first canon of his science, *Let those turn critics who have written well*; (3) I shall proceed to inquire into the justice of the censures which he has passed upon me, in several parts o his Review. These, in general, are of such a nature, that, I believe, it would appear to th learned world, as it certainly would to myself, a matter of injustice to claim any meri from the compliments which he pays me in other passages.

The principal subject of my complaint against the Hampshire Critic, is on account of th confidence with which he, in most places, opposes his conjectures to the historical evidenc that I bring forward. If there is any merit in my History, it consists in the attention an pains that I have bestowed in collecting and placing before the reader the most ancient an authentic records that I could procure in support of the facts I have advanced. Judge the what a trial it must be to my temper to find a critic at my elbow obtruding his conjecture upon every subject that is started, without deigning to examine the authorities on which ground my narration, much less without opposing other testimony of equal weight with it.

I have different instances of the aforesaid presumption in the outset of his animadversions I asserted, on the authority of Diodorus, who speaks of the ancient Britons conveying thei tin to the Isle of Wight *by carts*, that there was once a fordable passage into it from the mai land at low water, the vestiges of which passage, like the sand bank between Milford and Hurs Castle, I conceive are still to be traced at the Shingles and the Needles. This assertion, thu grounded on ancient authority, the H. C. controverts, for no better reason than because Por chester Harbour has since the period in question been choaked up with mud; (4) whereas i

(1) See History, vol. ii, pp. 39, 40.

(2) This enmity was so great that the extreme leaf of the trefoil on all the pinnacles belonging t Wykeham's chantry, and many other pinnacles in the cathedral and other places, have been broken off because they resembled a cross.

(3) Pope's Essay on Criticism.

(4) Hampshire Repository, part ii, p. 115.

is evident that the opening of one passage may possibly have occasioned the obstruction of another. (1) A still more glaring example of the self-confidence in question occurs in this writer's strictures on my account of the conversion of king Lucius, the particulars of which I drew from Bede, Nennius, and other authentic and original sources. It would take up too much time to point out all the blunders that occur on this subject. I shall, then, content myself with mentioning the following. He says, " We think it much more probable that *upon the emperor's conversion*, Lucius, little better than his vice-roy in Britain, paid him the compliment of following his example;" (2) viz. rather than that he became a Christian from conviction. I need not inform you, Sir, that the emperor in question was the famous Pagan philosopher Marcus Aurelius; and I need not tell a common school-boy, that the first emperor who professed Christianity was Constantine the Great, almost a century and a half later than the reign of Lucius. It is not indeed that our critic is always destitute of authority; for in the very paragraph before me he appeals to Platina, a superficial Italian author, (who wrote the lives of the popes in the 15th century) concerning the number of the ancient British cities, in opposition to the positive testimony of Gildas, of Nennius, of Higden, of Rudborne, and of a whole host of other original chroniclers, whom I followed! He soon afterwards even finds fault with me for my blind attachment to the authority of records. " I fear," he says," that our historian copies others too implicitly, without reflecting on the improbability of shipping being so large in these seas, at the time of this (the Saxon) invasion." (3) For my part, I think that the first duty of a modern historian is to be guided by the accounts of the original writers; and I am clearly of opinion, that an enterprizing and indefatigable people, with the forests of Germany at their disposal, were capable of building cuyles or keels for transporting an army of even a greater size than was requisite for the invasion of Britain, in the manner that is universally reported; though much less vessels might afterwards be found by them to be better adapted to the purposes of war.

The H. C. shews himself very eager to dispute with me the credit of my topographical discoveries. He will have it that Cracknor Hard and Netley Marsh, near Redbridge, places unknown in ancient history, and totally disagreeing with the accounts of the Saxon Chronicle and other original authorities, are the Cerdicesore and Natanleag, which Camden, Gibson, Carte, and myself, are in search of. In confirmation of his opinion, he supposes the neighbouring village of Eling to have taken its name from Ella, who, he says, " might have landed" there. (4) Unfortunately, however, for this system, we have authentic evidence that Ella, who was founder not of the West Saxon, but of the South Saxon kingdom,

(1) If the writer is desirous of learning how the sea has encroached on some parts of our coast, and receded from it in other places, at no great distance, he will find a good account of these particulars in the learned and sagacious Whitaker's History of Manchester, b. i, c. xi.

(2) P. 115. (3) P. 116. (4) P. 117.

landed

landed in the peninsula of Selsea, at a place which was called from his son Cymensore, (1 and that he never came near Eling in the course of his reign. Our critic approves of m attempt to clear up the history of king Arthur, but he ridicules the idea of "swords o gold being borne before a petty prince, little superior to a savage barbarian, and the vaga bondization of a monarch to the Holy Land." (2) It is evident, from this passage, that th H. C. is very little acquainted with the state and manners or the civilized Christian Briton and with the practices of Christian nations in general, during the 5th century. He ma learn from their countryman, Gildas, that the former were a civilized, polished, and even luxurious people; and he may gather from St. Jerom, and other writers of the age, tha visits to Palestine were then exceedingly common.

Our critic now drags me unwillingly forward to religious inquiries, on which subject am forced to say, that his information is even less extensive than it is on subjects of anti quity. He begins with complimenting me on my supposed admission of an error in th Roman Martyrology, (3) where I assert that *Amphiballus* was perhaps not the real name o St. Alban's preceptor, but that it might have been given him from the circumstances whic I have mentioned. I should have no difficulty in acknowledging any real error that migh be actually detected in that venerable record, but the mistake here is not in the Martyrology but in the H. C. From this imaginary error in ecclesiastical history, our writer launche forth into the widest fields of extravagant conjecture. He supposes that our famous apostl St. Birinus, an Italian bishop, who died in the year of Christ 650, might be the same per son with St. Amphiballus, a British martyr, who had been put to death about the year 30 The name itself, *Amphiballus*, he imagines to be a misnomer for *Amphibitus*, which wor he informs us, signifies a man "who is capable of walking both on sea and land." (4) I another part of his book (5) he derives the aforesaid name of *Birinus* from the brine of th sea, which he is said to have walked upon. When we meet with such etymologies in grave critic, we are led to doubt whether Swift might not have been serious in deriving th name of *Achilles* from the supposed cry of the Trojans, on seeing that hero, *Ab-kill-us* that of *Peloponesus*, from the call of the Grecian maids in the said peninsula for help to rai up their buckets of water, viz. *Pail-up-and-ease-us*; finally, that of Strabo, in consequenc of the beauty and the travels of that geographer through different nations, who therefo termed him the *Stray-beau!*

The H. C. now puts forth the whole strength of his theological learning, by way of di crediting me and the religion which I profess. He signifies that the celebrated miracle St. Birinus, reported by all our ancient writers, and the first step towards the conversion our Pagan ancestors, is "supported by me as essential to the prevalence of the Romis religion," because, he tells us, that miracles in general, and particularly that of walking o the water, is "the principal ground of the *divinity*" of images, the "worship of whic

(1) Hen. Hunt. &c. (2) P. 119. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.
(5) See the Poetry, part ii, p. 57.

images,

images," he asserts, "is an article of the Roman Catholic faith," (1) and amongst "the first principles of Mr. M.'s religion." (2) In the course of his dissertation he introduces me arguing, in a vicious circle, (which he calls a *true theological circle)* from the worship of images to miracles, and from miracles back again to the worship of images. (3) Whether such a confusion of ideas as this mode of arguing implies, is more likely to be found in my intellects, or in those of my adversary, the reader will judge for himself, by the tenor of our reasoning. He will at the same time decide, whether so much ill nature, joined with so much ignorance and self-confidence, as prevails throughout the whole column which I quote from, as well as through other passages in the same work, entitles the critic to any favour at my hands. (4) But we have not yet done with our critic's discoveries in this business.

(1) P. 119. (2) P. 120. (3) P. 119.

(4) I cannot neglect the opportunity of making a few observations on two very long and tedious articles, consisting of forty columns of close printing, from page 130 to 150, at the end of the first part of the Hampshire Repository, which display as much illiberality and bigotry, amidst the most unbounded professions of candour and toleration, as is any where to be met with.—The first article relates to a French emigrant priest, of the name of Couvet, who resided at Winchester four years ago, and whose history, or rather tragi-comedy of errors, is briefly this. Having been at times questioned by some of the poor people, who lived in the same house with him, on the subject of his religion, (for he was not a field preacher, nor did he obtrude that topic even in private conversation), he expressed himself with the earnestness that might naturally be expected from a man who had lost every thing, except his life, in defence of it, but in such a mixed jargon of English and French as to have been totally misapprehended on the most materials points of his speeches, (as now appears by the charges that have been brought against him), particularly by a Scotch presbyterian woman, to whom he spoke with more freedom, under a mistaken idea, as he afterwards declared to me, that his proselyting a member of the kirk of Scotland could give no offence to the clergy of the church of England. He was afterwards convented upon the subject of these conversations, when, from want of the parties comprehending each other, fresh misunderstandings occurred on both sides, all of which would have been prevented if those gentlemen had permitted me to have been present at the interview, as I conceive I ought to have been, both in quality of a joint inspector of the French clergy, and of an individual implicated in the affidavit. But the confusion did not end here, one gentleman opens a letter directed to another person, and when the circumstance is complained of by the respectable writer of it, instead of a proper apology for his conduct, he publishes that letter, and with it a tedious and unintelligible answer to it, from which nothing can be collected, except the persecuting principles of the writer carried into effect to the utmost extent that they were capable of. In fact, this very gentleman, who fills whole pages with professions of liberality, boasts in the passage which I refer to, of having actually contributed, by his importunities with persons in power, to the expelling of poor Couvet (a considerable time after he had left the city) from the kingdom; on no other charge than that of having, in private conversation in the recess of his own poor lodgings, extolled and recommended the Catholic religion, in the hearing of two or three poor wretches who most likely before had no religion at all!

The second instance of the writer's bigotry, which I have to mention, relates also to a French clergyman,

business. He has found out that my opposition to bishop Hoadly, is the consequence of his refutation of a ridiculous speech, that I never heard of, made by an advocate at Thorn, concerning a St. Jacek, whose very name I never met with in the whole course of my ecclesiastical

gyman, by name Meffre, but it consists, not in censuring but in praising, not in persecuting but in rewarding. I have a copious collection of original letters, relating to this case (as I have others concerning the former) from the countrymen and friends of Mons. Meffre, particularly from the captain of the vessel of which he was nominal chaplain, and the superiors of the English Catholics, to whom his conduct occasioned an infinite deal of trouble; but I shall be as brief on the business as possible. By these papers, and his own printed account, it appears, that he was originally a Catholic; that during the early part of the French Revolution he complied with all the impious terms required of him by the destroyers of the religion of his country, swearing to the civil constitution of the clergy, as it was called, accepting of the employment of a *vicaire* or curate, (for that was the extent of his promotion) and, as I have reason to believe, also the higher orders, from the profligate usurper of the see of Toulon. Soon after this, Royalism getting the ascendancy in that neighbourhood, Mons. M. applied to the representative of the lawful bishop in order to be re-admitted into the pale of his former church, from which he had been excluded by excommunication. This request, however, not being immediately granted, he obtruded himself into the Catholic ministry, and, without any lawful commission or authority, presumed to officiate as the Catholic chaplain of the ship Pompee, when it sailed from the aforesaid port. Arriving in England, he found himself equally rejected as he had been at Toulon by real Catholics. At length, however, by a great shew of repentance, and retracting his past engagements, he contrived to get absolved from his censures, and re-admitted into the aforesaid church. Orthodoxy of itself, however, in this situation, was not sufficient, and Mons. M. appeared to be of the opinion of Dr. S. which I have controverted in my third letter, concerning the law of clerical celibacy. One indication of this nature, which happened at Salisbury, and threatened other more serious consequences, had the effect of causing the Rt. Rev. Dr. Walmesley, F. R. S. and vicar apostolic of the district, to suspend him from all ecclesiastical functions. In conclusion, Mons. M. finding it useless to wear the mask of Catholicism any longer, applied to certain gentlemen of the establishment to be admitted a member of their communion. It might have been expected, that the well known history of Archibald Bower, and those of bishop Hoadly's pretended converts, Pilloniere and Fournier, would have made them a little cautious on such an occasion. Instead however of that, the proposal was readily accepted of. Mons. M. was permitted, without hesitation, to read his recantation in Winchester cathedral. A much more valuable, because a much more secure, pension than that which he enjoyed before was procured for him; and, what was the most important point of all, he got rid of the law of celibacy, and was enabled to marry a lady, with whom he had before got acquainted in this city.

The statement of these particulars seems an act of justice, due not only to the Catholic body, but also to the public at large, after the falsehoods that have been imposed upon them in the joint production of the proselyte himself and of his spiritual father, in the Hampshire Repository. The latter may continue to boast, that the work in which he has been so instrumental is "a most disinterested, premeditated, elaborate, deep, clear, and conscientious case of conversion, doing equal credit to the convert himself and to the church to which he becomes thus converted." P. 150. Still it will always remain incontrovertibly

ctesiastical reading! (1) I shall make no other reply on this occasion to those illiberal and groundless charges of blind superstition and gross idolatry which the critic heaps up against me, than by referring him for the information which he evidently stands in need of, to the first child of the Catholic communion whom he meets with in our city.

I pass lightly over a number of other theological criticisms in the work before me, which clearly display the bigotry of the writer. In one place he speaks of the self-denials and austerities practiced by the ancient monks, as having been apparent only. (2) In another place, by an evident contradiction, he grants them to have been real, (3) and condemns them accordingly, arguing, that to fast, and mortify sensuality, is to reject blessings offered us by Providence, as "though we were better judges of what we ought to accept, than himself of what he ought to grant." (4) Epicurus himself could not wish for more ample indulgence than is here sanctioned. For, if this argument has any force at all, it proves that we ought not to refuse any *gratification* that lies before us, under an idea that it is a blessing sent us by Providence. In like manner, it would justify our first parents in eating of the forbidden fruit. It is not with St. Birinus however alone that our critic is disposed to quarrel, but with every illustrious character of antiquity, who, for his private virtues and public benefits, was honoured by our forefathers with the appellation of *Saint*. This is the excess of ingratitude; as it is easy to prove, that without a St. Birinus, a St. Swithun, a St. Ethelwold, &c. the writer never would have had those good things of this world, the enjoyment of which he conceives to be so necessary a duty.

But I have done with theological controversies, and return to those of history and antiquities. Our author recommends to me the omission of, what he calls, Verstegan's discovery, viz. that the native language of the Franks, before it was altered by their incorporation with the conquered Gauls, was the same with that of their neighbours, our Saxon ancestors; (5) in other words, that the original language of the French was radically the same with our own. I must however reply, that I do not think myself warranted in following this advice. I look upon Verstegan to be a much better antiquary than the H. C., and I consider his proofs in the present matter to be absolutely demonstrative. The system in question moreover agrees with Bede's account of the first envoys from St. Gregory the Great to our Saxon ancestors, bringing interpreters with them from the southern parts of France. Does the critic then believe that the Franks spoke a language in any sort resembling modern French, when they resided in the forests of Westphalia? But he boasts of having drawn an argument from my own narration, in favour of his system. I have, it is true, related of Kenewalch, the second Christian king of the West Saxons, that he was disgusted with St. Agilbert, a Frenchman, and the successor to St. Birinus, on account of a

vertibly true, that this versatile religionist, who is so honourably received by one church, was an outcast from the other, and had repeatedly been punished with every censure which it was in her power to inflict, suspension, interdict, irregularity, and excommunication!

(1) P. 120. (2) Ibid. (3) P. 124. (4) Ibid. (5) P. 119.

foreign

foreign accent in which he preached. On this occasion the critic asks, why could not Agilbert pronounce English properly in case this were at that time the language of France? (1) I shall answer this query, when the critic has answered me another, exactly parallel with it: Why do not the Scotch and the Irish pronounce the English language properly, when it is acknowledged that this is the prevailing language of their respective countries?

Being desirous of stripping the good monks, who first preached the gospel to our ancestors, of the merit of civilizing them and instructing them in architecture and other useful arts, which I asserted to have been the case, he says, "We conceive that the Romans could instruct our countrymen in architecture, &c. before the arrival of Christian missionaries." (2) Who can avoid expressing his astonishment at such ignorance in an antiquary and a critic! The fact is, the Romans did instruct *the Britons* in the arts of civil life, but being in process of time forced to withdraw themselves from the island, our barbarous ancestors landed there from Germany, and swept the Britons from off the face of it, destroying, with the inhabitants themselves, all their monuments and institutions. It was a whole century after this desolation that St. Augustine and his companions arrived, who at once converted and civilized the barbarian conquerors. Amongst other arts which they introduced, I mentioned that of glazing windows. In opposition to this account, the H. C. professes to prove, from John Spelman, that "Alfred (at a much later period) invented lant*horns*, glass not being then known in England." (3) In the first place I ask, whether John Spelman is a sufficient authority to oppose, on a question of the present nature, to Bede, Malmsbury, &c. who positively assert that glass was introduced amongst us by St. Bennet Biscop, the cotemporary and friend of Kenewalch who built our cathedral in the 7th century? In the second place, what shall we say of the critic, when we find Spelman's authority perfectly conformable to that of the ancient authors. (4) In a word, he admits that the use of glass was well known in the island from the period above mentioned; but signifies, that it was a rare commodity in Alfred's reign, the reason of which is obvious, viz. the recent devastations of the barbarous Danes. The H. C. objects, that "the testimony of St. Aldhelm's writing odes, is no proof of his composing anagrams and enigmas." (5) The case however is, that I referred to the express passage of the original author, which proves the latter fact no less than the former. It is plain the H. C. is totally unacquainted with him. Our critic goes on to assert, that Asserius "does not make mention of the *coronation* of Alfred by pope Leo, and that Charlemagne did not keep his court at Aix-la-Chapelle before he was elected emperor, in 800. (6) For a clear refutation of these bold falsehoods I refer to the notes below. (7) When the critic asks how Athelstan, sitting on a tower in the Northern wall of

(1) P. 120. (2) P. 121. (3) P. 120.

(4) "Vitrum illi (Alfredo) non suppetebat; quod etsi jampridem in Angliam a Benedicto abbate invectum, tamen adhuc insolens, nec usibus præsto erat." Ælfredi Vita a Clariss. J. Spelman, l. iii, p. 162.

(5) P. 121. (6) Ibid.

(7) "D. Leo infantem Alfredum.....unctum oleo consecravit in regem." Annal. Asserii. "In regem consecravit."

of the city, could behold a combat at Chilcomb, (1) he confounds together the two separate accounts of this popular transaction by Rudborne and by Knyghton, the differences in which I have carefully noted. In deriving the etymology of Letley Abbey *à Læto Loco*, the pleasant place, and of the neighbouring Abbey of Beaulieu, *à Bello Loco*, the beautiful place, I was not giving scope to my own imagination, but copying the registers of Dugdale, Speed, &c. drawn from original titles. Is it not then sporting with the reader, no less than with me, to controvert such authority, and to support the pronunciation of the unlearned vulgar, in the following manner: "We might say properly, *Netley Abbey*, from the Italian *Netto Luogo*" ? (2) I fancy by this time you must be as weary of our critical antiquary's company as I am; I shall therefore only detain you with copying one more of his assertions, so glaringly false, and yet so confidently made. I related in my History, that John Warren, earl of Surrey, killed Alan de la Zouche, chief justice of Ireland, as he sat upon the bench in Westminster-hall, in the year 1270. In reply, the H. C. says: "It was *John Plantagenet*, not *John Warren*, earl of Surrey, who killed the chief justice, &c. the male line of the Warrens had been long extinct." (3) The learned reader will make his own reflections on this passage when he has looked into my notes below. (4) I cannot conclude this article without expressing my astonishment, that a writer who boasts of his skill in the science of antiquity, as well as in every other department of literature, should approve of all and every one of the depredations that have been committed on the monuments of that science in this city and neighbourhood, namely, the levelling of the city gates and walls, the filling up of the military ditches, the demolition of Wolvesey palace and of the venerable church and hospital of St. Mary Magdalen. He has given me his advice on different subjects at length: in return, I give him mine briefly, not to write upon any subject, until he has read a considerable deal concerning it; and least of all to touch on the science of antiquity, until he has acquired a taste for it.

consecravit." Chron. Sax.—Charlemagne succeeded his father Pepin in 768, and became sole king of France in 771. Soon after this he built a palace and a famous chapel at Aix, called from that circumstance Aix-la-Chapelle. In consequence of this being the chief residence and seat of government of the sovereign, different councils, well known in church history, were held there in 789, 799, &c.

(1) P. 121. (2) P. 125. (3) P. 127.

(4) "Inter Joannem de Warrenio et Alanum de Suche lites magnæ movebantur. Dictus comes in Alanum et filium ejus irruens patrem semivivum relinquens, etiam filium vulneravit." Mat. Westmon. "Sub iisdem diebus Joannes de Warrena Alanum le Souche in aula Westmonasterii propria manu peremit." Gul. Rishang. an. 1269. "Joannes de Warrena Alanum la Souche interfecit." Ypodigma Neustriæ, p. 471. See also Chron. Gul. Thorne. Annal. Winton. an. 1270, also Annal. Wigorn. an. 1272, &c.—N. B. It might have been expected that our critic would have been more cautious in contradicting Harpsfield on a point which he asserted from his own knowledge, namely, that "cardinal Pole was a member of Corpus Christi College, Oxon," yet this he does for no better reason than because he was first educated at Magdalen College. The fact is, he passed from the latter to the former, being appointed to a fellowship in it by the founder himself. See Wood's Athen. Oxon.

From our provincial critic, I turn with pleasure to a critic of different qualifications namely, the writer in THE ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW, who has given an account of TH HISTORY CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL OF WINCHESTER, in the numbers of that wor for February and March 1799. His approbation of the author's acquaintance with ancien authors and architecture, and of his diligence in detecting the errors of Hume and othe modern writers, is truly flattering, because the Reviewer himself appears to be conversan with the subjects of which he treats. For the same reason I listen with respect to his re prehensions, even when they do not seem to be justly merited; as I conceive to be th case in most of the following particulars.

I shall say nothing more on the subject of miracles, having so often before discussed th grounds of the one attributed to St. Birinus, except that in my opinion the continuance c miracles, on necessary occasions, such as the conversion of infidels, is clearly promised i the New Testament. (1) With respect to the instances of divine justice that are actuall at issue between me and the Reviewer; (2) if we cannot agree upon the point, we mus each of us retain our own opinion. As to the opinion of other persons, I think, if the fact themselves are admitted, with all their circumstances, in the manner they are usually de scribed, I shall have a large majority on my side. To speak now of modern writers: I d not apprehend that the R. will accuse John Stow of forgery or deliberate falsehood in an matter, which he had an opportunity of knowing; (3) and I am not conscious of havin appealed to him upon any other. So far from admitting Trussel's MSS. to be "indisputabl evidence," (4) I have very frequently pointed out the mistakes that abound in them. Bu in every kind of inquiry we must be content with the best evidence that can be procured and must not dispute the testimony of an honest man, as Trussel undoubtedly was, withou some proof or presumption of falsehood. Of the modern books mentioned by the R., seve ral I have consulted, others my library does not afford; however, the R. himself allows that I have been tolerably diligent in turning over the original authors from whom th information contained in such books on subjects of history and antiquity is principally to b obtained. I know, for example, without consulting Maddox, from Roger de Hoveden, (5 that king Henry II, in a council held at Nottingham in 1176, did divide the kingdom int six circuits, assigning three itinerant judges to each of them, and yet I have positive proo from the historians and annalists of the times, that this regulation was far from being accu rately observed in the reign of Henry III, in any of its particulars. After all, however, am of opinion that my assertions on this subject which the R. finds fault with were too ge

(1) St. Mark, xvi, 17. St. John, xiv, 12.

(2) See Review for March, p. 249. I must here observe, that I myself have objected to the story c Emma's fiery trial, not because I believe a deliverance in such a case to be out of the extraordinary cours of God's providence, but because the fact itself is not supported by sufficient evidence of history.

(3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Annal. Pars Post. Hen. II. Edit. Savil. p. 545.

genera

neral and too positive. Another mistake with which Trussel and myself are charged, does not seem to be liable to this objection. It is not said by him or me, that earl Waltheof was absolutely the first person who was tried by his peers, but merely that he is the first person *upon record* who was so tried. (1) Had I been guilty of the next fault that is imputed to me, it would certainly have been inexcusable, in my capacity of the historian of Winchester, namely, had I proved myself to have been ignorant "that not only the abbey of St. Mary, but also St. Peter's, Winchester, was an entire barony of royal foundation under the Saxon monarchy, inasmuch as their superiors ranked as peers." (2) The fact is, that this abbey of St. Peter was no other than New-Minster, called, after its removal, Hyde-Abbey, the history and privileges of which, I trust, I have brought to light and accurately traced. The mistake here is evidently not in me, but in the R.

The chief remaining controversy between the R. and me is concerning a point of ecclesiastical antiquity, which I cannot yield to him without proofs of a different nature from those that he has actually produced. The question is, whether the clergy of this kingdom in ancient times were or were not "allowed to marry," (3) In support of the affirmative, the R. refers to certain records, to shew that some of them did at certain periods enter into matrimonial contracts; which fact I have fully acknowledged. But, on the other hand, the numerous ecclesiastical canons which I have cited invincibly prove that such clergymen were considered as transgressors of the established discipline, and their marriages were accordingly held to be both illicit and invalid.—Notwithstanding what the R. has advanced on the derivation of the two terms, *God begate* and *Ordeal*, I must still adhere to my own etymology. The former term I consider as no more than the beginning of Edward the Confessor's charter; it being usual to quote bulls and charters in that manner. The latter is explained in the same sense by the most eminent philological antiquaries, as it is by myself. (4)—Whether or no I have been too severe on the memory of Cranmer and the early Reformers, depends upon the nature of the proofs which I have adduced on this subject in my History and in the present work.—On one important point, which has caused so great a ferment in this city, I am happy to find myself supported by so zealous a defender of civil order and revealed religion as the Anti-Jacobin Reviewer: I mean the reflections which I have made in both my volumes on the tendency and effects of bishop Hoadly's writings.

Most certainly, as I have said before, I entertain no private malice against the memory of

(1) On this subject Spelman says, "Danda est Polydorio (Vergilio) venia 12 virorum judicium à Gulielmo Conquestore illatum asserenti: antea enim satis videtur dilituisse." Glossar.

(2) P. 250. (3) Ibid.

(4) Du Cange, Gloss. Spelman, Gloss. Hick's Dissert. Epist. Verstegan. Remains. Somner. Gloss. apud Decem Script. Twysden. The last mentioned writer refutes the Reviewers German etymon of *Urtel* or *Urtheyl*.

that

that celebrated prelate; and the respect, Sir, which I bear to you, notwithstanding the present controversy, for your general character, and in particular for your gratitude to a deceased patron, makes me regret that it should be necessary in me to oppose his principles, in order to prove my esteem for two of the greatest blessings of the Almighty, CHRISTIANITY and CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

I have the honour to remain, with unfeigned respect, Sir, your faithful servant,

John Milner.

Winchester, Jan. 18, 1800.

THE END.

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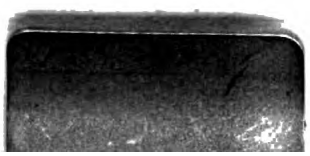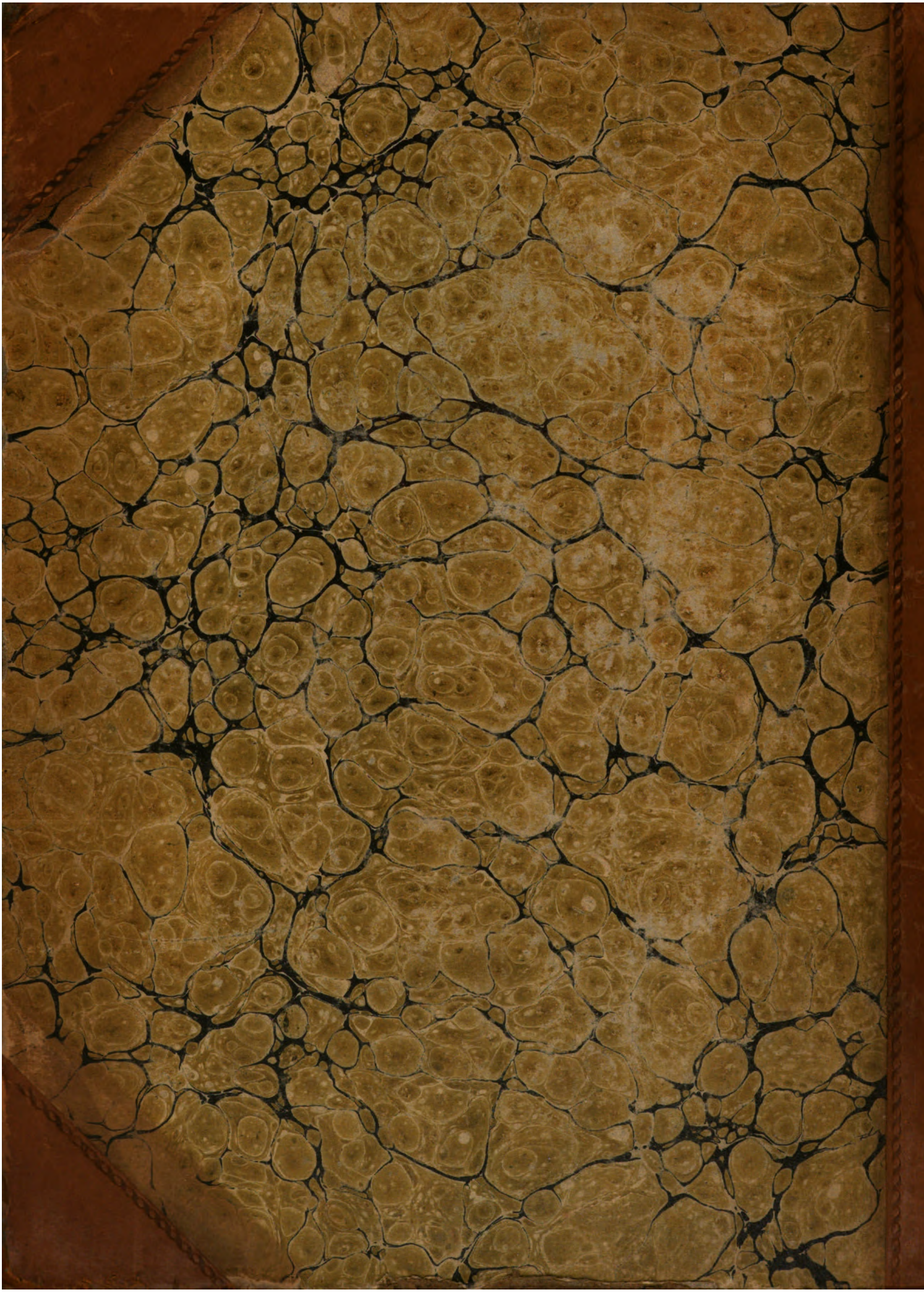
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